

TERRORISM IN CONTEMPORARY NIGERIA: A *LATENT FUNCTION OF OFFICIAL CORRUPTION AND STATE NEGLECT*

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Abstract

The contemporary Nigeria society is engulfed by terrible acts of Terrorism. Be it kidnapping by the *Niger Delta Militants* or bomb attacks by members of the *Boko Haram sect*. These acts of terrorism have seriously caused untold hardship to the Nigerian populace. The discourse of the argument put forward in this paper is that contemporary terrorism in Nigeria is a product of prolonged failure of the Nigerian state to show characteristics or fulfill the purposes accepted as normal or beneficial to the totality of her citizens. The paper establishes the relationship between *official corruption* and terrorism. Using the principles of the *Dialectical Materialistic Theoretical Frame*, the paper examines several variable factors that can help in the explanations of the relationship between official corruption, state neglect and terrorism in Nigeria. While the paper recognizes that there are both religious and ethnic variables that influence these terrorist acts, official corruption and state neglect of the masses stands out as the most persuasive, compelling primary explanation for terrorism in Nigeria.

Keywords: Official Corruption, Unemployment, Poverty, Terrorism, Contemporary Nigeria, Marxism

Introduction

The contemporary Nigeria has become a theatre of genocide, bloodshed and insecurity over the past three years due to the carnage activities of terrorist groups. Terrorists

of various groups and camps unleash havoc on the Nigerian populace. Though these groups are numerous, the most noticeable and deadly are the Boko Haram sect and Niger Delta Militants.

There is a conflicting body of literature over the horrible acts of these terrorist groups. Both in the print and electronic media (official and private) facts about the horrendous acts of terrorism by these terrorist groups are constantly being manipulated. The public is therefore left to wallow in confusion thus creating more frustration, fear and despair. This disparate information about the damaging effects of terrorism creates more tension and makes efforts to combat it practically impossible. In most cases identified sponsors are left unapprehended due to their position or status in the society¹. How then do we tackle this menace? The distortion of information about the negative effects of these acts of terrorism further indicate that planning for ways of rehabilitating the victims or their families will be an impossible task.

The distortion and deliberate manipulation of data about these acts of terrorism in contemporary Nigeria call for intellectual efforts to objectively discuss analyze and create a database on this orgy. This paper represents one of such efforts.

If there is to be anything like ‘a critical analysis of the causes of terrorism in Nigeria’ then intellectual efforts should be focused on the official corruption and the dysfunction of the Nigerian state, that is, the failure of the state to show the characteristics or fulfil the purposes accepted as normal or beneficial to the totality of her citizens.

It is obvious that literature on the causes of terrorism especially from official circles will technically or deliberately refuse to link contemporary terrorism in Nigeria to official corruption and the negation of the needs of the masses by the Nigerian state. This however, marks the point of difference between this paper and other works over this subject matter.

The summary of this discourse is that economic deprivation, marginalization, frustration, and desperation experienced by the greater population of Nigerians (the byproducts of official corruption) is the underlying cause of terrorism in contemporary Nigeria. This paper, while recognizing the instrumentality of the role of religion in terrorism, notes that the economic/material factors offer deeper insights into the causes of terrorism in contemporary Nigeria.

In other words, Contemporary terrorism in Nigeria is a latent function of prolonged failure of the Nigerian State to deliver purposeful good governance. When the Federal, state and Local Governments steal all the money allocated for building schools, hospitals, industries, etc, the greater percentage of the citizenry especially the youths are denied good

education, employment and good health. These youths are therefore affected socially, psychologically and economically. Frustrations, dejection and hopelessness remain a day to day occurrence in their lives (Adeyemi, 2012). They can easily be brainwashed and indoctrinated with false doctrines and co-opted into illegal societies.

The paper considers five main questions: What is official Corruption?; What is Terrorism?; What experiences of terrorism do we have in Nigeria?; What is the interconnection between official corruption and terrorism?; What are the effective ways or strategies of responding to terrorism in Nigeria? The paper argues that terrorism in Nigeria is the ultimate price that we (as a society) face for producing a colony of depraved, deprived and frustrated youths as a consequence of Official Corruption and a dysfunctional Nigerian state. The authors present an overview of the literature on the consequences of official corruption and through the principles of the Marxist theoretical frame explore the link between Official Corruption, state neglect and terrorism in Nigeria.

Conceptual Analysis of *Corruption* and Terrorism

Terrorism and Corruption are similar in the damage they do to our people and society; one kills immediately while the other kills by perpetuating poverty and committing ethical genocide for generations to come (Farouk, 2012).

Terrorism is not unique to the modern era. The terms ‘terrorism’ and ‘terrorists’ date back to the eighteenth century (Lacquer, 1987), Prior to the 1960s, most terrorist activity was localized. It was either confined within a specific geographical jurisdiction or limited to certain regions. However, the rapid advances in transportation and communication technology associated with globalization have brought about a shift in the nature and scale of the terrorist threat.

The age of modern terrorism might be said to have begun in 1968 when the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) hijacked an EIAI airliner en-route from Tel Aviv to Rome. The largest act of international terrorism occurred on September 11th, 2001 in a set of co-ordinated attacks on the United States of America where Islamic terrorists hijacked civilian airliners and used them to attack the World Trade Centre Towers in New York City and the pentagon in Washington DC. Other terrorist attacks have also occurred in New Delhi (Indian Parliament attacked), Bali car bomb attack, London Subway bombings, Madrid train bombings, Mumbai hotels attacks etc. Terrorism has been described variously as both a tactic and a strategy; a crime and a holy duty; a justified reaction to oppression and an inexcusable abomination. Obviously, a lot depends on whose point of view is being represented. Terrorism is hard to define.

The United States Department of Defense defines terrorism as “the calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate Governments or Societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological”. Within this definition, there are three key elements- violence, fear, and intimidation-and each element produces terror in its victims. The FBI uses this: “Terrorism is the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.” The U.S. Department of State defines “Terrorism” as “premeditated politically-motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.

Outside the United States Government, there are greater variations in what features of terrorism are emphasized in definitions. The United Nations produced this definition in 1992; “An anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individuals, group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons, whereby-in contrast to assassination, the direct targets of violence are not the main targets”. The most commonly accepted academic definition starts with the U.N. definition quoted above, and adds to sentences totalling another 77 words on the end; containing such verbose concepts as “Message generators” and “violence based communication processes”. Less specific and considerably less verbose, is the British Government definition of 1974 "the use of violence for political ends, and includes any use of violence for the purpose of putting the public, or any section of the public, in fear”.

Wilkinson (2006:328) suggests that terrorism can be distinguished from other forms of violence in the following way:

- It is premeditated and designed to create a climate of extreme fear.
- It is directed at a wider target than the immediate victims.
- It is considered by the society in which it occurs as ‘extra-normal’, that is, it violates the norms regulating disputes, protest and dissent.
- It is used primarily, though not exclusively to influence the political behavior of governments, communities or specific social groups.

Wilkinson further provides typologies of terrorist movements or groups: *Ethno-nationalist* groups, that is, those identified by ethnicity and political motivation; *Ideological terrorist* groups this includes terrorist groups that want to create a state based on an ideology

(e.g. A Communist state); the other categories are the *religious-Political groups*- such as the Boko Haram sect in Nigeria, which aims to create an Islamic republic.

There is a substantial body of literature on corruption (Klitgaard, 1988; Rose-Ackerman, 1975, 1999a and 1999b; Shleifer and Vishny, 1993, 1998; Bardhan, 1997; Eliot, 1997; Jain (ed.) 1998, 2001a, 2001b; Aidt, 2003; Achebe, 1983; Ebbe, 1999; Osoba, 1996; Obuah, 2010).

There also exists an endless list of definitions of corruption as a concept. Every article on corruption starts with an overview of the many definitions of corruption. *Cambridge Advanced Learners Dictionary* defines being corrupt as dishonestly using your position of power to your own advantage, especially for money. It describes it as illegal, immoral or dishonest behavior, especially by people in positions of power. *The Encyclopedia Americana* defines corruption as “the unsanctioned use of public/political resources and/or goods for non-public ends. The Transparency International (1996) sees corruption as “misuse of public power for private profit”. Huntington, (1989) sees it as “behavior of public officials which deviates from accepted norms in order to serve private ends”. Umo, (1993) sees it as the unauthorized use of public resources for private gain that is private enrichment through the use of one’s official position. The most popular and simplest definition of corruption is the one used by the World Bank “The abuse of public power for private benefit” (Tanzi, 1998).

Agbakor (2010:52) traces the origin of the word corruption to the Latins. He says that:

The noun ‘corruption’ morphologies form the verb and adjective ‘corrupt’ which is an English word of Latin Origin coined from the Latin “*corrumpere*” or “*corruptum*”, the original meaning of which is to “spoil”.

According to the Oxford Dictionary, the adjective “corrupt” means “dishonest, accepting bribes, immoral, wicked, and decaying”. The dictionary explains its verb usage to mean: to cause to become dishonest or immoral; to persuade to accept bribes, to spoil, to taint (Owasanoye, 2001). Furthermore, the Black’s Law Dictionary defines Corruption as:

An art done with the intent to give some advantage inconsistent with official duty and rights of others, the act of an official or fiduciary person who unlawfully and wrongfully uses his station or character to procure some benefit for himself or for another person contrary to duty and the right of others (Agbakor,2010:52) .

The foregoing definitions would mean that any wrong or departure from what is pure or correct is corrupt. Corruption is the gain of money, material/financial resources, contract, employment, status, fame, power or physiological satisfaction through illegal and immoral practices such as bribery, fraud, abuse of office robbery et cetera (Olusoga, 1981:17). Similarly, Igwe (1991:51) defines corruption as:

Conscienceless promptitude to use power authoritatively for selfish, repressive and oppressive purposes, unpatriotic and unjustifiable political discrimination and victimization, scandalous politicking on the corridors of power, unhealthy and despicable election malpractices as well as political arrogance and bitterness; readiness to sacrifice all values no matter how sacrosanct or strategic in the useless worship of and made rush for money, wealth, scandalous practices of diverting public funds into private coffers and of inflating government contracts and other business deals in the hole of eventual kick-backs.

On the whole, corruption can be viewed as the deliberate or inadvertent violation of ethics and codes that are supposed to govern the behavior of a particular profession, public service operations, private transaction, private and corporate contract agreements that amounts to selfish dishonest personal gains which makes another person, the system or the society to suffer any form of disadvantage therein.

If this conclusion on the definition of corruption is anything to go by, poverty and low standard of living in the society is due to societal violation of ethical codes of conduct which results to the misappropriation of societal scarce resources, meant for the well being of all and sundry. One's failure to perform his supposedly rightly duties also amounts to corruption which easily breeds the crime of terrorism as a means of protest against existing corrupt practices.

Whichever way these two '*monsters*' are defined, the duo are damaging, destructive and undermine development. Corruption for instance deprives the larger population of basic social amenities/infrastructures like schools, roads, hospitals, etc. This is because monies meant for the provision of all these is diverted to personal and selfish use. See Table 1 for instance:

TABLE 1: Classified Looting Of Funds In Nigeria Before The Anti-Corruption Bill In 2003

S/ N	Names	Amount in London	Amount in Swiss	Deposit in USA	Deposit in Germany	Total Naira Equivalent (1999 Exchange Rate)
1	Gen Babangida	£6.256b	\$7.416b	\$2.00b	Dm9.00b	=N=2.463,005 TRILLION
2	Gen Abubakar	£1.131b	\$2.33b	\$800b	Dm16.00 m	=N=0.493,008 TRILLION
3	Mike Akhigbe	£1.24b	\$2.426b	\$671b	Dm9.00m	=N=0.805,009 TRILLION
4	Jerry Useni	£3.04b	\$2.01b	\$1.03b	Dm900m	=N=0.805,009 TRILLION
5	Ismaila Gowon	£1.03b	\$2.00b	\$1.03b	Dm700m	=N=0.501,076 TRILLION
6	Umaru Diko	£4.4b	\$1.46b	\$700m	Dm345m	=N=0.894,065 TRILLION
7	Paul Ogwuma	£300m	\$1.42b	\$200m	Dm500m	=N=35,000,000 BILLION
8	Gen Sani Abacha	£5.01b	\$4.09b	\$800m	Dm3.01m	=N=1.210,007 TRILLION
9	Mohammed Abacha	£300m	\$1.2b	\$150150m	Dm 535	=N=0.210,007 Trillion
10	Abdu Abacha	£700m	\$1.21b	\$900m	Dm417m	=N=0.338,004 TRILLION
11	Wada Nas	£300m	\$1.32b	---	Dm300m	=N=0.237,004 TRILLION
12	Tom Ikimi	£400b	\$1.39b	\$153m	Dm371m	=N=0.252,553 TRILLION
13	Dan Etete	£1.12b	\$1.03b	\$400m	Dm1.72	=N=0.327,043 TRILLION
14	Don Etiebet	£2.5b	\$1.06b	\$700m	Dm361m	=N=0.567,047 TRILLION
15	Majjal Mustapha	£600m	\$1.001b	---	Dm210m	=N=0.199,793 TRILLION
16	Bashiru Dalhatu	£2.9b	\$1.09b	\$360m	Dm1.66b	=N=0.688,095 TRILLION
17	Wushishi	£2.3b	\$1.001b	\$161m	Dm1.43m	=N=0.555,049 TRILLION
18	Hassan Adamu	£300m	\$200m	\$700m	---	=N=0.130,005 TRILLION
19	T.Y Danjuma	£1.36b	\$1.02b	\$300m	Dm190m	=N=0.342,007 TRILLION
20	Ishaya Bamaiyi	£120m	\$800m	---	---	=N=94,000,00 BILLION

SOURCES: *financial times of london (23 july, 1999) the nigeria commentator (vol.2 n0. 4 1999)*

In May 29, 1999 and November 2003, over 2 Trillion Naira accrued to the 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory (Tell, June 7, 2004). Despite this huge allocation, there is nothing reasonable to show for it. Poverty is over the faces of the majority of Nigerians. Fagbadebo (2007:34) argues that Nigerians barely survive daily”, such that;

...75% of the citizens live on less than US \$1 per day while about US \$300 billion oil wealth has disappeared from the country, Nigeria presents a classical example of how people in a resource rich country could wallow in abject poverty (Adeniyi 2006:17)

So much has been committed to the electricity project yet power or electricity supply is still epileptic in most towns and cities and none at all in some parts of the Nigeria. To Akpan (2009:7) citing Adekeye and Ero (2009):

...the amount spent on power project during Obasanjo’s administration became a vexed issue recently. It was... agreed that the power sector gulped \$5 billion dollars; while Rural Electrification and Presidential steering committee on National Integrated Power Plant (NIPP) took \$455 million and \$3.08 billion dollars respectively.

This clearly shows how the Federal Government has wasted federal funds. Table 2 below shows how different ministries have misappropriated funds in the tunes of amazing amounts without results:

TABLE 2: Misappropriated Funs By Ministries (2001)

S/N	MINISTRY	AMOUNT MISAPPROPRIATED
1	COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION IN AFRICA	=N=10,453,241.81
2	POWER AND STEEL	=N=4,394,649,602.19
3	WORK AND HOUSING	=N=2,262,797,737.01
4	DEFENSE	=N=1,785,877,023.15
5	EDUCATION	=N=265,272,388.99
6	POLICE AFFAIRS	=N=1,209,216,325.05
7	INFORMATION	N=664,124,321.46
8	COMMERCE	=N=640,053,177.72
9	HEALTH	=N=465,103,959.12
10	INDUSTRY	=N=356,064,369.12
	TOTAL	=N=23,860,732,145.20

Source: Quantitative Economic Research Bureau, Abuja (2001)

As observed by Ikejiaku (2009) corruption creates “absolute poverty”. Corruption also undermines democracy, rule of law, good governance and insecurity. It destroys the capacity of institutions to perform well. Corruption creates unemployment and other social vices, that is, corruption as perpetuated by public servants and political office holders.

Similarly, terrorism is destructive, horrific and heinous. It kills and creates insecurity and fear. These and many other negative effects of corruption and terrorism qualify the duos to be described as “monsters”. However, we put these concepts in quote because issues of corruption and terrorism in Nigeria have become government rhetoric's. Most times, persons who are custodians of the government anti-corruption and anti-terrorist apparatus in Nigeria

are variously accused of perpetuating corruption or assisting and sponsoring terrorism. This is classically exhibited in the cases of the two former Inspectors General of Police (Tafa Balagun and Mike Okillo). The former Director General of EFCC Mallam Nuhu Ribadu, court judges in Nigeria and members of the National Assemblies. (*See Obuah, 2010*)

Theoretical Framework

There is a diverse range of criminological theories which have attempted to discover the causes of crime in general. The theories attempted to give reasons why individuals commit criminal acts (Muncie, 2004). These theories of crime causality begin with the writings of criminal law reformers in the eighteenth century, particularly Beccaria, Bentham, Romilly and Howard (Maguire, 1997). These writers are said to have characterized the offender (criminal) as a rational, free-willed actor, who engages in crime in a calculated, utilitarian way and therefore responsive to deterrent, proportionate penalties of the kind that the reformers preferred. This ‘classical school of criminology’, as it is usually called, was subsequently challenged in the late nineteenth century, by writers of the ‘positivists school’ (Lombroso-Ferri and Garofalo are usually cited) who adapted a more empirical and scientific approach to the subject of crime causality; and investigated ‘the criminal’ using the techniques of psychiatry, physical anthropology, anthropometry, and other new human sciences.

The positivist school claimed to have discovered evidence of the existence of ‘criminal types’ whose behaviour was determined rather than chosen and for whom treatment rather than punishment was appropriate. Subsequent criminological research and theories refuted or modified most of the specific claims of Lombroso and his contemporaries restored the credibility of some of the ‘classicist’ ideas they opposed.

Major assumptions of the theory of causality

More relevant within the context of this paper is the criminological paradigm that focused on the economic and material conditions as having a causal link with crime-The Marxist theory.

The dominant arguments of scholars within this camp are that the capitalist economic system and the unequal property relations that this generates is the root cause of crime in the society. Diverse views as to why crime emerges in situations of economic inequality are treaded by scholars within the Marxist camp. These included arguments that Crime was an inevitable expression of conflict and based upon the exploitative nature of class relations (Chambliss, 1975).

The theory of causality also argues that, crime was a protest or an incipient rebellion by the poor against the social conditions which prevented them from acquiring good, and that in a capitalist society the poor and powerless were forced into crime in order to survive (Quinney, 1980).

Additionally, criminality among the youths especially the lower-class has been attributed to various forms of frustration such as lack of money or failure to achieve respect derived from economic disadvantages (Greenberg, 1977). This assumption is further reiterated by the frustration aggression theory which argues that:

Frustration simply means the act of preventing someone from making an advancement, progress or success in life, this blockage likely result to dissatisfaction in an individual or group who turn to react in a violent manner (aggression) as an indication of protest against hindrance to succeed. When these occur, it can produce feelings of anger, which in turn can generate feelings of aggression and aggressive behavior (www. Alleydog.com).

Another causal factor of crime causation put forward by this group of scholars is unemployment. Unemployment is considered to be the underlying cause of violence and aggressive criminal acts like terrorism. This is in conformity with what Human Rights watch researcher Eric Guttschuss observed about the recruitment of Boko Haram foot soldiers by their leader. He said Yusuf successfully attracted followers from unemployed youth by speaking out against police and political corruption.

Within the context of this paper therefore, the authors adopt the principles of the radical (sometimes referred to as ‘new’ criminology (see Taylor, Walton and Young, 1973)), to discuss the dialectics or interconnections between corruption, state neglect and terrorism in contemporary Nigeria. Radical or ‘new’ criminology which is an offshoot of Marxist criminology provided a synthesis of labelling theory and Marxist conflict theory. It rejected an attempt (especially those associated with Psychological criminology) to locate the cause of crime within the individual. Instead, it directed attention at the impact of the wider social processes on the behavior of individuals asserting that the root causes of crime were located in the class-based and patriarchal nature of market Capitalism (Mooney, 2003:101).

The dialectics here is that the violent upbringing either by Boko Haram terrorist or militants in the Niger Delta are ultimately due to “the fallout of frustration with corruption and the attendant social malaise of poverty and unemployment, absolute levels of economic

distress or deprivation perpetuated by official corruption. On the other side of the divide is the argument that official corruption in Nigeria is also the determinant effects of material wealth accumulation. The principles of this theoretical frame will be used to contextualise, analyze and demonstrate the interconnectedness of official corruption, state neglect of the needs of the masses and terrorism in Nigeria.

The Causal Connection between Official Corruption, State neglect and Terrorism in Contemporary Nigeria: The Dialectics

We posit that, economic deprivation, frustration and desperation are the underlying causes of terrorism in Nigeria. However, religion and ethnic factors cannot be ignored. Results of researches conducted on the links between poverty and terrorism seem to confirm our hypothesis (see Bravo and Dias, 2006; Al-Badayneh, 2009; Krueger and Maleckova, 2003). Other variables sustaining our hypothesis are the social profile and social location of the Nigerian youths. Their social profile is largely indicative of gross disparities of life chances. The ideology behind the formation of the Boko Haram terrorist sect and the kidnapping criminal gangs in the Niger Delta region also justifies our proposition.

Boko Haram (Hausa:Lit “Western education is sinful”), is a jihadist militant organization based in the North-East Nigeria. It is an Islamist movement which strongly opposes man-made laws and modern science. Founded by Mohamed Yusuf in 2001, the organization seeks to establish sharia law in the country. The group is also known for attacking Christians and bombing churches.

Ideologically, Boko Haram proposes that interaction with the Western world is forbidden, and also advocates the establishment of a Muslim state of Nigeria. Basically, Boko Haram strongly opposed anything Western, which it sees as corrupting Muslims. Even though the greater percentage of Boko Haram attacks victims are Christians, the group equally kills Muslims who criticize it. The group linked the level of poverty in the country especially in the North, its stronghold, to corruption. Corruption to the Boko Haramists is considered a Western value and legacy. The group (Boko Haram) at the onset appeared to have had its operational bases located in the poorest parts of Northern Nigeria. It is in such places where people who have been denied opportunity to go to school and meaningful economic sources of livelihood are making recruitment easier.

Poor governance and corruption have provided a rallying cry for Boko Haram. According to one Nigerian journalist who has interviewed senior Boko Haram leaders:

Corruption became the catalyst for Boko Haram. Mohammed]
Yusuf [the group first leader] would have found it difficult to

gain a lot of these people if he was operating in a functional state. But his teaching was easily accepted because the environment, the frustrations, the corruption[and] the injustice made it fertile for his ideology to grow fast., very fast, Like wildfire (Human Rights Watch, 2012).

As far back as 2004, the followers of Mohammed Yusuf cited corruption as motivation for their actions. Before being whisked away by the Police, one of Yusuf's followers, arrested in January 2004, told a journalist: "Our group has definitely suffered a setback, but our objective of fighting corruption by institutionalizing Islamic government must be achieved very soon"

A Christian man who was abducted by Boko Haram gunmen in July 2009 and taken to Yusuf's compound before he was released later recalled that the group's leaders told him that:

The reason they [Boko Haram] killed government officials and police was because of corruption and injustice...they said they are against the government because of the corruption in the government sector. Islam is against corruption, they said. If Sharia is applied, corruption would be eliminated

There is a colony of *lumpen proletariat* majority of whom are not in regular employment who gain their subsistence mainly from crime. These colonies of destitute who are desolate become major reservoir of foot soldiers for the Boko Haram sect. The grunts that blow themselves up along with innocents around them are drawn from this pool of poor underclass, idle youths with few prospects for employment. Significantly, the North-west and Northeast recorded the highest poverty rates in the country in 2010, with 77.7% and 76.3% respectively (Awoyemi, 2012).

This argument is further reinforced when we take a critical look at the social and economic conditions in some countries of the globe. It is not surprising that the poorest and most corrupt countries in the world have become hotbeds of terrorism. In Africa for instance, Chad, Sudan, Niger and Somalia are areas where terrorism flourishes. Middle East and South Asia, Pakistan and Yemen are considered the most dangerous countries in the world. The connection is not difficult to make. For people living hand-to-mouth, life is a series of struggles often ending in tragedy, anger, resentment, and despair are volatile combinations in

the minds of young men and women who see little hope of escaping their situation. For recruiters of terrorist organizations, these young minds can be manipulated to pick up arms. By stoking latent frustrations at the injustice of poverty and promising a sense of community, brotherhood, and commitment to a higher cause, a recruiter can more easily convince a teenager to become a suicide bomber or a kidnapper.

This tripartite taxonomy of Corruption, State Neglect and Terrorism are also deployed in analyzing the terrorist acts of kidnapping by criminal gangs in the Niger Delta with Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) as our unit of analysis. Table 3 gives an insight of some of the kidnapping exercises in the Niger Delta:

TABLE 3: Police Record Of Some Cases Of Kidnapping And Piracy In The Niger-Delta

	Action date	MNC/OIL servicing Co.	Youth Group/Ethnic Group state	Ascertained purpose	Outcome
1	Hostage taking of 10 workers/April 2002	Shell	Militant Youth Gang, Ekeremor LGA, Ijaw/Bayelsa State	Ransom demand for NGN 3.1m	Resulted from failure to yield to alleged frivolous demands
2	Kidnap of staff/June 29-July 2003	Oil servicing Co. working for shell	Ijaw youth militants in Bomadi/Burutu LGAs/Delta State	Demand for NGN 25.4m	State Government Intervention/Negotiated release after 14 days
3	Kidnap of 9 crew & 4 military escorts of oil barges/November 11-13 2003		Ijaw militants	Ransom/other demands	Released 2 days later after threats by state Government/Security Agencies.
4	Kidnap of 14 workers/November 2003	Chevron Texaco	Militant Ijaw Youths/Bayelsa	Ransom demands	Intervention of State Government.
5	Kidnap of 19 oil workers	Nobel Drilling/Prospecting	Ijaw Militias/Delta State	Ransom demands	Intervention of State Government.
6	Kidnap of 7 workers November 28-December 2003	Bredero Shaw Oil servicing Co. (Shell)	Militant Ijaw Youths Delta State	Ransom demands for USD 5m	State government intervention/negotiation.
7	Murder of 7 workers & Military personnel/April 2004	Chevron Texaco	Militant youths along Benin River Area/Delta State	-	-

Source: Augustine Ikelegbe, 2005, "The Economy of Conflict in the Oil Rich Niger Delta of Nigeria", *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 14(2): 208-234

The Niger Delta, the main center of Nigeria's economy, is the stronghold of terrorist gangs that carry out kidnapping, hostage taking and hijacking. Until October, 2010³, the movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) confined its horrendous terrorist activities of kidnapping, hostage taking and hijacking in the Niger Delta region.

In fact, MEND's stated goals are to localize control of Nigeria's oil and secure reparations from the Federal Government for pollution caused by the oil industry. Basically MEND was conceived and operated with the focus of "Total control" of the Niger Delta oil wealth. A brief examination of the socioeconomic conditions of the region which is the main center of oil activity, the center of Nigeria's economy will be relevant to drive home our point of argument. The area referred to as the Niger Delta region was limited to the geopolitical zone occupied mainly by the minorities of Southern Nigeria, which currently comprises the six states of Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo and Rivers. In recent years, the region was politically redefined and enlarged to include all the nine contiguous oil-producing states which incorporates new states such as Abia, Imo, and Ondo (Akpan,2010). It is disheartening to note that the people in this geographical zone, just like other parts of Nigeria continue to live in pristine conditions and in most cases without electricity, pipe borne water, hospital, housing and schools in spite of the enormous wealth the government derives from this region.

It is the state neglect of people in this region that set the stage for violent terrorist acts of kidnapping, hostage taking and hijacking. The Niger Delta Region (NDR) is characterized by widespread poverty. About 70% of the population live below the poverty line, this might have increased in recent years when so many graduates have been turned out without jobs. The pervasive poverty is due largely to the low level of industrialization. This has been made more difficult by the activities of Transnational Corporations TNCS, which have adversely affected the traditional economy of subsistence fishing and farming. The modern transport infrastructure is inadequate and often hampered by a poor road network and harsh conditions especially in the coastal areas. Health care is less than desirable while the schools are ill-equipped; hence they serve more as youth restive factories than institutions of learning. These harsh conditions provide a fertile ground for social unrest, conflict and instability (Idumange, 2011).

Various reasons are given why members of MEND why they carry out these terrorist acts of kidnapping. These range from the general liberation struggle to economic to a political tool and a new habit of crime (Akpan, 2010). The authors of this paper however, subscribe to the new habit of crime school. The main objective of these terrorist acts of kidnapping and hostage taking is for economic gains. The creek militants who are mostly jobless and poor youths carry out these nefarious activities for material gains (see Table 3).

Historically, when youths are not engaged in meaningful work and are lacking the basic necessities, they bring attention to their plight by engaging in destructive behavior

(Marke, 2007), this underscores the importance of Human Needs Theory⁴. This view point substantiates the argument of this paper that when youths cannot bear their poverty (particularly lack of basic needs), caused or worsened by political corruption of most African leaders (who appear to be above the law themselves) anymore, they react by engaging in conflict, with its negative effects, which stunt development. The case of youths in the Niger-Delta conflict in Nigeria is a good example.

Corruption and Terrorism in Nigeria: Discussing the paradox

Although Nigeria has abundant natural resources (human and material-especially minerals) it is painfully understandable that these resources produce a paradox. The complexity of this resource-curse paradox has been observed by Oni (2008), and Artadi and Sala-i- martin (2003), where resources inhibit further economic progress create social problems

The issue of whether Nigeria is a corrupt nation or not is not in contention, the contentious issue now is whether as Nigeria oscillates on the world corruption ladder she will occupy the first position in the next few years. Available scholarly Literature on Nigeria's Corruption potentials is a pointer to this puzzle.

Osoba (1996) demonstrated this in several ways, and Achebe pointed out that Nigeria is perhaps one of the most corrupt nations in the world. An indication of just how corrupt Nigeria is documented in the Corruption Perception Index published by transparency international, a German firm, on September 22, 1998. On a scale of 1 to 10 with 10 representing the highest level of perceived corruption, Nigeria scored 1.9 (Transparency International, 1998; Mukherjee, 1997). Nigeria also topped the list of most corrupt nations with which to conduct business followed by Bolivia, Colombia, Russia and Pakistan (Mukherjee, 1997). Osoba (1996) illustrates that during the Pius Okigbo's panel of inquiring into the Central Bank's Accounts in the regime of General Babangida, about \$12.4 billion of Nigeria's oil revenue from the CBN account was unaccounted for (Onwudiwe, 2004).

More recently, the pension scam where civil servants colluded and robbed the pension scheme of billions of Naira is another recent example of official corruption in Nigeria. Other relevant examples of such official corruption include the Fuel Subsidy scam where the NNPC, Fuel marketers and importers colluded to defraud the country of money that if the reports are to be believed amounted to trillions of Naira and by conversion billions of dollars. These and many other such examples make the issue of corruption in contemporary Nigeria worrisome.

The volume of corruption in Nigeria triggered the poverty profile of Nigeria to 69% (National Bureau of Statistics (NBS)). The NBS report further reveals that 112.47 million Nigerians live below US\$1.00 per day and as a result could barely afford the minimal standards of food, clothing, health care and shelter. It is in this regard that we use the principles of the Marxists theoretical perspective to hypothesize that there is a strong correlation between corruption and terrorism.

This is because the assumptions of this theoretical frame truly emphasize our current reality. When a young man is poor, illiterate and unemployed, he becomes a clean slate for any kind of brainwashing which according to Karl Max is more potent when it comes from religion and aided by culture. The reason is very simple. First, these categories of people lack the intellectual power to logically question or critique what they are told.

According to Awoyemi, (2012) they live in the world of myths. Secondly, the activity component of the brain washing given to them provides a quasi-equivalent employment and thus they feel engaged in acting out what they have been brainwashed about. The paradox here is that, as more than 90% Nigerians are poor and exist largely at the mercy of fate, 10% of the privileged class lives in ostentation. They engage in conspicuous consumption (possess expensive cars, large and expensive buildings; make huge donations at public fund-raising etc.).

Therefore, the youths who fail to meet up with these styles of living, experience tremendous pressure or strain. The majority of them adopts crime as the only medium through which they will also live well. As previously indicated, the recruiters and leaders of these terrorist groups are aware of this and of course are maximizing the advantages of this obvious truth. The situation in the Niger Delta region (especially during the pre-amnesty period) is not any different with the North-eastern Nigeria. This same analysis can be deployed in discussing the phenomenon of terrorism in contemporary Nigeria.

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper is to show whether there is a correlation between corruption and terrorism in Nigeria. In particular the paper examines the interconnections between endemic poverty created by official corruption, state neglect of the needs of the masses and terrorism in contemporary Nigeria. We assert that economic deprivation, frustration and desperation are the underlying causes of terrorism in Nigeria; that official corruption and mismanagement of state funds have bred and institutionalized a legacy of a propensity to engage in violent crime for a large proportion of the Nigerian youths. The snowball effects are reflected in acts of terrorism and other social vices prevalent among the youths.

We drew data from the available literature on corruption and terrorism in Nigeria and therefore offer the following contributions to the existing literature on the subject matter:

For Nigeria to successfully tackle the menace of terrorism, a major step must be taken; that is, the revitalization of Nigeria's economy. A vibrant economy will create job opportunities for the youths and change their lives in the positive directions.

Such programs like the Amnesty granted to the Niger Delta militants, can be extended to the North, especially the North-East to rehabilitate the army of desperate and deprived youths. The government should put in place more precise measures to deal with corrupt bureaucrats and politicians. There should be a shift from rhetoric to practical ways of punishing identified corrupt public officials and sponsors of terrorism.

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