Policy Implementation and Insurgency in Nigeria: Prospects and Challenges

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Abstract
This paper develops a new approach towards understanding and explaining the rationale behind the prevailing level of insecurity in Nigeria. Today, the world is in the grip of various destructive forces that are coalescing to give it a failed-status quo. The paper shows that the current state of insecurity in Nigeria in the name of insurgency is a manifestation of deep-rooted and structurally- entrenched crisis emanating from poor policy implementation that created the environment for the emergence of conditions of poverty, exploitation, unemployment, and inequality in the country. These in turn, lead to frustration alienation and ultimately social discontent that spark Insurgency. Without the environmental factors, these conditions could not have metamorphosed into serious national security problem threatening to tear the country apart. The findings of the paper show that although Nigeria may appear to be failing, the trends leading to this situation are reversible, if serious proactive and sustained measure could be adopted by the government, through effective policy implementation. The implication of this is that policy makers have the duty to arrest this drift through education, social justice and development. Thus, to address the Insurgency in Nigeria is in effect, to address its crisis of development.
Keywords: Policy implementation, Insurgency, Security.

Introduction

The quest for stability and development is without doubt, the Holy Grail for many third world countries; a never ending, tedious, yet elusive, search for that condition under which these countries would be able to develop institutions and structures with the capacity to ensure economic growth, equitable distribution of national wealth, political stability and accountability. As daunting as these may appear, still it is possible to argue that there is a certain level at which all countries, developed and underdeveloped aspire to reach. Each country aspires to a high quality of life for its citizenry, strong and diversified economic base, internal cohesion and political stability. How and to what extent these aspirations are attained depend on a number of factors, mostly internal. For one, resources, both natural and human are critical. But the ability to

harness these and to utilize them for the common good is principally the domain of educational cum technological expertise, administrative capacity as well as political leadership. Consequently, a strong, accountable leadership is necessary for policy implementation. Not many countries, however, have these in abundance especially in Africa. A closely related question for these countries is that of threat to national security, Insurgency defined, both in terms of their capability to defend their territorial integrity, and more importantly to ensure internal peace and stability.

Statement of problem

Weak government policies or rather policy implementation which leads to ineffective and non operational framework for checking insurgency in Nigeria, was the prime problem of this discuss. In many developed countries including Nigeria, insurgency has escalated unabated despite a number of government's acclaimed new policy implementation and strategies being engaged in checking the menace. What constitutes Insurgency in modern times is a question that has never been answered satisfactorily by scholars. Its perception even within one community varies (Ejogba. 2006).

Insurgency is a threat to national peace and development in Nigeria and beyond. Though they tend to appear in the different categories, no two Insurgencies seems identical, unique in all aspect, but to a large extent share some combination of character, strategy and above all objective. However they may pass through similar stage of development. Considering Nigeria Insurgency in a tripod shape one can rightly conclude that the struggle of the different insurgent groups are not the same. This tends to make the issue of Insurgency in Nigeria more complicating. In the first instance Boko Haram from North seek to replace the existing power order with an entirely different system, often entailing transformation of economic and social structure which is revolutionary in nature, The South South (Niger Delta) are more of resistance Insurgents, they seek to compel an occupying power to withdraw from a given authority, invariably fighting for resource control. While MOSSOP on the other hand is a separatist Insurgent, they are seeking for independence of the sovereign state of Biafra, which is from the Eastern Nigeria. Though our major focus will be on the dreaded Boko Haram that has succeeded in inflicting enough havoc in Nigeria. To this end, state needs to build, equip and restructure its armed forces towards eliminating these forces. The main assumption of this conception is that

threat of violence, and the actual ability to commit violence by a state, against an enemy successfully deters threats and aggression (Rouke, 2005; Alabi, 1997).

Presently, there is an attempt to broaden it to accommodate other relevant, if not critical, elements within this conception. Issues such as education, economic development, equality, political accountability and good governance are now regarded as fundamental to any comprehensive understanding and explanation on the question of insurgency threatening national security. Perhaps, this is because of the fact that the conventional militaristic conception of Insurgency that dominated our discourse proved ineffectual and grossly incapable of meeting security expectations among many countries.

In this new conception, human development in terms of education is considered as central (Hettne, 2010, Booth, 2007). The recognition lies squarely not on the state's ability to enforce law and order, though that may be important, but in creating the necessary socio-economic conditions that guarantees fair amount of predictability on the behaviour of its citizens. The root of insurgency is always located in the injustice perpetrated by the powers that be, and the effectiveness of either the existing politico-legal machinery or the civil society to address it. Hence, most insurgency is premised upon the philosophy of a just cause and popular acceptance (Igwe, 2007).In view of the foregoing the paper seeks to answer the following question

1. What are the root causes of insurgency in Nigeria?
2. To what extent has policy implementation helped in checking insurgency in Nigeria?

Objectives of study

1. To examine the causes of insurgency in Nigeria.
2. To evaluate the impact of policy implementation in checking insurgency in Nigeria.

Literature Review

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

The theory which informed our discussion of insurgency in Nigeria is the Conflict theory. It was propounded by a German theorist, known as Karl Marx. In his postulation, the ownership of the means of production (including land) leads to exploitation of the peasants and workers by the owners, which is tantamount to an irreconcilable and antagonistic of interests, regardless of whether the two sides are aware of its presence (Marx, 1975). He maintained that State is seen as the means by which the ruling class could oppress the working class using the agencies of state. Conflict theory therefore underlines the competition in the society for scarce resources more especially power and wealth. Other scholar also came up with ideas on Conflict theory, a common theme is that different social groups have unequal power, though all groups struggle for same limited resources (Oberschall, 1996, Galtung, 1973, Bae, 1993, Galgliani, 1987).

In otherwords, it is the material condition of man usually conceived in terms of the prevailing economic system that for them provides the basis for the understanding of all social issues. Thus as people engage in material production they begin to establish one form of relation or the other. Through this relation, distinct social classes begin to emerge and the society gets enmeshed in class struggle. Sociologically, most African countries are made up of multi ethnic societies with populations that are sharply divided along racial, cultural, linguistic, religious and similar cleavages. Most are composed of several and some of many different traditional societies each with distinctive institutions to which Members of other traditional societies are not only detached but also declined, if not actually opposed (Jackson and Rorberg, 1998). From the perspective of the European Colonial powers, politically, a colony was not arbitrary. But from the perspective of subject African, colonial government was essentially arbitrary. It was imposed from outside and worked in accordance with alien and unfamiliar rules and regulations in disregard often in ignorance of indigenous institutions. Guenther Roth (1968) sees the divided plural society as an impediment to the realization of modern, rational-legal institutions (cited in Jackson and Rosberg, 1998). Therefore, the African state rather than being a public force tends to be privatized that is, appropriated to the service of private interest by the dominant faction of the elite (Ake, 1996). Thus according to Chabal and Daloz (1999), "its formal (rational-legal) structure ill manages to conceal, the patrimonial and particularistic nature of power" (cited in

Uzodike and Maiangwa, 2012). In the words of former Senegalese leader, Leofold Redar, Senghor, politics no longer is "a question of the art of governing the state for the public welfare in the general framework of laws and regulations. It is a question of politician politics – not even ideological tendencies to place oneself, one's relatives, and one's client in the *cursus honorum* that is the race for preferment – "the image of personal rule" (Jackson and Rosberg, 1998).

The conflict theory has clearly shown how exploitation and class struggle lead to the emergence of insurgency not only in the Northeast (Boko Haram) Nigeria but has spread to the South South (Niger Delta Avengers) and the Eastern regions (MOSSOP). Insurgency is an organized use of subversion and violence by a group or movement that seeks to over throw or force change of a governing authority (US, 2009). Appreciating this definition, one can deduce that Insurgent group employs unlawful means towards achieving their goal, which might be perceived as political, religious, social or even ideological. Therefore, Insurgency is a calculated militalized violent measure employed by a group of persons of the same religion or ethnicity in challenging the incumbent Government in power. Invariably Insurgency is a man made societal problem that does no one any good. Hence, the goal of Insurgency is to confront and overthrow an existing government for the control of power, resources or for power sharing (Siegel, 2007). No matter what the involve persons may perceive as reasons behind their actions, it rubs the nation off its economic and mental development. However one may not write off the reasons that prompted Insurgency in parts of the world. Much of the blame is on the part of Government failure to be needful when it comes to policy implementation, which has to do with development and empowerment as well as wealth creation. A situation where political office holders, show off with wealth and resources which would have been used for the overall well being of the masses, will no doubt aggravate anger that most likely will conceive and give birth to Insurgency. Though, some reasons posed by some groups of these Insurgents could be laughable and self oriented, but demands attention. The inherent complexities in the states forged by European imperialism made less feasible the prospects of new states modeled after the Western types. Although the African states have come a long way down the road of nation-building process, with many heterogeneous or multinational states having to resort to varying ways of resolving their intergroup relations (Elaigwu, 1997), many of the states still convulse from one shock after another resulting from those sociological and political divergences; so much so also because "

the African State is hardly ever co-extensive with a common society" (Ekeh, 1989) and "the society in which the African state exists is typically segmented into small power or at least prevent it from oppressing them"(Ake, 1999). According to Eke, the political history of Africa has become a tale of drift and instability….. standing above, and set aside and apart from society, the African State has turned out to be arbitrary, because it operates outside societal rules " (Eke, 1989)

The arbitrariness of the African state has conferred on African political culture, attributes of negativity, so that "African political culture has become characterized by a vast array of negative elements such as corruption, violence and mistrust. With the tendency to blame every of the continent's woes on the incidence of colonialism, it remains debatable, however, whether it was the nature of the state inherited at the end of formal colonialism or the neo-patrimonial and particularistic orientation of the competing power elites who inherited the post-colonial state that is the problem. Whichever, the African state remains characterized by huge disconnect with the society.

Those negative elements identified by Eke, and much more, how all combined to make the African state irrelevant to the citizenry, thus eroding it legitimacy. In addition, the state becomes prone to economic dislocation and political instability all which are indices of state failure (Rosberg 2002 cited in Uzodike and maiangwa). Here, Rosberg's articulation of the characteristic by deteriorated standards of living, a lack of public goods and services, the flouring of corruption and rent seeking, and a pervasive economic stagnation (Rosberg, 2002). The political sphere is dotted with ethnic discrimination and resultant discord. Governments that once appeared to operate for the benefit of all the nation's citizens are perceived to have become partisan. Corrupt ruling elites invest their ill-gotten gains overseas, building lavish residences and palaces with state funds (Rosberg 2002).

Rosberg, was of the view that in the last phase of failure, the state's legitimacy will collapse.

> *Once the state's capacity to secure itself or to perform in*
> *an expected manner recedes, there is every reason*
> *to expect disloyalty to the state on the part of the*
> *disenchanted and aggrieved citizens. Logically, many*
> *transfer their allegiances to their clan and group leaders,*

some of whom gravitate towards terrorism as they strive to secure communal mandate. Mobilizing support from both external and local supporters, the terrorists seek out havens in the more remote and marginalized corners of failed states where they blend in more comfortably in the prevailing chaos associated with state failure (Rosberg, 2002).

The attempt to mirror the insurgency in Nigerian as a security situation point to a deep gulf between state and society is termed " the difficult relation between state and society" from Wale Olaitan's "Hanging State", Hamza Alavi's 'Over-developed State', to Terisa Turner's 'Entrepot State', 'Gunna Myrdai's Soft State' and Claude Ake's 'Irrelevant State'. In the realm of theory, such disconnect is not only capable of eroding legitimacy but also inducing state failure and subsequent repercussions that emanate from it such as violent conflicts, insurgency or terrorism as Rosberg's postulate suggests. Considering the various symptoms of state failure, as the Nigerian state vigorously contest the classification, such economic sabotages occurring on daily basis in Nigeria, committed by the citizens, such as killings, kidnapping and breaking of oil pipelines. However, in Nnamdi Obasi's Ethnic Militias, vigilantes and separatist Groups in Nigeria and Tunde Babawale's 'The Rule of Ethnic Militias' De-Legitimization of the state and the Nigeria has not totally collapsed, it has met the necessary requirement of a weak state. Indeed, if Karl cynicism of a foreigner, renown Nigeria Novelist, Chinua Achebe, apart from decrying the leadership problem of the Nigerian state some decades back, notes that "Nigeria is an example of a country that has fallen; it has collapse" (Achebe, 1983).

In Nigeria today several groups has been recorded as insurgents, the current Boko Haram/Fulani herdsmen, MOSSOB and the Niger Delta avengers or militia, challenge, in the final analysis seems to reflect the deeper crisis bedeviling the Nigerian state, which we presently focus an attempt to explain.

According to Adibe (2012)

> *the Nigerian State, Contrary to the media hype, is regarded as the enemy, not just by Boko Haram, but by several Nigerians and groups; each attacking it with as much ferocity as Boko Haram's bomb, using whatever means they have at their disposal, politicians entrusted to protect our common patrimony steal the country blind, law enforcement officers see or hear no evil at a slight inducement, government workers drag their feet and refuse to give their best while reveling in moonlighting, organized labour, inducing university lecturer's in public institutions go on indefinite strike on a whim while journalists accepts brown envelops to turn truth on its head or become uncritical champions of a selected anti- Nigerian State identity. What all these groups have in common with Boko Haram is that they believe that premise on which they act is justifiable and that the Nigerian State is unfair to them if not an outright enemy.*

At this juncture one can deduce that insurgency since the outset of the problem could have been caused by total neglect and deprivation. Critical attention was paid to diverse views to all shades of opinions representative of the various divides of the Nigerian society. This was in view of the complexity of the Nigerian Society, the tenuous relationship among its disparate social groups and the implication of the insurgency on the continuing existence of Nigeria as a single corporate entity. The idea is that resolving insurgency and forestalling a resurgence of the sort in the future may to a large extent depend on a national consensus on what the problem really is and how it will be tackled as was the challenge posed by the MOSSOB group in the South East and the militants in the Niger Delta. Considering the dangers it constitutes to Nigerians and neighboring countries, Nigeria's position as a strategic country in Global World also warrants that even non-Nigerians shares concern over the same issue. Till date the problem is such that as the violence escalates and the state intensifies efforts towards finding solution, fresh perspectives emerge, the likes of cattle rustlers and the media relay all these.

According to UN Report (TVC News 5:45/Tuesday, 2016) claimed that just Boko Haram alone has launched 30 different attacks in Nigeria since this year. In April 2016, it was Fulani Herdsmen, in May, 2016 till date is Niger-Delta Avengers and in June, 2016 is back to Boko Haram again. It is a common knowledge that cultural and value difference as well as group interests all influence relationships between individual and group in different ways. That is to say

that a number of conflicts grow out of a past history of conflict between groups which leads to the development of negative stereotypes, racial intolerance and discrimination (Faleti 2006). The resultant effect automatically create the "We and others" dichotomy. However the fact that others are perceived as different make us feel they are entitled to less or are inferior by reason of value. Communication becomes an issue, the establishment of Islamic school oppose to the teachings of Western civilization in some part of the North (ACSRT Journal, 2(1) Dec 2011) institutionalize, the "We and others" dichotomy.

As a matter of fact, could the blames be attributed to human neglect which leads to social conflict? Its central thesis is that all humans have basic needs which they seek to fulfill and failure caused by other individuals or groups to meet these needs could lead to conflict (Rosati *et al,* 1990). Similarly, leaders from various parts of the country has failed in implementing Government policies geared towards reconditioning the plight of poor Nigerians which lead to present insurgency as a result of frustration and aggression. This aggression is always a consequence of frustration (Dougherty and Pfaltzgrate Jr, 1990). It emphasizes on relative deprivation which is a perceived disparity between value expectation and value capabilities and that the lack of a need satisfaction defined as a gap between aspirations and achievement generally relies on the psychological state of frustration and aggressive attitudes emanating from it (midlarsky, 1975).

Perhaps of further interest about this perspective is the root cause of this menace called insurgency and its politicization by the Nigerian elite which tend to becloud the real issue. Rather than focus on its merit in relation to solving the problems, it has become the basis for some elements among the Nigerian elite to seek and expand their frontiers of accumulation, which with a history of unconscionable criminal appropriation to the detriment of the poor masses. They make sure that policy implementations are stalled. These group includes the disgruntled Nigerian power elite who having lost power, are bent on bringing down Nigeria, as well as frustrating policy implementations channeled towards improving the living condition of Nigerians. Could it be that Boko Haram may be a secret society controlled by invisible and unseen spirits operating behind the scene that seeks to destroy the north ahead of the last election so as to forestall or weaken its bid for the presidency (Adibe, 2012). Having looked at this and the election come and gone, insurgency has drastically increased, attacks and killing is getting

more rampant on daily basis. During the time of President Jonathan the attacks was more on the side of Christians and now that a northern president is in power in the name of President Muhammadu Buhari, the attacks has wriggled to the side of the Muslims. What a conspiracy?

However, the issue of insurgency is a complex one especially as it concerns Boko Haram, no one can deduce what their demand looks like, unlike the Niger Delta Avenger fighting for resource control and MOSSOP fighting for independence state of Biafrian, Worst of it all, the Boko Haram has taken another dimension in the name of cattle rustlers (herdsmen).On the other hand Western countries may not likely be far from Nigerian present security challenges. The US not long ago predicted Nigerian disintegration in 2015. The US interest in Nigeria oil does not predispose it to be comfortable with such proximity to this Islamist enclave. At a one day symposium on international conspiracy towards Nigeria's disintegration in Kaduna, the Association of Muslim Brotherhood of Nigeria (AMBON) noted that "there were reasons to believe that the place and security of Nigeria were being threatened by the Western World Powers for their economic interest in Nigeria's oil region". In another development Nwogu,(2012) shares this concern, she noted that "by the time these people come in the name of helping Nigeria fight Boko Haram, they would have understudied their *Modus Operandi* and would themselves start bombing us while we assume it is Boko Haram (The Sun Jan. 30,2012).

According to President Buhari, he posits,

> *"as shameful, for Nigeria whose military might helped end the wars in Burma, Zaire, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Sudan, now rely on its neighbours to end the insurgency in the North Eastern part of the country".* (Daily Sun Thursday, July 9, 2015)

It is believed that envious neighbours has conspired to undermine the present state of Insurgency in Nigeria, especially in the light of the military cooperation between Nigeria and her neighbouring countries in the war against transnational terrorism and their common interest in regional stability

Meanwhile, the response of various administrations to the poverty problems appears to have been adhoc, uncoordinated and more or less a fire–brigade approach. A recent survey of such

policies, its implementation and interventions chronicle several projects and programmes with poverty reduction thrust between 1975-2015, spanning virtually all the sectors of the national economy. Apart from Government, several State Government have also put in place a number of poverty reduction scheme. Programmes such as community bank, DFFRI, NDE, SAP, Peoples bank, Better Life for Rural Women, Family Support, NEEDS etc., were established by various Government, to address various manifestation of poverty such as unemployment, lack of access to credit, rural and gender dimensions of poverty etc. Failure of all these policies gave rise to insurgency in the several part of Nigeria, because policy maker has failed to monitor the implementation of various policies to the execution stage. A glance at the table analysis below will cast our mind back to what could have been averted, if proactive measures were in place in our policy implementations. There, Nigerians go again, what is the problem with the report of sovereign national conference? Nigerians wake up.

THE FOLLOWING IS A LIST OF MASSACRES THAT HAVE OCCURRED IN NIGERIA (NUMBERS MAY BE APPROXIMATE) FROM JULY 2009 – 19 AUGUST 2015

Name	Date	Location	Deaths	Notes
2009 Boko Haram Uprising	July 2009	Maiduguri, bauchi, Potiskum, Wudil	1,000$^+$	Islamic militants killed over a thousand people between 26 and 29 July; during the violence, Christians were killed for refusing to convert to Islam
2010 Jos massacre	2010	Jos	992	Religious rioting; victims were mostly Christians killed by Muslims
2011 Abuja United Nations bombing	26 August, 2011	Abuja	21	73 injured; Boko Haram attacked a United Nations compound
2011 Damaturu attacks	4 November, 2011	Damaturu	100 – 150	Islamic militants associated with Boko Haram attacked police stations, churches and banks
December 2011 Nigeria clashes	December 2011	Maidugari and Damaturu	68	Islamic militants associated with Boko Haram clashed with security forces between 22 and 23 December
December 2011 Nigeria bombings	25 December 2011	Madella	41	73 injured; Muslim militants bombed a Catholic church during Christians mass
January 5-6, 2012 Nigeria attacks	January 2012	Mubi, Yola, Gombi and Maidugri	37	Islamic terrorists attacked churches and Christian businesses; Boko Harma claimed responsibility
January 20, 2012 Nigeria attacks	20 January 2012	Kano	185	Islamic terrorists attacked churches and Christian businesses; Boko Harama claimed responsibility
April 2012 Kaduna massacre	8 April 2012	Kaduna	38	Islamic terrorists bombed a church on Easter
June 2012 Kaduna church bombings	17 June 2012	Kaduna, Wusasa and Sabon Gari	12 – 19	80 injured; Islamic terrorists bombed three churches
July 2012 massacre	7 July 2012	Multiple northern Nigeria villages	100	Islamic militants attacked Christian villages
Deeper Life Church shooting	7 August 2012	Okene	19	Islamic militants attacked a church; the pastor was among the dead
December 2012 shootings in Nigeria	25 December 2012	Maiduguri, Potiskum	27	Islamic militants attacked a church on Christmas Day; afterwards the church was set on

				fire
2013 Baga massacre	19 – 20 April 2013	Baga, Borno	228	Identity of the perpetrators remains unclear; some blame the Nigerian military while others blame the Isalmic terrorist group Boko Haram
Yobe State school shooting	6 July 2013	Mamudo Government Secondary School	42	Suspected Boko Haram terrorists killed at least 41 children and one teacher
Gujba College massacre	29 September 2013	Gujba Yobe School	50+	At 1:00am suspected gunmen from Boko Haram centered the male dormitory in the College of Agriculture in Gujba, Yobe State, Nigeria, killed at least forty-four students and teachers.
Kawuri massacre	11 January 2014	Konduga Local Government, Borno State	85	Attack by Boko Haram
Borno Massacre	11 February 2014	Konduga, Borno State	39	About 39 people are believed to have been killed in an attack by Islamist militants on a Nigerian town. Local residents said the attack on Konduga, in the North-East Borno State, lasted several hours, beginning shortly before sundown on Tuesday night with the arrival of gunmen in 4 x 4 trucks. A mosque and more than 1,000 homes were razed to the ground, residents said.
Federal Government College, Yadi attack	25 February 2014	Federal Government College Buni Yadi, Yobe State	59	Islamist gunmen killed 59 students at a boarding school in Yobe State.
April 2014 Abuja attacks	14 April 2014	Bus Stand, Abuja, Nigeria	71	Two bombs exploded in a crowded bus station in the outskirts of Abuja, Nigeria
May 2014 Gamboru attacks	6 May 2014	Gamboru, Borno, Nigeria	300	Militants attacked at night and set houses ablaze. When people tried to escape, they were shot dead
Gwoza	2 June 2014	Gwoza, Borno,	200 – 300	Boko Haram attack on Christian

massacre		Nigeria		villagers
2014 Kano bombing	23 June 2014	Kano, Nigeria	200	Dozens of people were killed in a bomb blast at Kano State School of Hygiene. The blast was attributed to militant group Boko Harma by the locals.
2015 Baga massacre	3 – 7 January 2015	Baga, Borno	At least 100, over 2,000 "unaccounted for"	Boko Haram militants raze the entire town of Baga in North-East Nigeria. Bodies lay strewn on Baga's streets.
January 2015 remote village attack	January 3rd	Borno State, Nigeria		Boko Haram kidnapped around 40 youths
January 2015, Maiduguri market attack	January 10	Maiduguri, Nigeria	19+	A female suicide bomber killed over 19 people in market in Maiduguri
January 2015, Potiskum	January 11	Potiskum, North-East, Nigeria	3	2 suicide bombers killed 3 people in a market in Potiskum
Kambari village attack	January 24	Kambari village near Maiduguri, Nigeria	15	Boko Haram killed 15 in Kambari village
Maiduguri attack	January 25	Maiduguri, Nigeria	8	Militants and soldiers exchanged gunfire, 8 Civilians, 53 militants and unknown number of soldiers lost their lives
Adamawa attack	January 28	Adamawa State, Nigeria	40	Attack by Boko Haram
Gombe attack	February 1	Gombe State, Nigeria	13	2 suspected Boko Haram killed 8 and 5 people respectively in two different locations; 8 in the residence of politician and 5 in the mosque
Gombe attack	February 2	Gombe State, Nigeria		A female suicide bomber killed at least one person with eighteen others injured
Biu raid	February 12	South-West Maiduguri, Nigeria	24	Boko Haram raid in Maiduguri left 8 residents dead and a dozen people killed in Biu Boko Haram killed 16 and 30 injured
Borno attack	February 20	Borno State, Nigeria	34	Boko Haram militants kill 34 in attacks across Borno State 21 from the town of Chibok
Potiskum attack	February 22	Potiskum, Nigeria	5	A suicide bomber killed five and wounded dozens of people

Potiskum and Kano attack	February 24	Potiskum & Kano, Nigeria	27	Two suicide bombers killed at least 27 people in bus station
Killing in Biu and Jos City	February 26	Biu & Jos, Nigeria	35	Boko Haram killed at least 35 people in two separate blast in Biu & Jos
Damaturu killing	February 28	Damaturu, Nigeria	4	Two female suicide bombers killed up to four civilians
Maiduguri attack	March 7	Maiduguri	54	Five suicide bomb blast leaves 54 dead and 143 wounded by Boko Haram militants
North-East raid	June 12	North-East, Nigeria	37	Boko Haram raid left 37 people dead
Maiduguri mosque bombing	June 22	Maiduguri, Nigeria	30	Boko Haram killed 30 people
July mosque massacre	July 1 – 2	North-East, Nigeria	145	Boko Haram militants killed forty-eight in Kukawu, while seventeen were injured on the 2nd Ninety-seven were killed in various mosque
Church attack	July 5	Potiskum, Yobe State, Nigeria	5	A suicide bomber killed at least 5 people
Jos bomb attack	July 6	Jos, Nigeria	44	Two bomb attacks left at least 44 people dead
Dadi Kowa bomb blast	July 22	Dadi Kowa, Nigeria	40	More than forty people were killed in a bomb blast suspected to Boko Haram
Bale killing	August 12	Bale Mamanti Jere, L.G.A	6	At least 6 people were killed and 4 women adopted by Boko Haram
Kukuwa-Gari	August 19	Kukuwa Gari	60	Boko Haram killed over sixty people

Source: List of massacres in Nigeria – Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

It is assumed to be the key stage of policy formulation process. Policy implementation is concerned with the process of giving effect to policy so that the objective of the policy can be achieved. According to Honadale George (1979) it is the process of committing input, financial information, material, technical, human, demand support, etc into outputs, good and services including symbolic values like title and national awards, which supports behaviour changes in beneficiary group. While Cleaves (1980) posits that,

> *Policy implementation entails the execution of policy as articulated and adopted. Here efforts are geared towards a policy objective by means of administrative and political steps.*

In other words Policy implementation are the collective action geared towards the execution of set goal by public or private individual. To that extent, government has a lot to do to monitor some of these policies. Those who have presided over the state have tended to personalize power and privatize collective national resources, while being excessively reckless in managing the affairs of the nation. Indeed the state has become the prime mover of capitalist development and class formation, with all the associated contradictions that this is what to spew up. In the words of Jega (2000) he posits that;

> *The ruling class derived both its origin and wealth from the state, around which it gravitates, using every available means to secure power and access. Hence, in the competition and struggles for state power, especially in the period of economic crisis, identity politics become heightened and tend to assume primacy. State to restore to politics of identity for its legitimation, while those excluded tend to resort to identity politics to contest this exclusion. The state thus, is projected as critical variable in identity transformation, and the resurgence of identity politics.*

Looking at various factors that influence successful policy implementation such as adequate funding and necessary material or logistics support, you find out that, the bulk of the work fall on the side of government, excessive accumulation, inequality in the political system above class struggle, all these give rise to selfish and parochial objectives, hence insurgency can be checked through proper and effective policy implementation.

METHODOLOGY

The nature of this study makes use of documentary, qualitative and descriptive analysis quite imperative. This method of analysis according to Asika (1991) specially has to do with summarizing the information generated in the research verbally. This method of analysis is not limited as to the type of variables that may be measured or the context in which the data are created or presented since other methods of analysis like table presentation is equally adopted. Thus, analysis of material collected from secondary source such as journal articles, magazine, news papers, internet and overall documentaries etc, will subscribe strictly the use of, qualitative descriptive analysis and tables. The use of these methods of analysis is to read meaning into the information gathered from the materials and other secondary sources as well as to categorize data in their scale of measurement from different authors on same issue which is insurgency and policy implementation in Nigeria; prospects and challenges where necessary. However, Nze (2009) described the technique used in documentary analysis as including summarizing and re-summarizing of data until a compact summary emerges, reflecting the researcher's perceptions on the subject.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

A GRAPH SHOWING THE LEVEL OF ATTACKS
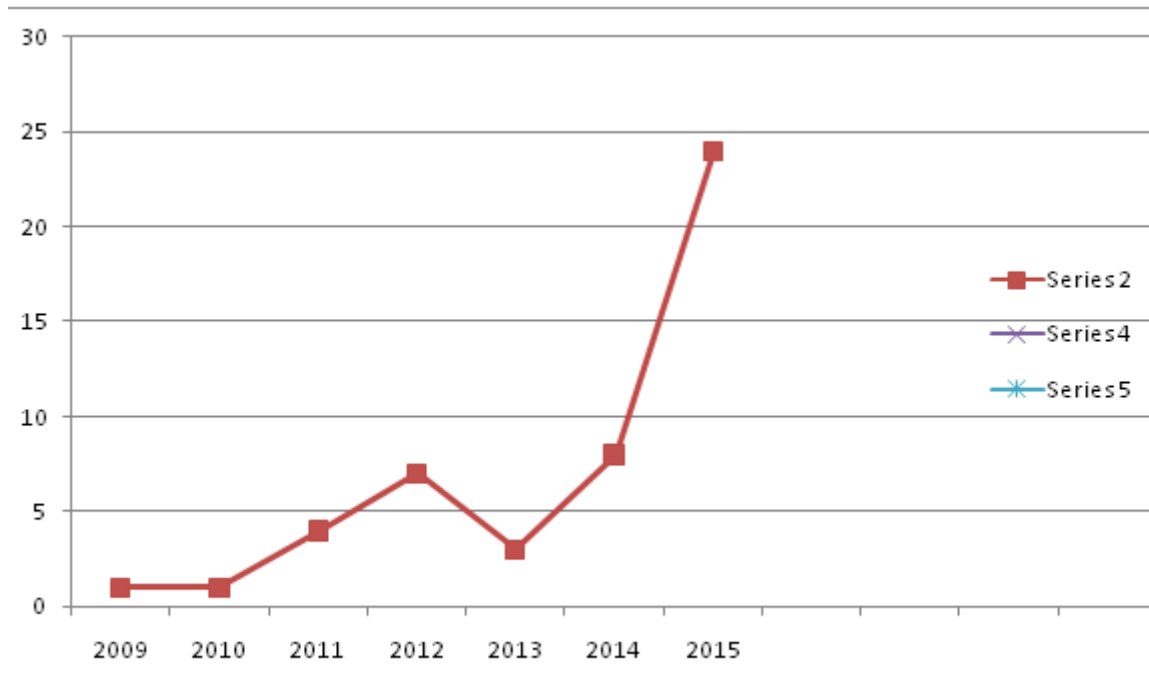
AUTHORS ESTIMATION USING DATA FROM THE TABLE ABOVE

Democracy is commonly known as majoritarian government, a form of government that promotes mass participation in deciding who get what, when and how. It ensures that political leaders put the interest of the masses above all other interest. As a matter of fact there has been a decline since the inception of democracy from 1999 to date in terms of leaders ensuring that mass interest is protected. Today democracy is characterized by large scale of corruption, exploitation, politics of exclusion, election rigging etc which cumulatively resulted to rising cases of Insurgency in Nigeria.

Counting down from 2009, an attack was recorded and over (1000+) one thousand deaths were recorded, in 2010 another attack was recorded living over (992+) nine hundred and ninety two dead, as if it was a joke. Then in 2011 there was an increase in the number of attacks from one to (4) four and (280) Two hundred and eighty deaths. A further increase in 2012 recorded seven attacks and (425) four hundred and twenty five deaths. In 2013 the record dropped to three attacks and three hundred and twenty deaths. From 2014 till date there has been a tremendous increase on the number of attacks, in same year eight attacks and over (1,058) one thousand and

fifty eight deaths were recorded. Record showed that in 2015 twenty four attacks were carried out and over (748+) seven hundred and forty eight deaths. This record is aside those who later died in the cause of treatment, number of casualties not recorded and properties worth millions of naira destroyed in this cause.

CONCLUSION

While acknowledging difficulties in getting to the root cause of the phenomenon called Insurgency in Nigeria, it has become a naughty issue with increasing complexities. It is therefore believed that Insurgency in Nigeria is as a result of an age long exploitation, neglect and imbalance in distribution of power, wealth and resources in country. These contextual factors play a prominent role in escalating incrementally Insurgency in the country. As a result of this research Insurgency can be checked, if only government will be sincere enough to implement its policies and programmes according to the dictates of the law.

RECOMMENDATION

Overcoming the challenges of insurgency in Nigeria today requires a multi-dimensional approach. The government has to implore proactive and pragmatic measures to tackle insurgency in Nigeria. Before now every Nigeria felt relinquishing power back to the northerners is the solution but all has been proven wrong as 1,059 persons have died in 75 major attacks in Buhari's government (Stefanos Foundation, 2015), in North East of Nigeria. Insurgency is about Ideology and indoctrination, we should draw on the potent and positive power of education to counter the jihadist messages of the insurgents (Okebukola, 2015). Education is key, the Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council, with curriculum development and renewal, should embed topics in all subjects in the basic education curriculum that can steer the younger hearts away from violence and jihadist tendencies, especially in the Northern part of the Nigeria. Above all herdsmen activities in the country should be put on a serious check, as there movement constitutes a serious threat. Hence strategic importance should be attached to

traditional institutions and community partnership in national security and crime management. However the Government must give a thought to state policing.

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