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Neocolonialism And Terrorism in Africa: A Case Study of Nigeria

by

Udoka Nwune

Under the Direction of Jelena Subotic, PhD,

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

2021

ABSTRACT

Previous literature has overlooked the connection of neocolonialism and terrorist activities in Nigeria. This research explores how neocolonialism stimulates corruption and bad governance in postcolonial states like Nigeria, and how corruption and bad governance in turn have prompted a societal menace in which terrorist activities have thrived in Nigeria. The study highlights that in the case of Nigeria there is no conceptual difference between bad governance and corruption. Thus, corruption and bad governance occurs alongside. The study uncovers the underlying effects of neocolonialism on the Nigeria state as well as how corruption and bad governance deters economic development, social inclusion, and the achievement of social contract. The study modifies the previous main assumption that only a linear causal relationship exists between neocolonialism, corruption, bad governance, and terrorist activities, by revealing that there is also a reverse order causality relationship among the interrogated variables, neocolonialism, corruption, bad governance, and terrorist activities.

INDEX WORDS: Colonialism, Neocolonialism, Post Colonialism, Bad governance, Corruption, Terrorist Activities

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Neocolonialism And Terrorism in Africa: A Case Study of Nigeria

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December 2021

DEDICATION

With the most profound love, I dedicate this to my dear parents Mr. & Mrs. Chikelo Nwune. They ensured that I had a good life and solid education. I owe them everything. I am sincerely thankful to my lovely family and friends who supported me on my educational voyage. My academic experience would have been more challenging without them. I also dedicate this to the innocent civilians who have either lost their lives or have been maimed due to terrorist activities in Africa, especially in Nigeria.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Nigeria is one of the most corrupt countries with weakened institutions that have promoted terrorism and allowed it to thrive. Out of 183 Countries, Nigeria ranked as 149 on Transparency International's 2020 Corruption Perception Index, CPI. The relationship between corruption and governance has been widely discussed among scholars. Corruption is largely recognized as leading to bad governance in most states globally, in which Nigeria is not an exception. The intersection between corruption and bad governance is also generally believed to be a key driver of insecurity in many African countries. Most importantly, there are many questions that are unpopular on the global stage: Why are African states not progressing like their global counterparts? Why is leadership and perhaps the fate of most African states in the hands of a selected few (the elites)? Amidst so many resources in Africa, why is there an obvious economic disparity between elite and the masses? These questions can only be understood by fundamentally understanding how Africa has metamorphosed over decades through the influence of the hegemonic powers. The importance of this research is to determine the reason why postcolonial states in Africa like Nigeria have underperformed for a long time which has in turn led to societal menace.

For clarity, the rest of this section will include definitions of the key concepts and variables under investigation and will give a brief outline of the background and research approach. The aim of this section is to contextualize the proposed research. This research is essential for the understanding of how to prevent further terrorist groups and terrorist activities by recognizing and eliminating political corruption that give rise to bad governance.

1.1 Brief History of Africa and Nationalist Leaders

Africa has a very complex history. The events of the transatlantic slave trade, precolonial era, the scramble for Africa, colonial era, world wars, decolonization era, Cold War, and postcolonial era contribute to Africa's complex history. The Colonial era in most African states ended in the 1950s and 1960s. While decolonization was occurring in most parts of Africa the cold war rivalry between the USSR and the U.S was intensifying, and many nascent socialist revolutions were emerging in Africa due to imperialism. The effects of the Cold War on Africa were stifling. Dee (2019) described the stifling effects of the Cold War on Africa as the "second scramble for Africa". The second scramble for Africa resulted in the overthrowing of several regimes in Africa. Previous colonial powers and rising hegemonic powers were linked to the involvement in the disruption of the newly independent governments, and assassinations of nationalist African leaders. For example, on 17th January 1961 the Democratic Republic of Congo had its first prime minister assassinated by the U.S and Belgian governments with the help of Congolese accomplices and a Belgian execution squad (The Guardian, 2020). Although this monstrous crime was orchestrated by American and Belgian governments, they utilized Congolese accomplices to carry out the deed in the DRC. The overthrowing of Kwame Nkrumah's administration on February 24, 1966, was also linked to the involvement of Western governments (Mwakikagile, 2015).

The advent of post-colonial Africa did not end influence of the great powers over Africa. Hegemonic powers interfere in African states they believe will be of great interest to them. The activities of these hegemons hindered African economic and political development (Dee, 2019). In this regard, Adem (2014) blames post-independence African leaders for choosing to remain hostages to their colonial masters rather than independently representing their fellow citizens and

meeting their basic needs to achieve better socioeconomic and political policies. These relationships between post-colonial African leaders and hegemons further exacerbates the systematic complexities that already exist in Africa.

The term 'Neocolonialism' was coined by Kwame Nkrumah in 1965 which he described as the new form of colonialism that emerged in post-colonial states of Africa. He considered it the last stage of imperialism because smaller states are, in theory, independent and have outward trappings of international sovereignty but realistically remain subjects to the hegemonic powers. Unlike imperialism, where hegemonic states control other states economically, politically, and culturally through military force, in neocolonialism, hegemonic states utilize political and economic power to ensure states' dependency and exert their influence. The economic system of smaller states and thus its political policy are led externally by hegemonic powers (Nkrumah, 1965). Nkrumah argues that "the result of neocolonialism is that foreign capital is used for the exploitation rather than for the development of the less developed parts of the world." Categorically, hegemonic powers' investment activities increase rather than decrease the gap between the rich and the poor states (Nkrumah, 1965).

The majority of Africa is underdeveloped because the states are neocolonial states. African state leaders often derive authority from the support obtained from neocolonialist masters and not due to the people's will or their freedom of right (Rahaman et al., 2017, p. 12). The leaders of these states rarely derive their authority to govern from the people's will; instead, they derive their authority from the support obtained from neocolonialist masters (Rahaman et al., 2017, p. 12). In most cases, such leaders are quite unpopular among the citizens. The support that these leaders receive from hegemonic powers fosters corruption and bad governance. Rahaman et al., (2017) found that leaders of neocolonial states have "little interest in developing education, strengthening

the bargaining power of their workers employed by expatriate firms, or indeed of taking any step which would challenge the colonial pattern of commerce and industry, which it is the object of neocolonialism to preserve." Rahaman et al. (2017) argue that to a neocolonial State, aid from developed countries is simply a revolving credit paid by the neo-colonial master, passing through the neo-colonial State, and returning to the neo-colonial master in the form of increased profits. Nigeria is certainly not exempt from this occurrence of neocolonialism.

1.2 What is Terrorism?

Terrorism is significantly a global issue. Many states have identified terrorism as a transnational problem since the 1920s and 1930s requiring a solution originating at international law (Young, 2006). Terrorism has no universal definition. While there are many scholarly, national, and international definitions, there is no universal legal definition approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations. According to Young (2006) the root word "terror" is derived from the Latin word "terrere" (to frighten) which entered Western European languages' vocabularies through French in the fourteenth century and was first used in English in 1528. The French Revolution gave rise to terrorism as a political connotation, and it was originally associated with state-perpetrated violence which subsequently shifted to describing non-state actors following its application to the French and Russian anarchists of the 1880s and 1890s (Young, 2006).

According to a publication by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, "terrorism is commonly understood to refer to acts of violence that target civilians in the pursuit of political or ideological aims."

The UN Security Council Resolution 1566 (2004) defines terrorism as "criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group

of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act.” Similarly, the UN General Assembly's Declaration in 1994 on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism, set out in its resolution 49/60, defines terrorism as "criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purpose, and that such acts are in any circumstances unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or other nature that may be invoked to justify them" (p. 5).

On the global stage, terrorism is notoriously difficult to define but its core element is the use of violence against civilians for a political purpose. Indeed, to give attention to terrorism in Nigeria imperatively demands to conceptualize terrorism within an African context (Oyeniya, 2010, p. 2). According to the African Union's Convention on the Prevention and Combating Terrorism article 1 (3) (as cited in Oyeniya, 2010), terrorism is “any act which is a violation of the criminal laws of a State Party and which may endanger the life, physical integrity or freedom of, or cause serious injury or death to any person, any number or group of persons or causes or may cause damage to public or private property, natural resources, environmental or cultural heritage and is calculated or intended to: (i) intimidate, put in fear, coerce or induce any government, body, institution, the general public or any segment thereof, to do or abstain from doing any act, or to adopt or abandon a particular standpoint or to act according to certain principles; or (ii) disrupt any public service, the delivery of any essential service to the public or to create a public emergency; or (iii) create general insurrection in a State.”

From a Nigerian perspective, the efforts of the federal government of Nigeria to use the label ‘terrorism’ on groups have created some confusion, especially when political opponents, civil

society groups, and opponents of governments have also been branded terrorists (Oyeniya, 2010, p. 2). Hence, to avoid any misunderstanding of this case study, my research will be focusing on terrorist activities perpetuated by the deadly Boko Haram terrorist group. According to research by veteran African security analyst Jakkie Cilliers, head of the Institute of Security Studies (as cited in Gberie, 2016) around 37% of the 39,286 violence-related fatalities recorded in Africa in 2014 occurred in Nigeria, mainly because of attacks by Boko Haram.

1.3 Purpose of Study

Neocolonialism is not an entirely new contribution to the research. However, many scholars have not connected neocolonialism to terrorism. Existing knowledge on neocolonialism has mostly been focused on how neocolonialism negatively impacts African states. Hence, this study seeks to determine if neocolonialism impairs good governance and promotes corruption in Nigeria, thereby causing national challenges that consequently result in terrorist activities by the deadly Boko Haram group. Through this, it will be possible to understand the future academic debate on the issues of terrorism in Africa, most especially Boko Haram activities in Nigeria.

The aim of this study is to establish whether neo-colonialism is the root cause of terrorist activities in Nigeria or perhaps if neo-colonialism is the cause of factors that have encouraged terrorist activities. This research will enable Nigerian leaders to develop and implement action plans that will safeguard the sovereignty of state and eliminate activities that restrict the progress and development of the state. Practically, this study would help government administrators and policymakers in combating social challenges in Nigeria to ensure a viable foreign policy with the West. This paper will review the literature on neocolonialism, corruption, bad governance, terrorist activities in Nigeria, and concluding discussion areas for future research. Therefore, our research question under investigation: Has neocolonialism induced bad governance and corruption in

Nigeria, and subsequently, does bad governance and corruption impact Boko Haram's activities in Nigeria? Utilizing the reverse causal analysis will illustrate that the activities of Boko Haram have nurtured bad governance and corruption in Nigeria which in turn creates a haven for neocolonialism.

1.4 Thesis Outline

The remainder of this research thesis comprises of a literature review on existing literature on the variables under investigation, the theoretical frame section, research design section covering the methodology, analysis, strength, and weakness of the study. The last section of this research thesis highlights the study's findings and conclusion.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature keeps us well-informed on the past and present debates in a field of research. The review of related literatures helps to reform and more importantly, expose the research questions to new possibilities. Thus, this section reviews literature on the following topics: The manifestation of neo-colonialism (section 2.1), corruption (Section 2.1.1), bad governance and terrorism (2.1.2) Section 2.1 reviews literature of neocolonialism in Africa and how the nature of relations between African states and hegemons after independence created a political elitism and impaired development, particularly in Nigeria. The way this modern form of colonization has impacted Africa—politically, culturally, geographically, physically, even emotionally—is a vital phenomenon to investigate to understand the present as much as the past. Hence, Section 2.1 gives a historical background of neocolonialism in Africa and provides a general idea on how neocolonialism negatively affects Nigeria and has developed endemic problems such as corruption and bad governance. However, this literature has not tried to link neocolonialism to terrorist's activities in Nigeria.

Section 2.1.1 tries to link neocolonialism to corruption in Nigeria. This section reviews existing literatures on corruption in Nigeria, and specifically a background of how corruption emerged in Nigeria because of the colonial history that created an elite group who represented their interests as well as the interests of the previous colonial administrators. Thus, the elite theory and postcolonial theory establishes a linkage between neocolonialism and corruption. Section 2.1.2 highlights how corruption and bad governance are correlated, and how bad governance prompts terrorist activities. Section 2.2 reviews existing literature on what prompts terrorist activities in Nigeria.

2.1 The Manifestation of Neocolonialism

To understand the variables under investigation, it is imperative to understand the phenomenon, neocolonialism. Many other scholars have had various emotive definitions of neocolonialism, thereby arousing debates within the social sciences. A notable example of an emotive definition of neocolonialism is the Ghanaian nationalist and first President of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah's definition. He postulated that the neocolonialism of his days (the 1950s–1970s) represents imperialism in its final and perhaps its most dangerous stage. Ultimately, to Uzoigwe (2019) Nkrumah's postulation suggests that those who practice neocolonialism exercise power without concern and those who suffer from it are exploited without remedy. He disagrees with Colin Leys (1975) who believed that neocolonialism was temporary and transitional, and instead sees neocolonialism as a continuous process. Therefore, neocolonialism is the nature of relations after independence between European powers and their former colonies of the non-European world (Uzoigwe, 2019).

To Uzoigwe (2019) neocolonialism is accomplished under three broad categories: political and geopolitical, economic, and sociocultural. He argues that these broad categories have both negative and positive aspects. Perhaps what he tried to recognize as the positive aspects of manifestation of neocolonialism is what I consider as the positive tenets of globalization. Also, he failed to emphasize which major actors on the global stage (states, IOs, MNCs, NGOs, and individuals) assist in accomplishing neocolonialism under the three broad categories. From a political and geopolitical stance, Uzoigwe argues that neocolonialism has been used primarily to achieve foreign interests, for example through what he considers the divisive western concepts that destabilizes regions and entire continents such as sub-Saharan Africa. The foreign interests of hegemonic states that surged in Africa during the Cold war period validates Uzoigwe's argument.

While emphasizing on historical events, Uzoigwe's argument did not utilize significant theories to critically interrogate the phenomenon of neocolonialism. Perhaps an inclusion of relevant theories like postcolonial theory and realism would have made a huge difference in his study. For instance, adopting postcolonial theory in his study would broadly have clarified the effects of colonialism on cultures and societies, and its creation of elitism. The post-colonial state is established in a way that it reflects and mainly caters to a narrow array of interests, mainly the interests of the self-centered political elites acting as agents to foreign interests (Ake, 1985 as cited by Abada et al, 2019). Uzoigwe's article demonstrates that neocolonialism will not be able to operate effectively without the cooperation of the indigenous leaders. He argued that such relationship is intended to foster dependency, which in turn undermines the sovereignty of the states concerned. This was what Ali (2014) referred to as "illusion sovereignty". Ali (2014) organized his study with the postcolonial theory while maintaining that the colonial powers left Africa physically after states attained independence, but remained politically, economically, and socially.

In a similar study like Uzoigwe's, Wyss (2016) emphasized that the 'defense agreement' between Britain and Nigeria demonstrated a clear manifestation of neocolonialism. Wyss (2016) argued that the British military personnel sought to ensure military facilities in Nigeria through the 'defense agreement' to sustain and strengthen Britain's hegemony which was driven by the struggle between the Western and Eastern blocs during the Cold War. Perhaps, this was what Rondey (1973) in his book "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa," attempted to emphasize as a cynical short-hand expression for the strengthening of foreign exploitation in Africa to develop capitalist Europe. Certainly, indigenous elites play a role in the strengthening of foreign exploitation in Nigeria. The first Prime Minister of Nigeria, Tafawa Balewa was clearly an advocate for the defense agreement. However, Wyss (2016) in his study failed to pinpoint if this

could have probably been because of the interests of the self-centered political elites that represents foreign interests. For instance, the appointment of Balewa as Prime Minister in 1957 by the British Governor General, Sir James Wilson Robertson, and his retainment of the position during independence over other preferred candidates alarmed many Nigerians, and subsequently made some Nigerians considered him pro-western. Hence, he supported the defense agreement between Nigeria and Britain and claimed that it was in Nigeria's interest against the continued charges from the opposition in parliament, led by the AG (Action Group party), and many. According to Wyss (2016. P. 14) "In late November 1960, around 800 students descended into the streets of Lagos to demonstrate against the agreement. They carried placards that read, among other things, 'Away with Anglo-Balewa Pact', 'Down with Colonial Mentality' and 'Keep us out of NATO'."

Ultimately, the major pre-occupation colonial state was to create conditions under which accumulation of capital by both foreign and domestic bourgeoisie would take place through the exploitation of local human and other natural resources (Ekekwe, 1985). Abada & Ngwu (2019) made a powerful theoretical framework in the study through the utilization of postcolonial theory. The theoretical framework in their study synthesizes with Uzoigwe's stance in his study that the political rulers that emerged in postcolonial states were individuals that were specifically chosen by the departing colonial powers. Many progressive indigenous leaders who attempted to challenge the will of previous colonial powers met unfortunate fates. Hegemons like the U.S, France, and Britain have directly or indirectly overthrown regimes in Africa. For instance, in the enormous mineral wealthy Democratic Republic Congo, the C.I.A and Belgium authorities maneuvered colonel Mobutu's rise to power in 1966 in Democratic Republic Congo, by capturing, torturing, and tragically assassinating the first prime minister of Congo, Lumumba on 17th January 1961 because Lumumba refused to become an ally of the West but rather ally with East bloc. In

most other African states, few leaders managed to stay in power after all attempts to overthrow them failed, essentially because the support of the Soviet Union during the Cold War created internal and external hurdles that frustrated the African leaders' policies and rendered them ineffectual (Uzoigwe, 2019). Uzoigwe rightly agreed that neocolonial powers operate by skillfully manipulating states by offering carrots to friendly states and sticks to enemies.

In addition, Uzoigwe (2019) argued that there two versions of neocolonialism which he referred to as old and new neocolonialism. He argued that the old new colonialism was more transparent, while new neocolonialism more sophisticated and dangerous. Unlike Uzoigwe, this study rejects that there was an old version of neocolonialism that was beneficial in any respects because there is absolutely nothing beneficial about neocolonialism since it interferes in the sovereignty of developing states and makes them dependent on hegemonic states. Nigeria has been affected by the shackles of neocolonialism to the extent that the state is helpless to help itself especially because neocolonialism fostered corruption and bad governance.

2.1.1 Corruption

Corruption is found in states globally. Regardless of the endemic and universal nature of corruption, there is no single generally accepted definition of corruption because countries differ in their point of view as to its meaning, causes and effects (Mulinge et al., 2002). Abada et al, (2019) opined that corruption is indeed a contested concept. They described corruption as a 'hydra-headed monster' that has tormented Nigeria for a long time to the extent that top ranking members of Nigeria's ruling elite have been incapable to reach a consensus on its meaning, let alone the approaches to fight it. Unsurprising, in Mulinge et al. (2002) essay, they defined corruption after Osoba (1996: p 372) as "a form of antisocial behavior by an individual or social group which

confers unjust or fraudulent benefits on its perpetrators, is inconsistent with the established legal norms and prevailing moral ethos of the land and is likely to subvert or diminish the capacity of the legitimate authorities to provide fully for the material and spiritual well-being of all members of society in a just and equitable manner.” This definition failed to distinguish what social group is responsible or more likely to perpetuate this antisocial behavior. Could this social group Osaba (1996) referred to be the upper class which this study considers the Nigerian political elites? Or could it have been the middle or lower class? Notwithstanding, Mulinge et al. (2002) presented a holistic analysis of the genesis and entrenchment of corruption in sub-Saharan Africa by incorporating the historical and international contexts of the problem. They linked the origin and spread of corruption to the colonization of Africa, the long-lasting legacy of colonization and the actions and practices of major actors on the global stage which we reviewed as neocolonization in the previous section (section 2.1).

Tignor (1993) observed that most of the literature on political corruption seeks to define the term and to understand why and how it arises, what effects it has on polity and economy, and how it may possibly be brought under control. Tignor (1993) focused on the debate that took place during the late colonial period to identify when corruption emerged on the political scene, and how it eventually assumed such prominence. Tignor (1993) found that corruption had long existed prior to the period Nigeria gained its independence from Britain. The political elites in power amass wealth through overwhelming corruption either as Nigerian antagonists or corroborate with colonial administrators. Tignor (1993) argued that prior to Nigeria’s independence the country had been a common place where the activities of competing nationalists were based on using the resources at their disposal to build political alliances. Clearly, these alliances were built amongst political elites and were sometimes based on patron-client ties and strengthening bonds of

ethnicity. At independence, such client-patron ties between the groups favored by the colonial administration had an edge over those not favored (Leonard, 1991 as cited in Milinge, 1993). Consequently, these favored groups would constitute the earliest Nigerian elite class.

The elite class was what Rodney (1972) called the 'petty bourgeoisie', whose role was to dominate the political and economic life of most African states. According to Leonard (1991, as cited in Milinge et al., 2002) the gaining of independence for this group was merely intended for the breaking of the monopoly of the colonial administrator's political power so that they could further their own advancement and posterity. These groups replicated their British colonial master's technique of divide and rule which involved the practice of favoring one tribe over others with the dual objective of securing loyalty of that group to the administration and encouraging rivalry between different tribes to prevent a sense of unity from evolving and threatening political interests (Mulinge et al., 2002). This voids the arguments of some scholars who were convinced that corruption stemmed primarily from electoral politics in Nigeria's first republic (1960 – 1966). Tignor (1993) argued that the failure of the military regime that emerged after the first republic undercut the argument that corruption stemmed primarily from electoral politics through stressing the norms and values of the Nigerian elites over more structural explanations. For this study, we will adopt Mulinge et al (2002) normative definition of corruption. Mulinge et al., (2002) normatively defined corruption as the misuse of public authority or resources for personal benefit.

Abada et al. (2019) argued that the nature of the Nigerian state was formed in huge extent by its colonial past and the nature of the state explains the nature of associational life within the society. Thus, the theory of postcolonial state and elite theory provide support to hypothesis that neocolonialism has induced corruption in Nigeria. The impacts of neocolonialism have kept Nigeria in ideologically westernized and material modernity. No wonder, Agang (2016) argued

that corruption is an indication of how the focus on materialism has led to the distortion of human dignity and the sanity of life and values. According to Agang (2016) the chances of oppression and marginalization of the majority by a peculiar social group is initiated by the fascination of the amassment of material wealth which reduces and equates human value to monetary value. Hence, this has been the case of Nigeria since a gained independence from Britain. Osoba 1996 found that all regimes in Nigeria both military and civilian, have been encompassed by corruption. He argued that the oil boom and its revenues aided and created a deepening crisis of kleptocracy, shown in its greatest form since 1984. The consequences resulted in a pattern of scandalous wealth among the ruling class with growing poverty, unhappiness, and deprivation among many Nigerians (Osoba, 1996). Hadden (2016) suggests that resources acquired by corruption tend to be kept outside Nigeria by politicians instead of being invested in the local economy for its intended purpose, which therefore leaves a vacuum, depressing Nigeria's development. Over the years, Nigerian elitists would not have been able to invest capital in western states without the help of foreign governments and multinational companies. Therefore, corruption is a way of life in Nigeria abetted by hegemonic powers and is a way of life which existing governments neither wish to, nor can, control. Abada et al. (2019) echoed that the government has failed to combat corruption. In fact, the January 1966 coup, which was the first military coup in Nigeria that terminated the First Republic, was due to elite corruption and the inconsistency in governance. In the words of the officer, Nzeogwu who orchestrated the coup:

“We wanted to get rid of rotten and corrupt ministers, political parties, trades unions and the whole clumsy apparatus of the federal system. We wanted to gun down all the bigwigs on our way. This was the only way. We could not afford to let them live if this was to work. We got some but not all. General Ironsi was to have been shot, but we were not ruthless enough. As a result, he and the other compromisers were able to supplant us.” (Sahara Reporters, 2009)

However, transition of power to the military did not solve the epidemic of bad governance and corruption. Suleiman & Karim, (2015) found that the military regime resulted in the abuse of office, corruption, human right violations, and total neglect for the rule of law.

Mulinge et al (2002) argued that corruption is not driven by internal factors alone. They argued that corruption is also a consequence of external factors driven by the activities of foreign governments, aid organizations and MNCs seeking to further their own economic interests through actions and practices that condone corrupt practices or that are corrupt in themselves (Mulinge et al., 2002). According to Galtung (1998: 118 as cited in Mulinge et al., 2002) instances of massive corruption have an international dimension where the bribe giver could perhaps be a MNC, or in certain instance a corrupt politician might seek refuge abroad from prosecution in their home country, and the earnings of corruption can be concealed to private accounts in foreign destinations. The elite theory demonstrates that there is the concentration of power in the hands of the few. The autonomy of elites makes it both advantageous and possible for the governing elite strategize and use state resources to control through manipulation and corruption (Etzioni-Halevy, 1989). This was the case right from Nigeria's First Republic (government after independence), the country has been tormented by rampant public sector corruption manifesting in poor governance outcomes and severe developmental pathologies. Consequently, this is the reason corruption and bad governance are correlated in this study. In subsequent sections, this study will utilize corruption and bad governance together since in the case of Nigeria they are conceptually intertwined.

2.1.2 Bad Governance and Terrorism

Many scholars have defined governance from various perspectives. According to Okoro (2020) the concept governance implies to the procedure of exercising political power to oversee

the activities of the state. According to the UNICEF (2020, as cited in Okoro, 2020) governance constitutes of making and implementing decisions based on considerations like popular participation, respect for the rule of law, observance of human rights, transparency, free access to information, prompt responses to human needs, accommodation of diverse interests, equity, inclusiveness, effective results, and accountability. According to the Mo Ibrahim Foundation (as cited in Okoro, 2020) governance is the provision of the political, social, and economic public goods and services which is a state's responsibility to deliver to its citizens, and which is a citizen's right to expect from the government. Also, Fukuyama (2013) defined governance as the capacity of a government to make and implement rules, and to provide services, irrespective of whether that government is democratic or not. Therefore, if a government is unable to fulfil responsibilities such as making and implementing rules then it should be considered bad at governance. Rose et al (2019) argued that bad governance is frequently caused by corruption. Thus, many scholars such as Ibeanu (1998), Abada & Ngwu (2019), and Mbah (2017) have argued that bad governance and corruption go hand in hand. In reviewing existing literatures, the previous section (section 2.1.1) of this study examine corruption separately for clarity because in many countries bad governance can occur without corruption. Nevertheless, in Nigeria bad governance occurs with corruption since the country attained independence in 1960. Thus, in subsequent sections of this study bad governance and corruption will be combined textually.

As much as there are several literatures on corruption in Africa, especially in Nigeria, there is a literature on bad governance in Nigeria. However, much of this literature has not tried to connect neocolonialism to bad governance as well as determine the extent to which a linear causal relationship between the two factors has exacerbated terrorist activities in Nigeria. Suleiman et al (2015) found that literature covering terrorist activities in the northern part of Nigeria dwelled

mostly on the origin and activities of the groups through their radicalization on a religious platform. Most analyses of these existing literature have been based on the emergence of terrorist groups and activities through a religious prism (Suleiman et al., 2015).

However, scholars such Abada and Ngwu (2019) attempted to establish that bad governance and corruption in Nigeria has given rise to certain societal challenges that led to insurgency. For instance, in the study of Abada et al. (2019) which is anchored on the theory of post-colonial state, they argued that the misuse of public resources and the failure of governance have provoked mass poverty in Nigeria which has led to the advent of terrorist groups that resort to the use of force in the expression of their discontent. Uzodike et al (2012) have argued that the terrorist activities of Boko Haram are triggered by a combination of bad governance, including the prevalent failures of state policies, inefficient and wasteful parastatals, and endemic corruption, poverty, unemployment, and extensive underdevelopment in the northern Nigeria. Essentially, Uzodike et al. (2012) failed to emphasize that inefficient and wasteful parastatals, poverty, unemployment, and extensive underdevelopment will not be feasible without bad governance and corruption. As a result, Nigeria is institutionally constituted so that it enjoys limited independence from the elite class highlighted in section 2.1.1. Therefore, these elites are the perpetrators of bad governance in Nigeria, and they are also responsible for the frustration of the citizens of Nigeria.

Okoro (2020) demonstrated that the Boko Haram insurgency is a retaliation against bad governance, notably in northern Nigeria where the epidemic of poverty led to frustration and recourse to terror activities among the people, particularly the youth. He found weaknesses in previous justifications of scholars and analysts who opined that Islamic fundamentalism, and the emergence of an elite violent political competition between northern and southern Nigeria especially after Goodluck Jonathan emerged as president was responsible for the Boko Haram

activities. The elite's private accumulation resources at the expense of the public destabilizes the state's institutions therefore fostering inequality, underdevelopment, and endangering the lives of citizens whom these public institutions are meant to serve. Therefore, Okoro (2020) argued that the membership profile of Boko Haram reveals that poverty and economic inequality are at its roots. However, he failed denote a strong link on what exactly causes poverty and economic inequality that leads to terrorist activities. It could possibly be embedded in what Okoro recognized as the weak nature of governance. Importantly, he found that bad governance in Nigeria served as a broader function in the emergence and growth of terrorist activities of Boko Haram.

2.2 The Menace of Boko Haram Terrorist Group

In 2004, a United Nations Security Council report defines terrorism as any act intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants and/or to intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act. Mbah et al. (2017) found that since 1997, Africa has seen a large increase in the number and intensity of terrorist incidents. According to Mbah et al. (2017) records show that 73% of these terrorist incidents were domestic while only about 27% were transnational, qualifying Africa as a continent perpetually at war against itself. According to Ekhomu, (2019, pg. 3) "the Islamist group known as Jama'atu Ahlus-Sunnah Lidda'Awati Wal Jihad, better known by its nickname Boko Haram, was founded in 1995 as a Sunni Salafist organization preaching Islam and providing services to the poor, to widows and to vagrant children." Boko Haram subsequently metamorphosed into a radical Islamic sect that adopted Taliban-style fundamentalism. Boko Haram was founded on the principle that western influence and western education is a sin. Therefore, they believe that the western influence had corrupted the Nigerian society, especially the Muslim dominated northern part of Nigeria. However, Walker (2012) argued that because Boko Haram utilizes mobile phones,

cameras, digital media, new media i.e., YouTube, explosives, vehicles, and automatic weapons manufactured by western states, clearly the terrorist group does not utterly reject the modern world. As such, Walker (2012) emphasized that Boko Haram demonstrates that it is more than prepared to use the products of Western education when it suits them. In this regard, Walker (2012) found that the activities of Boko Haram did not peculiarly stem from the dividends of westernization but rather against those in northern Nigeria known as 'Yan Boko' literally translated as 'Child of the Book'. Walker (2012) found that the supposed Yan Boko(s) refers to the elite established by the policy of indirect rule utilized by the British to colonize Nigeria. Boko Haram consider these elites as individuals who have neglected the path of Allah but rather enriched themselves thereby lacking mortality because they were easily swayed by money and corrupting Western values at the expense of the Muslim umma, community (Walker, 2012). This categorically reinforces Ekhomu's (2019) argument that Boko Haram ideology and fundamentalist logic resonated with poor youths who were assured that in communities set up by Boko Haram, they would live under Sharia code and would not have to suffer the horrors of secular life that these elites have subjected them to in the Nigerian state. Consequently, Boko Haram undertakes many military actions against the Nigerian state that are consistent with the standard realist narrative. Its mass attacks have seized and held territory such as certain communities in the northeast part of Nigeria and neighboring West African countries. Their terrorist activities have also escalated to neighboring countries such as Niger, Chad, and Cameroon.

While the activities of Boko Haram seem to prove that it is a non-state actor in Nigeria because of longstanding grievances with corrupt political elites whose bad governance have led to underdevelopment, poverty, and unemployment, Akpotor & Oromareghake (2013) argued that the emergence of the Boko Haram is explained from numerous perspectives especially with the socio-

economic and political arguments. Akpotor & Oromareghake emphasized that the socio-economic and political arguments on the emergence of the activities Boko Haram on certain occasions merely qualify as half-truths. However, they failed to back their claim as to why these socio-economic and political arguments qualify as half-truths in their study. The menace of Boko Haram requires more scholarly research to ascertain if their terrorist activities are mostly socio-economic and/or politically motivated.

2.3 Summary and Implications of Literature Review

While there is quite a bit of literature specifically on the current terrorist activities of the Boko Haram in Nigeria, there is a lack of studies that tried to determine causality effects among the factors of Neocolonialism, corruption, bad governance, and terrorist activities. Much scholarly investigations have largely ignored the reverse causality between the activities of terrorists, the perpetuation of corruption and bad governance in Nigeria, and the manifestation neocolonialism. This paper seeks to investigate this neglected relationship. The study argues that although bad governance and corruption intersect to prompt terrorist activities, the activities of such groupings have provided the nontransparent setting for the perpetuation of bad governance, corruption, and neocolonialism which subsequently erodes the ability of the state to deliver on its social contract. The essence of social contract is defeated once the state becomes unstable, and state-society interaction becomes quite unpredictable. The activities of Boko Haram have continuously evolved in an unpredictable manner thereby fostering hardship, underdevelopment, poverty, unemployment, and internal displacement for many Nigerians in the north.

3 RESEARCH DESIGN

This section of the thesis outlines the design and methodology of this study. The basis for the choice of research method states how it will help answer the research questions under investigation. This section describes the design adopted by this research to achieve the aims and objectives stated in section 1.3 on whether neocolonialism impairs good governance and promotes corruption in Nigeria, thereby causing national challenges that consequently results in terrorist activities particularly by the deadly Boko Haram group.

In most instances, when some researchers see two correlated variables, they tend to consider that one caused the other, especially when there is an intuitive direction. A good example is the correlation between neocolonialism, bad governance, corruption, and terrorist activities. This could be a valid hypothesis with a linear casual relation. However, there is further reasoning lacking in the assumption. In as much as previous literature has argued that the forces of globalization i.e., economic, political, and technological factors are sometimes influenced by neocolonialism which weakens the concept of the sovereign nation and hinders the fight against domestic terrorism, it is imperative to understand that without the long-devised skills of the Nigerian elites who manipulate and exploit citizens to maintain political power, neocolonialism would not thrive.

Therefore, while there is consensus among many scholars that neocolonialism encourages corruption and bad governance in Nigeria, and that corruption and bad governance intersect to cause terrorist activities of the Boko Haram, it is important to consider the role that Nigerian elites play through a reserve causal reasoning. The reserve causality stems from how terrorist activities of Boko Haram foster bad governance and corruption which provides the veil for the perpetration and perpetuation of neocolonialism. In this regard, neocolonialism categorically upholds the cycle

of elitist reinforcement of corrupt ideals which reinstate inequality, underdevelopment, poverty, and unemployment, and inefficiency of government apparatus thus eroding the ability of the Nigerian government to deliver its social contract.

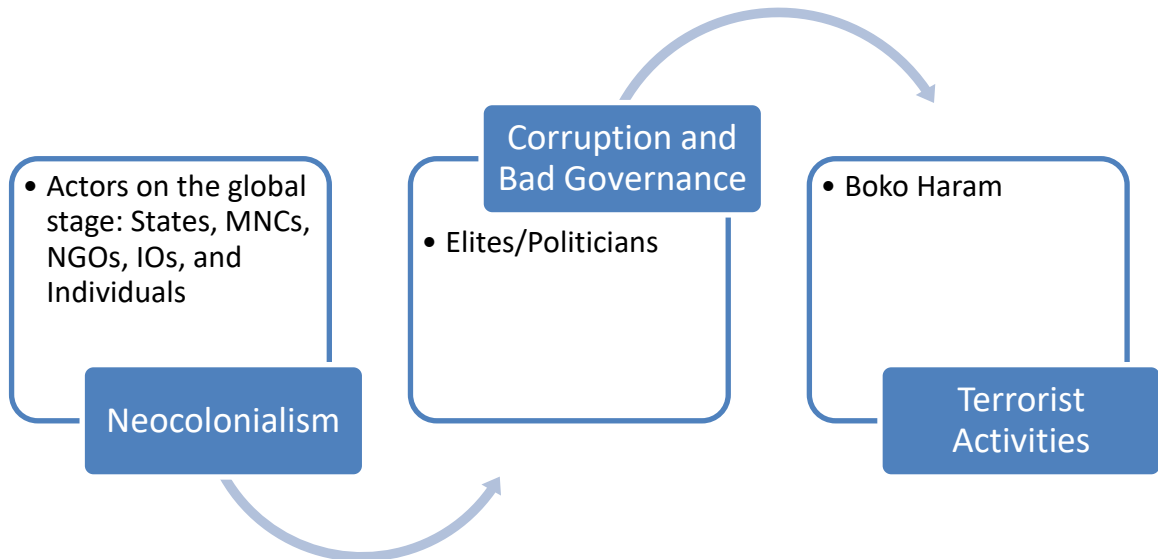


Figure 3.1 Linear Casual Relationship of Variables

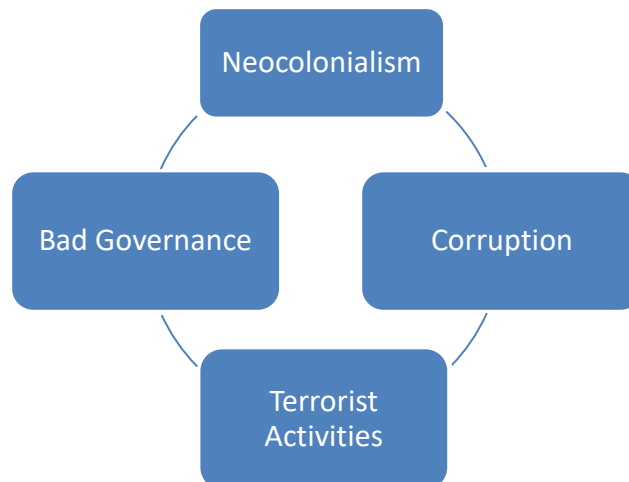


Figure 3.2 Reverse Casual Relationship of Variables

Figures 3.1 and 3.2 describes the linear causal relationship and reverse casual relationship of the variables respectively. Employing the reverse causal analysis illustrates that activities of Boko Haram have nurtured bad governance and corruption in Nigeria which therefore creates a haven for neocolonialism. I therefore put forward an actual causation from this study's supposed dependent variable (terrorist activities) to supposed independent variable (neocolonialism).

3.1 Methodology

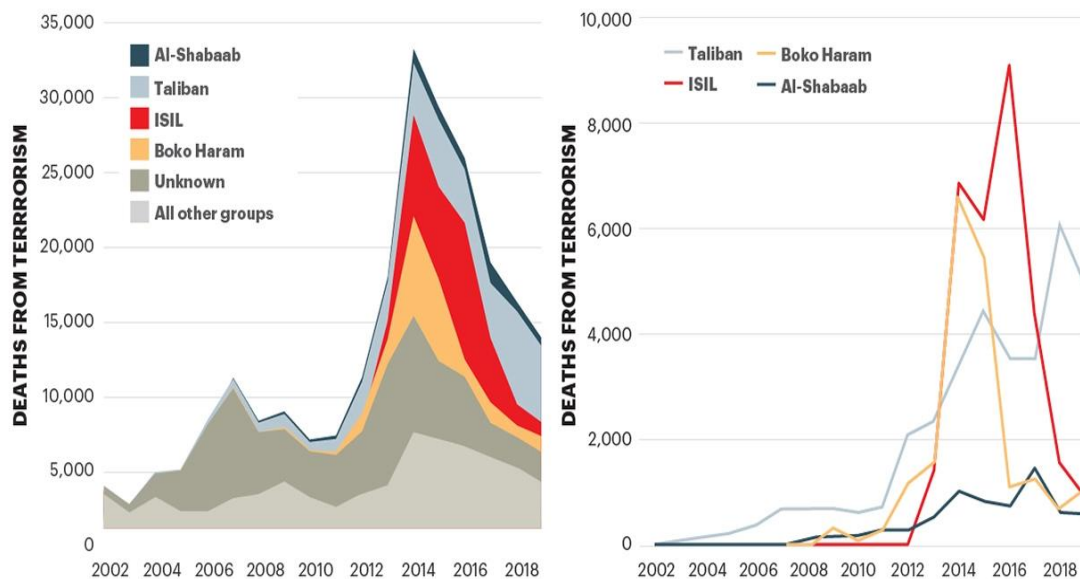
I took cognizance of the nature of this study before deciding on the methodology to employ. For this study, qualitative research method was carried out. Importantly, research about experiences of the past and their consequences are not merely about numbers, and there are stories to tell. Thus, qualitative approach allowed a lot of details to be collected that could perhaps have been overlooked by a quantitative approach. This study utilized qualitative research that focused on details and gave an in-depth picture of the problem under investigation. The study relied mainly on a much easier to access newspapers, journals, articles, scholarly papers, government archives and international organization's websites. Data on terrorist activities was obtained from The Institute for Economics & Peace's (IEP) Global Terrorism Index 2020, ACLED, IMF, Nigeria Bureau of Statistics (NBS), and START GTD IEP calculations. In addition, this study utilized secondary data collected by other researchers over the years. Thus, this study did a thorough examination of existing literatures that covered events relating to colonialism, decolonization, Nigerian independence, neocolonialism, bad governance and corruption, insurgency, insecurity, and terrorism in Nigeria. and a perusal of other significant sources that included internet sources and academic journals.

The study utilized a content analysis method for a better understanding of causal relations between neocolonialism, corruption, bad governance, and terrorist activities of Boko Haram. Finally, study used qualitative inferences to determine if there is in fact a reverse causality between neocolonialism, bad governance, corruption, and Boko Haram terrorist activities in Nigeria.

3.2 Analysis

Before beginning with the analysis of the study, it is imperative to give a visual depiction of the deadliest terrorist groups in the world as well as terrorists activities involving Boko Haram by country since 2009, violent event involving Boko Haram in Nigeria, Chad, Niger, and Cameroon from 2009 – 2019, and GPD based on purchasing power parity per capita of Nigeria, Chad, Niger, and Cameroon.

Four deadliest terrorist groups in 2019



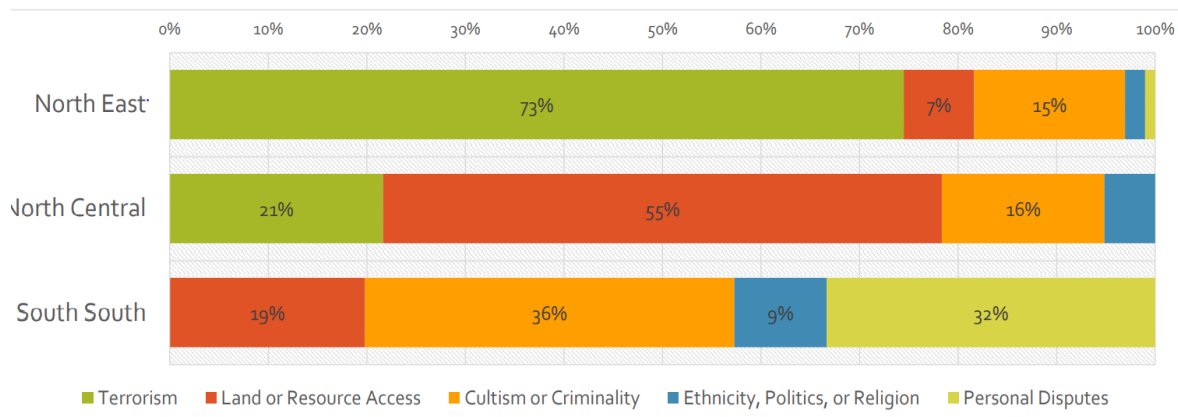
Source: START GTD, IEP calculations

IEP

Figure 3.3 Source: START GTD, IEP calculations

In 2019, Nigeria was the third country in the world most impacted by terrorism (Global Terrorism Index, 2020). Boko Haram stands as the third deadliest terrorist group globally. Terrorism related deaths in Nigeria decreased to 1,245 in 2019, a 39% decrease from 2018. Also, terror-related incidents fell by 27%, scoring the least level of terrorist violence in Nigeria since 2011. In 2019, Boko Haram, recorded a 25% rise in terrorist activity most targeted at civilians. In addition, Fulani extremists were responsible for 26% of terror-related deaths in Nigeria which stood at 325 deaths.

Nigeria is divided into six geopolitical zone namely: North-Central, North-East, North-West, South-West, South-East, and South-South. The terrorist activities of the Boko Haram have mainly been concentrated in the North-East, while terrorist activities of extremist Fulani Herdsmen have been prevalent in the North-Central. See figure 3.4 below:



Primary Cause of Conflict Events, by zone 2010-2017

Figure 3.4 Source: Nigeria Bureau of Statistics (NBS), 2018

Violent Events and Reported Fatalities Involving Boko Haram by County and Year (January 1, 2009 - May 11, 2019)

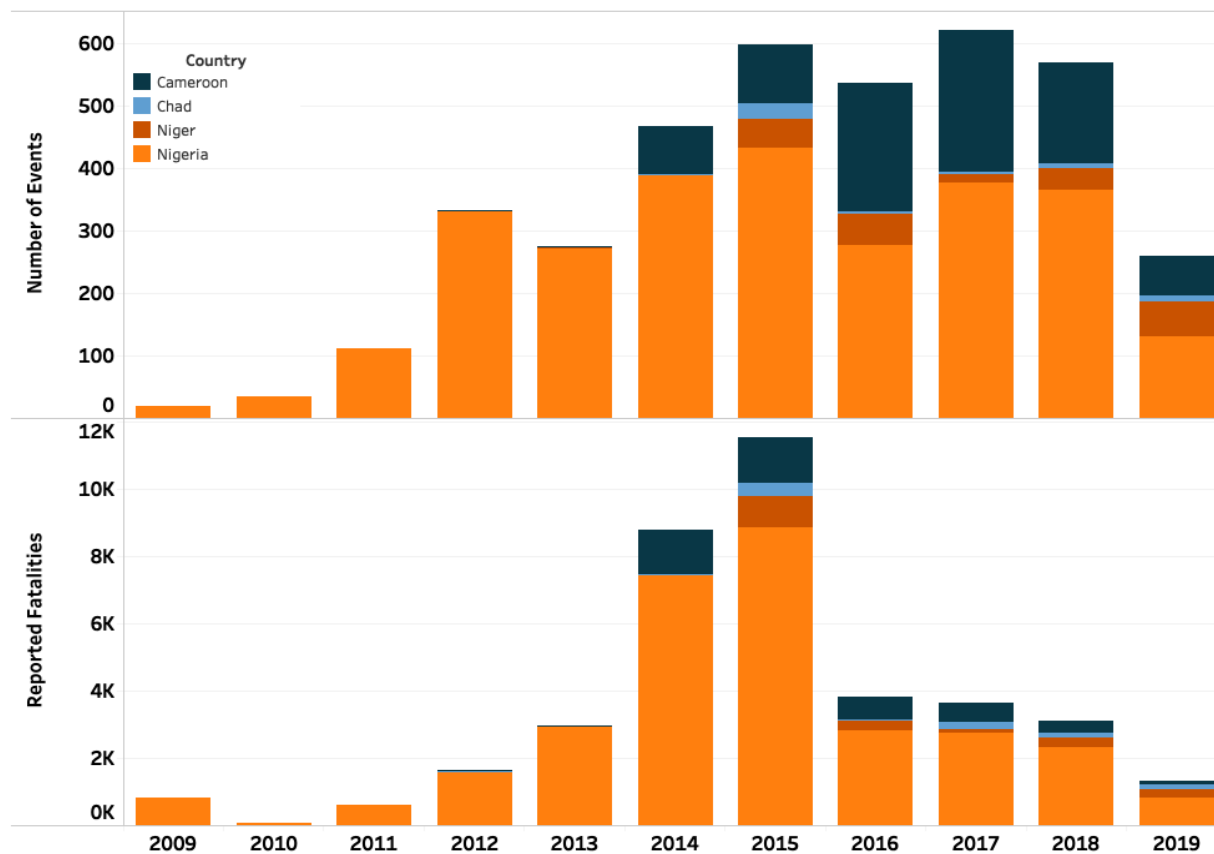


Figure 3.5 Source: The Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED)

According to ACLED (2020) 2012 was the first time Boko Haram expanded outside of Nigeria, when it was involved in two violent events in Cameroon and Chad. While Boko Haram has continuously engaged in cross-border attacks since 2012, most violent incidents involving the group (nearly 72%) and associated reported deaths (81%) have remained in Nigeria (ACLED, 2020).

Gross Domestic Product (GDP) Based on Purchasing-Power-Parity (PPP) Per Capita of Nigeria, Niger, Chad, And Cameroon

Values are expressed in current international dollars, to the nearest whole dollar, reflecting a single year's currency exchange rates and PPP adjustments.

Rank	Country	GDP-PPP (\$)
7	Niger	1,259
11	Chad	1,611
38	Cameroon	3,646
53	Nigeria	5,187

Figure 3.6 Source: Global Finance 2021 (retrieved from International Monetary Fund, World Economic Outlook April 2021)

Figure 3.5 and 3.6 shows that although Niger, Cameroon, and Chad are poorer than Nigeria, Nigeria has experienced more terror attacks from Boko Haram, thus indicating that poverty is not the cause of terrorist activities. Boko Haram is commonly referred to as a radical Islamist group relying on a religious ideology fighting a Jihad war to Islamize Nigeria. However, Boko Haram terrorizes both non-Muslims and Muslims alike. The failure of the Nigerian government to provide basic social services and amenities to communities established grievance of local communities in northern Nigeria that led to the emergence of the group. Often, terrorism emanates from existing grievances and disagreements among conscious local groups within the society (Ejiogu, 2017). Boko Haram was not any different. The rhetoric of Boko Haram that western education is a sin was established in the literature review section of this study that emphasized how well-educated political elitists of Nigeria through the support of hegemonic powers have historically been the

perpetuators of corruption and bad governance in Nigeria. Hence, the elitists reflect the bandwagon that aid hegemonic states whose goal is to achieve their interests through interference. These hegemonic states have become more diverse over the years which includes other powerful states aside the previous colonial powers, Soviet Union, and the U.S. For instance, China has become a major hegemonic player in Africa. Importantly, hegemonic states operate through the major actors on the global stage (NGOs, international organization, MNCs, and individuals) to interfere in states that are of interest to them. For instance, NGOs that grant aid assistance to developing countries like Nigeria have allegiance to their home countries because they cannot meet their mandates without donations from donors that mostly from their home country. Also, MNC's purpose of investing in foreign nations has not essentially been to better a great deal of the host nation but to exploit as much as possible to develop the home country. For example, Britain's emergence in Nigeria was vested on the shoulders of George Goldie, founder of the Royal Niger Company United which was chartered by the British government in 1886 and granted extensive concessionary powers in all the territory of the basin of the Niger. The Niger Company's role in depriving France and Germany access to the region that later became Nigeria highlights the role that MNCs play in the interest of their home countries. In addition, upon the Nigeria's independence from Britain, British corporations continued to operate in Nigeria in the interests of Britain.

3.2.1 How Corruption and Bad Governance Encourages Neocolonialism – A Reverse Causality

Succession of government administrations in Nigeria like in many other African states lack the political will to initiate or sustain policy or structural transformation (Yagboyaju & Akinola, 2019). Such lackadaisical attitude stimulates neocolonialism. Also, such lack of leadership promotes

unethical activities by the drivers of neocolonialism in Nigeria. MNCs in Nigeria have often been accused of involvement unethical activities i.e., bribery, corruption, destructive activities that damage the environment, human rights abuses, and suppressing of new indigenous industries autonomy. An example of MNCs unethical activity is the Halliburton Bribery Scandal which involved a network of secretive banks and offshore tax havens used siphon \$182 million in bribes to Nigerian officials in exchange for \$6 billion in engineering and construction. Revealed files records from HSBC, a huge global bank based in London, revealed details about the bank's role as a conduit for the bribes between British lawyer, Jeffrey Tesler who represented Halliburton and other influential Nigerian officials (Fitzgibbon & Mojeed, 2015). The files linked Telser to Rtd. Major General Garuba, a former governor of Northeastern Bauchi state, Abdullahi Dominic Bello, a former Nigerian Air Force Chief, Late Andrew Agom, a senior government official who was killed in an attack on a convoy (Fitzgibbon & Mojeed, 2015). Also, a 2010 Nigerian government document which was never publicly released, linked subsequent and three Nigerian presidents, a vice-president, a minister, intelligence chiefs and corporate giants in a list of Halliburton bribery beneficiaries (Fitzgibbon & Mojeed, 2015). According to a Nigerian coordinator at the Natural Resource Governance Institute, Dauda Garuba (2015 as cited in Fitzgibbon & Mojeed, 2015):

“In terms of the personalities and the amount of money involved it is probably the biggest scandal in Nigeria’s history. But although we’ve seen the indictment and conviction of foreign companies and their top executives in Europe and America,” Garuba said, “Nigeria’s own government has not taken action in the very country in which the corruption took place.”

Again, Nigeria has been implicated in corruption and bad governance because of the failure of government to try and convict influential Nigerians who were accused of playing a role in the Halliburton scandal. Ultimately, unethical activities of MNCs requires the alliance of corrupt host

government. MNCs protect underperforming governments to remain in power whenever an opposition group appears to want to take over government in the host country, therefore strengthening the alliances between international actors and domestic elites.

In addition, MNCs and hegemonic states like the U.S. benefit from the war on activities of Boko Haram because the Nigerian government purchases military equipment from them. The Nigerian government depends mostly on these MNCs and hegemonic states especially the U.S. because as Frohlich & Byrnes (2020) stated, the U.S is home to half of the globe's 43 of the top 100 defense companies and 10 largest defense contractors. The fact that these companies accounted for 59% of total arms sales by the world's 100 largest defense contractors in 2018 suggest that states like Nigeria depend on them to purchase reliable military equipment. In turn, these MNCs make a lot of money from such purchases especially those related to wars. In other words, the fight against Boko Haram is profitable to MNCs and hegemonic states. In August 2017, the U.S sold \$593 million worth of military equipment to Nigeria (Kazeem, 2017). Irrespective of how corrupt, or bad governance is in Nigeria, MNCs and hegemonic states ultimately look out for themselves to make profit. The fight to end terrorist activities in Nigeria justifies the increase of allocations towards defense and security annually. While there is continuous increase in the defense budget which MNCs and hegemonic states also benefit from, the activities of Boko Haram have not been halted. In this sense, it is evident that although corruption and bad governance often combine to cause activities of Boko Haram, it is an obvious empirical fact that activities of Boko Haram prompts and intensify corruption and bad governance, and the manifestation of neocolonialism.

3.2.2 How Terrorist Activities by Boko Haram Encourages Corruption and Bad

Governance

Nigeria has a history of the distorted political interests between the Muslim dominated north and Christian dominated south which elite politicians have fiercely exploited. In 1999, after Nigeria's transition from a military regime to a democratic dispensation, Northern state governors implemented full Sharia in their states, which was a bid by political elites to gain support from ordinary Muslim citizens in the north. The new penal codes established corporal punishments derived from Islamic law. Politicians from northern Nigeria responded to various issues ranging from a desire for Northern self-assertion following the election of a Southern president, disgruntled sentiments over previous political compromises on Sharia, pressure from Muslim activists, and uncertainties among some Northern Muslims that rapid social change was undermining the moral foundations of their society (Thurston, 2016, p. 12). Although most governors embraced Sharia in the North, a few were unwilling to completely embrace it. In Borno State, where Boko Haram and ISWAP currently has a strong hold Governor Mala Kachalla hesitated to implement Sharia, which contributed to his defeat in the 2003 elections (Thurston, 2016). Intra-Muslim controversy over Sharia allowed Salafis to forge new political alliances. In this case, Mohammed Yusuf, popularly known as Boko Haram's founder formed a partnership with the new Governor of Borno state, Ali Modu Sheriff. Yusuf served on Kachalla's Sharia implementation committee, and he was hellbent that the Sharia codes were unsatisfactory because only a fully Islamic system could safeguard public morality (Thurston, 2016). Although Yusuf's follower Buji Foi became Sheriff's Commissioner of Religious Affairs, Yusuf and Sheriff subsequently fell out. As a result, Yusuf's career began to dwindle. In 2003, splinter followers of Yusuf set up a base, what Walker (2012) deemed may be a jihadi training camp, near Kannama, Yobe. The group fought with villagers and

police and was crushed in early 2004. Yusuf subsequently fled to Saudi Arabia allegedly to study fearing concerns with the government (Walker, 2012). Political patronage was consequently demonstrated yet again in 2005 when Sheriff's government invited Yusuf back to Maiduguri, Borno state indicating the influence Yusuf still wielded. Yusuf reconciled with the Kannama group and soared from a poor preacher to a wealthy cleric living in opulence with influence in Borno state where he was acknowledged as a hero for his criticism of the government and his request for sharia law (Walker, 2012).

Walker (2012) argued that understanding Boko Haram has not been helped by the nature of Nigerian politics, using an example of President Goodluck Jonathan announcement in January 2012 that Boko Haram had infiltrated the highest levels of politics and the military. While president Jonathan depicted Boko Haram as a puppet group that was being used by aggrieved northern politicians to bring down his government since he was a southerner, Walker 2012 argued that Nigerian politicians always use an apportion blame tactics on their political enemies irrespective if the situation has nothing to do with their enemies. However, Northern politicians have been implicated in the rise of Boko Haram group over the years especially with the how influential Mohammed Yusuf became in Borno state before he was captured and killed extrajudicially in 2009 by the Nigerian police. The nature of his death thus highlights foul play within the Nigerian government. He could easily have been tried in the court of law to expose who the sponsors of Boko Haram who perhaps might be influential Nigerians. The rise and fall of Yusuf once again questions governance in Nigeria depicting how Nigerian elite politicians hold power which has always been dependent on exploitation of the peasants because of the use of skills of manipulation and practices that were cultured over decades. Although the common notion is that societies are

controlled by a diversity of competing interest groups, a very few individuals control the broad stream of power centers across most societies.

An illustration of the causal flow from terrorist activities to endemic corruption and bad governance can be uncovered in the implementation of the amnesty program instituted by the Nigerian state for repentant Boko Haram members. In a bid to end terrorist activities of the Boko Haram an amnesty program was instituted by the Nigeria's President Muhammadu Buhari which some repented Boko Haram members accepted. However, in 2013 Abubakar Shekau rejected the same offer of negotiations initially suggested by The Northern Elders Forum to President Goodluck Jonathan by making fun of his government (Irede, 2021). It surprising how some Boko Haram members became repentant as soon as President Muhammadu Buhari, a northern Muslim offered amnesty to the terrorist group. This amnesty program sparked anger among victims of activities of Boko Haram, and many Nigerian observers. The anger of these victims depicts the injustices fostered by corruption and bad governance which the common Nigerian suffers. While resources are budgeted by government towards repentant Boko Haram members for their rehabilitation in a camp prior to reintegrating into society, no form of compensation or support from government have been given to family members of victims of Boko Haram most of whom currently live in IDP camps in poor conditions (Shobayo, 2021). Mrs. Seun Sakaba, who lost her spouse lieutenant-colonel that died alongside no less than 117 soldiers during an attack by Boko Haram on their military base on 18 November 2018, has not received her spouse's entitlement and she could not stand the thought of justice eluding repentant terrorists as she lamented:

“It will never be well with all of you. I should forgive them for making me a widow? I should forgive them for killing my husband, his brother, and his mum? I should forgive them for making me seek shelter in another country?” Source: (Irede, 2021).

In addition, Mrs. Rebecca Sharibu, a mother to Leah the only Christian among who was among 109 other girls kidnapped from a school in Dapchi, Yobe State on 19 February 2018 lamented:

“You know, even the Boko Haram we are talking about are not one and the same. There is one sect after another. And it is very likely that the ones being granted amnesty are not even the ones who took my daughter. If they are, then it’s sad to hear that Leah’s oppressors are granted freedom without giving my daughter her freedom. So far, we are still praying for her return, and I am sure she will return to me.” Source: (Irede, 2021).

Premium Times conducted an online poll showing that over 14,076 respondents on Facebook and 5,481 respondents on Twitter, 92 per cent and 91.9 per cent voted against the idea of amnesty for members of Boko Haram (Nextier SPD (Security, Peace and Development), 2020). This clearly indicates that bad governance and corruption is not farfetched from the amnesty program because some political elites are perhaps benefiting from the resources budgeted towards rehabilitation of repentant Boko Haram members. It signifies misappropriation of resources. Categorically, the activities of the Boko Haram favor the political elites in accumulating more wealth through policies geared towards fighting and eradicating terrorism in Nigeria. For instance, irrespective of the fact that President Buhari had allegedly paid Boko Haram millions of dollars in exchange for the “Chibok girls” — a deal some feel only strengthened the group (Bukarti, 2019) — money was again budgeted towards the Boko Haram amnesty program. Allocating resources towards the amnesty program for Boko Haram was a way to divert money into personal coffers of politicians while the activities of Boko Haram persist. Evidently, although the implementation of the Amnesty program was rejected by many Nigerians, perhaps the politicians recognized the policy as profitable to them. The fight against Boko Haram has consequently become an instrument for the interest of politicians. President Buhari had campaigned on militarily defeating Boko Haram and stated that Nigeria had technically won the war against Boko Haram seven months into

the campaign for his second tenure as president (Bukarti, 2019). Essentially, politicians have essentially taken advantage of the activities of terrorists in Nigeria for their personal gains therefore exacerbating corruption and bad governance. Nigeria's attorney-general in May 2021 pledged to reveal and prosecute about 400 financiers of terrorism and 800 other terror suspects but there has been no update on the matter ever since (Irede, 2021). This further highlight how politicized fighting terrorist activities in Nigeria has become. So many injustices and deceit surround the fight against Boko Haram in Nigeria which is beneficial to patrons of corruption and bad governance.

3.3 Strengths and Weaknesses

There are three primary strengths to this research. The first is, this study has an unobstructed data collection method. The study is also a very cost-effective design, especially considering the cost implications to have travelled to Nigeria to conduct in-person research. Finally, this study can be easily replicated by other researchers to contribute to future research on neocolonialism, corruption and bad governance, and terrorist activities in Nigeria. However, there are a few more weaknesses to this study than there are strengths. It was exhausting to find reliable and reputable resources online, and more difficult to find sources that support data that the study wanted to validate. Giving the projected timeline to complete the research, accessing sources and data to support this study was time consuming.

4 CONCLUSION AND FINDINGS

The study emphasized through existing empirical literature the causal relationships between neocolonialism, corruption, bad governance, and terrorist activities in which the direction of causality is mostly assumed to flow from corruption to bad governance and terrorist activities. Nevertheless, the central focus of the study was to reveal that in addition to this existing linear causal relationship, there is also a reverse order relationship among the interrogated variables that has been understudied and therefore understated in analyses in which activities by Boko Haram essentially drive corruption, aggravate bad governance, and thus encourages neocolonialism. By this, the study found that the in Nigeria the interface among neocolonialism, corruption, bad governance, and terrorist activities are by no means essentially linear and can only be comprehended completely by examining the variables analytically because of the complexities and division that exist in Nigeria along ethno-religious and geographic lines which is intensified by the political elites for their best interest. The study found that the interests of the political elites prevent them from curbing corruption and bad governance as well as combating the vicious activities of terrorists in Nigeria therefore fostering the manifestation of neocolonialism.

Nonetheless, further research needs to be undertaken on whether the terrorist activities of Boko Haram, perhaps splinter groups from Boko Haram, and extremists Fulani herdsmen are political motivated especially since more deadly terrorist groups like the Islamic State's West Africa Province (ISWAP) is now present in Nigeria.

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