

Global Terrorism: Appraising The Effect of Boko Haram Menace on Nigeria's International Security Profile

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Abstract: *Terrorism arising from Boko Haram menace has been prevalent in Nigeria despite the various efforts of Nigerian government and International Community towards fighting the group. Imperatively, the study examined the effects of Boko Haram menace on Nigeria's international security profile in the specific areas of her diplomatic relations, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) into Nigeria, Military relations, hospitality and foreign perception of Nigeria's tourist industries. The paper is qualitative and descriptive in orientation; data gathered through documented evidence were contently analyzed, while Systems Theory of Talcott Parsons and David Easton served as theoretical guide for the study. The study unveiled among others that Boko Haram menace has not only negatively affected Nigeria's international security profile but served as a signal to the international community that the country is unsecured. Based on findings, the study recommended among others, the urgent need for Nigerian government to come up with new and updated security-image rebranding policy and step up her national and international campaigns against terrorism, etc. in order to change the negative perceptions of the international community about Nigeria. This will go a long way in redeeming her international socio-political and economic relations already battered by the Boko Haram menace and as well, improve her international security profile.*

Keywords: Boko Haram; International Community; International Security; Security Profile; Terrorism

Introduction

Terrorism as a phenomenon has been in existence for about two millenniums. The first act of terrorism was traced to radical offshoot by a Jewish sect in Judea in the First century A.D. and consequently, it was used as an oppressive instrument in terrorizing citizens by the government of dictatorial states in the 1900s as occasioned in Italy, Germany, Soviet Union, Argentina, Greece and Nigeria through unlawful detentions, letter bombings, killings among others (Abimbola and Adesote: 2012; Adebisi et al, 2016).

Terrorism attracted the attentions of scholars and the international community in the early 2000s following the attacks of Al-Qaeda, the late Osama Bin Ladin led terrorist group, on World Trade Center in New York on September 11, 2001. As a global phenomenon, terrorism became an instrument of achieving some specific aims such as political, social, economic, religious goals rather than states sponsored terrorism (Goldstein and Pevehouse, 2008). Nigeria's security started receiving serious international attentions following the Boko Haram attacks on the United Nations Headquarters' building in Abuja in August 2011. This attack was described by the then Nigeria's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Viola Onwuliri, as an attack on Nigeria and the international community (Plaut, 2011). The foregoing cum several other terrorist attacks in the international system such as November 15, 2001 on Istanbul, the Madrid train bombing attack in Spain on March 11, 2004 have necessitated the need for states to further strengthen their security forces to meet up with the challenge of protecting their citizens, diplomats and security image or profile of their states from terrorist-based attacks. The trend of terrorism in the international system has also facilitated the responses of the international community,

United Nations, regional organizations, conflict cum terrorist-based analysts, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) among others in embarking on annual terrorist cum security based reports. Most of the reports have unveiled the real security situation of every state in the global system, thus, shaping the international security perceptions and relation of states with one another.

It is noteworthy that the continuous dilemma of Boko Haram menace has posed some negative effects on Nigeria's international security profile. It could be as a result of this, that Nigeria's economic relations is in doubts, as her Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) has experienced a downturn due to low patronage by foreign investors cum tourists. More so, could this be the reason why Nigeria had been frequently listed in the list of states to be denied some kinds of visa by some countries cum inclusion of Nigeria in the terror watch-list by the United States? This might have also been the reason why Nigeria's quest for the position of non-permanent seat in the Security Council of the United Nation remains unachievable as she is yet to overcome her own internal security challenges, similarly, this must have influenced the perception of other African countries about Nigeria as the 'Giant of Africa'. The trending menace of Boko Haram might have also instigated the maximum cum special security check of Nigerian nationals cum diplomats abroad and denial of Nigeria from procuring certain military weapons by members of the International Community. All the aforementioned underlined the statement of the problem cum need for the study.

Methodology

The paper is qualitative and descriptive. It relied solely on documented evidence, such as annual security based cum related reports, journal articles, media publications and textbooks. Data were presented using tabular, pictorial and textual tools while content analysis cum logical reasoning served as instruments of analyzing the data. Talcott Parsons and David Easton's Systems Theory was employed as the theoretical framework in explicating the relationship between the two major variables. The central idea of the theory rested on the argument of David Easton who portrayed political cum international system as a composite of disparate component parts and Talcott Parsons who argued that every social cum international or political system must have the capacity to maintain itself against a hostile environment which could be sometimes disastrous (Akinboye and Ottoh, 2005). In view of these two proponents cum exponents of Systems theory; social, international cum political environment is not so unique because it is characterized by terrorism, conflicts, wars, revolutions, protests, diverse interests, crises and excessive demands from the environment which place pressure on the system and if the system loses its pattern maintenance or failed to adjust to these changes, it may lead to total collapse or disintegration of the system.

The application of systems theory to the study is due to its enriched capacity in explicating how Boko Haram menace has affected Nigeria's international security profile in the reviewed years. The inability of Nigeria as a sub-part of international system to adapt to the changes within her political system, maintain a unique pattern cum inability to achieve the set security goals in managing her own internal security threat (Boko Haram menace) has posed series of challenges to her corporate existence. The security system failure of Nigeria and the inability of her leadership to come up with viable solution has manifested over the years, in her unhealthy diplomatic relations, particularly with the United States, decline in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), decline in foreign tourists' in-flow into the country and military relations as every nation in the world cherish security and would not like to relate (integrate) with countries under terror. Consequently, some countries have severally warned their nationals against visiting Nigeria which consequently led to the denial of visa cum immigration of Nigerians among others. In essence, this indicates that the inability of Nigeria's political system to internally respond to changes in her system's environment has affected her political system and profile in the international system.

Global Terrorism

Terrorism as a concept has been variously used in literature, but the major fact about the concept is that, it lacks generally acceptable definition as there is no intellectual agreement on what constitutes the concept. The concept 'terrorism' became a major concern in Philosophy and Social Sciences following the early writings of Auguste Comte, Emile Durkhiem, Karl Marx and other philosophers during the enlightenment epoch

and the qualitative effects of French revolution of 1789 on the European society. Though, none of the above mentioned Philosophers singled out terrorism as a study but each commented on its course of explaining other pertinent social problems at the time (Ogunrotifa, 2013: P. 27). However, the complexities and ambiguity of the concept occurred from the fact that it is fond of political and emotional interpretation. Even, the International Community has not been able to develop a universal and permissible definition of terrorism. According to William (2009: P. 1), "during the 1970s and 1980s, the United Nations attempt to define the term foundered mainly due to differences of opinion between members about the use of violence in the context of conflicts on a comprehensive convention on international terrorism". Therefore, the concept has been socially constructed thereby making it impossible to reach a universal definition of the term.

Scholars have also viewed terrorism as political, religious and economic expression and not necessarily a criminal act. Terrorism in this perspective is used to portray a wide range of dysfunctional actions within a political system. Therefore, it is essential to appreciate the work of Best and Nocella (2004: P. 1), which posits that "all terrorism involves violence, but not all violence is terrorism", this made them to define terrorism as "the institutional use of physical violence directed against innocent persons/human or inhuman animals to advance the religious, ideological, political, or economic purposes of an individual, organization or state government". These scholars' definition helps to enrich our knowledge that act of terrorism gears towards achieving a specific purpose, also that violence is aimed at both the innocent and targeted persons. Be that as it may, the above definition is faced with the question of whether ethnic and regional purposes are not part of the reasons that give rise to terrorism. Therefore, this definition is only more applicable to a non-plural society where we have few or no ethnic groups. In support of the above assertion of scholars, Al-Thagafi (2008: P. 3) conceptualizes terrorism as the use of either organized violence against innocent people in order to intimidate them for political reasons. This position can be questioned as it failed to explain the nature of the instigators of these violent acts and also, whether the acts of terrorism is only for political reasons as portrayed in the definition.

Put differently, Enders and Sandler, cited in Antimbom (2016: P. 11), posited that "terrorism is the premeditated use of violence by individuals or sub-national groups to obtain a political or social objective through the intimidation of a large audience beyond that of immediate victims" from this assertion, the scholars are of the opinion that violence is an emblem of terrorism, to the extent that some terrorist groups do engage in grisly violent behaviour to create extensive tension or revolt. Unlike the previous assertion, they viewed terrorism from violence generated by ethnic and regional groups. However, this definition is less embracing as it limits terrorism to sub-national groups and failed to take into

cognizance; the state terrorism; a situation where a state/government terrorizes its citizens or finance terrorist groups. Moreover, the definition only viewed terrorist attacks as public that necessarily involve large audience who may force the state or government to compromise their claims or demand. Since there is no generally acceptable definition of terrorism, Lentini (2008) asserted that the current arguments on the definition of terrorism revolve around what exactly constitutes terrorism and a terrorist attack. Based on this, so many scholars and policy analysts have made efforts to draw out the measures for differentiating terrorism from other violence. However, some researchers argued that setting globally acceptable definition of terrorism should be relative depending on the situation, location motivations and national policies (Ugorji, 2017: P. 13).

The only known point of consensus among scholars on the meaning of terrorism is that it creates a great threat to peace, security and unity all over the world. Based on this, Lawless (2007) emphasized that scholars agreed that the impacts of terrorism on societies in countries around the world are devastating, thus, terrorism should be considered as an international crime under the statutes of the International Criminal Court (ICC). Subsequently, Newman (2006: P. 752) argued that while defining terrorism, it is important to consider it from the visible effects of terrorism on societies to the unexpressed motivations for committing the acts of terror. The above assertions of scholars suggest that a reasonable definition of terrorism must encompasses the effect of terrorism on the people affected, its implications on human society, and the major causes that ignite terrorists group to inflict attacks on the people that result to large destruction. Scholars have equally termed terrorism as the use of violent action in order to achieve political aims or force government to act (Ugorji, 2017: P. 14). However, this definition is less considered, as terrorism goes beyond achieving political aims. On the other hand, in view of the United States Department of Defense, cited in Al-Thagafi (2008: P. 3), terrorism is viewed as “the calculated use of unlawful violence to inculcate fear, intend to coerce or to intimidate government or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious or ideological”. Although, this definition is more embracing as it encompasses multi-facets ideological dimensions of terrorism, however, it can be criticized as there is no known position/assertion of scholars as regards to lawful violence that can be instigated by the civilians in the society or in a state.

While many scholars conceived terrorism as the use of violence by some groups or individuals against the state, others have viewed terrorism as an instrument in the hand of state actors/government in achieving their goals. State sponsoring terrorism has attracted the attention of many scholars thereby raising some fundamental questions. On this note, Ugorji (2017: P. 8) asserts that “could those violent acts that are sponsored by state actors qualify as terrorism?” However some scholars have previously made attempts to

provide a similar response. Over two millenniums, some states have openly or in some ways, inflicted shocking acts of violence on the populations as a means of realizing their objectives and achieving their interests (Letini, 2008). The Amnesty International also reported that hundreds of civilians lost their lives inside their home or refugee by the United States airstrikes in Iraq after being ordered not to leave their residence by the Iraq government (International Crisis Group, 2018). Various scholars have also argued on what constituted terrorism, this arguments according to Malachy (2013: P. 3) have been summed up in the following expression, “one man’s freedom fighter is another man’s terrorist”. The basis of this position is that actions perceived by the state as terrorism sometimes come as a result of disagreement or crisis between groups, organizations, social/political movement that act contrary against the state. This assertion is in the same line of thought with other scholars (Laquer, 2001; Gilbert, 2003) who posit that terrorism include ethnic identity conflicts, which is characterized by irredentist and secessionist movements and multiparty civil war. Such actions are guided by religious or ethno-nationalist ideas and characterized by hatreds, fear and genocide and have no declarations of war, few battles and are typified by attrition, terror and violence against civilians.

On a separate ground, other scholars maintained that terrorism is a violent reaction against the establishment of a social order. To them, terrorists are seen as social actors seeking for change in society and use violence to destroy the existing work of the society or merely change it; such violence can be a reform or a revolution (Malachy (2013:P.3). These scholars are of the opinion that inability of the state to meet the needs of certain individuals or groups within the state can result into terrorism through which they usually revolt against or destroy the social system. Emphasizing on the nature and activities of terrorism, Omede and Omede (2015: P. 121) posit that terrorism is both a national and international concern. This is because their activities most time are not concentrated in a particular place. Its waves span across geographical boundaries both local and international. Going beyond local terrorism, these scholars are of the view that terrorism goes beyond a state or national violence activities. In essence, terrorism is considered to be a national and international distress or concern. Categorically, terrorism has two dimensions which are classified by western scholars as domestic and transnational. Domestic terrorism is considered to be home grown and has influences only within the host country, its territory, residents, institutions, properties and policies whereas the funding, aides, supporters, sponsors, targets, victims of transnational terrorism involves more than one country (Sandler, 2013). However, there are other factors that can be used to describe transnational terrorism that were not considered by the scholar such as illicit drug trafficking, robbery among others. Scholars have considered transnational terrorism to have links with other violent crimes such as sea piracy, armed robbery, kidnapping, child trafficking, fraudulent dealings with foreign exchange. In the views of

these scholars, the key feature of these crimes is that they are likely to spread across borders and this has been considered by Antimbon (2016) as inter-state crime which was described as offences that have an international character. Also scholars have classified terrorist groups based on ideological interests;

Classification of Terrorism

a. Right Group Terrorism: This is the type of terrorism that is racially motivated to fight liberal government and safeguard their traditional social orders (Shola, 2015: P. 19). Thus, they are usually ethnic gangs or militias within the state. Thus, Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria, aka 'Western education is a sin' is a fit example of this kind. Also, Klu Klux Klan in USA and fascist group in Germany are examples of this type of terrorism.

b. Freedom/Separatist Terrorism: This is more of ethnically oriented group rather than pure terrorism. They hunt for freedom rather than causing terror or attacks (Shola 2015, P.19). Accordingly, their major aim is to exit or create a fragment of new state if their interest is no more protected in a federation or by the majority group thereby causing terror of division. A good example of separatist terrorist group in Nigeria is Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB).

c. State Terrorism: This is the most dangerous and fundamental form of terrorism in the world through which government play politics with the life of its citizens. For instance, in a more populated country, government or group who holds the key major power of a country may decide to use terrorism as a check to control the population i.e. a situation where state sponsors terrorist groups most especially, in a military regimes or civilian-dictatorial governments. An instance of this is Saddam Hussein in opposition to the Kurds and subjugation of democratic agitators in Syria. The countries on the list are Iran, Sudan, Cuba, Lybia, Syria among others (Shola, 2015).

Boko Haram Menace

Discussing Boko Haram and its menace has caused so much intellectual disagreements based on the indefiniteness of its ideology to whether an ethnic, tribal militia group, religious extremist or political group. Therefore, the view of different scholars will be employed to untangle this controversy which will help in unveiling the fundamental ideology of the group with regards to the earlier ideological classification of terrorism.

So many scholars have tried to trace the history of Boko Haram group based on its links with some other terrorist groups in the world which have made them conceptualized it as a transnational terrorist group. However, the history of Boko Haram has been traced to 2009 which marked the inceptions of its operation and activities in the North-East Nigeria. Ever since 2009, the terrorist group has caused destruction on states and communities particularly in the North-East Nigeria (Adelaja et al, 2018). Similarly, Uzodike

and Maiangwa (2012) traced the history of the group to 2009 based on its attacks on Nigerian security officials, churches and U.N headquarter in Abuja among other factors. Akinbi (2015) maintained that the operations and activities of Boko Haram group have drawn attention of Nigerians and that of the international community following the series of violent attacks in Nigeria since July 2009. However, these three assertions do not generalize the exact time that Boko Haram group started its operations.

Consequently, Antimbom (2016: P. 14) traced the origin of Boko Haram to the continuation of the violent movements that plagued Northern Nigeria in the 1980s during the uprisings. Nevertheless, the activities of Boko Haram as a terrorist group became internationally recognized in the early 2000 (Tawil, 2015). Antimbon (2016) conceived Boko Haram as the traditional name of the militant Islamist and terrorist group, Ahl al-Sunna li al Da'wawa al-Jihad, whereas, Zenn (2018: P. 26) observed that the Jihadist insurgent movement of Boko Haram has established itself as one of the relatively few Jihadist movements to succeed in the capture, control and governance of territory in Africa. However, Boko Haram based on its operations and activities, had moved from a Jihadist movement in Nigeria to cross-national one found across multiple countries of West Africa and beyond. To some scholars, the emergence of Boko Haram is rooted in a bid to oppose western education. As used in Adesoji (2010: P. 100), 'Boko' was described as an equivocal to mean either book, western or foreign whereas the "Haram" as a word, fundamentally in Arabic derivative means forbidden, sinful or ungodly. Taking a critical look at these two words, combined together; 'boko haram', it means book is ungodly and therefore should be prohibited or forbidden. Therefore, western education was considered as sin and ungodly. In support of this assertion, the movement of Boko Haram is based upon the inference of foreign explanation that the movement characteristically opposes and out-rightly rejects western education, western values and cultures as well as modern science (Akinibi, 2015: P. 35). It is on this basis that many technical colleges' students tore their educational certificates while some dropped out to join Quranic lessons and preaching (Shehu 2015: P. 43).

On a separate ground, Eseoghene and Efenodor (2016: P. 319) traced the emergence of Boko Haram and conceived it as a product of the *Maitatsine Doctrine* or a brand of Islamic zealots and fundamentalists introduced in Northern Nigeria in 1945. In the same line of thought, Ajayi (2012: P. 104) argued that the leader of Maitatsine group (Muhammad Marwa) based on religious fanatics believed that Islam had been corrupted by modernization. Based on this, Maitatsine group spearheaded religious uprising in Kano in 1980 which later spread to Yola and Maiduguri in 1982 and 1983. Recently, the activities of Boko Haram, most especially in the North-east have called for attention of not only Nigerian, but international system. Commenting on the activities of Boko Haram, Ola (2012: P. 3) asserts that the operations and

activities of Boko Haram group have drawn the attention of Nigerians and that of the international community following the series of violent attacks in Nigeria since July 2009. Consequently, in the international community, the United States' Department of States has added Boko Haram to the list of foreign terrorist organizations and Nigeria, as a specially designated Global terrorist entity (Global Terrorism Index, 2017). From this view, it can be said that Nigeria is now seen as a country of thriving terrorism; this stance also has negative effects on Nigeria's international security profile.

Emphasizing on factors that qualify a group as terrorism, Rand cited in the work of Ola (2012), argued that terror attacks must have a political motive. The scholar is of the view that the actual target of the nervous-causing attack is a wider public, who may pressure/terrorize the government to grant their demands. However, this definition is worrisome as the scholar failed to put into consideration the other factors such as economic, religious, social, ethnicity that motivate terrorism thereby limiting terrorism to sub-national agents. Thus, terrorists do make use of assassinations, kidnappings, bombings, threats among others, to achieve these factors or aims as the case may be. Commenting on the appearance and operations of Boko Haram menace in Nigeria, Agbaji and Associates (2018: P. 2) posit that Boko Haram operations have created severe danger to Nigeria, thereby causing enormous insecurities in terms of death rate, injuries and disintegration among others. Consequently, the operation of Boko Haram terrorist group has given Nigeria a low international security profile as the group intended to stir up distressed social cohesion. The recent increase in the activities of Boko Haram made General Caryl Chesset (the United States African Command Commander) to name Boko Haram as one of the three most deadly terrorist groups in Africa in September, 2011 (Eseoghene and Efanodor, 2016). Since the operations of Boko Haram group, they have adopted and applied different tactics which range from bombings, assassination, shootings among others. In this regard, Abdi and Shittu (2013) posit that since 2009, there has been continuous uprising in the activities of Boko Haram and this marked a new method of ethno-religious violence, whose activities based on tactics applied, have led to several bombings, terrible attacks in the North-east Nigeria and consequently moving the nation towards a state of total insecurity and disintegration.

In his position, Akanji cited in Abdi and Shittu (2013) claimed that there has been relative cordiality among over 300 ethnic groups in Nigeria in the past, even after the event of civil war, but due to the insurgence and activities Boko Haram in the North-East Nigeria, they have become "strange bedfellows". In the same similar thought, Robert Kaplan cited in the work of Agbaji and Associates (2018: P.3) commented that Nigeria is increasingly becoming ungovernable due to deepening splits in ethnicity and regionalism and there is a serious increase in religious divisions such that Muslim fundamentalism and evangelical Christian Militancy are

increasing. Consequently, the tendency of keeping Nigeria ethnic groups together is low. Based on this, Nigeria has become a state with low-low of national integration and low security status international system.

International Security

Conceptualizing international security has generated lots of disagreements among intellectuals and literature. Up until the time of this study, the researcher is yet to find a consensus meaning among western scholars and international community on the real meaning of the concept thereby making it socially constructed based on meaning attached to it in different states of the world and happenings therein. However, the only point of consensus among the reviewed literature is that the concept means the same thing as global security. In view of Buzan and Hansen (2009), international security encompasses the measures taken by states and international organizations towards ensuring mutual survival and safety. The scholars maintained that such measures include military action taken by an individual state and various diplomatic agreements; such as treaties and conventions. Critically, from the view of these scholars, international and national securities are invariably linked to national security as measures/actions taken by states in protecting and securing their territories cum protecting the lives of their citizens from various security threats such as terrorism, kidnapping, armed robbery among others are considered as global cum international terrorism. However, it could be from the view that every independent state is an actor in global politics and whatsoever that happens to them are of international concerns.

From a different perspective and having taken into cognizance, Thomas Hobbes' state of nature, Jackson-Preece (2011) described security as a core value of human. From the definition, to be secured is to be uncontrolled by danger or fear. The scholar maintained that without security, there would be no place for industry, arts, communications and society. The major fact in this scholar's assertion is that, the absence of security in a state cum international system will lead to continual fear, danger of violent or death; based on this, the life of man will be solitary poor, nasty, brutish and short.

In view of Jelilov et al (2018, P. 44), the tendency of insecurity is a crosscutting and multi-dimensional thought that has become a subject to argue about. Accordingly, the scholar argued that insecurity is seen distinctively by various investors and how it influences human lives and properties. Critically, the scholar only perceived insecurity from the perspective of foreign investors and factors that posed threats to human lives only, however the definition can be interred as the scholar did not take into consideration, other forms of insecurities that do not necessarily take human lives such as stealing (pick-pocketing) and also whether insecurity issues only affects investors. More broadly and as distinct from the previous definition, United Nations Development Programme

(1994) conceived human security to encompass constant danger such as sickness, appetite and constraint. This definition can be viewed only from the roles of the United Nations initiatives such as the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Food and Agricultural Agency (FAO) in alleviating poverty, hunger and sickness in the world, without considering other trending factors such as terrorism, armed robbery, kidnapping among others which have been posing threats to security of her member states globally.

There have been various approaches by literature and scholars of thought in conceptualizing international security. The traditional security paradigm cited in Degaut (2015) referred to a realist construct of security. In view of the scholar, Realist School of International Relations deals with macro issues such as political and militaristic capabilities as the driving forces of international system. From realist perspective, security basically means national security while other goals are secondary. In this view, national security is synonymous with national interest, which stresses that the security policy subordinates any other interests to those of the nation. In the same line of thought, Morgenthau (1993: P. 3), an exponent of realism, in his Book *Politics among Nations: the struggles for Power and Peace*, maintained that the rationality of statesmen and their actions in terms of national interest could be seen as the pursuit of power. In view of this realist definition, security is considered a derivative of power. On a contradictory ground to the above, classical realists, such as Arnold Wolfers disagreed with the notion that security is an absolute value. In his view, security is a negative value and can be subjective, based on this; as a social science concept, it is ambiguous and elastic in meaning. Based on this notion, Williams (2013, P.1) maintained that “characterization of

security as the absence of threats” seems to encompass the essence and the central idea of the notion of security.

On the other hand, the liberalist exponents such as Rothschild (1995) described security to encompass threats that have no longer a purely military character. The scholar further stressed the assertion in four dimensions, according to him, it starts from the security nations, to the security of groups and individuals, followed by the security of nations to the security of the international systems, the third is what he described as the horizontal extension, that is, from military aspect to political, social, economic, environmental and human aspects while the fourth one is, the political responsibility of ensuring security. From the Social Constructivist approach, security is an inherently subjective value, that is, an inter-subjective value (Brauch 2011: 61). From the constructivist’s view, security is expected to be achieved once the perception and fears of security threats, challenges, vulnerabilities and risks are overcome.

From the foregoing definitional assertions and positions of some scholars on what international security entails, it was made obvious that there is no generally agreed way or approach of defining international security. Therefore, any attempt to define or describe international security should be inclusive and encompasses all reasonable views and approaches as not even the United Nation could give a consensus definition of international security. Consequently, the perception of security threats, risks and dangers such as terrorism, earth quake, kidnapping, cyber-crimes among others as experienced differently in societies, states or countries will determine the beliefs and worldviews on the analysis and description of international security as a concept. Based on this, the concept remains socially constructed.

Table 1: Top 20 Countries with highest impact of terrorism in the world (2012-2019)

Rank	2019	2018	2017	2016	2015	2014	2013	2012
1 st	Afghani- stan	Iraq	Iraq	Iraq	Iraq	Iraq	No Data	Iraq
2 nd	Iraq	Afganis	Afghani Stan	Afghani- Stan	Afghani- Stan	Afghanistan	-	Pakistan
3 rd	Nigeria	Nigeria	Nigeria	Nigeria	Nigeria	Pakistan	-	Afghani Stan
4 th	Syria	Syria	Syria	Pakistan	Pakistan	Nigeria	-	India
5 th	Pakistan	Pakistan	Pakistan	Syria	Syria	Syria	-	Yemen
6 th	Somalia	Somalia	Yemen	Yemen	India	India	-	Somalia
7 th	India	India	Somalia	Somalia	Yemen	Somalia	-	Nigeria
8 th	Yemen	Yemen	India	India	Somalia	Yemen	-	Thailand
9 th	Philippi -nes	Egypt	Turkey	Egypt	Libya	Philipp Ines	-	Russia
10 th	D.R Congo	Philippine s	Libya	Libya	Thailand	Thailand	-	Philipp Ines
11 th	Egypt	D.R. Congo	Egypt	Ukraine	Philippines	Russia	-	Sudan

12 th	Libya	Turkey	Philippines	Philippines	Ukraine	Kenya	-	D.R. Congo
13 th	Mali	Libya	D.R. Congo	Cameroon	Egypt	Egypt	-	Colombia
14 th	C.A. Republic	South Sudan	South Sudan	Turkey	C.A. Republic	Lebanon	-	Syria
15 th	Cameroon	C.A. Republic	Cameroon	Thailand	South Sudan	Libya	-	Algeria
16 th	Turkey	Cameroon	Thailand	Niger	Sudan	Colombia	-	Sri Lanka
17 th	South Sudan	Thailand	Ukraine	D.R.C.	Colombia	Turkey	-	Iran
18 th	Thailand	Sudan	Sudan	Sudan	Kenya	D.R. Congo	-	Kenya
19 th	Colombia	Kenya	C.A. Republic	Kenya	D.R. Congo	Sudan	-	Turkey
20 th	Sudan	USA	Niger	C.A.Rep.	Cameroon	South Sudan	-	Israel

Source: Global Terrorism Index (2012-2019).

The above global ranking impact of terrorism was adapted from annual database of Global Terrorism Index (GTI) Report from 2012 to 2019. As demonstrated in the table, Top 20 countries that suffered terrorist attacks between 2012 and 2019 were systematically presented in a tabular form. Nigeria, Iraq and Afghanistan dominated the list within the period. Meanwhile, the major terrorist group in Nigeria within this

period is Boko Haram. The terrorist attacks resulting from Boko Haram menace on Nigeria had earned her 3rd position in the list of countries with most terrorist impact in five years consecutively (2015-2019). This is an indication that Nigeria's security profile had been seriously battered and negatively affected by Boko Haram menace because where terrorism prevails; peace and security are usually battered.

Table 2: Security Threats Index (STI), Profile of Countries based on Security threats, the 20 most threatened countries in the world (2009-2019).

Year	2019	2018	2017	2016	2015	2014	2013	2012	2011	2010	2009
A.I.P	5.54	5.63	5.69	5.66	5.72	5.69	5.76	5.79	5.75	5.68	5.65
1	Afghanistan 10.00	Afghanistan 10.00	Afghanistan 10.00	Afghanistan 10.00	Afghanistan 10.00	Afghanistan 10.00	D.R. Congo 10.00	Somalia 10.00	Somalia 10.00	Somalia 10.00	Somalia 10.00
2	Yemen 10.00	Syria 9.90	Iraq 10.00	Iraq 10.00	Iraq 10.00	Iraq 10.00	Iraq 10.00	Iraq 9.90	Afghanistan 9.80	Chad 9.90	Afghanistan 9.90
3	Syria 9.80	Yemen 9.90	Syria 9.80	Syria 10.00	Syria 10.00	Syria 10.00	Afghanistan 9.90	Afghanistan 9.70	C.A.R. 9.70	D.R.C 9.80	Chad 9.90
4	Somalia 9.60	Philippines 9.80	Yemen 9.80	Yemen 10.00	Yemen 10.00	C.A.R. 9.90	Pakistan 9.80	D.R.C 9.70	D.R.C 9.60	Sudan 9.80	D.R.C. 9.70
5	Chad 9.50	Somalia 9.70	Philippines 9.70	Nigeria 9.70	Nigeria 9.90	Pakistan 9.90	Sudan 9.80	Sudan 9.70	Sudan 9.60	Afghanistan 9.70	Iraq 9.70
6	Mali 9.50	Chad 9.50	Libya 9.60	Somalia 9.70	C.A.R 9.80	Sudan 9.60	Syria 9.80	Yemen 9.70	Iraq 9.50	C.A.R. 9.70	Sudan 9.70

7	Philip... 9.50	Libya 9.30	Chad 9.40	Libya 9.60	Somalia 9.70	Nigeria 9.50	Yemen 9.80	C.A.R. 9.60	Pakista n..9.40	Pakista n..9.70	Zimba bwe 9.70
8	Lybia 9.00	Mali 9.30	Somalia 9.40	Philippi.. 9.40	Pakistan 9.60	Yemen 9.50	C.A.R 9.70	Guinea 9.40	Guinea 9.30	Iraq 9.50	C.A.R 9.60
9	Nigeria. .8.80	C.A.R. 9.10	Nigeria 9.20	Pakistan 9.30	D.R.C 9.50	D.R.C 9.40	Somalia 9.70	G.Bissau 9.40	G.Biss au 9.30	Guinea 9.40	Pakista n 9.50
10	D.R. C 8.80	D.R.C. 9.10	Pakistan 9.10	C.A.R. 9.20	Sudan 9.50	Somalia 9.40	G.Bissa u 9.50	Pakistan 9.30	Yemen 9.30	Nigeri a 9.30	Guinea 9.40
11	Mexico 8.80	Zimbab we 9.10	C.A.R. 9.00	D.R.C. 9.20	Libya 9.30	Guinea 9.20	Nigeria 9.50	Nigeria 9.20	Chad 9.20	Zimba bwe 9.20	Nigeri a 9.40
12	Zimbab. .8.80	Burma 9.00	D.R.C 9.00	Mali 9.20	Philippi. .9.10	Libya 9.20	Chad 9.40	Libya 9.00	Nigeri a 9.10	G.Biss au 8.90	S.Lank a 9.20
13	Burma 8.70	Iraq 9.00	Mali 9.00	Russia 9.20	Russia 9.10	Chad 9.10	Guinea 9.10	Chad 8.90	Zimba bwe 9.00	Iran 8.90	Leban on 9.10
14	Iraq 8.70	Guinea 8.90	Sudan 9.00	Sudan 9.20	Guinea 8.90	I. Coast 8.80	I. Coast 9.10	I. Coast 8.90	Leban on 8.70	Leban on 8.90	Uzbek ...9.00
15	Niger 8.70	Nigeria 8.90	Thailan d 9.00	Thailand 9.20	Thailan d 8.90	Philippi ...8.80	Libya 8.90	Zimbabw e 8.70	Iran 8.60	Yemen 8.90	Eq.Gui ...8.60
16	Burundi 8.60	Pakistan 8.80	Burma 8.90	Chad 9.10	Chad 8.80	G.Bissau 8.60	Philipp ...8.70	Syria 8.50	I. Coast 8.60	Uzbek ...8.8 0	Iran 8.60
17	C.A.R 8.60	Ethiopia 8.70	G.Bissa u 8.90	G.Bissau 9.10	G.Bissa u 8.80	Lebanon 8.60	Iran 8.60	Lebanon 8.40	Ugand a 8.60	Ugand a 8.70	G.Biss au 8.50
18	Guinea 8.60	Sudan 8.70	Russia 8.90	Burundi 9.00	Lebano n 8.80	Russia 8.60	Lebano n 8.50	Philippin es 8.40	Burma 8.50	SriLan ka 8.50	I. Coast 8.50
19	Camero on 8.50	Thailan d 8.70	Burundi 8.80	Guinea 9.00	Mali 8.70	N.Korea .8.50	Russia 8.50	Iran 8.30	Uzbeki ... 8.50	Eq. Guinea 8.40	Burma 8.40
20	Pakistan 8.50	G.Bissa u 8.60	Guinea 8.80	Lebanon 8.90	Niger 8.70	Niger 8.40	Sri Lanka 8.50	Uganda 8.30	Haiti 8.40	Burma 8.20	Haiti 8.40

Source: Adapted from TheGlobalEconomy.com

Table 2 presented the ranking of states based on security threats with Average Index Point (A.I.P) and Index Point of each country annually between 2009 and 2019. The maximum index is 10.00. Therefore, any country whose index point is above the annual Average Index Point is considered to be encountering serious security threats due to terrorism and other internal conflicts that threaten the security of states. Nigeria had her lowest index point in 2018 with 8.90 being the 15th on the list. However, this is very high according to security threats index as it is far beyond A.I.P (5.63) for the year. Also, in 2015, due to high rise in Boko Haram menace, Nigeria had its highest security threat index with 9.90 being

the 5th position on the list; this was considered extremely high. From the table, it is so obvious that Nigeria's security had been threatened seriously since 2009 with index point of 9.40. Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, Yemen, Democratic Republic of Congo and few other states including Nigeria, had frequently featured as least secured states in the world. This is due to the high rate of terrorism in the territories.

Boko Haram Menace and Nigeria's Diplomatic Relations

The relationship between Nigeria and the United States (U.S.) had been a strong one since 1960. Throughout this period, the

U.S. has actively supported Nigeria in terms of direct financial aids, grants, assistance in securing World Bank loan and supply of military equipments and personnel to Nigeria. Also, the trade relations between the two countries have improved through active diplomacy (Obiozo, 1992). Recently, Nigeria's diplomatic relations with the international community, particularly, the United States has become battered due to Boko Haram menace cum security perception of Nigeria by the international community, this has resulted to name calling, immigration ban, visa ban/restrictions, extra caution in dealing with Nigerian nationals abroad, violation of United Nations Human Rights law, tagging and inclusion of Nigeria in the list of terrorist states.

Nigeria's diplomatic relations with the U.S. became strained following the December 25th, 2009 attempted suicide attack that was carried out by a Nigerian, Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab (a suspected member of Boko Haram) on American Airline. Following the failed attack, the United States enlisted Nigeria in her terrorist watch list, consequently, the healthy diplomatic relations between the two countries started declining. Nigeria, in retaliatory response through her National Assembly, gave the United States a seven-day ultimatum to de-list Nigeria from the terror watch list. On January 27, 2020, Nigeria was included in the list of six countries that were added to the initial 7 visa ban countries to make a total of 13 countries by Donald Trump administration. Citizens and immigrants from Kyrgyzstan, Myanmar, Eritrea, Nigeria, Sudan, Tanzania and the initial 7 which included Iran, Libya, Somalia, Syria, Yemen, Venezuela and North Korea would no longer be allowed to migrate to the U.S. permanently but only on temporary visas, such as tourists, students and foreign workers (Narea, 2020). The reason for this action was confirmed in a speech delivered immediately after the visa ban by the United States' White House Press Secretary (Stephanie Grisham) that says;

..it is fundamental to national security and the height of common sense, that if a foreign nation wishes to receive the benefits of immigration and travel to the United States, it must satisfy the basic security conditions outlined by America's law enforcement and intelligence professionals(Narea, 2020).

The above statement clearly depicts the ban as merely a matter of United States' national security by avoiding the perceived countries that are under the threats of terrorism or perceived unsecured states by the international community. Obviously, all the included countries had been frequently found in the top list of the most terrorized countries in the world, this is a clear indication that Boko Haram menace has seriously affected Nigeria's diplomatic relations with other countries. However, there is no concrete evidence whether any of the 13 listed countries has posed a direct security threat to the United States

since many of them are only dealing with domestic/homegrown terrorism, although, it may be from the U.S. perception that Nigeria's terrorism based menace has a link with Al-Qaeda. As noted by Osaretin and Ajebon (2012: P. 58), "the belief in Washington is that terrorism practiced locally has the potential someday to be practiced internationally".

As reported by Osaretin and Ajebon (2012: P. 59), "the diplomatic row between Nigeria and the United States of America over the listing of Nigeria among the 14 terrorist countries generated a lot of ripples". By implication, the U.S imposed Transportation Security Administration (TSA) as a new security measures on passengers travelling from or through nations that were considered as state sponsors of terrorism or other countries of interest which include Nigeria, Cuba, Iran, Sudan, Syria and 9 others will be required to go through an enhanced and random security threat-based screening. The effect of this measure on Nigeria can be analyzed in two ways; that western/developed countries would be extra-cautious in dealing with Nigerians on their arrival abroad as they would not want their image/reputation to be battered by countries under a terror watch-list. Secondly, foreign investors would be discouraged as they cherish security. The prevalent Boko Haram cum insecurity in Nigeria must have attracted the attention of the United States which resulted to the decision in tagging Nigeria a terrorism sponsoring state. Due to the increased Boko Haram menace cum other security challenges, the United States put Nigeria on the immigration ban list of countries with weak intelligence and security on how to tackle terrorism. An instance of this was the travel warning issued by the US Department of State in 2016 on its website where it cautioned its citizens to avoid all travels to some states due to security reasons, stating that security there remains unpredictable. The Department strongly urged the US citizens in Nigeria to consider their own personal security and take into cognizance personal safety in their travel plans to Nigeria and also to be vigilant around Nigeria's security facilities, hotels, worship centres among others (Odeku, 2020: P. 5).

President Donald Trump's targeting of Africa and Nigeria in particular for mockery, by calling the African continent a 'shithole' and Nigeria, a 'hut' (Ogundipe, 2017) was a result of the incessant attacks from Boko Haram and general insecurity. Consequently, this disrepute made President Donald Trump to invite Nigeria's President to the White House in what is largely perceived in the country as a move to patch up the ruptured US-Nigerian diplomatic relations and put their bilateral relations on a more secure basis. However, the State visits failed to achieve anything significant in reviving the goodwill both sides had enjoyed over the years. It only helped to deepen distrust between the two powers as Trump reportedly insulted the Nigerian President (Muhammad Buhari), describing him as 'lifeless' due to inactions of Nigerian leaders and failure to adequately fight Boko Haram menace and insecurity in their country (Inyang, 2018). In a report on the level of insecurity among the members

of Economic Community of West African states (ECOWAS), Nigeria was rated as the state with the highest military personnel of over 130,000, meanwhile, the state with the highest number of criminalities and insecurities compared to other West African States. Consequently, due to the security threats in Nigeria, the international community has rendered assistance to management of conflicts and promotion of peace and security in Africa (Alli, 2012). The implication of this assertion is that the Boko Haram menace has influenced negatively, the image of Nigeria both at the regional and international

Boko Haram Menace and Nigeria’s International Military Relation

Terrorism cum insecurity has also affected Nigeria’s healthy military relations with the United States. As observed by McGregor (2015), Nigeria’s urgent need for more offensive arms such as Cobra Attack Helicopters and other sophisticated military weapons to fight Boko Haram group and improve her security conditions have resulted to several abuse and name calling of Nigeria by other countries and consequently, Nigeria had been regarded as a state without regard for human rights due to the unsuccessful fight against Boko Haram menace which has led to detention of innocent citizens, arbitrary arrest of individuals, intimidations and harassment of the residents. By implication, many states (United States, South Africa and Israel) have denied Nigeria the purchase some military weapons due to the nation’s abuse of, and violation of the United Nations Human Rights law that resulted from the fight against Boko Haram menace.

Consequently, the U.S government has refused to render military assistance based on the implementation of the Leahy Law against Nigeria. The law was specially enacted within the US external relations to deny the US military assistance to foreign military units involved in the violations of human rights (Foreign Affairs, 2017; Serafino, 2012). The abuse of human right tag on Nigeria by the United States also shaped her relations with Israel and Brazil as they both refused to sell ‘offensive’ weapons to Nigeria due to United States’ pressure (Entwistle, 2014: P. 53). The United States arms embargo imposed on Nigeria were considered by Nigerians as betrayal by a friend that failed to help Nigeria in its time of crises (Siollum, 2018).

Also, President Barak Obama’s Nigerian policy during the administration of the President Goodluck Jonathan especially, the regime’s refusal to supply the Nigerian Airforce with Cobra Attack Aircraft in fighting Boko Haram and insecurity threats. All these helped to wreak a serious damage to the US-Nigerian military relations. Based on this, Nigeria was forced to turn to

South African Black Market to procure weapons. However, the weapons sales were blocked by the South African government who described the botched deal as illegal due to pressure of the U.S. Nigeria had no option than to approach Russia who had not been in good relations for years due to Russia’s supports for the quest for Biafran nation by the IPOB (Ibekwe, 2014). Thus, this urgent diplomatic relation can be considered as begging one’s enemy for help and also made Nigeria a laughing stock of the international community. Also, this describes the extent to which Boko Haram cum insecurity has affected Nigeria’s military relations with other countries.

Boko Haram Menace and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Nigeria

Every country, particularly, a developing states like Nigeria, needs rapid economic development. One of the major ways to ensure economic development is creating an enabling environment that is investors (local and foreign) friendly. As pointed out by Obiekwe (2018: P. 7), “a country where terrorists regularly bomb, kidnap, kill innocent people and destroy villages and social facilities can never be a safe haven for investment”, by implication, economic progress is far from a country that is a hostage to insecurity. The report by Aro (2013: P. 5) depicts that Boko Haram menace has brought some harmful effects to Nigerian business performance and operations. As the scholar observed, for almost a decade, “Boko Haram has not only led to the closure or abandonment of people’s business activities within the affected region but also led to immigration of people from affected region”. In essence, billions of dollars have been lost by manufacturers leading to decline in Nigeria’s Foreign Direct Investment, while many investors have abandoned Nigeria for other countries with stable and peaceful environment.

Afolabi (2015) noted that Boko Haram menace has added to the fear of foreign investors in Nigeria as none of them would like to invest in an environment of fear and insecurity, consequently, the high rate of terrorism in Northern Nigeria has resulted in a low level of Foreign Direct Investment as foreign investors are now afraid to invest in Nigeria. Bayeiwu (2012) also pointed out that no foreign investors will invest newly in Nigeria with the trending security challenges as international investors are diverting to safer environments. In the report of Nwogwugwu (2012) on Nigeria’s attractiveness for foreign investors, the scholar pinpointed the end of 2009 as the inception of serious decline in Nigeria’s Foreign Direct Investment. The inflow of Foreign Direct Investment to the country had seriously declined as many foreign investors have been scared away by the terrorist activities in the country.

Table 3: Nigeria’s Foreign Direct Investment, Percent per GDP (2009-2019)

Year	Nigeria in World Ranking	Value of Nigeria FDI for the year	Average Value of all Countries
2009	95 of 187 countries	2.93	9.56
2010	134 of 187 countries	1.67	9.73
2011	118 of 187 countries	2.18	9.3

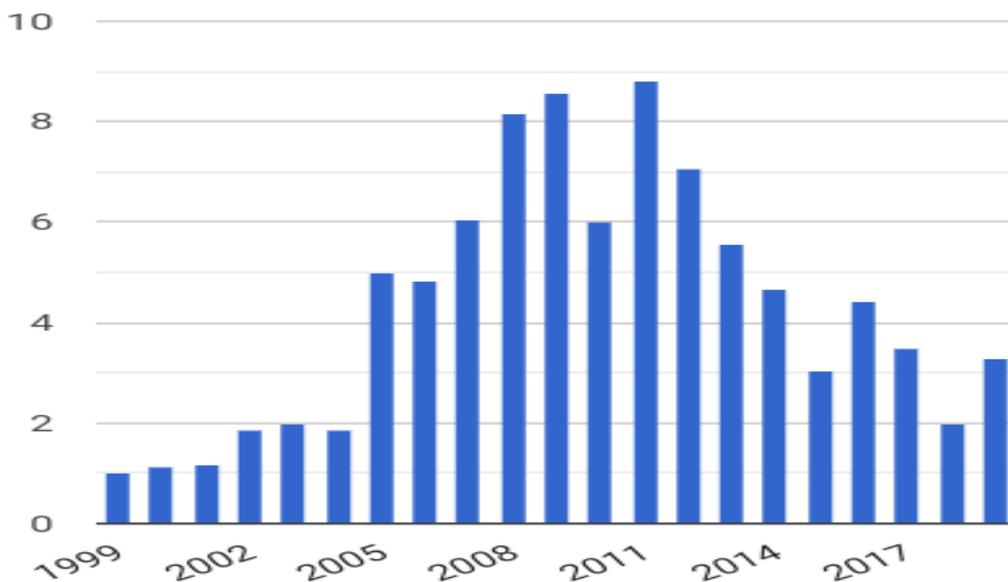
2012	137 of 186 countries	1.55	10.07
2013	146 of 186 countries	1.09	5.26
2014	150 of 186 countries	0.86	6.28
2015	153 of 184 countries	0.63	12.68
2016	135 of 184 countries	1.10	10.01
2017	149 of 184 countries	0.93	7.44
2018	155 of 183 countries	0.50	4.01
2019	148 of 178 countries	0.74	4.15

Source: https://www.theglobaleconomy.com/rankings/Foreign_Direct_Investment/#Nigeria

Table 3 above unveils the effects of insecurity arising from Boko Haram menace on Nigeria’s Foreign Direct Investment from 2009 to 2019. The highest value of FDI into Nigeria within the reviewed period was 2.93 in 2009; this was the year Boko Haram menace started in Nigeria, although, there was low FDI into Nigeria and far from the average of all countries (9.56). With consistent Boko Haram activities, Nigeria’s lowest value of FDI within the reviewed year was in 2018 with the value of 0.50, that was when Boko Haram menace had terribly shaped Nigeria’s international security image,

followed by 2015, 2017 and 2019 with the value of 0.63, 0.93 and 0.74 respectively. From the year 2015 to 2019, Nigeria’s FDI continued to encounter serious decline due to frequent Boko Haram menace and Nigeria was frequently rated 3rd in the list of the most terrorized countries in the world (Global Terrorism Index, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018 and 2019). This is an indication that Boko Haram menace has seriously affected Nigeria’s international security profile in the area of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) as the level of patronage by foreign investors steadily declined.

Figure 1: The trend of Nigeria’s Foreign Direct Investment, billion USD (1999-2019)



Source: https://www.theglobaleconomy.com/rankings/Foreign_Direct_Investment/#Nigeria

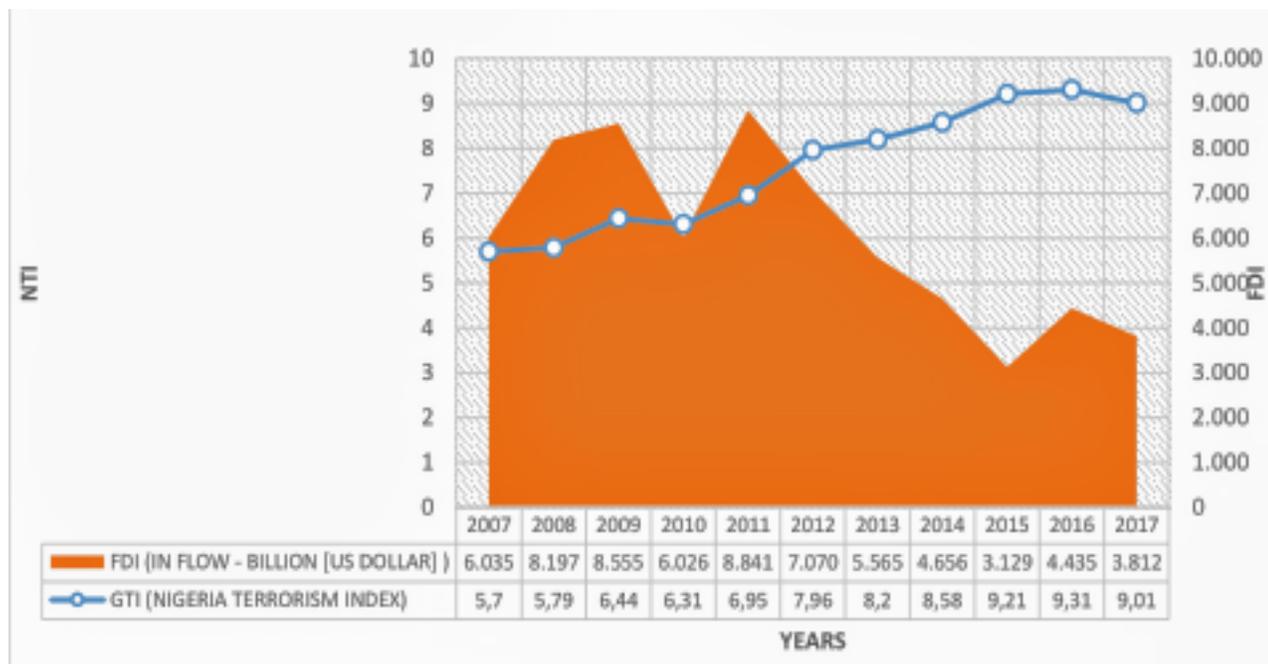
The figure 1 illustrates the annual trend of Foreign Direct Investment in Nigeria in billion USD, ranges from 0 to 10 billion USD before and during Boko Haram menace. The first look at this chart shows a continuous increase in Nigeria’s FDI in the first 11 years (1999-2009), there was a significant increase in Nigeria’s FDI, from 1.0 billion USD to 8.56 billion USD. However, due to the upsurge of Boko Haram menace

between 2009 and 2010, Nigeria had her greatest decline in FDI, from 8.56 in 2009 to 6.03bn USD, in 2019; Nigeria’s FDI has declined to 3.30bn USD due to fear of insecurities cum terrorism by foreign investors, by implication, Nigeria’s FDI had been seriously affected by Boko Haram menace and fear of insecurity by potential foreign investors.

In the view of Joseph *et al* (2015), Boko Haram terrorism has many effects on Nigeria's international business. This had equally been supported in other research reports which concluded that insecurity in Nigeria has negative effects on her FDI by scaring away foreign investors, reducing productive capacity, draining economic resources among others (Otto and Ukpere, 2012). More so, many international

bodies through their reports, have given Nigeria different negative ratings, while some others have predicted the total disintegration of Nigeria (check the annual reports of Global Terrorism Index and Security Threats Index between 2009 and 2019). In essence, all these are causes of concern for any potential investor thinking of investing in the country.

Figure 2: Relationship between Nigeria Terrorism Index (NTI) and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) into Nigeria (2007-2017)



Source: Jelilov, Ozden and Briggs (2018: P. 52)

The Figure 2 above depicts the relationship between Nigeria Terrorism Index (NTI) and Foreign Direct Investment into the country. As portrayed in the chart, the relationship between NTI and FDI into Nigeria in the reviewed years shows a significant negative value as Nigeria had an increase in security challenges between 2007 and 2017; FDI that reached its peak in 2011 declined significantly to a low level in 2015 and NTI was at its highest levels of 9.21 in 2015 and 9.31 in 2016 from 2007. In essence, the more NTI increases, the lower the FDI into Nigeria.

Boko Haram Menace and foreigners' security perception of Nigeria's Tourism

Destination image is an important aspect within the process of choosing a holiday destination. Ezenagu and Enohuan (2017) pointed out destination image as an influencing factor that determines both the actual situation of the tourist destination and behaviour, therefore, factors such as political uprising, terrorist attacks and other social conflicts are taken into consideration by travelers and travel agencies while deciding where to visit during holidays. In a nutshell, this implies that terrorism has a significant effect on tourism patronage. The negative impacts of Boko Haram menace on

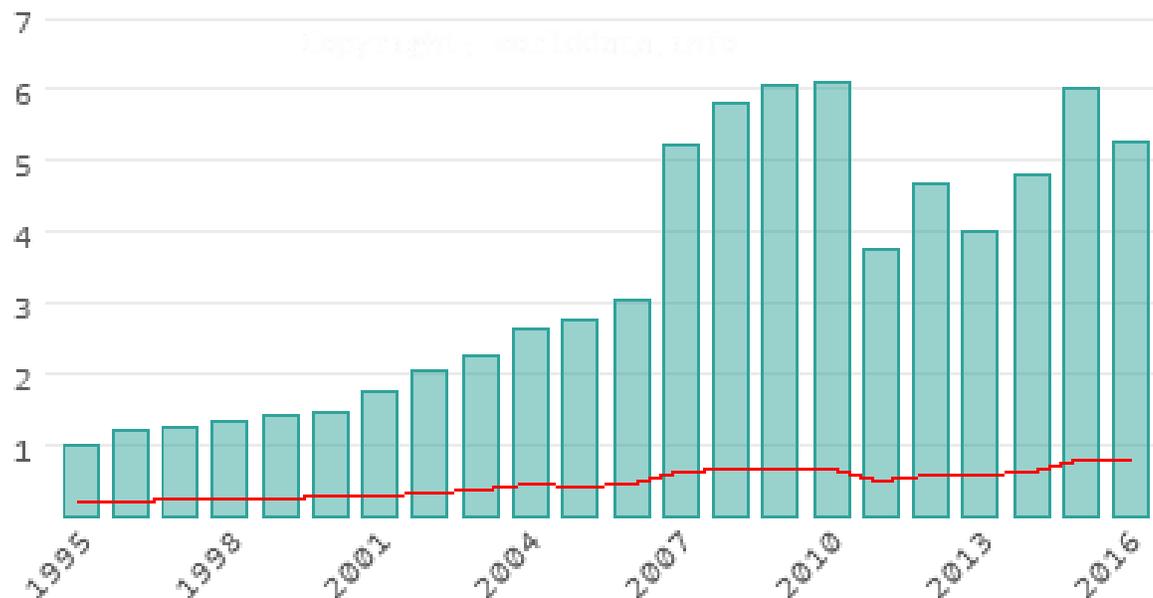
Nigeria's tourism can be confirmed on its attack on Sukur World Cultural Heritage in Madagali local government area of Adamawa State, Nigeria. The cultural centre was formerly designated by United Nations Organization for Education, Science and Culture (UNESCO) as its first World Heritage Site in 1999 and also, a jewel of Nigeria's tourism (Oluwafemi and Stephen, 2018: P. 146). The site was claimed to be the biggest international tourism centre in Nigeria and Africa's first cultural landscape being patronized by significant number of international and domestic tourists on daily basis before the frequent attacks by Boko Haram group on the area between 2014 and 2017 (Garba, 2017). By implication, the Boko Haram attack on Sukur community on September 17th-24th 2014 changed the perception of foreigners and the international community on the tourist center. Many traditional architectural structures were destroyed; many short residents and 73 horses were burnt including livestock and other cultural materials. The attack disrepute and altered the integrity of this world heritage site and consequently, over 200 billion Naira was lost. This would have boosted Nigerian economy as profits from festivals when the tourist boards flights, book hotels, among others (Okeke 2005). In essence, up till the time of this study, Sukur

community no longer exist as a cultural landscape since terrorism and insecurity in Nigeria have discouraged foreigners from visiting the area. The continuous insecurity in Nigeria has reportedly led to the closure of many amusement parks, national parks, game reserves and other public relaxation centres due to the strong warnings by the various security experts to avoid such places (Ezenagu and Enohuean, 2017). Another effect of insecurity as it affects tourism in Nigeria was the July 26 2009 Boko Haram attack in Maiduguri which lasted for about four days. The attack scared both local and foreign tourists while hospitality and tourism were always at the receiving end (Adebayo and Adebayo, 2015). By implication, Nigeria will continue to gain international disrepute due to Boko Haram menace and also deprive foreigners from visiting the country for holidays and other purposes.

The survey conducted by Ukah and Ejaro (2019) on the effects of Boko Haram threats on foreigners' perception and patronage of Yankari Game Reserve, Bauchi State of Nigeria between 2013 and 2019, showed that 11 tourists representing 27.5% affirmed to have visited the game reserve while 29 representing 72.5% of the tourists, mostly foreigners affirmed not to have visited the Yankari Game reserve in the past six years due to fear of terrorism and insecurity. During the reviewed years, the patronage level of the tourist site was low as majority of the tourists affirmed not to have visited the place in the past six years. By implication, the study showed that Boko Haram menace cum insecurity in Nigeria has

negative impact on tourists' choice of destination. In essence, as observed in Deemua and Ogujiafor (2013), any tourist destination with records of insecurities usually experiences reduction in the number of visitors because of the fear of being harassed or attacked. In the same report, but on staff assessment on tourists' patronage before and after the emergence of Boko Haram menace showed that 80.3% affirmed of the respondents affirmed that the patronage was very high before the upsurge of Boko Haram debacle while only 5.6% affirmed in contrary. On the other hand, after the emergence of Boko Haram menace, 71.1% of the staff affirmed that the patronage was very low while only 12.7% affirmed that the patronage was still high. In essence, this implies that Foreigner's patronage into Nigeria's hospitalities declined due to the Boko Haram menace. In 2010, a report by the U.S. Department of State observed in Oduabasi and Arokoyu (2020) warned United States' citizens against travelling to Nigeria due to insecurity threats, particularly terrorism. More so, in 2011, the U.S. Mission in Nigeria also advised her citizens to keep off some of Nigeria's biggest hotels including Sheraton, Transcorp Hilton and Nicon Luxury due to frequent threats of Boko Haram attacks. By implication, the frequent travel advice and warnings by the United States government to her citizens on Nigeria's tourism and hospitality industries due to Boko Haram menace posed some negative effects to Nigeria's international security profile as it serves as a great disrepute to Nigeria and also a signal to the international community that Nigeria is not secured.

Figure 3: Number of tourist arrivals registered in Nigeria annually (1995-2016), in millions



Source: WorldData.info

The figure 3 illustrates the number of tourist arrivals registered in Nigeria annually from 1995 to 2016. Anyone

who spends at least a night but does not reside more than 12months is considered by the report as a tourist. The purpose

of the trip is mainly for tourism, other non-tourism and business visits were excluded. Data in the chart are given in millions of tourists while the red line as shown in the chart represents the average of all 15 West African countries. The first glance through chart depicts a continuous increase in Nigeria's tourist arrivals annually, from 1995-2009. There was a great increase between 2006 and 2007, from 3.06 million to 5.24 million. There was no significant increase between 2009 and 2010 due to the upsurge of Boko Haram menace and between 2010 and 2011; there was a great decline in Nigeria tourism patronage due to the continuous activities of Boko Haram as it decreased from 6.11million to 3.77 million. Between 2011 and 2016, the Nigeria tourism patronage dwindled due to activities of Boko Haram. In essence, Nigeria's tourism patronage and foreigners' perception of Nigeria's hospitality industry had been negatively influenced by Boko Haram quagmire.

Another dimension of the whole discussions is the cancellation of many international events in Nigeria. As observed in Matthew and Fada (2014: 57), the prevalent Boko Haram menace led to the cancellation of international football games between the Super Eagles of Nigeria and Samba Boys of Brazil in 2012. More so, Arsenal, one of the top English Premier League (EPL) clubs proposed tour visit to Nigeria in 2012 were reportedly cancelled due to fear of insecurity and terrorist attacks (Deemua et al, 2013). In essence, the cancellation of sport-related visits to Nigeria did not only affect tourism industry but her national economy as tourism contributes significantly to every economy.

Conclusion

The main thrust of this paper was to appraise the effects of Boko Haram on Nigeria's international security profile. From the foregoing, it is evident that Boko Haram menace has earned Nigeria much disrepute and bad security image in the international system and it has negatively shaped her relations with the international community in the areas of FDI, diplomatic relations, foreign perception of Nigeria's tourism, abuse of United Nations Human Rights among others. Thus, there is urgent need for Nigerian government to come up with updated security-image rebranding policy, as well as, step up her national and international campaigns against terrorism, etc. in order to change the negative perceptions of the international community about Nigeria. This will go a long way in redeeming her international socio-political and economic relations already battered by the Boko Haram menace and as well, improve her international security profile.

Based on this, an urgent solution is needed. Boko Haram menace is therefore a great threat to Nigeria's international security profile.

Recommendations

Based on findings of the study, the following recommendations are made:

- ❖ Nigerian government should come up with security-image rebranding policy cum international campaigns against terrorism in order to change the negative perceptions of the International Community against Nigeria, this will go a long way in redeeming her cordial socio-political cum economic relations battered by Boko Haram menace within International Community.
- ❖ There should be sincerity of purpose by Nigerian government in its fight against Boko Haram menace. Nigeria has sent her military personnel to different countries for peace-keeping mission and they performed wonderfully well.
- ❖ The Nigerian government should take into cognizance, the policy recommendations made by various studies and academic research conducted in the area of Boko Haram menace and other security threats. This will further enable the government to have more clues on how to combat Boko Haram menace and improve Nigeria's international security profile.

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