

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background to the Study

Our large and complex world experiences close interactions amongst states, non-state actors, multinational corporations and other groups that make up the study of international relations. The complexities of these interactions make international relations a fascinating and yet challenging academic discipline. As an academic field, international relations have 'uncertain' boundaries in terms of its scope of coverage. Hence, the study of international relations covers politics, economics, sociology, geography, security studies and peace and conflict studies.

However, it is imperative to explicate that, there are two known actors that form the 'center of analysis' in international relations. They are the *state actors* and the *non-state actors*. State actors, whether big or small, developed or underdeveloped are countries that make up the entire globe. They are the countries/states that dominate each continent in the international system. Even though there is no unique definition of a state because of who and what makes or form a state; a generally used definition of the term is the Montevideo Convention of 1933 which defined a state as "a person of international law with a defined geographical area, population, a controlling authority and has the influence to facilitate diplomatic interactions with other states¹. A state enjoys autonomy and does not report to a superior authority; it has jurisdiction over its territory and its sovereignty is respected by other states in the international system through diplomatic relations and membership of international institutions².

In the same vein, non-state actors refer to persons or organizations with significant political influence but with no alliance to any definite state. Non-state actors are corporations, media organizations, lobby groups, religious groups and aid agencies who have their headquarters in one state, but their branches are in other states³. Although, their interests, structure and influence of these

actors vary widely. The most important actors of international relations are states. This is because states have no higher authority and they (state) have a government through which the country is operated. In the final analysis, states are controlled by human beings who are obviously considered as the political leader or ruler depending on the nature of the system of government in operation by the states⁴.

Meanwhile, governments all over the world have the fundamental responsibilities of ensuring the security and general well-being of their citizens. It is on this knowledge that each state puts adequate measures in place to ensure its citizens fulfill their obligations without fear or molestation. Hence, the security and safety of the citizens is critical to the survival of the any government. The capability or capacity of any sovereign state to resist external occupation and dominance is the conventional definition of national security. Although the concept has gone beyond that, national security now seems to be a concept that every nation has to protect or guide in a diplomatic and careful manner. Hence, national security entails the need to preserve and guarantee the survival of a state through the judicious use of diplomacy, power projection, economic and political power. In order to entrench a tight national security, states have to ensure and consolidate the energy, social, environmental and economic security of their state⁴.

It is imperative to state that, security threats may or may not emanate from conventional adversaries such as state actors; violent non-state actors and individuals can also constitute threat to states and instill fear in the citizens. Other security threats which encompasses natural disasters and events resulting in severe damage to the environment, fall into this classification. In Nigeria however, the country's nascent democracy is being threatened by various crimes and an unprecedented reign of terror. For instance, in the South, civil unrest, kidnapping, banditry and farmers/herders clashes threaten the peace, stability and safety of the region. In the East, gangs who intend to kidnap expatriates and rich men for ransom wait patiently on the roads, bars, cities and other strategic places.

In the North, religious and community conflict, the Boko Haram terrorist onslaught and banditry are intensifying both in intensity and brutality; hence the dangerous group has posed audacious security challenges to the government⁴. To this extent, there is no doubt that the major challenge to Nigeria's national security is the urgent need to subdue and contain the numerous manifestations of violent crimes being perpetrated by various known vicious and other hidden terrorist groups.

In the past decade, the responsibilities of government globally have been threatened by ill-motivated radicalized groups who carry out act of terrorism or terror to instill fear and cause chaos in the society. This act has generated a lot of debate from practitioners, scholars and diplomats. It is a fact today, that the act of terrorism is a major challenge for countries in the international system because states which do not have terrorists in or within their territories have been victims of terrorist attacks⁵.

Terrorism as a global phenomenon is threatening the security architecture of every state and Nigeria is not immuned from such. The concept of terrorism is a very difficult one to associate with a single universal definition, essentially because the concept refers to a whole lot of interlocking variables, events and trends, such that whenever the term is mentioned, it provokes so much passion and emotions from the victims as well as persons witnessing the inhuman acts. The difficulty in defining terrorism stems from the need to establish the basis for the determination of the legitimacy of violence, in terms of the purpose, victim and the perpetrator. This opinion was corroborated when a scholar posits that:

Terrorism is a highly contextual phenomenon and indeed all politics is local; we sometimes hear a lot of the discussions about terrorism as if it is monolithic, easily understood term, but it is really the opposite. Terrorism is a complex issue that has been studied and debated for several decades. In fact, there are dozens of competing definitions of the term, not only among scholars, but among policymakers and government agencies as well. But one thing holds, constant-terrorist attacks do not occur in a vacuum, but we are instead a product of complex interactions between individuals, organizations and environment⁴.

There are diverse opinions and perceptions about terrorism. This has elicited different definitions of the concept. The definition of terrorism is eclectic in nature; but an attempt will be made to examine the etymology of the concept. This will be done in the next chapter of the research work. However, a simple definition of the concept of terrorism is the indiscriminate and unlawful use of violence to create fear and anarchy in a society towards achieving religious, ideological or political endstate⁶. In addition, terrorism can be defined as “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 or any number 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:

- a. Intimidate, create fear, coerce or induce any government, body or institutions, 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
- b. Disrupt any public service, the delivery of any essential service to the public or to create a public emergency or
- c. Create general insurrection in a state”⁶.

From the foregoing, it could be deduced that terrorism so far is a ‘deliberate’ show off of individuals, groups and state to create fear with a political, social and economic undertone. To this extent, terrorism is a “violent attack” or attacks carried out to register a demand and feelings of aggrieved person or individuals. It is a mean to an end which may be political, social, economic, religious or racial reasons. Terrorist acts are not limited to a particular continent region or sub-region. Terrorist acts are international acts which have inflicted losses and irreparable damages across nations. The intensity of terrorism varies from nation to nation, hence the different response initiatives used to tackle the deadly act. The unprecedented level of insecurity occasioned by terrorism has continued to pose the National Question in Nigeria. The national question derives from the plural and multi-

ethnic nature of Nigeria. It is linked with the structural defects and imbalances which characterised the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates of Nigeria in 1914. Since Nigeria's independence in 1960, there have been challenges of insecurity, intolerance and strife manifesting in the form ethnic and religious crises. Additionally, Nigeria has been experiencing the manipulation of the political structure by privileged elites at the expense of the majority of other citizens. The national question stems from the political, economic and social inequalities in the country. It outlines the difficulties that must be addressed for national survival as well as stringent issues which have remained unresolved and now threaten the security of Nigeria¹⁰. Issues such as citizens' security, unbalanced political structure, survival of the federating units, revenue allocation, resource control, ethnic and religious identities amongst others, readily come to mind.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Terrorism is widely seen as a global phenomenon with attendant devastating effects. However, Africa seems to bear the greatest brunt of the consequences of the menace of terrorism. This is largely due to limited military capabilities and resources as well as economic challenges which are characteristics of most countries on the African continent. The fall out of such economic deprivation, lack of education and unemployment, and to some extent, social inequality has led to the establishment of various extremist groups that lure many African youths into terrorism. In West Africa for instance, the activities of Boko Haram terrorist group and other splinter extremist groups have become very worrisome in recent time.

In a United Nations Security Council Report of 10 August 2018, the need for increased funding in aid of sub-regional initiatives to combat terrorism and other transnational organized crimes was highlighted. It observed that, illicit movement and illegal use of small arms and light weapons continue to cause loss of lives and create instability in the West African sub-region⁷. Similar studies by the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) also confirmed its concern⁸. This 'trend of concern' has

adverse effects on national security, peace and development of Nigeria. Many studies attributed the spread of terrorism in West Africa to the propagation of various Islamic ideologies and the establishment of Islamic Caliphates⁹.

Meanwhile, Nigeria has been grappling with the devastating activities of Islamic fundamentalists since the onslaught of the Boko Haram Sect in 2009. The major consequences have been pronounced through the wanton destruction of lives and property, mass displacements of civilian population as well as other atrocities. Despite the laudable initiatives, the menace of terrorism has continued to assume varying dimensions including kidnapping, banditry and other destructive vices in recent time, by marauding Boko Haram terrorists. The need for a peaceful, stable and prosperous country cannot be over-emphasized, hence the focus of this research is to critically study terrorism and the national question in Nigeria.

1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The aim of the study is to critically examine the impact of terrorism on the national question in Nigeria. The objectives of the study are to:

- i. establish the ingredients and characteristics of the National Question in Nigeria.
- ii. highlight how terrorists' operations in Nigeria undermine national security.
- iii. assess the impact of terrorism on national security in Nigeria.
- iv. examine the challenges and prospects of combating terrorism for enhanced national security in Nigeria.
- v. proffer strategies for improved national security in Nigeria.

1.4 Research Questions

The research seeks to answer the following questions:

1. What is the relationship between security and the national question?
2. How does the modus operandi of terrorists undermine national security?
3. What is the impact of terrorism on national security in Nigeria?
4. Are there challenges and prospects in combating terrorism for enhanced national security in Nigeria?
5. What strategies could be adopted to combat terrorism for improved national security in Nigeria?

1.5 Scope of the Study

The research centers on the study of terrorism, the national question and security in Nigeria. The fall-out of global terrorism is felt in Nigeria in varying degrees, with attendant consequences on the national security of the country. However, the intensity of the global menace of terrorism is more in Nigeria, Mali, Cameroon and Niger among others, according to global ranking. The constraints of covering the entire countries in West Africa is enormous, hence, the research would be limited to Nigeria.

The inferences drawn from the study could easily serve as a template for counter-terrorism measures for other countries within the West African sub-region. The choice of Nigeria was informed by the nature of terrorism which is basically that of ideology, ethnic and socio-cultural identities. The experience is similar to other West African states in terms of the impact of terrorism on national security. The study focused on the period between 2009-2022 during which Boko Haram terrorists activities were most pronounced in Nigeria particularly in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa States.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The outcome of this study will be useful for international, regional and sub-regional bodies that are involved in formulating policies to combat terrorism for improved security globally. In particular, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) will find the study useful in instituting sub-regional initiatives against terrorism for improved national security in West Africa. However, the study will be of immense benefit to the Nigerian Government and other governments of the nations of West Africa to effectively address the menace of terrorism in their countries for improved national security.

The study is significant as it provides relevant information to members of the Nigerian Armed forces and other security agencies in the West African sub-region in their quest to combat terrorism for enhanced national security. The study will also contribute to the body of knowledge and aid further research work on terrorism and national security.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

The limitations of the study involve the difficulty in accessing relevant literature as well as official documents and publications on the subject. Poor record-keeping and bureaucracy in some offices restricted access to data. Additionally, the challenges of scheduling interviews with resource persons and victims of terrorism because of their busy schedules cannot be underestimated. The researcher also made efforts to compare documentary data with realities on ground in the course of the field study. One significant limitation in this study was the inherently subjective nature of qualitative studies. Different studies have shown that researchers' subjectivity and biases in the process of data collection, analysis, and interpretation are among the limitations of qualitative research. Another limitation of a qualitative study is the challenge with generalization. Accordingly, the validity and integrity of the research were not affected by the limitations, considering my background as a military officer and a stakeholder.

1.8 Operational Definition of Terms

National Security: Before now, it is common in literature to equate national security with state survival and/or the military strength available to those who occupy public office and to see security as being all about military capacity of a state to defend itself and ward-off any armed conflict. For the purpose of this research, National security will be used to refer to the overall safety of a state or nation and its general citizenry. However, it could also be viewed as the elimination of danger or threats to the ability of a state to protect, secure and develop itself, promote its cherished values and legitimate national interests, and enhance the overall well-being of its citizens. It is the ability of a state to resist all forms of external and internal threats inimical to its survival, thereby ensuring the security, stability and preservation of the system.

National Question: National question is a terminology which refers to a variety of issues related to national development and survival. It encompasses citizens security and how to structure the federating units in order to accommodate the interests of all groups and guarantee access to political power as well as equitable distribution of the resources of the state. Within the framework of this study, national question is herein referred to as those security challenges and difficulties that must be addressed if the country/Nigeria is to survive. It encompasses important issues which bother on the survival of the ethnic nationalities such as citizens security, unbalanced federal structure, resource control, revenue allocation, rotational presidency, lack of equity and justice, ethnic and religious tension amongst others, that have gone unsolved and now endanger the country.

Terrorism: Terrorism is no longer new to Nigerians due to the uncivil acts of Boko Haram terrorist groups in northeastern Nigeria. For the purpose of this research, terrorism would be seen as any unlawful violent act that instills fear within a country. In other words, terrorism is the indiscriminate and unlawful use of violence to kill, maim, create fear and anarchy in a society, towards achieving

religious, ideological or political end-state. Terrorism is always a violent act. Thus, the fear, dread and panic that are associated with terrorism are usually caused by violent acts which terrorists carry out.

Terrorist: A terrorist is a person who engages in unlawful violent acts and intimidation, especially against civilian population, in the pursuit of economic, religious, ideological or political objectives. In other words, it is a violent attack carried out to intimidate civilians, destroy government property and so on. In Northeast Nigeria, terrorists are very likely to try to carry out attacks which could be indiscriminate against a targeted group or community and many more.

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Endnotes

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Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.1 Conceptual Review

2.1.1 Terrorism

Hijacked planes, car bombs and explosions, kidnapping for ransom, beheading; it is almost impossible to turn on the television and other media connections without hearing the word terrorist or terrorism and the manifestations of its characteristics. Since the 9/11 attacks, government worldwide have been challenged with the need to formulate and implement policies that guarantee protection against terrorist acts as well as the need to allay the fears of citizens induced by the media.

A careful consideration of the etymology of the word 'terrorism' helps to clear the confusion in some of the definitions of the term. Terrorism is derived from the Latin verb '*terrere*' which means to *cause to shiver* or to *cause to tremble*. In other words, terrorism is used to mean to frighten or make life uncomfortable for other people within a defined geographic territory by an armed group¹. However, the definition of the concept has gone beyond literal meaning in world politics over the years.

Despite its prevalence in contemporary politics, terrorism can be difficult to define. The divergence in the understanding of the meaning of terrorism arises mainly from the tendency to define it from the point of view of how well or bad it is perceived². Thus, while some analysts have described terrorism as a justifiable action or actions, others identified it as an iniquitous and abominable act that cannot be justified under any guise or circumstances². A scholar once posits that:

The difficulty in assigning a truly comprehensive definition to terrorism lies in the fact that, not only is it challenging to be specific when motives, targets and methods differ so broadly from case-to-case, but the complexity of untangling the overlaps within each of the categories makes the task virtually impossible³.

As there are different perceptions about terrorism, so also are various definitions of the concept. It is pertinent to understand that, terrorism is a cankerworm that destroys innocent lives, undermines the values of humanity, obstructs freedom and human rights as well as impedes development and progress in the world. It is for this reason that terrorism is considered a scourge that threatens all human beings as it obstructs our cherished way of life. It poses a grievous challenge to the economic and political institutions that have been established. It undermines the principle of interaction among nation states; it negates one process and worst of it all, it does not adhere to internationally established standards for conflict resolution⁴.

The concepts of terrorism and counter-terrorism are two interconnected challenges that overwhelmingly define the outlook of the Twenty-First Century security studies. While looking at the concept of terrorism, counter-terrorism, and their intersection, Richard believed that, these concepts have resulted in painful experiences for many people as well as communities in various societies. He further highlights the problematic nature of engaging with the definition of terrorism and determining whether current definitions are fitting with contemporary international terrorist practices. In addition to that, he underscores the importance of re-assessing issues of proportionality and success in countering post-9/11 terrorist threats⁵.

In their book *“Terrorism and Counterterrorism: A Comprehensive Introduction to Actors and Actions*, two different scholars stand out as one of the exemplary literatures for understanding the concept of terrorism. These authors defined terrorism from the perspective of democracy. To them, *terrorism is conceived as a violent political act by a group or by lone actors in furtherance of extremist objectives*. This political violence is criminal in nature because it negates democratic laws and it is directed against a government (via innocent victims) as opposed to aggression that emanates from a foreign state’s military⁶.

They further explained that, the resort to terrorism could be attributed to Sun Tzu's doctrine of asymmetric warfare in which the weaker party exploits the vulnerabilities of its more powerful adversary government thus contending that, if you "kill one, you frighten ten thousand" through the anxiety that stems from the publicity that accompanies such incidents when widely disseminated. While explaining the root cause of terrorism, the authors observed that, political violence in most instances, is a response to the features of the broader dimension in which terrorists operate, as they have wrongly established that only violence can redress their grievances.

While considering the concept of terrorism, a scholar equates the concept of terrorism to the study of human behavior. To him, a complete understanding of terroristic behaviors requires insight into extremist's beliefs. Such an understanding hinges on knowledge of how symbolism is used as a recruitment tool to rationalize and justify violence. Induction based upon ideology is crucial to both the enlistment of single participants and to the development of terrorist groups⁷.

Another definition of the concept of terrorism was made by Anthony Richard in his book, *Conceptualization of Terrorism*. To him, the term terrorism is used for a political purpose that makes it ubiquitous for a very long time. He later contends that, Terrorism is the intentional use of threat of violence or forces, with the primary purpose of causing a 'psychological impact' beyond the immediate victims for a political motive⁸. This definition borrows from a long tradition definition and is of course similar to that of the United States' Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

What is noteworthy with this author is that, he separates terrorism from the morally evaluative framework in which it is enshrined, presenting it as a specific kind of political violence rather than a moral attribution for a certain actor or agent, or as a feature of a specific ideology or cause. This clarifies the idea analytically and compels readers to honestly decide which types of terrorism one disagrees with rather than proclaiming a serious critique of all terrorism⁸.

In the book titled *“Bullet Kills the Terrorist and Insurgent: The Imperative of Deploying Comprehensive Dosage of Non-Kinetic Measures in Nigeria’s Counter-Terrorism, Counter-Insurgency Efforts in the North-East*, an author examined the distinction between a terrorist and freedom fighter. It was stated that:

While one is not condoning mass murder, barbarism, or indiscriminate violence, one must note the long-standing logic that violence can be used by the people or any organization fighting for the people, to terminate injustice (especially political inequality), and struggle for the promotion of the common good⁹.

He therefore concluded that, the difference between a terrorist organization and a liberation organization is whether the organization using forceful actions and terror for political, economic or other purpose is isolated from the masses (terrorism) or operating in the best interest of the masses (freedom fighter)¹⁰.

Terrorism is not an act of the Twenty- First Century. It is as old as Homo sapiens. Terrorism or the act of terrorism has happened from centuries to centuries and different methods, scope, and patterns have been used to carry out the deadly act. States and non-state actors have been involved in the use of terrorism to either suppress oppositions or to express a demand. The earliest form of terrorism involved the use of knife to kill and instill fear in people³.

Historically, the first known act of what is called ‘terrorism’ happened over two thousand years ago. This act was perpetrated by a radical offshoot of the Zealots, a Jewish sect active in Judea (modern day Palestine) during the First Century AD. The Zealots opposed the Roman Empire's rule of what is Israel today, through a determined and calculated campaign which involved assassination. The Zealots fighters used ‘Sica’, which is a primitive dagger to attack their enemies in broad day light especially on feast periods or in crowded market places-where there would be people to witness such violence⁹.

Between 1090 and 1272, however, the *Assassin*- an Islamic Movement used similar tactics in their struggle against the Christians crusaders who had invaded what is part of Syria today; although, there

may be some element of the struggle for self-determination between modern day Israel and Palestine. During this time, *The Assassins* embraced the same notion of self-sacrifice and suicidal martyrdom evident in some Islamic terrorist groups nowadays. It is on this basis that religious fanatics and extremists started announcing itself¹⁰. Thus, religion provided the needed justification for the act of terrorism until the French Revolution between 1789 and 1799.

The situation changed as nationalism, anarchism and other secular political movements emerged during the latter stages of the French Revolution. It must be stressed that, terrorism during this time was anti-monarchical in nature; and it was embraced by rebels and constitutionalist.

The most significant terrorist act was the vicious attack on the World Trade Center in the United States of America on 11 September 2001. The terrorist attack, which was unprecedented in any nation of the world, was carried out by the Al-Qaeda terrorist group and led to the death of more than 3000 people of over 88 nationalities and about 60 billion USD in economic losses, with grievous consequences on the national security of the United States of America¹. The attacks, otherwise referred to as 9/11 attacks, were carried out by 19 terrorists using four hijacked aircraft to destroy their choice targets². In addition, over 400 police officers and firefighters died during the incidents³.

Consequently, the United States of America instituted a global campaign against terrorism, tagged the Global War on Terrorism (GWOT). In 2001 and 2002, the United States of America was ranked first in the Global Terrorism Index (GTI), which is the country most prone to terrorism at the time⁴. Accordingly, the United States of America has continued to conduct its GWOT with significant gains through the destruction of terrorist groups and their leaders such as Al-Qaeda, Islamic States of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL). The United States special operations led to the death of Osama Bin Laden, the then leader of Al-Qaeda terrorist group on 2 May 2011⁵. A similar United States special operation also facilitated the death of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi; leader of ISIL on 26 October 2019⁶. These feats were

products of deliberate efforts to reduce the impact of terrorism on national security in the United States of America.

In Africa, terrorism has become a key threat to security in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks in the United States of America on 11 September 2001. Terrorism being an evolving global issue, is among the most complicated and demanding security challenges to the international community and Africa⁷. Generally, Africa has continued to witness an increased trend of terrorist activities leading to unwarranted violations of peoples' fundamental human rights and forced displacements as well as untold losses and hardship. These terrorist activities are mostly prevalent in the North, East and West Africa⁸. For instance, the Al-Shabaab terrorist group is one of the dominant groups in Africa and responsible for increased instability in the continent. The group's activities which date back to the regime of Siad Barre in the mid-1970s have further polarized the already fragmented Somali society. The United States Department of States has classified the Al-Shabaab terrorist group as a notorious group that poses a serious threat to Africa because of its firm grip on southern and central regions of Somalia⁹. The group's military influence is spread throughout Somalia through fear and intimidation tactics.

Armed conflicts between Al-Shabaab terrorist group and the Somali Army have accounted for the huge displacements of the civilian population, resulting in massive refugee and Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) crises. Accordingly, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) Global Trends Report 2018 observed that over 68 million people were forcibly displaced as at the end of 2017, owing to the nefarious activities of the Al-Shabaab terrorist group in Somalia. The UNHCR Report of 2018 classified Somalia as the fifth refugee and IDP producing country globally⁸. This is a worrisome development with grave consequences for the security of other regions of Africa.

Indeed, the lethality of terrorism has propelled the international community to increase its military presence in Africa as well as involvement in counter-terrorism inclined policy-making processes. A

good example is the United States of America's policy which led to the establishment of the Combined Joint Task Force in the Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA) in 2008¹⁰. The effort is meant to eliminate the lethality of terrorist groups on the African continent for improved security. The activities of the Al-Shabaab terrorist group, notwithstanding international counter-terrorism efforts, have continued to create terror impact within the East African sub-region, thus impinging negatively on the national security of countries in the sub-region.

For instance, Kenya has continued to experience increased terror attacks masterminded by Al-Shabaab within the past decades. The most prominent terrorist attacks in Kenya include the United States Embassy bombings of 1998, the Westgate Mall attack in 2013, Mpeketan and Garrisa attacks of 2014 and 2015 respectively as well as the 17 January 2019 attack on DusitD2 Hotel. Top media house in the US reported that, over 21 people were killed in the 2019 attack¹¹. The trend of Al-Shabaab terrorists' activities has increasingly endangered the national security of the countries within the East African sub-region.

A substantial part of West Africa have been involved in conflicts from the late 1980s till the early years of the Twenty-First Century¹². The major conflict areas include Liberia, Sierra-Leone, Guinea Bissau and Cote d'Ivoire. The security situations in the affected countries posed significant challenges to sub-regional peace and security. The threats to sub-regional stability within the period were mostly military and political adventurism, ethnic divisions and illegal exploitation of natural resources¹³. The observed threats were intensified by intense socio-economic challenges, weak state institutions as well as illegal arms trafficking and the use of mercenaries.

However, the intervention of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) has helped to restore peace to the affected nations which are now undergoing a period of peace-building and peace consolidation. Notwithstanding the positive impact of the UNSC, threat to sub-regional peace and security still persists in varying degrees in most of the 16 countries that make up the West African sub-region. Additionally,

terrorism has been identified as one of the emerging major threats to national security in the sub-region. Accordingly, Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and Boko Haram terrorist groups are considered the major terrorist groups whose deadly activities spread across the West African sub-region.

The AQIM, whose origin is in Algeria, is active in Mali, Mauritania and Niger and has links within Hezbollah, a Lebanese political party, and the Taliban in Afghanistan¹⁴. The widespread population of Lebanese decent in many West African countries' accounts for the links to Hezbollah. The group rose to prominence in the 2012 Tuareg rebellion in Mali, which was defeated with the assistance of the French forces. The government of Mali has been unable to exercise control beyond Bamako and its surrounding regions since the rebellion. In addition, several terrorist groups have launched attacks on neighbouring states from Mali¹⁵. For instance, Islamic groups such as Ansural Islam have expanded their operations in Burkina Faso since 2015 and effectively controlled its northern and eastern regions. The government in Ouagadougou has no control over the occupied regions¹⁶.

Nigeria is not immuned from terrorist activities following the new wave that erupted since the 1970s. Hence, different groups in Nigeria have employed and are still employing violence to cause great shock, fear or panic with a view to redressing some grievances. In most instances in Nigeria, these acts of violence had been carried out by groups dissatisfied with some policies of government to draw attention to their discontent. Boko Haram has wielded power and influence in north eastern Nigeria and in the neighbouring states from 2009. The group took control of much of Borno State in Nigeria and began operating in the border areas of Niger, Chad, and Cameroon between 2013 and 2015.

Boko Haram terrorist group is now made up of two splinter groups namely Islamic State in West Africa Province (ISWAP) and Jama'tuAhlis Sunna Lidda'awatiwal -Jihad (JAS), both of which have continued to terrorize the sub-region¹⁷. The acts of terror have negative consequences to the national security of countries within the West African sub-region and Nigeria in particular. The 2018 Global Terrorism Index state that, the impact of terrorism was classified as 'Very High' in Nigeria and 'High' in

Cameroon, Mali and Niger. Nigeria was ranked number 3 globally among the most impacted countries by terrorism while Cameroon, Mali and Niger were ranked number 16, 22 and 23 respectively¹⁸. However, the Global Terrorism Index 2022 currently ranks Nigeria as the sixth terrorist impacted country globally based on increased spate of terrorism in Syria, Afghanistan and other countries.

The continuous operation of Boko Haram and its splinter group, and the inability of the Nigerian government to curb the operation of these groups shot the country into the current insecurity crisis which led to the concept of national question. Although, national question is extremely difficult to conceptualize, but its meaning is seen within issues and events happening in a society and country. The basis for the national question is hinged on the Nigerian society's educational, economic, and political disparities. However, these discrepancies would not be very concerning unless seen in the context of Nigerian society's class dynamics. The comprehensive democratization of the Nigerian state is a requirement and sine qua non for dealing with the negative effects of the unresolved national question and its offshoots such as Boko Haram terrorist activities and other social vices.

It is important to state that over 3.3million people have been displaced, including over 2.5million internally displaced persons (IDPs) in northeastern Nigeria due to the onslaught of terrorism in the country¹⁹. Also, the country has witnessed about 20, 375 deaths by terrorist groups from 2001-2017²⁰. Nigeria is also famous for the kidnapping of over 200 Chibok girls by Boko Haram terrorists in April 2014²¹. These terrorist incidents have severe consequences on Nigeria's national security. The escalating security situation has threatened the stability of the West Africa with implications for Nigeria's national security.

In Argentina, terrorism is viewed as “a criminal and unjustifiable acts, whatever the aims of their actors might be, who's deliberate and indiscriminate attacks against civil populations, which international law

considers a crime when committed in times of war, can also be considered extremely serious in times of peace¹¹.

Terrorism is defined by the act, and not the description of the perpetrator. Terrorism has no religious, nationality or ethnic background. It is on this basis that terrorism is viewed as the negation of everything religion stands for. The indiscriminate murder of innocent civilians to advance political or religious objective is terrorism, no matter how its apologists seek to label it¹².

The Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations defines terrorism as “a global menace, a scourge which needs to be frontally confronted. A violation of our fundamental human rights, especially the right to life and that of peaceful coexistence¹³. Terrorism constitutes a serious violation of human rights and, in particular the rights to physical integrity, life, freedom and security, and impedes socio-economic development through destabilization of states. In addition to the above definition, terrorism can be defined as: Any act which is a violation of the criminal laws of a state, which may endanger the life, physical integrity or freedom of, or causes 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:

1. Intimidate, put in fear, coerce or induce any government, body, institutions, 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;
2. Or disrupt any public service, the delivery of any essential service to the public or to create a public emergency or
3. Create general insurrection in a state¹⁴.

A UN Panel Report of 2014 termed terrorism as an act intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants¹⁵. In the context of the UN report, terrorism is aimed at coercing or intimidating a population or compelling a government or international organization to deter or compel

an act. This view focuses mostly on the act rather than the perpetrator or the motivation for the act. The UN view is thus considered restrictive and could encourage perpetration of terror act in other forms like freedom fighters, rebels and insurgents including other terrorist-related activities. Accordingly, the UN concept of terrorism is thus generic and does not adequately relate terrorism to national security, hence it is not suitable for this study.

Similarly, terrorism is defined as ‘any attack, or threat of attack, against unarmed targets, intended to influence, change or divert major political decisions. In addition to that, Ward law views terrorism as ‘the use, or threat of use of violence by an individual or a group, whether acting for or in opposition to establish authority, when such action is designed to create extreme anxiety and, or fear including effects in a target group larger than immediate victims with the purpose of coercing that group into acceding to the political demands of the perpetrators¹⁶.

In this context, terrorism is defined as the premeditated use or threat of use of violence by an individual or group to cause fear, destruction or death, especially against unarmed targets, property or infrastructure within a state, intended to compel those in authority to respond to the demands and expectations of individuals or group behind such violent acts. Their expectations may be for a change of status quo in terms of the political, economic, ideological, religious or social order within the affected state or for a change in the actions or policies of the affected state in relation to its interaction with other groups or states¹⁷.

Terrorism is the systematic use of murder and destruction, and the threat of murder and destruction to terrorize individuals, groups, communities or government into conceding to terrorists’ political aims¹⁸. In effect, this definition just like the UN assertion, is equally restrictive and therefore not adopted for this study¹⁸.

The Terrorism Prevention Act (TPA) Section 1 (2) (a) and (b) of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (FGN) considers terrorism as

“.....act which is deliberately done with malice.... which may seriously harm or damage a country or an international organization; is intended to unduly compel a government or international organization to perform or abstain from performing any act; seriously intimidate a population; seriously destabilize or destroy the fundamental political, constitutional, economic social structures of a country or an international organization; or otherwise influence government or international organization by intimidation or coercion....”¹⁹.

This definition of terrorism in the TPA is comprehensive and relates vividly to the national security of Nigeria which is the focus of this study hence; it is adopted for the study. In Nigeria, the term terrorism is not even new. Thus, terrorism is best described as both a tactics and a strategy; a crime and holy duty; a justified reaction to the oppression and an inexcusable abomination. Terrorism has often been a tactic on working in a conflict. It takes the form of an asymmetric method of military conflict¹⁹. It confers coercive power with many advantages of military force to address a frustration.

Another meaningful definition of terrorism is the one crafted by the United Nations in 1992. It defined terrorism as “an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi) clandestine individuals, groups or state actors for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons - in contrast to assassination – the direct targets of terrorism are not the main targets²⁰.”

Another important point about terrorism was mentioned by a scholar when he wrote that, the act of terrorism can be employed by aggrieved person or persons irrespective of ideological persuasions to further a cause which may be just or unjust²¹.

From the various definitions examined, we can conclude that the definition of terrorism is controversial. There is no universally agreed definition of this heinous crime. It has been used by many political organizations in furthering their objectives and is practiced by right-wing and left-wing political parties, religious groups, revolutionaries and so on. Lastly, after the examination of different definitions of terrorism, this researcher defined terrorism, as an act that connotes violence carried out legitimately or otherwise by state and non-state actors with the intent to cause fear, terror or death and in pursuit and promotion of ideology, politics, economic, religious and social goals. Its elements include:

1. The use of violence or threat of violence.
2. An organized group or groups
3. To achieve a particular objective.
4. The violence is directed against a target audience that extends beyond the immediate victims, who are often civilians.

These highlights and signposts exclude kidnappings for financial gain and excludes acts by individuals, even those with political objectives. Organizations are essential for a successful campaign to bring about the political goals that are being sought. While the exact political objectives vary, they can include changes in government policies or practices, changes in government leaders or structures, demand for regional autonomy or independence, or a mix of such political issues²². While organization is necessary for any chance of a successful campaign, individual may operate in loose affiliation with a group, hence the lone-wolf phenomenon.

Terrorism is characterized with certain modes of operation. Terrorists employ the element of surprise aggression, clandestine attacks and brutal militancy to thrive on what may be termed as a hit-and-run style of combat. In terms of possessing an organized strategy for executing its attacks, terrorists around the globe have been known to have a common strategy which they have adopted in carrying out its terror activities and these are:

1. Suicide bombings.
2. The use of improvised explosives.
3. Mass killing by gunfire.
4. High jacking of aircraft, ships, and so on.
5. Hostage taking and kidnapping.
6. Piracy
7. Arson
8. Propaganda and media advocacy
9. Jail Break
10. Forced enlistment/recruitment of combatants²²

It is further argued that religious terrorists have objectives that are absolutist, inflexible, unrealistic, devoid of political pragmatism and hostile to negotiation.

2.1.2 National Security

There is no single universally accepted definition of national security. The varieties of definitions provide an overview of the many usages of the concept. The concept still remains ambiguous, having originated from simpler definitions which initially emphasized the freedom from military threat and political coercion to later increase in sophistication and include other forms of non-military security as suited the circumstance of the time²³. In simple term, national security is said to be the overall safety of a nation and its general citizens.

The concept of national security has often been taken to merely connote the preservation of sovereignty, territorial integrity and internal stability with the focus on the coercive power of the state³⁰⁸. In today's complex and interdependent world faced with many non-traditional threats like pandemics, climate change, etc it must, however, be seen in a more holistic manner³⁰⁷. Such an all

encompassing view of national security demands that the determinant of security is not just the coercive elements of state power but its comprehensive national power with the latter being a composite of many factors across all facets of national life³⁰⁹. The holistic nature of national security demands that appropriate structures are in place to manage it.

Former President of Nigeria in 1999 defines national security as the aggregation of the security interests of individuals, political entities and ethnic groups which make up a nation. The security interests include safety of lives and property, economic and freedom to pursue legitimate objectives without hinderance²⁴. This definition hinges on safety of lives and property as well as liberty to pursue legitimate goals. It is silent on traditional security issues of sovereignty and territorial integrity of the nation, as such, not adopted for this study.

National security is seen as the protection and preservation of the minimum core values of any nation's political independence and territorial integrity²⁵. National security is also seen as comprising the protection of the national interest, including national values, political and economic ways of life against internal threat and challenges²⁶. In line with the above view, Mandel defines national security as the pursuit of psychological and physical safety which is largely the responsibility of the national governments, to prevent direct threats primarily from abroad endangering the survival of these regimes, their citizenry or their ways of life²⁷.

National security is the measurable state of the capability of a nation to overcome the multi-dimensional threats to the apparent well-being of its people and its survival as a nation-state at any given time, by balancing all instruments of state policy through governance and is extendable to global security by variables external to it²⁸. In the same vein, national security may be understood as shared freedom from fear and want, and the freedom to live in dignity. It implies social and ecological health rather than the absence of risk and is a common right.

Generally, the encyclopedia of the social sciences defines national security as “ability of a nation to protect its internal values from external threat”²⁹. Also, a nation has security when it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate interest to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by war”. Hence, national security and national interests are inter-related; where the former is seen in terms of power and therefore is the essence of politics.

It is for this reason that a scholar concludes that there is no doubt that national security embodies the sovereignty of the state, the inviolability of its territorial boundaries, and the right to individual and collective self-defense against internal and external threats³⁰. But the state is secure only when the aggregate of people organized under it have a consciousness of belonging to a common sovereign political community; enjoy equal political freedom, human rights, economic opportunities, and when the state itself is able to ensure independence in its development and foreign policy. It must be known that once anything generates anxiety or threatens the quality of life of the citizens, it is thus labeled a “security problem”. The notion of economic security thus encourages a confrontational approach to trade policy, while that of “environmental security” has often served more to confuse than to clarify by encouraging a search for adversaries³¹.

While defining national security from the lens of a multiple security sector, another person defined the concept as the domination of soft and hard security sectors and includes military, food security, environmental security, social security and economic security. In addition to that, he further conceptualized national security as the ability to defend a nation from both external and internal aggression³². This concept of national security is all encompassing and in line with the focus of this study, hence it is adopted for the study.

The Ammer down Group in a discussion paper in 2016 titled *Rethinking Security: A discussion paper* defined national security as the collective freedom from fear and want, as well as the freedom to live

in dignity. This definition denotes social and environmental health rather than the absence of risk and it is a universal right for every citizens³³.

The modern definition of national security seems to include the energy and environmental, health and food. On this premise, another author proposed that national security should focus on the physical, social, and psychological equality of life of a society and its people both in the domestic context and within the larger regional and global system, rather than only territorial protection of a specific state³⁴.

Another scholar claims that national security is the liberation from existing and perceived threats to national life that may emerge as a consequence of human action or inaction, or from natural disasters such as flood, earthquake, famine, drought, disease, and other natural calamitous events that result in deaths, human suffering, and material damage²⁷. The emphasis on national security, according to this researcher, originates from three essential principles.

The first is the sanctity and inviolability of human life, which is related to human rights; the second is the universality and dignity of human life; and finally, the existential necessity of the value for individual protection in a world full of many risks. In the end, national security is founded in three basic intuitions: preservation, self-extension, and self-fulfillment³⁵.

National security is connected with the physical safety of individuals, groups, or states, as well as the physical safety of their most prized ideals. It goes beyond the military structures and capabilities of defense of sovereignty and territorial integrity to the preservation. The concept is inextricably linked to both the outcome and the cause of development and good governance, which contain aspects of human rights, fair play, and distributive justice only to the extent that they lead to physical safety³⁶.

The new paradigm in the conceptualization of national security entails the right to a sustainable environment, as well as the protection of cultural and religious belonging, all of which have serious

implications for citizens' physical security and the survival of nation-states, both individually and collectively. To this end, national security is seen as the overarching plan for the preservation of a state. State's citizens and their means of subsistence, leaders and their regimes and administration, state institutions, state sovereignty and territorial integrity, ethnic and other social groups, the environment and ecosystem against internal and foreign threats and attacks. As correctly stated by this scholar, national security should address a society in general and the physical, social, and psychological quality of life both at home and within the bigger regional and global system³⁶.

To this extent, national security is regarded as the grand strategy towards the preservation of the totality of a nation-state. The citizens and their means of livelihood, the leaders and their regimes and administration, the institutions of the state, state's sovereignty and territorial integrity, ethnic and other social groupings, the environment and ecosystem against internal or external threats and attacks. As rightly observed, national security should address the physical, social and psychological quality of life of a society and its members both in domestic setting and within the larger regional and global system³⁶.

In our contemporary political system, there are several kinds of national securities, which include economic security; energy security; environmental security; and even health, women, and food security. This proliferation of definitions has not always been for the benefit of all concerned. In some cases, it is merely a rebranding of domestic security inputs to obtain resources . In other cases, it involves adjusting to the complexities of a dynamic international environment.

After examining the definitions above, the researcher therefore defines national security as the safety of a state from all threats (political, economic, social-military, cyber and national disasters) that affect the safety of human beings. Measures taken to ensure national security include using diplomacy to

rally allies and isolate threats; marshalling economic power to facilitate or compel cooperation; maintaining effective armed forces; implementing civil defense and emergency preparedness measures; ensuring the silence and redundancy of critical infrastructure; using intelligence service to detect and defeat or avoid threats and espionage and to protect classified information; using counter-intelligence service or secret police to protect the nation from internal threats³⁷.

The following list provides definitions of the major contending views of non-military definitions of national security, with no analysis of their merits or deficiencies.

- **Political Security:** This involves the protection of the sovereignty of the government and political system as well as the safety of society from unlawful internal and external threats or pressures. It involves both national and domestic security and law enforcement.
- **Economic Security:** Economic security involves not only the protection of the capacity of the economy to provide for the people, but also the degree or extent to which the government and the people are free to exercise control over their economic and financial decisions. It also involves the ability to protect a nation's wealth and economic freedom from external threats and coercion. Additionally, it comprises not only the economic policies and law enforcement agencies but also international agreements on commerce, finance, and trade. Recently, it has been defined by some scholars in a human security context to connote eradicating poverty and eliminating income inequalities.
- **Energy and Natural Resources Security:** These forms of security are most often defined as the extent to which a nation or people have access to energy resources such as oil, gas, water, and minerals. It would be more appropriate to describe it as access that is freely determined by the market without interference from other nations, political or military groups, for non-market and political purposes.

- **Domestic Security:** This refers to a set of domestic security functions that, since the 9/11 experience, have been re-organized into a single agency. It covers airport and ports security, border security, transportation security, immigration enforcement, and other internal security related matters.
- **Cyber Security:** It covers the protection of the governments and the peoples' computer and data processing infrastructure as well as operating systems from harmful interference, whether from external adversaries or within the country. It therefore involves not only national defense and domestic security, but also law enforcement.
- **Food Security:** Food security as defined by the United Nations' Committee on World Food Security, means that all persons, at all times, have physical, social, and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food that meets their nutritional preferences and dietary needs for a stable, active and healthy lifestyle. The concept is often concerned with poverty and has long-term implications on the ability of families, communities and countries to develop and prosper³⁸.
- **Human Security:** Human security refers to a concept largely developed at the United Nations at the end of the Cold War. It defines human security broadly as encompassing peoples' freedom from hunger, disease, and repression, including adverse and harmful disruptions of daily life. Over the years, the concept has been broadened to include economic security, environmental security, food security, health security, personal security, community security, political security as well as the protection of women and minorities. Its distinguishing characteristic is to prevent or downplay national security as a military conflict between nation-states, rather, focusing on social and economic causes and an assumed international "responsibility to protect" peoples from violence. It is to be determined and administered by the relevant organs of the United Nations³⁰⁸.

- **Environmental Security:** The concept of environmental security has several meanings. One of such meanings is the more traditional concept of responding to conflicts caused by environmental challenges such as water shortages, energy disruptions, or severe climate changes; it is assumed that these problems are “transnational” and thus could cause conflict between nations. The other more recent concept, is that the environment and the “climate” should be protected and preserved as ends in and of themselves; the assumption is that the environmental degradation caused by man poses a threat that must be addressed by treaties and international agreements as if it were the moral equivalent of a national security threat. In the past, natural disasters were not considered threats to national security, but that presumption is changing, as the idea of “climate change” and global warming have become prominent issues in the national security community³⁰⁸.

In every state of the world, nobody wants the feeling of insecurity. The foundational elements of the ‘social contract’ between the people and government is welfare, protection and security. National security, then, must reasonably be one of the cardinal concerns of both government, opposition and the citizens³⁰⁸. The most important function of the federal/central government in any nation is protection of its citizens from national security threats³⁸. This means evolving an effective system for defense both at home and abroad. National security covers both national defense and the protection and preservation of a series of geopolitical, economic, and other interests. It affects not only defense policy, but foreign and other national policies as well³¹¹.

Meanwhile, there are three important variables that define the nexus of the causes and challenges militating against national security concerns in Nigeria. These variables revolve around poverty, inequality and unemployment. These indicators are basically the fundamental threats to Nigeria’s national security. These factors can also be considered as one of the key contributors to the development of terrorism in Nigeria. The nation state is considered secure only when the aggregate of

people organized under its jurisdiction have a consciousness of belonging to a common sovereign political community, enjoy equitable political freedom, human rights, social and economic opportunities, and most importantly, when the state itself is able to guarantee the independence of its development and foreign policy³⁸.

Economic challenges including poverty, unemployment and inequality, structural politics of exclusion, and a discriminatory social system in which an individual may or may never realize his potentials without a “godfather”, provide an avenue for radicalization, social tension, conflict, violence, and the ultimate disruption or complete breakdown of law and order, as we are currently witnessing in Nigeria³¹⁰. Thus, terrorism, armed robbery, kidnapping, banditry and other nefarious and injurious social vices constitute major security challenges in Nigeria. Militants in the southern parts of the country undoubtedly contribute, in no small measure, to the security challenges plaguing the country³¹².

In line with the above highlights, national security refers to the security and defense of a nation state, encompassing its citizens, economy, and institutions and other vital interests, and this is considered as the statutory duty of the government of any nation state.

2.1.3 National Question

The concept of national question is a very tough one to conceptualize as many scholars have tried through writing to examine the imperative of the concept in scholarship. The concept of national question is considered to be the highlight of a range of under-researched and unexplored issues and challenges that must be addressed if a state is to survive all hurdles and obstacles of development. National question in the Nigerian context is considered to be focused on the protracted socio-political crises of the Nigerian state and the problem of national development and cohesion as well as peaceful co-existence among citizens, irrespective of their ethnic and religious affiliations. What is national in

that question varies in time, space and the approach/perspective to which the author intends to research on.

National question and ethnic questions are intertwined and it is always based on social inequality, injustice and bad governance, as opposed to its view as an ethnic issue. National question connotes the problems that arise from the complexities and composition of a nation; that is, conflicts of interest arising from the nature of the relationship amongst the ethnic groups in a state. Accordingly, national question has become a recurrent national issue that seeks lasting solutions on how to effectively manage the relationships amongst the various ethnic, religious, linguistic, and cultural groups such that they have equal rights and privileges, equitable access to political power, and an equitable share of national resources³⁹. This definition approached the concept of national question from ethno-religious perspective. However, it failed to answer the recent security challenges that beg the question of how the country moves out of the security problems. The definition does not suit the purpose of this research.

In a journal article titled, *The role of peace journalism in the deconstruction of elections and the national question in Nigeria*, it is asserted that, the concept of national question is intertwined with the problem of federalism which is sometimes defined as the irreducible foundation for preserving the country's unity in diversity⁴⁰. It further explained that, the long-drawn out bickering in the country led to demands for a renegotiation and re-examining of the modalities for cohabitation among the various ethnic nationalities, hence the rise of national question which the author further described as a term used to define the desire to examine the quandaries connected with reconciling different identity groupings within the framework of a single, integrated national political system⁴⁰.

The term national question refers to the 'collection of concerns' that can have a significant effect on a nation's rebirth, growth, and integration⁴¹. These collections of varying concerns could be around security, health, governance and so on. According to the same definition, the idea of national question

is primarily concerned with group rights, self-determination, equity, truth, social justice, citizen protection, fairness, and respect for others.

The national question refers to the fundamental problem of social existence that arises from assertive competition amongst people that have multi-ethnic or multi-communal and regional inclination, which was rooted in its foundation by the turn of the Nineteenth Century, and of its articulation since that time, by and under the colonial administration. National issues are more frequent and pronounced in a diverse society, when the federating units are threatened by either the minority groups or those units that feel marginalized in the overall scheme of things⁴⁰.

While defining it from the perspective of human rights, it was noted that, national question is fundamentally related to the question of rights and privileges of states and people, particularly in the context of gross violation of human rights. In Nigeria, almost all ethnic groups are concerned about marginalization and dominance; all ethnic groups are touched in some manner by the national question⁴².

In a journal article titled, *Boko Haram as a Syndrome of the Unresolved National Question in Nigeria: The Dilemma* the author defined the concept of national question as the unsolved tensions in the Nigerian state that have kept it in a continuous loop of crisis. The politically posed national issue refers to the right to self-determination, which includes the right to secede. This definition is required as a result of the persecution of some ethnic nations by others in a diverse configuration such as Nigeria. However, it is an undeniable truth that the aggregate of conflicts, unemployment, instability, and the eventual rise of Boko Haram terrorists is the consequence of the inability of the Nigerian state to effectively address the prevailing unsolved national problems⁴³.

In another definition, national question connotes the struggle for internal democracy within a nation state and the fight against imperialism. There are two dimensions of the national question, which are:

- a) It examines the nature and scope of Nigeria's relationship with global imperialism;
- b) The interaction amongst the diverse Nigerian ethnicities. The author also highlights the federation's inconsistencies in order to conceptualize the national question in this context⁴⁴.

In 2018, an article with the title *Federalism, Restructuring and National Question in Contemporary Nigeria: The Way Forward* defined national question as the fundamental issues, that is, the country's socio-economic and political quagmire that are recycling, posing a challenge to national growth and necessitating reorganization. National issues are more frequent in a diverse society when the federating units are threatened by either the minority groups or those components that feel marginalized in the grand scheme of events.

Some remedies to national problems may be demands for constitutional conferences, such as the 2014 National Conference in Abuja, to resolve important basic concerns by listening to the misery of each segment based on their differences. As a result, the national question is more specific to modern vices like banditry, abduction, IPOB, Niger Delta agitation for real federalism, and so on. On that basis, the national question is critical in addressing the federalist concerns⁴⁵.

A popular scholar in his study, argued that a nation is a community bound together by diverse cultural factors of common ancestry and shared myths as well as ethnic contiguity, adding that a distinguishing feature of a nation state is that it must be engaged in a political program driven by prestige and power²⁹⁰. Furthermore, he states that the nation is perceived as a status group created by common historical memory and struggling for the prestige of power and culture with other nations.

The national question is a term mostly used to describe a variety of issues related to nationalism. It is often seen especially in the light of socialist thoughts and doctrine. The national question is sometimes confused with the ethnic question. It is hinged on equality, equity, issues of oppression and the quest for justice as against its perception as ethnic question²⁹¹. The national question is primarily a political question, ideological in nature and class based.

The national question was also seen as the struggle for freedom and a political question. He submits thus: The right of nations to self determination refers only to the right to independence in a political context, the right to free political secession from the freedom to carry on agitation in favour of secession, and freedom to address the issue of secession by means of a referendum of the nation or segment that desires to secede²⁹².

A scholar offers three typologies of the national question in Africa thus;

- 1). The ethnic nation that corresponded to pre-colonial identities destroyed by colonialism.
- 2). The colonially – established territorial nation
- 3). The Pan-African nation ²⁹³.

The criteria on ethnic nation and colonially created territory had shaped the nature of the national question in Africa, but the third criterion has been merely rhetorical. It was argued that the crisis of national question in Africa was engendered by the crisis of nation building which subsequently led to the interrogation of the status of the colonially established territorial nation²⁹³. This brought about the contradictions of fragility, artificiality and the observed differences as a result of the interaction among the various ethnic nationalities.

Some researchers view the national question as a political question that leads to the struggle for popular representative democracy and the fight against imperialism²⁹⁴. They posit thus: The national question refers to how the global nature of the social existence, characterized by the internal multiplicity and the interaction of the society with its environments, is historically arrived at. How is ‘the orderly exercise of nationwide, public authority’ organized? Who constitutes or who is not a member of that society? Who is referred to as an outsider? How has the social relationship amongst the nationalities been changing? Does every member enjoy the same rights/obligations and benefits as those of every other member? How are the rights of citizens recognized and motivated? How are the competing claims (for self determination, for example) by diverse groups mediated and made consistent globally? Are there people or groups that are marginalized, or feel collectively oppressed or completely neglected? How are the

inequalities of uneven development handled? Are there groups looked upon and paternalistically administered?²⁹⁴. It was argued that colonial rule aimed to unite the colonized people in their struggle for freedom against their colonizers³¹⁷. It was also affirmed that it split hitherto homogeneous ethnic groups in a way that impacts negatively on the process of nation building in Africa. This split, he notes, was politicized by the governing elites who mainly were the political actors that instrumentalized ethnicity, usually for political advantage²⁹³.

There is no consensus on the various perceptions of national question in Nigeria. The varying perceptions are underscored by the blunt exchange between the Bala Mohammed Memorial Committee and the Ife Collectives on the national and nationality question in Nigeria as well as the ethno-charismatic and cultural perceptions argued at the 1993 National Conference, which was organized by the Nigerian Economic Society, and the examined interventions in the conceptualization of the national question in Nigeria²⁹⁴.

The national question deals with 'the aspirations for internal democracy and its benefits within a nation state and the sustained struggle against the dictates and impact of imperialism'. There are two dimensions of the national question;

- a). It deals with the nature and scope of the collaboration between Nigeria and global actors of imperialism and,
- b). The relationship and interactions among various Nigerian ethnic nationalities.

He also identifies the contradictions within the federation as a result of such interactions amongst the various federating units, with a view to conceptualizing the national question in this sense²⁹⁵:

The national question in Nigeria is manifested in a stream of eight distinct contradictions: Nigeria's contention with imperialism; the conflicts of interest among the major ethnic nationalities i.e. Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa; the North - South distinction between the three major ethnic nationalities on one side, and the smaller ethnic nationalities on the other; inter-state rivalry amongst the states of the federation; inter-ethnic rivalries in a multi-faceted state for instance between the Igala and Epira in Kogi State;

inter-sectional rivalries within the same ethnic group in the nation, as between Kano and Katsina, or the Egba and Ijebu; and finally, inter-clan rivalries within a province or district, as is common among the Igbo in the South- eastern part of the nation²⁹⁷.

It was submitted therefore that national question refers as follow: ‘By the national question we mean the challenges that arise from the ethnic composition of a nation; that is, challenges arising from the nature of the relationship and interaction amongst the ethnic nationalities in a nation state (emphasis added)²⁹⁶.

A scholar posits on the ethnic disposition of the national question in this sense: The national question is the perennial debate as to how to effectively manage the relations amongst the various ethnic, linguistic and cultural groupings, so that they enjoy the same rights and privileges, equitable access to power and equitable share of the national resources and benefits. It was also critiqued by scholars as the ethno-nationalism conception of the national question in Nigeria: I am not denying the fact that there is a national question²⁹⁷.

In line with the above definition on national question conceptualization, a nation must also have the critical and imperative feature of the existence of state *institutions* as governance facilitators and actualizers²⁹⁰. To further explain this arguments, Walter Connor article titled “*When Is The Nation?*” expressed the view that although quite a number of authorities have interrogated the question of “*what is a nation?*” not enough emphasis has been devoted to the question of “*At what point in its development does a nation come into being?*”⁴⁵

His study shows different evidence to demonstrate that most of Europe's recognized nations only recently came into existence, often much later than the date originally assigned to them, suggesting in the process that even now, many of them have not yet attained the status of nationhood³¹⁸. He later lists four different challenges in determining the exact evolutionary dates of nations. One of such challenges is that national consciousness is a phenomenon associated with the masses (and not elites) who until recently were quite disinterested in proclaiming their sense of group identity³¹⁶.

Another challenge is that nation formation is a process and not an event which lends itself to precise calculation as regards the point at which a sufficient number has internalized the national identity that causes nationalism to become an effective weapon for mass mobilization. A third problem, he says, is that the process of nation formation can terminate at any time because it is not sequentially pre-ordained²⁹¹. A fourth problem, he finally submits, is that the ethnographic history of the people (which is a central assumption in the concept of nationhood) is of little relevance to the study of nation-formation because the claim that people related by ancestry are easily constituted into a nationality is seldom supported by fact²⁹⁰. The role of nation as a recognized community of faith, sensibilities, history and culture inhabiting a common physical territory with socio-economic systems and common legal instruments is a relatively contemporary phenomenon. However, its earliest origins can be traced to pre-modern communities³²⁰.

The concept of the national question is fundamental in Nigeria, as in other nations. It was said that the national question “impacts many political systems, hardly produces a final solution, it is complex in nature and also multi-dimensional, and it is equally historically contingent”. Despite these generalizations, the national question may manifest in different forms and character among nations and within a nation. To fully grapple with the complexities and dimensions of the national question, it would ultimately require a contextual analysis that emphasizes the peculiarities of the national question in a given policy³¹³.

As a general conception, the national question connotes “the totality of fundamental issues that can result in heavy tolls on national rebirth, cohesion, integration and development”. Within the Nigerian context, however, the national question has been defined as “the perennial debate as to how to efficiently direct the relations amongst the different ethnic, linguistic and cultural entities, so that they collectively enjoy equal rights and privileges, equitable access to political power and an equitable distribution of national resources”. In a related fashion, another author defines the national question in

Nigeria as primarily concerned with group rights and privileges, right to self determination, truth, social justice, fairness and respect for others³¹⁴.

The national question pertains to “the fundamental issue of social existence arising from unhealthy and assertive competition amongst persons who possess multi-ethnic or multi-communal as well as regional consciousness, with which it was established in its foundation by the turn of the 19 Century, and of its articulation since that period, by and under the colonial jurisdiction. The attempts at adequate conceptualization of the national question in Nigeria bring to the fore the need to be able to decipher and grapple very decisively with some historical insights into the evolution and development of Nigeria³¹⁵. It is within the framework of such historical insights that we can identify the deepening crisis of the Nigerian state and its components, particularly the crisis and conditions associated with the federal framework and democracy in Nigeria.

One of the top political priorities in Africa today is how to deal with the complexities of the national question. The continent’s history coupled with the challenges and engagements of the post-colonial era have exposed deep political fault lines and consolidated interests on both sides of the political divide³¹⁹. Simply articulated: on the one hand are those that are active beneficiaries from the current status quo and see no need for change. To this privileged group, the “problems” of politics, economy and society would resolve themselves naturally or be resolved over a prolonged period of time. On the other hand, are those that feel that the African past had been deliberately or inadvertently wasted, the present mortgaged and the future has become so bleak and uncertain that politics could no longer be taken for granted³²⁰.

Consequently, there have been agitations for re-negotiation and re-compacting of the existing shaky relations between the powerful elites and the people. In effect, they are demanding to be fully integrated into the process of re-working the constitution in order to ensure that those unresolved complex issues that affect them and their communities are not trivialized or relegated to the recycle bin of political

decision making. The efficient management of primordial ethnic identities and political considerations remain critical in determining the context of Nigeria's overall political interests and indeed, the future of the Nigerian nation-state. This has evolved over the years into one of the five cardinal national contradictions that has led to the wanton destruction of thousands of lives and property and would most likely continue until adequately addressed³²¹.

There are several dimensions and contentions regarding the issue. This is not only in terms of distrust, suspicions and contradictions amongst ethnic, religious, and regional interests but also within each primordial constituency³²². The trend has been to focus mainly on the contentious issues amongst the majority Igbo, Yoruba, and Hausa ethnic groups that the minorities have been more or less sidelined. Similarly, within each of the major groups, there are significant coalitions and sectors that galvanize the ability of groups to act as absolute weapons of mobilization. In effect, while ethnicity and religion remain very fundamental issues in the formulation of political interests and postures, they are also being affected by issues of class and the relative consciousness of the Nigerian people as they confront the challenges of national survival. This concerns mainly the need to ensure that the ethnic and minority issues are directly linked to the questions of political restructuring, re-federalization, revenue allocation, resource control and democratic consolidation³²³.

In the event that the political elite remain adamant and insensitive to popular demands on these contentious issues, ethnic identities and preferences would get consolidated and lead to even more violence. Already, invented identities have ushered in more complications and impacting negatively on the ability of the various ethnic groups to articulate clear political agendas. Consequently, this has resulted to an internalization of violence as sub-ethnic groups confront each other in a struggle for supremacy and identity, as well as spurious claims to territory³²⁴. On the other hand, the authorities of the seemingly overwhelmed and unsteady state addresses the problem of internalization with more violence thus further complicating opportunities for political negotiation³²¹.

Resource generation and distribution often called "revenue allocation" in Nigeria has hitherto become one of the most critical aspects of power politics in Nigeria that is enmeshed in the politics of ethnic identity. In one sense, this is closely linked to the structure of Nigerian federalism and the dominant role of the central authority³²⁵. It is also concerned with the issue of minority rights, center-periphery relations, and the traditional contentions for hegemony among the dominant groups. This is consequent upon the fact that with the neglect of non-oil wealth, emphasis has shifted mainly to national oil deposits, which generates well over half of national revenues as well as about 95 per cent of foreign exchange earnings³²⁶.

The Nigerian rentier state has not only become the source of wealth accumulation but also the focus of elite competition and thus a stabilizing force as no competitor intends to hurt or kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. Regrettably, the ethnic minorities, oil producing communities, oil producing states, as well as the political elite from oil producing areas are not pleased with the deprivations their communities experience and the perceived manner in which oil wealth is used to promote development in non-oil producing areas³²⁷. As much as political leaders remain insensitive to demands for a just and equitable formula for revenue allocation, these increasingly restless and aggrieved communities would continue to challenge the legitimacy of the state and reject existing policies³²⁷.

It has been difficult to reach a consensus in the Nigerian state on the perception of its national question. There are two broad perceptions that are hinged on the existing contradictions and imbalances. These are the ethnic and class-based considerations which have been previously discussed by other scholars. The difference is founded in the perception of the state, the complex and critical nature of the national question, the import of the ownership structure as well as the ideological context of the governance process³²⁷. These contentions, however, agree³²⁷ that the dominant and critical issues are predicated on identifiable, concrete questions. First, the national question debate focuses on national unity, local autonomy, self-determination, equitable distribution of revenue and other national resources, rewards,

opportunities and access to power. Secondly, it is concerned mainly with the enforcement of fundamental human rights, including rights to franchise and empowerment, social and economic rights and satisfaction of the basic needs of ethnic nationalities and other components. Thirdly, it encapsulates the religious question that includes the cardinal issues of secularity and theocracy, the link between the Nigerian state and religion, the perception and response of the assumed secular state to the recurring ethno-religious crises as well as a clear and concise national agenda, to foster cordial co-existence amongst the various communal groups in the nation's multi-ethnic and multi-religious states³²⁷.

The lopsided nature of the federal system, coupled with the perceived imbalances, warranted the national question. The federalism debate in Nigeria is hinged on the politics of states and local government creation, the access to, control and appropriation of national resources among the federating units, the access to and control of political power at the center, the unresolved indigeneship and settler issues as well as the distribution of socio-economic infrastructure³²⁵. The strained relations among the federating units which caused the Nigerian Civil War were aggravated through the annulment of the popular 12 June Presidential Elections presumably won by late Chief M. K. O. Abiola, the then Social Democratic Party (SDP) Presidential Candidate.

The political crisis occasioned by the annulment of the June 12 elections reinvigorated and consolidated the debate on the national question and equally promoted the growth of several civil society organizations that campaigned for a *sovereign national conference* and the termination of military dictatorship. The pro-status quo Asiodu group commenced the advocacy for a national debate which centered on the future of the Nigerian state. There were indications, however, that the group was promoted and sponsored by the Babangida government against the backdrop of the skepticism of the civil society organizations regarding the seemingly manipulated and crisis ridden political transition programme³²⁶.

This perceived deceitful manipulation politics spurred the Nigerian progressives led by the radical lawyer, Mr. Alao Aka Bashorun, to organize and facilitate the state truncated national conference on the platform of the National Consultative Forum (NCF), in September, 1989. The state responded through the politics of cajole that ultimately propelled the organization of a national conference in Abuja, in 1990. The objective was to douse tension, assuage agitations and disgust occasioned by the subversion of the alternative non-state conference, attendant protests, strikes, rallies and other forms of political actions, question, as well as articulated specific agenda³²⁶.

A book chapter provides a captivating critique of the national question from the perspective of black consciousness. It was argued that both Liberal and Marxist dismissals of culture as merely an expression of primordial identities and false consciousness have inadvertently deprived South Africa of the pro-nationalist values and initiatives that have provided a sure foundation of nation building in other countries³¹⁶. The dominant economist conception of the nation has elicited a procedural, constitutional democracy and a public philosophy of economic growth and service delivery that provides little or no focus on human solidarity as a public value. It was argued that the black race must seek inspiration in the cultural values of human solidarity that propelled the spirit of survival and occasioned black struggles against colonial and apartheid oppression³¹⁶. He suggests that we discover a concrete and revitalised conception of the nation in Steve Biko's idea of a 'joint culture' among blacks and whites.

Moreover, national question is believed to be at the apex of the crisis ladder of the Nigerian state and instrumental to peaceful co-existence amongst the component parts. The conceptions of the national question vary and depend largely on inter-group relations, the issues of marginalization, domination, inequality, fairness and justice amongst the several ethnic groups⁴⁵. In this regard therefore, national question is more particular at addressing the contemporary security challenges like banditry, kidnapping, Niger Delta agitations, quest for true federalism and the issues of secession by some ethnic nationalities among others⁴⁴. In general, judiciously addressing the contentious issues associated with the national question is critical to the sustenance of a stable, secure and prosperous nation.

2.1.4 Nigeria

Nigeria became a republic in 1963 and subsequently became known as the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Nigeria is a vast country and located in the West African sub-region of the African Continent. The country shares its borders with Cameroon to the East, Niger to the North, Chad to the Northeast and Benin Republic to the West. Nigeria is widely referred to as the most populous black nation on earth and the seventh most populous nation in the world⁴⁶. Nigeria is made up of 36 states with the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) in Abuja which serves as the political capital of the country. The country is further sub-divided into 774 local government areas. The states are grouped into six geopolitical zones namely, North West, North East, North Central, South West, South East, and South-South. Lagos, which used to be the capital of Nigeria, is one of the important commercial cities in Nigeria and one of the largest metropolitan cities of the world⁴⁶.

Nigeria is divided along ethno-religious lines with Christians and Muslims in various mix occupying the southern part and the northern part of the country. The middle belt of the country also comprises of both Muslims and adherents of the Christian religion. Nigeria is known to be the home of more than 250 ethnic groups⁴⁷. The three most populous and dominant ethnic groups are the Yoruba, Hausa, and Igbo, who account for more than 70% of the population. Nigeria got her independence from Britain on 1 October 1960⁴⁷.

Nigeria's economy is the largest in Africa and the 26th largest in the world by nominal GDP. Nigeria has an abundance of natural resources such as crude oil deposits, coal, zinc, gas as well as a well-developed financial, communication and transportation and tourism sectors. Nigeria is the home country of the richest man in Africa, Alhaji Aliko Dangote. Dangote's business conglomerate covers salt, sugar, agriculture, petroleum, cement and many other sectors⁴⁸. The executive branch of Nigeria is head of government which is currently occupied by President Muhammadu Buhari. The Nigerian

head of state is elected every four years. Nigeria operates a bicameral National Assembly which comprises of the Senate Chambers, which is considered to be the highest, and the House of Representatives⁴⁹.

The Supreme Court is the highest court in Nigeria and it is controlled by the judicial arm of government. The longest tributary flows through 1,400 kilometers from Cameroon into Nigeria and empties into the Niger River. The other river systems in Nigeria involves various rivers that merge into the Yobe River, then flows along the border with Niger Republic and empties into the Lake Chad. Nigeria has arid climate in the north, tropical climate in the Middle Belt, and equatorial climate in the south. Climate variations are determined by the interaction of moist southwest monsoon winds and dry northeast winds²⁹⁹.

Mean maximum temperatures experienced across the country are 30° C–32° C in the south and 33° C–35° C in the north. High humidity is experienced from February to November in the south and from June to September in the northern part of the country. In Nigeria, low humidity characterises the dry season. The annual rainfall decreases towards the northern part of the country while rainfall ranges from about 2,000 millimeters in the coastal areas (averaging over 3,550 millimeters in the Niger Delta) to 500–750 millimeters in the northern part of Nigeria⁴⁷.

Nigeria's key natural resources include natural gas, petroleum, tin, iron ore, coal, limestone, niobium, lead, and zinc. The country's proven oil reserves are about 36.89 billion barrels, the tenth largest oil reserves in the world. The proven natural gas reserves are estimated at about 209.5 trillion cubic feet, the ninth largest natural gas reserves in the world and the largest in Africa. The country's estimates for oil and natural gas reserves are as at 2021²⁹⁹. The country also has an abundant proportion of arable land mass.

The adherents of Islamic religion constitute the majority in the north and Christians are the majority in the southern part of Nigeria. The nation has about 10 percent of the population which adheres to indigenous traditional beliefs and this group equally spreads across the country. In early 2006, the

news of the publication of derogatory caricatures of the Prophet Muhammad in a Danish newspaper, resulted in anti-Christian riots in various parts of Nigeria. The further created anti-Muslim reprisals. The violence that ensued led to the destruction of several churches and mosques as well as the death of over 100 people⁴⁶.

Nigeria's adult literacy rate was an average of 62 percent in 2021, with the rate for males at 70 percent and that of females at 53 percent. The Nigerian government provides opportunities for citizens education though attendance is not made compulsory at any level of study. In the current ratings, nomads and the physically challenged are not adequately served. The education system is the 6-3-3-4 system which stipulates six years of primary education, three years at the junior secondary level, three years at the senior secondary level and four years of university education, leading to the award of a bachelor's degree. In 2018, Nigeria's gross enrollment for elementary schools was 68.3 per cent²⁹⁹.

However, the highest rates were recorded in the Northwest, with 70.3 percent male enrollment and 71.1 per cent female enrollment as at 2018. In 2004, the Nigerian National Planning Commission referred to the country's educational system as being "dysfunctional."⁴⁴ The reasons adduced for this classification covers decayed infrastructure and ill-prepared graduates of institutions. Nigeria's economy is on the downward trend and the government has put measures in place to leverage the country's vast wealth in fossil fuels so as to reduce poverty that currently affects about a substantial proportion of its population. Economists refer to the irony of having vast natural resources and extreme poverty in developing countries like Nigeria as the "paradox of plenty" or the "curse of oil." Nigeria's exports of oil and natural gas at a period of soaring high prices have boosted the country's trade and current account surpluses in recent years.

Nigeria was ranked 161 out of 189 countries in the United Nations Development Index in 2019 and non-energy-related infrastructure is also categorised as inadequate²⁹⁹.

2.1.5 An Analytical View of Lack of a Universal Definition

In most scholarly work, there is always a friction on the concept of terrorism. This friction arises from the perspective, understanding and ideology of the person doing or crafting the definition. It is worthy to understand that, while some scholars and experts have shown preference for open-ended definition of terrorism, others have provided several forms of definitions with all exploring and focusing on various elements that expound the concept of terrorism.

Notable scholars rightly assert that, it is impossible to define terrorism but observers would understand it when they see it; that is, when various methods and indicators that could be described as terrorist actions manifest in a country or a particular place⁵⁰. While considering an expanded definition of terrorism, a scholar assiduously states that, there is a deliberate intention to keep the concept of terrorism broad, complex and devoid of clear, unambiguous meaning, because the only honest and globally acceptable definition of terrorism is subjective, which is a “*violence we do not support*”⁵¹. Evidently, yielding to the temptation of leaving the definition of the concept of terrorism ‘open-ended’ is not the best form to approach the complexities of the problem.

The subjectivity of defining terrorism is by no means an easy undertaking. While trying to give an illustration of the difficulty of defining the concept, David Tucker summarizes the difficult task as:

*Above the gate of hell, there is a warning that all who enter should give up hope.
The warning issued to those who attempt to define terrorism is less dire, but has
the same effect⁵¹.*

In considering the differences in the various definitions, it appears that most disparities between existing definitions concern the description of terrorist motivation. It is vital to comprehensively and categorically assess the motivations of terrorists because the methods and targets selected by them are often indicated by their purpose. As previously articulated, definitions of terrorism find their relevance in the manner they are applied. The definition of terrorism is vital in the global struggle against terrorism and ultimately provides the necessary guidelines useful for the prosecution of suspected terrorists.

While considering the challenges of defining terrorism from the perspective of motivation, it is pertinent to assess the existing definitions. It is worthy to state that, most parts of the existing definitions seem to be divided into two categories; those who consider terrorism as a 'politically-motivated' phenomenon, and those that have added an additional specificity. The first category of definitions, that is, those who assert that the motivation of terrorists is political, includes those posited by a number of scholars including Paul Wilkinson, Brenda and James to mention a few. Similarly, the other category falls within the definition obtained as a result of the 73 existing definitions of terrorism, which described terrorism as a politically-motivated tactics⁵². In effect, the application of a definition using 'politics' as the only tool of motivation of terrorists is extremely limited³.

The difficulty and complexities involved in defining terrorism and particularly the subject of motivation of terrorist, become clear in the disparity between definitions. The United States Army Command asserts that terrorism may be propelled by religion, politics, and ideological considerations. This group of classifications is also favoured by the United States Department of Defense which defined terrorism as 'the deliberate use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological'⁴.

The United Kingdom's Act on Terrorism also gave a similar 'politically-motivated' definition when it defined terrorism in Section 1 of the Act as 'the use or threat of actions involving serious violence against a person or serious property damage; endangers a person's life, other than that of the person committing the action; creates a serious risk to the health or safety of the public or a section of the public; or is designed seriously to interfere with or seriously to disrupt an electronic system'. In addition, the Act also highlights the use of threat designed to influence the government or an international organization, or intimidate the public or a section of the public; and the use or threat is applied for the purpose of advancing a political, religious, racial or ideological cause⁵⁴.

In 2004, the United Nations Resolution 1566 in its definition appears to be broad in its conceptualization of terrorism. The international organization indicated that terrorism is often justified when viewed with respect to political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic and religious objectives⁵⁵. A renowned scholar on the concept of terrorism, whose 109 definitions of terrorism culminated in one of the comprehensive definitions commonly applied by other academics, arrived at the conclusion that terrorist motivations are either criminal, idiosyncratic or political⁵⁶. It is for this reason that Walter Laqueur applied a simple but broad based definition of terrorism when he defined terrorism as the "illegitimate use of force to achieve a political objective by targeting innocent people⁵⁷.

The reason for the brief assessment of existing definitions of terrorism is to highlight the broad spectrum of interpretations given to terrorist motivations. Another prominent scholar on the concept terrorism also posits that, there seems to be some measure of concurrence on the inclusion of 'politics' as a terrorist motive⁵⁸. The indecision involved in considering the various definitions suggests an implicit difficulty in separating and categorizing the motivations of terrorists. It follows that, for many

political institutions, scholars and Non-Governmental Organizations, the consolation is to adopt 'politics' as a label encompassing all other possible terrorist objectives.

Additionally, if one considers terrorist groups as being ideologically motivated, a fresh set of difficulties present themselves. Terror and terrorism have continued to be subjects of discussion in Latin America. Despite being termed 'political' in broad terms, the motivation of extreme leftist and rightist groups is considered to be ideological in origin. The groups that advance a specific political ideology, could also be labelled as "ethno-nationalist or ethno-religious terrorists. These classifications could include Ku Klux Klan (KKK) in USA, Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) in Nigeria, Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), Lord Resistant Army (LRA) in Uganda⁵⁹.

Another challenge scholars and researchers encounter in their attempts to define terrorism in a comprehensive, clear and thorough manner is its evolution. Considering the dynamic nature of the world, terrorist organizations could emerge or cease to exist with the passage of time, a new form of terrorist acts and their assessment evolves, new types of terrorism are discovered and these are exemplified by eco-terrorism, bio terrorism, or the so-called global terrorism which has become very significant. The critical assessment of individuals, organizations, movements and ideologies also evolves. In this regard, an individual who is perceived to be a terrorist today could become a national hero leading the struggle for freedom and independence tomorrow⁶⁰.

The challenge in dealing with such a scenario hinges on deciding which of the enumerated factors reflects the true motivation of terrorist groups, and indeed whether the assessment of the question is worthwhile in the first instance. It could be easily assumed that terrorist groups have similar ideologies, whether it is religious, political, or ethnic. However, to disregard ideology entirely would

surely be out of the main point of discourse. A proper understanding of terrorist ideology is critical to a comprehensive outlook of their goals and ultimately facilitates an easy prediction of their behaviour.

2.1.6 Categorizing Terrorism

As expounded earlier, the phenomenon called 'terrorism' has not been given an acceptable universal definition because of its complexities. As already discussed, the term terrorism has been used to denote a wide variety of adverse and violent actions against governments, societies, institutions and even persons within a nation. Some scholars and stakeholders have attempted to give better explanations of the term by highlighting different categories of terrorism⁶¹. However, most of these classifications have been arbitrary and have hardly drawn any universal acceptability. Some of the commonly used criteria for their categorizations are enumerated below:

i. Personal Motives of Terrorists

In this category are criminals who use terrorist tactics for personal material gains. Such criminals engage in heinous crimes such as kidnapping people for ransom, banditry, armed robbery among others. The activities of this criminal group are different from the agitations of separatist or secessionist terrorists, who desire to break away from status quo and establish their own independent entity; or revolutionary terrorists, who want to overthrow the existing political order and replace it with a completely new arrangement.

ii. Ideological Posture

This categorization involves acts of terror perpetrated by terrorist groups such as Marxist-Leninist and Maoist revolutionaries as opposed to the status quo terrorists, or acts of terror carried out by ultra-leftist as against ultra-rightist groups. These terrorist groups are mostly driven by their respective ideologies.

iii. Official Status

This category of terrorism refers to state sponsored or establishment induced terrorism as against non-state actors carrying out acts of terrorism. State or establishment terrorism denotes acts of terror perpetrated by government functionaries and agencies to promote political objectives. On the other hand, non-state terrorism represents acts of terrorism perpetrated by non-state actors opposed to the agenda of the state and would use terrorist tactics to press home their demands for change. Examples of such are nationalists struggles and guerrilla fighters, liberation struggles, mercenaries and religious fanatics.

iv. Instruments of Terror

This category encompasses narco-terrorism and bio-terrorism, which refers to acts of terror that involves the use of various harmful substances such as narcotics, chemical, biological and radiological weapons, or fondly called weapons of mass destruction. The Tokyo subway Sarin gas attack by AumShinrikyo in 1995, the Oklahoma 'fertilizer' bomb also in 1995, and the 2001 Anthrax outbreak in the US, are clear examples of the new dimensions of terrorism. Currently, there is the fear of the increased use of chemical, biological and radiological weapons by terrorists around the world.

v. State of the Mind

The state of mind of terrorists is critical to their actions. Many terrorists that fall into this category have unstable minds. They are psychotic. A good example of such is psychological terrorism, which denotes acts of terror perpetrated by mentally unbalanced persons⁶². This is clearly violence perpetrated without a rational purpose.

The above classifications are not exhaustive. Infact, there are as many forms of terrorism as there are scholars, analysts and stakeholders. Considering the various types of terrorism, there could also be mixtures of different types as well as borderline situations. For example, non-state terrorism can fit easily into virtually all other forms of terrorism which do not involve goverment functionaries and agencies. Also, political terrorism, which concerns acts of terror perpetrated to achieve a political objective, fits into the category that hinges on the motives of the perpetrators of terrorist acts. Despite these mixtures, the definitions of terrorism given by some analysts are simply limited to acts of violence perpetrated for political motives.

This in effect means that scholars attribute political motives to all acts of terrorism. A good example is the US government's position, which considers terrorism as representing a 'pre-meditated, politically motivated violence' perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience⁶³. In general terms, those analysts who maintain that not all acts of terrorism are politically motivated are at liberty to make a distinction between politically motivated terrorism and other forms. Even the classifications based on the motives of the terrorists in question could be broadened to include those with ideological motivations.

In the same vein, it could be submitted that what Thornton calls 'enforcement terror' and 'agitational terror' are variants of the category of terrorism based on the status, position or traits of those involved in the terrorist acts⁶⁴. Thus, enforcement terror which, in the definition of Thornton, is acts of terrorism perpetrated by those who have political power and who aim to suppress oppositions to their

authority, could also pass for state or establishment terrorism. Similarly, agitational terror, which refers to terrorism carried out by those who desire to disrupt the existing order and replace it with their preference could be termed non-state terrorism⁶⁴.

2.1.7 An Overview of the different Concepts of Terrorism

Terrorism has been defined in different forms by scholars and security professionals. However, it is pertinent to state that the different forms of terrorism are recognised and grouped according to the kind of attack agents used by the terrorist or by what objectives they aim to defend. Terrorism could range from internet hacking to hijacking, bombing, diplomatic kidnapping, assassination and hostage taking among others. Hence, the typology of terrorism varies depending on the way politicians, law-makers, security practitioners, and researchers define it. To this extent, the following are the common types of terrorism:

1. Domestic Terrorism

Following the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 in the USA, the Western world became increasingly concerned about the consequences of having failed states in the global south. This concern also has obvious implications for Africa as well as international responses to armed insurgency groups on the African Continent. Domestic terrorism refers to those acts of terrorism that are carried out by persons or local groups within a state, usually as a means of redressing domestic grievances⁶⁵. This is clearly distinct from international terrorism which addresses terrorist acts by persons or groups that are external to the affected state and whose objective is to promote an extra-territorial goal.

It is important to state that the distinction between domestic and international terrorism might not be as broad as is generally conceived. Considering the revolution that has taken place in the global

information technology sector, which has immensely facilitated networking between distant diverse groups, the possibility of having some linkages between domestic and external terrorist groups cannot be undermined. The lack of an acceptable universal definition of terrorism has also provided opportunity for different interpretations of the concept at the domestic level, where the label of terrorism has been selectively used by political actors to target their perceived opponents.

In this regard, it is not a strange occurrence anymore to find the power brokers in some countries inventing their own terrorism definition in order to attract international sympathy for their ploy to neutralize or degrade opposition elements and cleverly hold on to political power. In some cases, they attempt to legitimize their actions by enacting self-serving laws to support their selfish plans. A cursory look at the US Patriot Act will make this approach much clearer. Under the Act, 'a person is guilty of domestic terrorism if he or she is involved in an act, within the territorial jurisdiction of the US, that is 'dangerous to human life'; that is, a 'violation of the criminal laws of a state or the United States, if the act appears to be intended to:

- a. intimidate or coerce a civilian population;
- b. influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or
- c. to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination or kidnapping'⁶⁶.

There are various sanctions prescribed in the Act, including the seizure of assets, to deal with anyone that violates the provisions of the Act. In this particular example, the definition of domestic terrorism is very broad that it could be used against any opposition group whose activities are considered tantamount to intimidating or coercing an incumbent government to change or accept a particular policy. In this manner, a self-serving anti-terrorism law could be used as a tool for obstructing the free exercise of the people's fundamental rights of dissent or protest. For leaders with dictatorial propensities such as is common in many African countries, an expanded interpretation of domestic

terrorism as illustrated by the US Patriot Act could serve as a veritable instrument for the suppression of opposition groups and other dissenting interests.

During the 1990s and after the Twin Tower terrorist incident in 2001, the United States became more disturbed about domestic terrorist activities perpetrated by the US citizens without any foreign collaboration, though it started the global war against terror afterwards. In 1978, an individual referred to as Unabomber violently attacked university scientists, airline employees, and other persons he linked with a dehumanized technology-driven device. He killed three (3) persons and injured 23 others with package bombs⁶⁷. Although terrorism has had tremendous adverse effects on the global political landscape for a very long time, never in the entire history of mankind has it attained the power and viciousness it displays in the present dispensation.

Terrorism has imposed a new and dominant strategic outlook on the current global political system by making every person a potential victim of its various dimensions. It is worrisome that news reports of various acts of terrorism in different parts of the world have become a daily occurrence. It is either a car bomb, suicide bombing, hostage taking, plane hijacking, kidnapping or an assassination by an aggrieved person or persons, or the indiscriminate bombing of selected targets by state officials or agents. The painful reality is that we are currently living in a world that is constantly being traumatized by relentless acts of terrorism. Consequently, safety of persons at any point is no longer guaranteed because of the menace of terrorism and its global nature.

2. State Terrorism

State terrorism entails the use of force or the threat of force, to terrorize citizens and achieve a political endstate without the actual declaration of war. State terrorism occurs when the existing national government supports terrorists to further its own foreign policy objectives and national

interests In order to label an act as 'state terrorism', its constituent elements must be consistent with those of non-state terrorism. The following key elements are reflective of state terrorism:

- a deliberate and vicious act of violence against persons for which the state has the responsibility to protect, or a threat of such violent act, if a state of fear has already been created through the preceding acts of state violence;
- the violent act must be perpetrated by actors on behalf of or in collaboration with the officials and agencies of the state, including paramilitary groups and private security agents;
- the violent act or threat of violence is aimed at inducing extreme fear in some selected observers of the main target who identify with the victim in some way and
- the target of the act or threat of violence is compelled to consider changing their conduct in some manner⁶⁸.

State-sponsored terrorism could be classified as a form of 'secret warfare'. It involves waging war secretly through the use of terrorist surrogates as hired agents. For instance, the United States had been labelled a terrorist nation, through its covert sponsorship of Nicaraguan Contras against the state in the 1980s. State-sponsored terrorism usually has the support of state authorities who supply arms, funds and safe haven to terrorists. State sponsorship could entail supporting terrorists with the resources of a sovereign nation's diplomatic, military and intelligence services⁶⁹.

3. Political Terrorism

Political terrorism implies a politically-motivated form of terrorism. In reality, majority of terrorist acts are politically-motivated. Terrorism has become a political weapon, which is used by activists when all other means of effecting their desired change have failed to yield positive results. Terrorists therefore resort to the systematic use of violence resulting in murder and destruction or the threat of these to intimidate individuals, groups, communities, or governments into conceding to their political demands. The ultimate aim is to induce fear in their targets, which is done deliberately to achieve their

political endstate. The acts of violence carried out by terrorists send a political message to their targets and its goal goes beyond demanding a perceived adversary's material resources. The victims or objects of terrorist attacks have little intrinsic value to the terrorist group, but simply represent a selected group of people whose reactions are important to the terrorists⁷⁰.

In Nigeria, political terrorism has been very pronounced in recent time. It involves the creation of heavily armed and organized militia groups whose agitations revolve around themes such as the Niger-Delta development initiatives, resource distribution and control, boundary delineation and maintenance, local government creation, religious and ethnic agenda amongst others. In some cases, government agents could also use a measure of political terrorism to instill fear in the citizens in order to achieve their political aims. It could result in outright elimination of opponents. For instance, the assassination of Dele Giwa, the murder of Kudirat Abiola and the murder of Bola Ige are some examples of politically motivated terrorism⁷⁰.

The late General Sani Abacha terrorized the whole of the country and the activities of his government resulted in the death of many politicians and many others put in jail because they were considered as threats to his administration. The prolonged incarceration of the immediate past National Security Adviser, Col Sambo Dasuki, Omoyele Sowore and many others by the present dispensation also fall into this category.

4. Religious Terrorism

Religious terrorism simply implies acts of violence propelled by faith-based tenets. It is perpetrated by fanatical adherents of certain religious beliefs. Religious terrorism defines an individual or groups' opinions or interpretations of the teachings of a particular belief system. Terrorist acts under the guise of religion and ethnic identities have become one of the most dreadful security threats of the post Cold

War era. It is worthy to note that terrorists acts over the years have been carried out on religious grounds with the aim of either spreading or enforcing a particular system of belief. Religious terrorism has been broadened above a mere label to a set of distinct characteristics and substantive submissions which seek to recognise it as a specific form of political violence that is concretely different from other forms of terrorism⁷¹. The discussion about the specific nature of religious terrorism is hinged on several parameters, three of which are discussed in Figure 2.1 below:

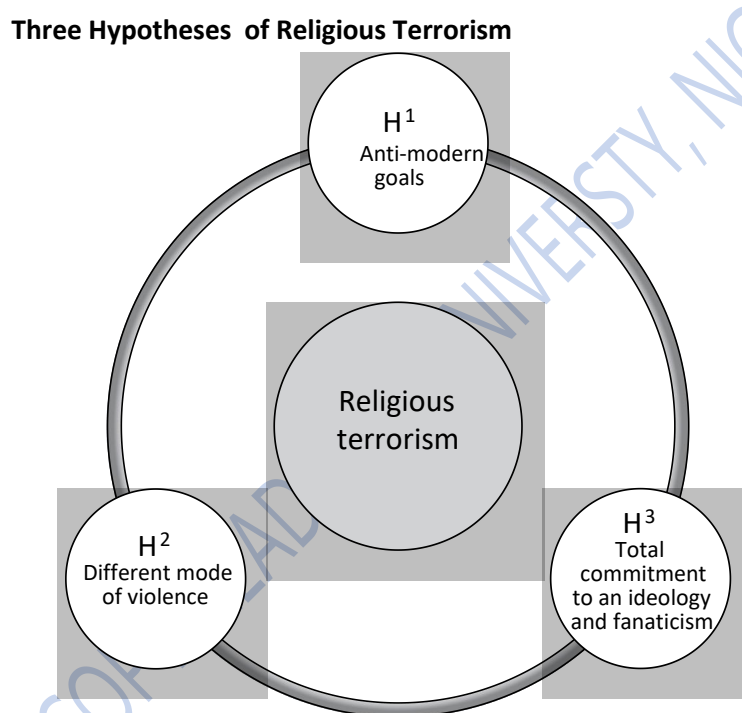


Figure: 2.1
 Source: Agbiboa2014:5⁷⁴

It is commonly argued that religious terrorists aim at attaining anti-modern goals of returning society to idealized experiences of the past. They are therefore labelled as anti-democratic and anti-progressive elements. For instance, the forces of history seem to be pushing international terrorism backwards to the early years, with traces of the behaviour of ‘sacred’ terrorists clearly witnessed in a terrorist organization such as Al-Qaeda’. Another scholar on his part argues that, religious terrorists work to entrench an anti-modern political agenda. In his words:

They have come to hate secular governments with an almost transcendent passion ... dreamed of revolutionary changes that would establish a godly social order in the rubble of what the citizens of most secular societies have regarded as modern, egalitarian democracies The logic of this kind of militant religiosity has therefore been difficult for many people to comprehend. Yet its challenge has been profound, for it has contained a fundamental critique of the world's post-enlightenment secular culture and politics⁷².

It is further submitted that religious terrorists have absolutist, inflexible, unrealistic objectives devoid of political pragmatism and are mostly hostile to negotiations.

A second important argument hinges on the motivation for the kind of violence carried out by religious terrorists. It is argued that religious terrorists employ a different form of violence from that of secular terrorists. For example, it is debated that for the religious terrorists, violence is a sacramental act or divine assignment carried out in direct response to some theological exposition⁷³. Furthermore, it is posited that religious terrorists have lofty religious aims and as such, are engaged in a seemingly religious war. They do not have an earthly constituency, therefore, they are not constrained in their love for violence and absolutely take an apocalyptic view of violent religious struggle. Religious terrorist groups have been known to be more violent than the other secular terrorist groups and could likely use weapons of mass destruction.

Thirdly, it is argued that religious terrorists have the propensity to demand absolute loyalty and fanaticism from their members. This group of religious terrorists are characterized by the elimination of doubt as well as an end-justifies-the-means view of the world. This identity is in contrast with the supposedly more measured behaviour of the other secular terrorist groups⁷⁴. Additionally, it is opined that in many instances, the certainty of the religious viewpoint and the promises of benefits in the next world are direct motivating factors to lure insecure, frustrated, alienated and marginalized youths to

join religious terrorist groups as a means of psychological empowerment. Islamist terrorist connection is presumed to provide social backing and meaning to life as a form of compensation for the spiritual emptiness felt by potential recruits. It is also seen to provide a social and collective identity based purely on the pride of being part of a jihad movement considered to be the only way of attaining the power and glory of Islam⁷⁵.

2.1.8 The Nature of Terrorism in Nigeria

In recent time, the vicious activities of Boko Haram terrorists have become one of the most worrisome events in Nigeria. The terms, 'Boko Haram' were formed from two separate words 'Boko' and 'Haram'. The term 'Boko' is the Hausa word for western education, while 'Haram' is an Arabic word which figuratively denotes 'sin' but literally means 'forbidden'. When these words are pronounced in the Hausa language, it highlights in clear terms that 'western education is forbidden'⁷⁷. However, the term Boko Haram is vehemently rejected by the group that prefers to be officially referred to as 'Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna awatiwal-jihad' meaning, 'People committed to the propagation of the Prophet's teachings and Jihad', or, more literally translated as 'Association of Sunnas for the Propagation of Islam and for holy war'⁷⁸.

The exact date of Boko Haram's origin is still a subject of controversy, but most Nigerian sources agree that it has a connection with individuals involved with the Maitatsine uprising of the 1980s. The Maitatsine uprising was apparently one of the previous attempts at imposing a religious ideology on a secular and independent Nigeria. Despite this fact, it was agreed by most scholars that, a Muslim cleric, Ustaz (Teacher) Mohammed Yusuf, established an Islamic complex including a mosque and an Islamic boarding school in Maiduguri, Borno State. It is widely believed that Yusuf's efforts provided the foundation for the establishment of the Boko Haram terrorist group⁷⁹. The introduction of Islamic Law (Sharia) in the 12 northern states in 1999 was deemed insufficient by those whose interests

Yusuf and his die-hard followers represent. Their submission was that the country's ruling class was entirely enmeshed in corruption and even the Muslim northern leaders were irredeemably influenced by the western-style ambitions. In their opinion, it was better to establish a complete Sharia state that would clearly be more transparent and just than the existing political order⁸⁰.

The Boko Haram terrorist group is composed of dissatisfied northern youths, professionals, unemployed graduates, Islamic clerics, ex-almajiri, that is, children who continuously migrate for the purpose of acquiring Quranic education, drop-outs from universities as well as some members of the Nigerian political elite⁸¹. It also includes some members of the state security agencies who clandestinely support the group with training and timely intelligence reports. The sect is alleged to have over 40,000 members in Nigeria and some neighboring African countries like Chad, Benin, and Niger⁸².

The Boko Haram sect keeps its membership secret like many other terrorist groups around the world. It does not publicize the complete information about its hierarchies, structure or manifesto. However, a closer scrutiny of the group reveals some forms of hierarchical structure, though only few details are known about its inner operations. Its first known leader was the Late Mohammed Yusuf (1979-2009), after whom Mallam Sani Umaru became the leader of the group in acting capacities. After the demise of Yusuf, several other members have assumed the leadership of the group at different times⁸³.

Interestingly, members of the terrorist group pay daily levies to their leaders, thus providing a firm financial base for the Boko Haram sect. This is usually to augment funds obtained from attacks on banks, ransoms from kidnapping and donations from political sponsors and other organizations within and outside Nigeria. For example, in 2007, Mohammed Yusuf and Mohammed Bello Damagun were arraigned at the Federal High Court of the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, for receiving funds from Al-Qaeda operatives. It was alleged that Damagun on his part received a total of US\$300,000 from

Al-Qaeda to recruit Nigerians and provide training support for them in Mauritania for the purpose of terrorism¹⁰⁸. Similarly, Yusuf reportedly received substantial funds from Al-Qaeda operatives in Pakistan, to recruit terrorists who would carry out attacks on the residences of foreigners, particularly American citizens resident in Nigeria⁸⁴.

The Boko Haram terrorist group has been a serious security threat to the peace and stability of Nigeria. Its first known violent attack was on local government infrastructure, police stations as well as public buildings in Yobe State, on 24 December 2003. The violent attacks led to the untimely death of over 30 people. In July 2009, government forces launched a counter-attack against the terrorists, thus killing at least 700 members of the group. This response was to stop Boko Haram's attack on police stations and other infrastructure. Eventually, the group leader Mohammed Yusuf, was killed while in police custody⁸⁵.

Despite this government crackdown, the group which appeared to have gone into hiding, re-emerged in a much more deadly and highly militarized fashion. Subsequently, in September 2010, they conducted a large-scale prison break that led to the release of 700 prisoners, including over 100 of its own members⁸⁶. The group's vicious attacks have since increased substantially in frequency, reach and lethality with the recent bombing of a passenger train along Abuja - Kaduna rail line. Boko Haram deadly attacks now occur almost on a daily basis across the nation, though mostly in the northern states of Nigeria. They now periodically threaten the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja⁸⁷.

The consequences of violent terrorist attacks are evident in the severe economic disintegration and wanton destruction of lives and properties at the troubled spots of the country. Since 2009, Boko Haram terrorists have carried out coordinated and sophisticated attacks on mainly police stations, army barracks, prisons, religious centres, schools, and banks as well as other government infrastructure and prominent dignitaries. These vicious attacks and heinous crimes and the heavy-

handed counter-insurgency operations against the group have led to an estimated death of over 3,000 persons and significant displacements of people⁸⁸.

2.1.9 The Root Causes and Objectives of Terrorism

Several Studies have critically examined the root causes of terrorism as well as the underlying objectives of terrorists. The identified causes of terrorism could be classified into socio-economic, religious, ethnic and political and discussed as follows:

- **Socio-Economic Root Causes**

Poverty and unemployment have been identified by several studies conducted by scholars and experts as the most common causes of terrorism⁸⁹. However, some other studies too have not established any link between poverty, unemployment and terrorism⁹⁰. The general opinion within the security and intelligence circle is that, people who suffer economic depravity would more likely resort to violence as a way of expressing their grievances over their predicament. In effect, this opinion supports the notion that poverty and unemployment could lead to acts of terrorism⁹². The theory of relative deprivation explains that when people feel deprived of benefits they are entitled to, they become discontent and depressed, hence, could resort to violence to express their frustration⁹³.

Although, notwithstanding the opposing argument, it has been established that poor economic conditions such as lack of employment opportunities and poverty could compel people to join terrorist organizations⁴⁵. In similar vein, another study established that, poor but highly educated people were the likely group that could easily participate in terrorism⁹⁵. A similar study conducted by two scholars showed the link between education, unemployment and violent extremism and established the fact that unemployed educated youths in Arab countries are more likely to be radicalized by terrorist groups due to frustration and deprivation⁹⁶.

The dearth of socio-economic benefits has been found as a main cause of terrorism. Another study discovered a negative relationship between lack of economic benefits and terrorism. The study further submits that, countries that obstruct economic freedom are more prone to terrorist attacks than those countries that promote socio-economic liberty⁹⁷. For example, the deterioration of socio-economic conditions in the Middle East has contributed immensely to the various acts of terrorism around the world⁹⁸.

The study above established that a relationship exists between poverty, economic discrimination against minorities and domestic terrorism. A scholar revealed that countries that promote economic discrimination against minority groups are more likely to experience more domestic terrorism than those countries where minority groups are not economically deprived⁹⁹. Another scholar also gave evidence to show that nations with higher economic disparities between groups are susceptible to increased terrorist attacks⁵¹. Low income and economic inequalities have been established to be possible immediate causes of terrorism. Two other scholars highlighted evidence that, the higher the income inequalities in a nation, the greater the incidence of domestic terrorism¹⁰¹. In the course of comparing two countries between 1985 and 2012, two researchers found that, income inequality has a correlation with terrorism¹⁰². In addition, another scholar gave a distinct non-linear income-terrorism correlation, which posits that terrorist attacks are more pronounced in middle-income nations¹⁰³. However, other empirical studies have found no basis to assert that the income distribution in a nation has any relationship with terrorism.

In northern Nigeria, it is commonly opined that violent extremism is caused by the socio-economic challenges of the country¹⁰⁴. For example, it was argued that, poverty and unemployment are the compelling forces responsible for terrorism in Nigeria. Furthermore, the study also asserted that, the

high rate of youth unemployment has engendered poverty and insecurity in the country¹⁰⁵. It is widely accepted that socio-economic parameters such as poverty, unemployment, inequality, economic under-development, inadequate education among others are responsible for the emergence and persistence of Boko Haram terrorism¹⁰⁶. These assertions suggest that, the persistent poverty, unemployment and under-development in northern Nigeria create the enabling conditions for young, vulnerable people to be manipulated for easy recruitment by Boko Haram terrorists. Although, many studies have found no correlation between poverty and terrorism, the vicious cycle of poverty and unemployment make it easy for depressed, frustrated and vulnerable people to become targets for Boko Haram recruitment.

- **Religious and Ethnic Causes of Terrorism**

It is common belief that terrorism is deeply rooted in religious tension and fundamentalism. There is enough empirical evidence to support this position⁵⁸. In relation to Boko Haram, religion and ideology play a dominant role in their narratives. The group is induced by extreme religious ideology and fundamentalism, which they adopt as justified basis to commit heinous crimes¹⁰⁸. The origin of the Boko Haram sect is enmeshed in Islamic ideology and fundamentalism, which they claim provides justification for their violent actions⁶⁰. For example, the Boko Haram terrorists aim to promote Sharia law and establish an Islamic caliphate in Northern Nigeria. Consequently, they have continued to oppose western ideas and disposition, which they believe are against the teachings of Islam. This confirms the link between terrorism and religious fundamentalism¹¹⁰. In the study, Why do people join Boko Haram? Scholars provided evidence that, ignorance about religious doctrines makes it easy for unsuspecting adherents to be swayed into adopting extreme religious views, especially among youths, in the surveyed northern states.

In addition, religious and ethnic conflicts have led to several violent acts in Nigeria in recent time. Historically, Nigeria's national security has been continuously threatened by intermittent ethno-religious clashes. Although, it could prove a herculean task to link the emergence Boko Haram

terrorism to religious or ethnic conflicts, some studies have found a positive and concrete link between religious and ethnic contentions and terrorism. This implies that nations or communities that are challenged by religious and ethnic tension can easily become breeding grounds for the operation of terrorists¹¹¹.

- **Political Causes of Terrorism**

Several studies have established that most terrorist organizations have political objectives as justification for their violent actions. Other studies have also identified certain parameters as the root causes of terrorism. These parameters include the obstruction of civil liberties, corruption, weak political institutions, political instability, weak government, high level of repression amongst others¹¹³. Additionally, a study also identifies societies with large complex multi-party systems as being more susceptible to terrorism than those with few homogeneous systems¹¹⁵. Also, nations that have embraced democracy and presumed to be better equipped to curtail terrorist attacks have been seen to be more prone to terrorist attacks than autocratically led nations¹¹⁶. In addition, democratic nations which practice democratic ideals such as respect for civil liberties and free press have become more vulnerable to terrorist operations as media activities sometimes obstruct counter-terrorism initiatives. Similarly, some scholars attribute the emergence of Boko Haram terrorists to the nature elite politics practised in the country¹¹⁵. In their submission, Boko Haram is seen as a political wing that enjoys the sponsorship of politicians. The Boko Haram sect is believed to have emerged from the struggles for political influence among northern and southern political elites, with the sole aim of controlling political power in Nigeria, especially after the death of President Yar'Adua¹¹⁷.

In 2011, following the re-election Goodluck Jonathan, many political elites who had sworn to make Nigeria ungovernable allegedly resorted to the use of Boko Haram terrorists as instruments of intimidation and destruction for political objectives¹¹⁷. However, this assertion too may not fully account for the emergence of Boko Haram. This is because other narratives of political and social

phenomena could have equally contributed to the emergence of the deadly group. For instance, the emergence of the Boko Haram terrorist group could be attributed to perceived bad governance, inequalities, corruption and economic deprivation in Nigeria.

2.1.10 Terrorists Goals and Targets

In general, several literature suggests that terrorists operations are geared towards specific objectives which provide the impetus for their actions. Studies have shown in clear terms that political, religious, social and economic objectives could trigger terrorist operations¹¹⁸. The choice of terrorist targets and the methods of attacks against such targets are directly influenced by the set objectives of the terrorist groups. For instance Boko Haram is known for its dislike for Western influences and way of life as well as the liberty which democracy guarantees. Their ultimate desire to entrench Islamic laws and preferences in northern Nigeris has never been in doubt¹¹⁹. This objective is in consonance with that of other terrorists organizations like the Islamic State that aims to establish Islamic caliphate in the Middle East.

The Boko Haram terrorist group is motivated by their ideological and religious objectives and they resort to vicious tactics to achieve them. Their anti-western stance also plays an important role in their choice of recruitment and radicalization strategies¹¹⁹.

2.1.11 Public Perception of Terrorism

Not much literature has considered the perception of the public on terrorist actions. Despite the devastating effects of terrorism, only a few studies have examined the public perception of terrorism and the various associated counter-terrorism initiatives in the affected countries. Krueger examined the attitude of the general public in one country towards political activities in another country . He also considered the likelihood such public perception resulting in acts of terrorism¹⁹². His findings

revealed the greater likelihood of terrorist attacks in a country with poor leadership and policies based on the public perception of another influential country¹⁹².

In line with the findings of various studies on terrorism, it has been established that many Nigerians are traumatized by the increasing level of insecurity occasioned by the spate of terrorist attacks across the country. It is widely believed that the increased terrorist attacks are deeply rooted in Islamic extremism. The results of a study conducted identified about 82% of respondents being negatively disposed to terrorism induced by Islamic extremism while 10% were said to be favorably disposed to the activities of Boko Haram¹⁹³. It could be deduced therefore that the 10% of respondents with favorable disposition towards Boko Haram terrorists could be northerners who may share the same ideology and religious inclination with the terrorist group.

In another related study on public perception of terrorism, the findings showed that, 95% of Nigerians consider the Boko Haram terrorists as a major threat to the peace, stability and prosperity of the country. In the same vein, it was revealed that only 3% consider the Boko Haram sect as a minor threat¹⁹⁴. Similarly, a recent study on the public perception of Islamic extremism revealed that a substantial proportion of the population in Europe and North America are seriously concerned about the danger of Islamic extremism¹⁹⁵. This implies that the spate of terrorist attacks across the globe has stimulated increased apprehension and negative public perception about the threat of terrorism. Interestingly, the authors were unaware of other studies that have confirmed the negative perception of citizens about the menace of terrorism in their countries as well as government's counter-terrorism initiatives.

In this regard, It is pertinent to state that, government's counter-terrorism initiatives are hinged on four important parameters. These parameters are enumerated as follows:

1. Effectiveness at curbing terrorism.

2. Effectiveness at identifying and remedying the root causes.
3. Efficient and cost effective implementation.
4. Significant or overwhelming support from the populace.

The last parameter has been effectively utilized by many countries that are actively involved in the fight against terrorism. Terrorists hinge their popularity on public support. It follows therefore that an effective counter-terrorism initiative is one that has the capacity to dissuade the public from supporting the objectives of terrorists. The perception of the public about terrorism is important in this regard, as a safeguard against the objectives of terrorists and a source of intelligence about the possible root causes of terrorism. Public perception of terrorism also assists to identify terrorist sympathizers who could possibly be potential terrorist recruits. In effect, a well appraised public opinion about terrorism could assist the government, security and humanitarian agencies to articulate and provide efficient support services to the victims of terrorism.

2.1.12 Terrorism Recruitment Strategy in Nigeria

The Boko Haram and other terrorist groups engage in various recruitment drives to boost their capacities to effectively conduct their nefarious acts of violence. The Boko Haram sect is alleged to have over 6000 foot soldiers recruited from Chad, Cameroun, Mali, Libya and Niger¹⁹⁶. The Boko Haram terrorist group is known for its long transnational reach demonstrated by its capacity to recruit foreign fighters for its operations. This was aptly expounded during discussions with an informant about the subject matter. Three important factors were considered in this regard, as being responsible for the sect's long reach.¹⁹⁸.

Firstly, Nigeria has a long stretch of porous borders and ungoverned spaces which aid illegal migration into the country. This strategic lapse, coupled with the unpatriotic activities of corrupt security agents, facilitate easy movement of unscrupulous elements into the country, most of whom may be terrorists recruits. Similarly, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)

has a policy on the free movement of legitimately documented persons across the sub-region. This political concession, which is aimed at promoting free trade and interaction among member states, is mostly abused by criminals and mercenaries in conjunction with corrupt officials of government within the sub-region. Such criminal elements who represent various terrorist groups, including Boko Haram, would usually spare no efforts at circumventing the security systems in place. Additionally, Malians, Nigeriens, Chadians and Nigerians in the northeast share similar religious, social and cultural identities and these facilitate easy integration among their citizens within the Sahel and Lake Chad regions. It is not surprising therefore that the Boko Haram terrorist group takes advantage of these factors to consolidate its recruitment drive to boost its capacity by engaging the services of foreign fighters¹⁹⁹.

It is therefore worthy to state that the international posture of the Boko Haram terrorist group has clearly negated the widely believed flawed and stereotype assertion that members of the sect are mostly poor, disgruntled, illiterate Nigerian citizens¹⁹⁹. The integration of the various communities across the northeast and Lake Chad region clearly attests to the assertion that the Boko Haram terrorist group is not composed of only a particular group of people or ethnic nationality²⁰⁰.

Terrorist organizations often suffer human casualties when engaged by government security forces hence require routine manpower boost to make up for the losses and sustain their nefarious activities²⁰¹. In the light of such trend, the Boko Haram terrorist group indulges in various recruitment initiatives, like most terrorist organizations. Some studies have revealed that the common recruitment techniques used by the Boko Haram sect include hypnosis, coercion, consent and the promise of financial rewards to improve economic prowess²⁰². Studies have also shown that many individuals were induced by the promise of better remuneration to join the terrorist group, owing largely to perceived lack of economic benefits, poverty and unemployment²⁰³.

The inability of the Nigerian government to appropriately meet the demands of its work force has created a loophole being exploited by the likes of Boko Haram terrorist group and others²⁰². The desire for a better life and improved standard of living, coupled with the narrative of USD 3000 Boko Haram daily incentive, has propelled a lot of anxious individuals to get recruited by the terrorist group²⁰⁶.

Conscription is another notable recruitment technique employed by the Boko Haram terrorist group to boost its manpower status²⁰⁷. Interestingly, various reports have indicated that the Boko Haram terrorist group has recruited over 8000 children into its fold since its emergence in 2009. It is reported that majority of these recruits are engaged in both combat and other services for the terrorist group²⁰⁹. Additionally, young girls and women that are kidnapped by the deadly sect are usually used as sex slaves or forced to become suicide bombers. Other reports indicated that some of these female recruits work as cooks or taken into forced marriages to prominent members of the terrorist group²¹¹. According to a report of the Global Terrorism Database, it was submitted that over 150 incidents of suicide attacks carried out by the Boko Haram terrorist group across the Lake Chad region were linked to children and women recruits. This group of suicide bombers account for about 50% of the number of suicide bombers within the sect, making it the highest among the various terrorist groups. It also confirms the group's preference for female and children suicide bombers¹⁶⁴.

It has been established by various studies that the Boko Haram terrorist group engages women recruits as suicide bombers. They also subject these women to sex slavery, to produce children that would continue to propagate their devilish ideology. This callousness by the terrorist group supports the narrative that the products of forceful marriages are cost saving measures to prevent the high expenses involved in the recruitment of foreign fighters. Furthermore, this method of breeding children to continue their nefarious activities helps to consolidate terrorist propaganda and publicity as well as their clandestine tactics of using minors to covertly carry out acts of terrorism with little suspicion²¹⁴.

The provision of cash loans by the Boko Haram terrorist group is also considered as another recruitment technique by the sect to trap unsuspecting victims who are beneficiaries of the bait²¹⁵. The terrorist group gives loans to traders and jobless youths who are then conscripted in the event of loan defaultment²¹⁶. The Boko Haram terrorist group indulges in this technique as a deceptive business initiative to cajole their victims into joining the vicious group²¹⁷. The victims of this evil plot are thereafter deployed to provide needed information about the operations of the Multinational Joint Taskforce (MNJTF), who are charged with the responsibility of conducting counter-terrorism operations in the Lake Chad region²¹⁸.

One of the methods used by the Boko Haram terrorist group to raise funds for its violent activities is the control of the fishing business in the Lake Chad region. In this regard, the terrorist group deploys conscripted loan defaulters to the various fish farms in the Lake Chad region to raise money. These defaulters are used as forced labour until they are able to repay their loans²¹⁹. This business technique is being adopted by the terrorist group to swell its manpower status in addition to fund raising. Recent studies have also shown the power and long reach of information technology in spreading the menace of terrorism. It is not surprising therefore the level of information on the internet, especially the social media, to lure youths into terrorism. There is no doubt that the Boko Haram terrorist group has effectively used the provisions of the internet to recruit many of its fighters²²⁰.

Evidently, the statement made by the former Emir of Kano, Sanusi Lamido, validates this assertion. The former Emir observed that societal moral values expected from the youths and even minors are eroded through their obsession and unregulated exposure to the social media. He equally highlighted the need to curtail the excesses of youths in their indulgence with the social media handles such as Twitter, WhatsApp, Facebook and YouTube. Further, he warned about the high risk of indoctrination

and manipulation of youths and minors by violent extremists who are constantly relating with unsuspecting friends within the virtual space²²¹.

The sad tale of a community leader in Angwan Rimi in Jos readily comes to mind. He narrated how his niece was lured into a forced marriage to a Boko Haram commander whom she purportedly met on Facebook, in 2015. Every effort to trace her whereabouts failed as it was reported that she travelled to Maiduguri to meet her supposed friend and thereafter ended up in Boko Haram camp. This is one of the many sad tales of young men and women being clandestinely recruited into the various terrorist groups by violent extremists who have turned the social media to their recruitment platform. In this light, he maintained that parents have the sole responsibility of monitoring the activities of their children to avert more dangerous and sad experiences²²⁰. Therefore, it is important for parents and guardians to ensure that children are not exposed to terrorists' propaganda videos which aim to indoctrinate unsuspecting victims. The Boko Haram terrorists like other terrorists use propaganda videos to spread their ideology and weep sentiments in an attempt to lure their victims into violent extremism²²³.

Radical religious doctrine has also become an effective instrument of radicalization of adherents. The Boko Haram terrorist group is known to use this radicalization method in its recruitment drive²²⁵. Most studies on terrorism and Boko Haram have identified radicalization, false teachings, and misrepresentation of religious tenets by quack clerics to deceive and recruit unsuspecting individuals into the various terrorist organizations. Several studies have shown that many unsuspecting individuals have been deceived into sympathizing with the terrorist groups by ignorant and quack clerics who baselessly attribute the socio-economic challenges of the northeast to Western civilization²²⁶. In the same vein, a former commander of the MNJTF and an investigative journalist also confirmed the potency of such negative narrative about western education and civilization as an instrument of

recruitment and radicalization by terrorists. Western education and civilization are perceived as anti-Islamic by the Boko Haram and other terrorist sympathizers, hence the false narrative is easily employed to radicalize most ignorant Islamic adherents. The founder of the Boko Haram terrorists group also used anti-Western sentiments and teachings to radicalize many uneducated, poor and ignorant members who were presumed to be frustrated by the scheme of events in the northeast²²³.

The Boko Haram terrorist group has continuously employed this recruitment and radicalization technique to consolidate its violent operations within the Lake Chad region²²⁸. Many scholars in their submissions have identified the slow pace of the government at improving the socio-economic outlook of the northeast as a boost for the terrorists. This is because the Boko Haram terrorist group has continued to exploit the strategic lapse created by government's ineptitude to propagate its own ideology through false narratives and religious indoctrination²²⁸. It is pertinent therefore for the Nigerian government to critically tackle the challenges of unemployment, human rights infringements, poverty, social exclusion, radicalization, illiteracy and inequality as well as other socio-economic shortcomings. This will help to counter the negative narratives of the Boko Haram terrorists²²⁹.

In summary, the prolonged negligence of the northeast and other northern states by the government has provided ample opportunities for the Boko Haram terrorists to respond to the immediate needs of the citizens. The terrorist group has been known to provide basic needs to citizens thus boosting their influence in the northeast²³⁰. The terrorist group provides food and levy communities to raise funds and also provide needed security in some instances. This is tantamount to establishing an alternative government in those communities. Such social responsibilities attract sympathy for the terrorist group among the populace who are easily recruited to advance the vicious activities of the Boko Haram terrorist group²³¹. Therefore, so long as the government fails to step up the development of the northeast region, the Boko Haram terrorist group will continue to consolidate its nefarious activities there. The Boko Haram terrorist group would likely continue to advance its cause and expand its

base within the Lake Chad region unless the government improves the capabilities of the relevant security agencies to deal decisively with them.

2.1.13 Relationship between Terrorism and National Security

The menace of terrorism has posed a tremendous threat to the world because of its devastating impact on national security. Over the years, terrorists have become more sophisticated in their approach and the advancements in information technology has also enhanced their reach. Terrorists have formed a deadly global network with increasing potentials to acquire and utilize weapons of mass destruction in their operations. This apprehension has increased the urge globally to deal decisively with the threat of terrorism. In this respect, there has been a sharp increase in the volume of security reports and studies, including seminars and conferences, to find answers to the question of global terrorism and its remedies²³².

The act of terrorism involves the use or the threat of violence to intimidate and coerce the citizens and government of a nation for political, religious, ideological or other benefits. Such envisaged gains of terrorism are usually not in tune with the overall national interests of the affected country, thus threatening the well-being of the citizens and the survival of a state²³².

The concept of national security, on the other hand, focuses on safeguarding the sovereignty and national interests of a state as well as basic necessities that guarantee peace, prosperity, unity, development and general well-being of citizens of a state²³¹. These core values can be eroded by persistent use of violence against a state and its citizens, thus undermining national security. Conversely, the absence of terrorism enhances peace, stability, progress and overall well-being of a nation and its citizens. Therefore, there is an inverse relationship between terrorism and national security.

2.1.14 Terrorism and Social Media

Social media can be described as online-based tools and services that permit connectivity and interaction amongst people linked to the internet. The news media has indeed provided the platform for increased social, ideological and political engagements through the internet handles such as Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp and other platforms¹⁸⁴. Terrorists are known to have dedicated websites through which they advance their ideologies and transmit propaganda materials²³³. Equally, terrorists utilize the social media for recruitment, radicalization and fund raising as well as other forms of cyber crimes. Regrettably, despite the positive benefits of the social media, terrorists have found a way around it to promote terrorism using the power of connectivity around the world. This negative trend however, does not relegate the numerous advantages of the internet and associated social platforms²³⁴.

The level of insecurity in Nigeria has reached an alarming proportion with the news of human casualties and destruction of property on a daily basis. The various social media have also contributed remotely to the current level of insecurity as well as provided sufficient awareness for its remedy. The difficulty in controlling the use of the social media could have been responsible for its negative application by unscrupulous terrorist elements¹⁸⁵. Democratic norms which permit freedom of expression have been negatively exploited, due to the unlimited use of the social media, to undermine national security in many instances.

The posting of fake news and other negative reporting tend to create fear in the populace and sometimes promote terrorist agenda. This is detrimental to the peace and stability of the nation. Fake news about terrorist operations could also cause ethnic and religious tension given the multi-ethnic and multi-religious outlook of Nigeria. It is not uncommon on the various social media for users to advance their arguments about terrorism along religious and ethnic lines²³⁴. This trend portends great

danger to national security and cohesion. It is noteworthy too that the level of insecurity in various parts of Nigeria have been aggravated through the improper use of the social media²³⁴. In some cases, negative or unbalanced reporting on the social media has led to unwarranted reprisals leading to the destruction of lives and property. The various terrorist groups and other criminal elements also use the social media to perpetrate heinous crimes. However, despite these negative consequences, the social media platforms have also been proved to be effective in crime prevention and control²³⁵. This brings to the fore the urgent need to regulate the use of the social media in Nigeria, in the overall national interests. The need for peaceful co-existence among the various ethnic and religious groups cannot be over-emphasized. Suffice it to mention that peace and stability are critical to national development in any nation and Nigeria cannot be an exception in this regard.

2.1. 15 Terrorism and National Security in Nigeria

The statement credited to President Muhammadu Buhari of Nigeria at the 73rd Session of the United Nations General Assembly observed that terrorism and insurgency, particularly in the Sahel and Lake Chad Basin, are remotely caused by domestic actors and other international dynamics. He further highlighted the complicity of the international jihadist movement, escaped fighters from Iraq and Syria as well as arms from the fragmentation of Libya. In response to the ensuing threat, the President solicited for global action to defeat the threats of terrorism²⁶⁶. This statement further confirms the increasing level of insecurity in the Lake Chad region as well as the capacity of terrorist groups such as Boko Haram and its splinter elements, the Islamic State West Africa Province (ISWAP), to consolidate its violent operations across northeastern Nigeria²³⁶.

Various studies have been conducted to appraise the contributions of state and non-state actors at the national, sub-regional, and regional levels, to degrade the operational capabilities of the Boko Haram terrorist group as well as its recruitment strategies²³⁷. At the domestic level, the Nigerian government

has actively participated in a stream of administrative, legislative, and inter-agency collaborative initiatives involving local institutions and international agencies, to defeat the menace of the Boko Haram terrorism²³⁸.

Some of the counter-terrorism measures explored by the Nigerian government involved the multi-faceted approach which encouraged persuasion, dialogue and consultation with political, religious, and community leaders in the various communities affected by the violent activities of the terrorist group. The essence is to counter the negative narratives of radicalization and other adverse doctrinal content. Furthermore, the government also declared a state of emergency in Adamawa, Borno, and Yobe States, to set the stage for full military operations against the terrorists. This initiative was equally accompanied by the five-year trade embargo in force, covering the Dikwa-Maiduguri-Gamboru-Ngala routes, to eliminate the transnational activities of the Boko Haram terrorist group²³⁹. Another laudable initiative was the introduction of the National Action Plan in 2017, for preventing and countering extremism. The plan was aimed at boosting the capacity of security agencies to decisively defeat violent extremism²⁴⁰. It entails the entrenchment and enforcement of the rule of law and the prevention of human rights infringements. It also focuses on the enhancement of effective community engagement and capacity building, strategic communication as well as resilience by the various stakeholders to defeat violent extremism²⁴¹.

Additionally, other initiatives such as the Buhari Plan of 2016 was also introduced. It is meant to promote effective and transformative engagements between the government, religious organizations and the communities plagued by the violent activities of the Boko Haram terrorists in the northeast²⁴². In the same vein, the recently introduced Presidential Committee on the North-East Initiative was charged with the responsibility of evolving an effective and comprehensive framework for the rehabilitation, reintegration and reconstruction of devastated communities in the northeast²⁴³.

The introduction of Operation Safe Corridor was another step at eradicating the threats that terrorism poses to national security. The operation was targeted at eliminating terrorist recruitment and violent extremism, ensuring de-radicalization, rehabilitation and reintegration of repentant Boko Haram terrorists into the larger society. The redeeming activities involved several levels of psycho-spiritual therapy and evaluations by religious clerics and psychology professionals²⁴⁴. Other counter-terrorism efforts aimed at cutting off the sources of terrorist funding to degrade their operational capabilities. In this regard, the Nigerian government is partnering with the Inter-Governmental Action Group against Money Laundering in West Africa, in consonance with the mandate of the Financial Action Taskforce on Counter-Terrorism Financing²⁴⁵.

The National Assembly comprising of the Senate and the House of Representatives also provided their legislative inputs through the amendment of the Terrorism Prevention Act of 2011. The amended law was enacted to facilitate inter-agency collaboration against terrorism among the various security agencies. It was aimed at enhancing the capacity of law enforcement agents to detain and prosecute persons alleged to be sponsors and members of terrorist organizations²⁴⁷. It also increased the capacity of relevant establishments to deal robustly with the sponsors of terror-related activities. The amended law also approved the death penalty to be meted to suspected persons and members of organizations that have been found guilty of committing and facilitating acts of terror in the country²⁴⁷. These legislative remedies also involved the strengthening of the Money Laundering Prohibition Act of 2011 as well as the establishment of the National Financial Intelligence Unit (NFIU) by financial institutions. The NFIU was established to detect and block the sources of funding exploited by terrorist organizations such as Boko Haram and other violent groups²⁴⁸.

2.1.16 Terrorism Faith-Based and Civil Society Organizations

Studies have shown that the Muslim and Christian dominated communities as well as places of worship within the Lake Chad region are mostly affected by the Boko Haram terrorists' attacks. The casualty figures recorded as a result of such violent attacks gave over 2134 fatalities within both communities in 2018²⁴⁹. The consequences of these vicious terrorist attacks are grievous, as they have worsened the already deteriorating and tense Christian–Muslim relations across the affected communities in recent time²⁵⁰.

In an attempt to remedy the situation, both dominant religious groups have conducted meaningful and peaceful interface to collectively fight against the evil forces of violent extremism and radicalization across the West African sub-region²⁵¹. This was achieved with the collaborative efforts of the Coalition of Civil Societies, comprising of over 5000 registered agencies²⁵¹. Religious leaders also play an important role in countering the Boko Haram terrorists' false narratives. This is achieved through the correct interpretation of religious doctrines to counter the ideological propaganda mostly propagated by Boko Haram terrorists to recruit ignorant members²⁵². A good example was set in Sokoto State where the Muslim Community ostracized Kabiru Sokoto, the alleged terrorist, from the state so as to hinder the indoctrination of vulnerable persons through his radical ideology.

Additionally, the timely and effective collaboration among the various religious groups and civil society organizations have culminated in several peace engagements and peace-building initiatives in the various communities affected by the nefarious activities of the Boko Haram terrorists²⁵².

In July 2019, one of such peace-building engagements was organized by the International Alert Nigeria (IAN). It was done with the active collaboration of the religious groups within the affected communities of Borno, Adamawa and Yobe States, which are considered the most terrorists impacted regions of Nigeria²⁵³.

The peace initiatives and peace-building engagements were targeted at strengthening the resilience and re-integration of women and children, enhancing peace-building in the Boko Haram terrorists impacted communities as well as consolidating the efficient interface between local vigilantes and security agents in the troubled communities. It is expected that these remedial peace initiatives would assist the affected groups to find lasting solutions to the challenges of radicalization, diversity management, peaceful coexistence and intolerance. The overall goal is to achieve sustainable peace and mutual trust among the various target communities, irrespective of their religious beliefs and social inclinations.

The collaboration between the Borno State Government and the Borno State Islamic Association to establish peace clubs has also been widely applauded. The focus was to design the curriculum used for the teaching of peace studies at the primary and secondary levels for both the Western and religious schools or Madrasas²⁵⁴. The laudable initiative of introducing peace studies and peace clubs would facilitate sound religious doctrinal teachings in consonance with the provisions of the holy books (Bible and Quran). This informed exposition would in turn eliminate the false narratives and dangerous ideologies propagated by violent extremists to recruit ignorant children. These initiatives have raised the awareness of all and sundry on the dangers of extremism as well as enhanced social cohesion and mutual trust within the target communities. It was not surprising therefore that a former Chief of Army Staff, Lieutenant General Tukur Buratai, at a routine Nigerian Army religious seminar with the theme “Countering Insurgency and Violent Extremism in Nigeria through Spiritual Warfare”, appealed to religious groups and leaders to support ongoing efforts at ridding the country of the false narratives and religious ideologies that promote terrorism²⁵⁵.

It was submitted that false religious narratives and ideologies have enhanced the capabilities and recruitment drives of the Boko Haram terrorists and ISWAP over the years²⁵⁶. It follows therefore,

that the menace of terrorism could be decisively defeated if these false religious narratives are eliminated. Accordingly, this could be achieved through collective efforts and the sustained interface among religious groups, affected communities and the security agencies²⁵⁷. It is worthy of note therefore, that sustained inter-faith and cultural engagements involving the local communities and civil societies would promote peaceful co-existence and tolerance. It is important too to eliminate false narratives so as to defeat terrorists' recruitment efforts²⁵⁸.

2.1.17 Terrorism and Regional Collaboration

In an attempt to address the menace of terrorism, Nigeria has been involved in several engagements with state and non-state actors at the international level. An example of such interface is its collaboration with the Trans-Saharan Counter-terrorism Partnership (TSCTP) and the Islamic Military Alliance (IMA). The collaboration is aimed at the elimination of terrorists' false narratives and ideologies, particularly those propagated by Boko Haram and ISWAP²⁶⁰. Additionally, The Regional Strategy for the Stabilization, Recovery and Resilience (RSSRR) was introduced in the communities ravaged by the violent activities of the Boko Haram terrorist group, with the active participation of the United Nations, African Union and other non-state actors.

The RSSRR initiative utilizes a multi-faceted approach that allows governments, civil societies, religious organizations and communities to boost the institutional capacity to fight against terrorism and all its traces in the ravaged areas²⁶³. These interface, partnerships, and initiatives instituted by states and non-state actors in degrading the capacity of the Boko Haram terrorist group, were calculated to identify the major supporters of terrorist organization. Thereafter, measures were put in place to eliminate their negative ideologies and recruitment capacities.

In this regard, the ECOWAS joint military alliance, under the Multinational Joint Taskforce (MNJTF), recorded some successes by stopping the territorial expansion of the terrorist organizations

and relegating it to other parts of the continent. The MNJTF has also degraded the capacity of the terrorist organizations to conduct coordinated attacks²⁶³. The recapturing of Baga and other ravaged communities previously dominated by the Boko Haram terrorists has grossly diminished their recruitment and fund raising drives.

Accordingly, it is worthy to state that, the various measures and initiatives introduced by the relevant authorities at the national, sub-regional, and regional levels have achieved tremendous successes by strictly curtailing the expansion of the Boko Haram terrorists. In the same vein, the trade embargo imposed along the Dikwa–Maiduguri–Gamboru–Ngala trading routes has seriously limited the illicit funding of the vicious activities of the terrorist group²¹⁵. The complimentary engagements by faith-based organizations and clerics against the Boko Haram terrorists' false narratives and ideologies within the northeast, have equally contributed immensely to the overall successes recorded by the collective regional collaboration.

2.1.18 Dimensions of Terrorism in Nigeria

The unprecedented high level of insecurity in Nigeria in recent time, has had devastating effects on the generality of the populace, with serious threat to national security. It has become common news almost on a daily basis, the onslaught of terrorists against civilians and security agencies as well as the destruction of national assets²⁶⁸. The following are the various dimensions of terrorism in Nigeria:

1. The violent activities of the Boko Haram terrorists group in the North-East, North-West and North-Central geopolitical zones of Nigeria.
2. Criminal violence and banditry in the North-West Region and the Niger Delta areas.
3. Inter-communal and ethnic conflicts in various parts of Nigeria.

4. Frequent clashes between farmers and herdsmen in the northern and southern parts of Nigeria.
5. Violent criminal gangs and Niger Delta militants involved in oil-related violence in the Niger Delta areas.
6. Political violence by militant groups in the South-East and South-South Regions.
7. Violent protests across the nation.
8. Election-related violence.
9. Violent cult activities in most parts of Nigeria.

In line with intelligence reports and existing literature, clashes between the Boko Haram terrorist group and the Nigerian Armed Forces heightened in Borno State, in 2019 and 2020. The period witnessed the commencement of more intensive air strikes against the terrorist group²⁶⁹. However, in October 2019, the Boko Haram terrorist group claimed its first attack against the Nigerian Armed Forces in Sokoto State, signifying terrorists penetration of the northwestern part of Nigeria. According to reports by the Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED), an NGO, the latter part of 2019 witnessed a 7 per cent decline from 2018 statistics of terrorists activities in Borno State, notwithstanding the active counter-terrorism operations by the Nigerian Armed Forces. Thereafter, violent terrorist activities continued to increase in 2020²⁷³.

The ISWAP and Fulani herdsmen were responsible for heightened terrorist attacks in the early part of 2020, as compared to most parts of 2019²⁷⁹. The period witnessed intense terrorist attacks against civilians and security agents, including IDPs, within the various communities in the North East of Nigeria²⁷⁰. For instance, in February 2020, a deadly terrorist attack at a checkpoint in Borno State, left 30 people dead. Also, in March 2020, another terrorist attack killed about 47 Nigerian soldiers at

Gorgi Village in Borno State. It was thereafter reported that, about 98 Chadian soldiers were equally killed by the same terrorists in a deadly attack on Boma Island, in the Lake Chad area²⁷⁶.

Consequently, increased military operations resulted in the killing of about 1,609 terrorist fighters and 375 security agents between February and April 2020. Within the same period, Boko Haram terrorist group was reportedly responsible for the killing of about 240 civilians²⁷⁸. In another incident in Borno State, the Boko Haram terrorist group conducted several large-scale attacks in June 2020, killing several residents of the Gubio Local Government Area (LGA)²⁷⁸. Equally, In December 2020, more than 380 students were kidnapped by Boko Haram terrorist group and later rescued in Katsina State by security forces.

The Boko Haram terrorist group has reportedly expanded its frontier from the north-eastern part of Nigeria to the north-western States of Kaduna, Katsina, Sokoto and Zamfara as well as the north-central State of Niger. Niger State had been contending with intense farmer-herdersmen clashes and other organised crimes prior to the influx of the Boko Haram terrorists²⁷³. Also, In 2020, it was reported that the collaboration between bandits and Boko Haram terrorists led to the attack that killed 15 members of Borno Governor's convoy. In the same fashion, retaliatory air interdiction by the Nigerian Airforce was stepped up against the terrorists²⁷³.

Furthermore, in January 2021, security reports confirmed the location of ISWAP checkpoints on the Damaturu - Maiduguru Road as well as the kidnapping of several persons plying the road. It was reported that ISWAP's strategy was to isolate Maiduguri. Consequently, Operation Tura Takaibango was introduced to counter the unfolding terrorist threat²⁷⁸. The enormous security threat witnessed in Nigeria is most pronounced in the quantity of sophisticated military armament in the hands of terrorists²⁷⁷. Evidently, there is an urgent need to boost the capabilities of the Armed Forces and other security agencies in their ongoing efforts to rid Nigeria of terrorism.

2.1.19 Criminal Violence and Banditry in Nigeria

The North-West and North-Central Regions, particularly Zamfara, Sokoto, Niger, Kaduna and Katsina States witnessed continued violent attacks from 2019 till date, by criminal elements and bandits who were recently classified as terrorists by the Nigerian government²⁸⁷. Their activities have manifested in various forms till date with adverse effects on the populace. Reported cases of armed robbery, murder, rape, kidnapping for ransom, cattle-rustling, to mention but a few, have been on the rise in recent time. These criminal terrorist acts have resulted in forced displacements of people from their communities, food scarcity, increased sexual and gender-based violence, a high number of out-of-school children, and general economic hardship. These adverse consequences of terrorism call for urgent remedial actions to entrench peace and stability in the country.

Increased lawlessness and inadequate policing have been identified as underlying causes of banditry and criminal violence in Nigeria²⁷⁷. In 2019, the amnesty programme instituted by the Governors of Katsina and Zamfara States reportedly failed to achieve its goals. This was due to lack of participation by the major bandit groups and other terrorist organizations operating in the regions. It was reported that the two influential bandit leaders, Buharin Daji and Dogo Gyedi, were opposed to the initiative and as such did not participate. Equally, there were allegations of favouritism which was perceived as giving the Fulani an edge over the Hausa, thus instigating more Hausa/Fulani ethnic conflicts and farmer-herdsmen clashes²⁸⁷.

In recent time, the country has experienced an upsurge in the spate of kidnapping for ransom. Rivers, Bayelsa and Delta States have been identified as high risk areas, though increased incidents of kidnapping have also been experienced in Kaduna, Katsina, Zamfara and Taraba states²⁸⁸. Most of the kidnappings usually target rich and important political figures and their families or relatives, though

more recent report reveals that mass kidnappings also occur in the northern states, harassing whole villages or pupils from schools, who are never able to pay the demanded ransoms. This further explains the increased number of fatalities arising from kidnapping attempts by terrorists. The Armed Forces of Nigeria have been responding to these threats by carrying out several air interdictions and ground operations²⁸⁸. The involvements of community vigilante groups, civilian self-defense militias as well as youth defence groups have contributed significantly to the sustenance of counter-terrorism operations against the terrorists.

According to the West Africa Network of Peace-building (WANEP), armed bandits, now classified as terrorists, were responsible for more than 1000 civilian fatalities from January -December 2019, in the north-western part of Nigeria. The Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), Nigeria Security Tracker, maintained that the casualty figures attributed to the activities of bandits, were more than the number of civilians killed by Boko Haram terrorist group over the same period²⁹⁸. Similarly, from February - March 2019, multiple attacks by bandits against civilians and security forces caused the death of about 400 people. In the same vein, the Nigeria Watch in 2019, recorded 4,410 fatalities due to terrorism and 1,313 fatalities due to violent criminal activities. Furthermore, according to the casualty estimates given by the Council on Foreign Relations, over 1,100 persons were killed in Zamfara, Katsina, Sokoto, Kaduna, Niger and Kebbi due to banditry, in 2018, and over 2,200 persons were equally killed in 2019. In addition, it was also revealed that over 1,600 deaths were witnessed from January – June 2020²⁹⁸.

In 2020, about 400 people were abducted by terrorists for ransom in Kaduna State and more than 200 violent terrorists activities caused about 1,000 deaths, with about 50,000 internally displaced persons. Equally, in 2020, Global Rights observed about 1,137 casualties as compared to the 974 deaths recorded in 2019, owing majorly to banditry related criminality in the North-West Region. This figure was lower than the combined casualty figure of 2,067, in 2019, for the North-West and North-Central Regions,

according to the submission of the Nigeria Watch. The same source, Nigeria Watch, maintained that terrorism was majorly responsible for violent deaths in Nigeria in 2020²⁸⁸. Other worrisome statistics include the abduction of more than 600 students from schools in northern Nigeria, from December 2020 to March 2021²⁶⁸.

The terrorist attacks on schools in the North West Region of Nigeria are being carried out by so-called bandits. The term is now used to denote terrorists who operate in various forms as kidnappers, armed robbers, cattle rustlers, Fulani herdsmen and other armed militia who are largely motivated by money.' In the early part of 2021, abduction of persons occurred in several parts of Nigeria. SB Morgen observed in February 2021 that the Kagara school abduction was one of the deadly operations of the terrorist group dominant in Northern Nigeria, with economic and ideological goals²⁷⁸.

The Boko Haram terrorist group assumed responsibility for the mass kidnapping of school children in Kankara, in December 2020. Jamestown's analyst, Zenn, also observed that the successful kidnapping of school children signified increased Boko Haram terrorists' influence in the area. According to security reports, the Boko Haram terrorists had recruited violent local gangs to kidnap the students²⁸⁸.

A Brookings article also affirmed that northwestern Nigeria has become the safe haven of increasingly active terrorist groups. Such terrorist groups include the Islamic State in the Greater Sahara (ISGS), Jama'at Nusrat al Islam wal Muslimin (JNIM), Al Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb, a splinter of Boko Haram terrorist group, popularly called the Islamic State in West Africa Province (ISWAP) as well as the Fulani herdsmen of West Africa . According to estimates from an employee of the International Crisis Group, about 500 people were killed due to criminal violence across the north-west of Nigeria in May 2020²⁶⁸. In June 2020, armed militia men on 200 motorcycles killed at least 20 people and stole thousands of livestock in an attack against the Kadisau community in Katsina state²⁸⁹.

Reportedly, attacks by these bandits were attributed to the struggle for resources between farmers and herdsmen. Meanwhile, these armed groups have now been accused of carrying out several acts of criminality, as it is considered more rewarding than herding²⁸⁸.

2.1.20 Global War Against Terrorism

Over a defined historical period in the annals of international politics, the United States of America (USA) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) were unparalleled dominant powers in a bipolar world order characterized as the Cold War Era³⁰¹. Within the last ten years of this period, some of the most prominent threats to the peace, progress and prosperity of the world were confined to threats of nuclear warfare, driven by the evident ideological confrontation caused by the East-West divide of the global political landscape³⁰².

However, a shift from those threats took shape with the collapse of the USSR and the emergence of the United States (US) as the prominent and unparalleled military, economic and political power of the century. The shift was marred by the victory of democracy over communism and the emergence of neo-liberal economics as the dominant economic philosophy shaping the world³⁰¹.

With neoliberalism driven by globalization and integration of communities across political, economic, social and cultural horizons, the emergence of new challenges across the global socio-economic and socio-political landscape became evident. These emerging challenges include issues of environment, ecology, economics (poverty) and most recently the threats of transnational terrorism³⁰³. The threats of transnational terrorism following the 11 September, 2001 terror attacks in the United States, and the persistence of trans-national terror groups operating in Russia, Africa, South East Asia and Latin America epitomize those trajectories. Amid the growing fray, the approach to dealing with these challenges has been a combination of greater cooperation through a multilateral approach and national approach involving a unilateral initiative, across the global political spectrum³⁰⁴. As counter terrorism

measures of the two power houses complement the collective global response to emerging realities, the 20 April , 2013 tragic Boston Marathon bombings by two American citizens of Russian origin, was a testimony that lapses in trans-national counter-terrorism measures brought to light evidence of a counter-terrorism divide³⁰¹.

Similarly, following the tragic events of 11 September 2001, the US-Russian Security relations was shaped by the global threats of trans-national terrorism, which culminated to more of cooperation in the form of strategic re-alignment on both sides. On one hand, the US and Russian Federation worked cooperatively on pressing international security issues with an intermittent rift in partnership largely caused by political factors³⁰⁴. From another lens, the common ground on calculated fears that technology coupled with geopolitical changes of the time could result to the use of weapons of mass destruction by non-state actors, such as terrorist groups, paved the way for partnership and corporation on the international security landscape. Both the United States and Russia continued to raise the alarm on the increase number of state and non-state actors capable of acquiring and using Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Weapons³⁰⁵.

Amid the growing global fray of terrorism, security relationship of the two power houses was driven by cooperation along counter-terrorism lines, largely defined by the sharing of intelligence on the movement of terror groups and their operatives. Such a cooperation was fostered by the Time Square plot of New York and the gruesome attack of the Moscow Metro, making a stark realization that both countries are faced with a common danger of trans-national terrorism. A counter terrorism working group comprising of US and Russian officials was agreed upon for a collaborative approach of combating terrorism. In the Counter-terrorism Working Group, the United States and Russia have been working together in the multilateral sector, to consolidate international counter-terrorism standards and increase capacity building. Other objectives of the Working Group includes countering the ideological

narratives of violent extremism, improving the transportation infrastructure security as well as the maintenance and close cooperation on issues of law enforcement³⁰¹.

In the wake of the Boston Marathon bombings, the role of the Counter-terrorism Working Group was questioned in several fronts. On one hand, evidence of intelligence on activities of the two suspects involved in the bombings during visits to Russia and the response of the task force, came under an international scrutiny by several security institutions, analysts and scholars. On the other hand, it was evident that a lapse in intelligence and a failure to act appropriately in response to the eminent threat posed by the activities of the suspect in both the Russian Federation and USA, either compromised efforts by the Counter Terrorism Working Group or alarmed authorities in both countries about the need for progressive security cooperation³⁰¹.

When one takes an in-depth analysis of the different terror groups operating in the United States and the Russian Federation, Al-Qaeda evidently emerges as the umbrella trans-national terror group under which all other groups operate. Although Russian terror groups were founded under a different political footing, there is a clearly defined ideological factor bonding the groups to Al-Qaeda. Such an ideological lens stems from the floodgates of religion, which is embedded in the defense of Islam and the unleashing of a holy war against unbelievers of Islam, in the name of Islam³⁰³. All these groups are with a view that western culture is an affront to Islamic culture and oppose all forms of western concept of society, government and humanity in general³⁰⁶.

In an effort to assert their influence and consolidate their presence in the society, these groups resort to the use of violence, either through car bombings, hijacking airliners, suicide bombings and sometimes hostage taking in public places, as seen in several of the terror strikes in Russia³⁰¹. As the growing threat of international terrorism became evident on the global stage, especially in the aftermath of the 11

September, 2001 attacks on the Twin Towers in New York and Washington, Al-Qaeda emerged as the main trans-national terror group operating in the United States³⁰⁰. The subsequent arrest and detention of many other Al-Qaeda operatives attempting to carry out attacks on targets in the United States further supports the thesis on Al-Qaeda as the only transnational terror group committed to operating in the United States. Retrospectively, terrorism in Russia has largely been driven by several groups, most of which have clearly defined linkages to Al-Qaeda as the major transnational terrorist group³⁰¹.

There are several explanations for the proliferation of terror groups in Russia than in the United States. Firstly, the collapse of communism and disintegration of the Soviet Union led to the breaking away of most former Soviet control Muslim territories such as Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Dagestan, Chechnya, where different terrorist organizations defined by a political ideology embedded in religious doctrines emerged. Secondly, the collapse of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and the destruction of Al-Qaeda safe havens in Afghanistan and Pakistan was marred by an encroachment of Al-Qaeda operatives into the region, which led to an increase support for terror organizations already operating in the region or the formation of new organizations geared towards advancing the cause of Islamic extremism under the banner of Al-Qaeda³⁰⁴.

Finally, system level factors such as growing inequality and poverty caused by the global neo-liberal economic factors across a broader spectrum facilitated mobilization efforts in either the formation or recruitment and support of groups operating in the region³⁰⁶. Paradoxically, the proliferation of terror groups in Russia is neither a historical accident nor a miscalculation, but geopolitical and structural economic changes shaping communities of the region as a result of globalization, integration and the contours of freedom³⁰¹. Incidentally, cooperation between the US and Russia has been stalled by Russia's invasion of Ukraine in February 2022.

2.1.21 International and Regional Actions Against Terrorism

In recent time, terrorist threats have heightened in most parts of the world. African countries and regional organizations have equally sustained ongoing counter-terrorism initiatives against threats in East Africa, the Sahel, and the Lake Chad Region. The focus of such sustained counter-terrorist initiatives is the prevention of the influx of terrorist groups and their affiliates into new operating environments in West Africa as well as South Africa.

In East Africa, Al-Shabaab enjoys a safe haven as well as access to resources for recruitment of sympathizers into its fold. This terrorist group also exercises effective control over large parts of Somalia, from which it enjoys freedom of action and demonstrates enormous capacity to carry out deadly attacks on targets in neighboring Kenya. It was reported that Al-Shabaab has continued to sustain its allegiance to al-Qa'ida within the region. The group is also observed to conduct operations aimed at reducing the influence and capabilities of some terrorist groups linked to ISIS in the region, that carry out suicide bombings against Somali security forces in greater Mogadishu³¹⁷.

The African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and Somali security forces have also sustained cooperation with the United States, to subdue Al-Shabaab, primarily through combined counter-terrorism initiatives as well as improvements in the governance of southern Somalia. In the same vein, the United States have maintained their collaboration with East African partners across the Horn of Africa in their efforts to evolve a robust counter-terrorism capacity. The US support covers aviation and border security, advisory inputs for regional security forces, training and mentoring of law enforcement agents in crisis management and investigation activities as well as perfecting criminal justice sector reforms. On the other hand, the East African partners have been involved in several initiatives aimed at the development and expansion of regional cooperation mechanisms, to interdict terrorist movement and other terrorism-related activities³²¹.

In the Lake Chad Region, ISIS-West Africa (ISIS-WA) which split from the Boko Haram terrorist group in 2015, have also been actively conducting violent attacks against civilians, government officials and security forces. Such deadly attacks have caused several deaths and injuries as well as the destruction of property. At the home front, Nigeria has equally sustained its collaboration with its neighbors, Cameroon, Chad, Niger, and Benin. These countries have in recent time engaged the various terrorist groups in the sub-region through the combined operations of the Multinational Joint Task Force. The goal has been to facilitate governance and provide adequate security for the populace³²¹.

The United States have maintained their support for the Lake Chad Region in the fight against terrorism. The counter-terrorism support has covered the provision of advisors, intelligence, training, logistics and equipment to the countries within the Lake Chad Region. The US has also facilitated various stabilization efforts covering defection, demobilization, disengagement, de-radicalization, and re-integration initiatives. The adverse effects of sustained Boko Haram terrorists and ISWAP attacks on the civilian population is enormous. These violent attacks have resulted in the displacement of over 2 million people and about 10 million people in need of humanitarian support, especially in northeastern Nigeria³²⁴.

In the broader Sahel region, various terrorist groups have consolidated their operations in the north and central parts of Mali and the border areas around Burkina Faso, Mali, and Niger. These terrorist groups include affiliates of Al-Qa'ida and ISIS, such as Jama'at Nasr al-Islam wal Muslimin (JNIM) as well as ISIS-Greater Sahara (ISIS-GS) and other independent terrorist groups. The spate of attacks in the Western Sahel region has heightened significantly from 2018. The countries within the Sahel region have remained determined in their combined efforts against terrorism. However, a major setback has been inadequate capacity to decisively degrade and defeat the terrorists. Suffice it to mention that the G5 Sahel Joint Force, comprising of Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania, and Niger, was established

in 2017, to carry out counter-terrorism operations against the terrorists ravaging the region. The G5 Sahel Joint Force has remained determined despite its shortcomings, with promising potentials as an effective coordination initiative. The combined efforts of France's Operation Barkhane, with 5,200 troops and the UN Multi-dimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) in the region, plays an important role in degrading the terrorist groups and enhancing the level of security³¹⁵.

The identified terrorists groups constantly provoke communal conflicts and prevail on community leaders to support terrorist operations by advancing divisive claims against other groups. For example, in Nigeria, terrorists are known to exploit existing clashes between the Peuhl and Fulani ethnic groups, as well as the perennial farmer-herdsmen conflicts over grazing areas, to recruit sympathizers and consolidate their political and operational objectives³²⁵. Terrorists have sustained their attacks on military outposts, kidnapped foreign citizens as well as humanitarian workers. They have continued to attack churches, mosques and schools teaching western curricula as well as eliminate civilians. In Mali, the government has been unable to exercise full control over northern and central parts of the country. Burkina Faso has also experienced heightened spate of terrorism in its northern and eastern provinces as well as the southern and western parts of the country. Equally, there has been an increase in violent attacks by terrorists within the border areas of the Sahel region³²⁶.

Terrorist activities intensified in the central and southern parts of Africa in 2019. In the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), the ISIS-linked Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) conducted violent attacks against Congolese civilians, the DRC Armed Forces (FARDC), and UN peacekeepers. The attack by the terrorist group accounted for the death of more than 300 civilians in Beni Territory as at 13 December 2019, and the media also reported about 32 additional fatalities as at 18 December 2019. Subsequently, the group advanced plans for a significant increase in attacks against civilians, in retaliation to ADF FARDC operations carried out on 30 October 2019. The ISIS affiliate in Mozambique also conducted several violent attacks in northern Mozambique, resulting in the deaths of

over 350 civilians and the internal displacement of about 60,000 people. However, South Africa, experienced a reduction in suspected terrorism-related attacks in 2019, compared to the high incidents of violent attacks witnessed in 2018. Other terrorist groups, including ISIS operational networks and cells that were first publicly acknowledged by the South African government in 2016, have also remained potent threats in the region³²⁷.

Terrorist activities in Burkina Faso heightened remarkably from 2018-2019, with members of JNIM and ISIS-GS conducting large scale violent attacks against prominent political figures, civilian population and Burkinabe security forces. Individuals who are known affiliates of several terrorist organizations have also continued to carry out targeted assassinations, Improvised Explosive Device (IED) attacks, raids on security and military outposts as well as to ignite inter-communal clashes and displace local inhabitants in the far north and east of Burkina Faso³²³.

The Burkinabe government equally conducted the most elaborate CT operations in its history within the northern and eastern regions of the country. Additionally, the Burkinabe government has also boosted its intelligence and investigative capacities, to counter increased terrorist activities in the country, though with limited success, as terrorist threats have remained pronounced. The strategic objectives of the terrorist groups was to significantly obstruct the movement of Burkinabe security forces in the northern part of the country through the destruction of bridges, using IED attacks. Such violent terrorist attacks significantly hindered the operational capacity of Burkinabe forces. For instance, during a terrorist attack on the Koutougou military outpost in August 2019, about 24 soldiers were killed and 13 others were wounded. The attack was considered the largest ever conducted against the security forces by the terrorists. Also, in November 2019, terrorist fighters assassinated the Mayor of Djibo and a Parliamentarian of the Sahel region. It was labelled the highest-level political assassination to date. Additionally, in November 2019, other affiliates of the terrorist groups carried out a vicious attack on the civilian population. It was a targeted attack on a convoy of vehicles conveying employees and contractors of a Canadian mining company, thus killing over 39 people and wounding about 60 others.

Similarly, in December 2019, ISIS attacked and killed 7 security personnel and 35 civilians, predominantly women. This stream of terrorist attacks has triggered renewed offensive against terrorist organizations by Burkina Faso's security forces. In a retaliatory attack, Burkina Faso's security forces reportedly killed 80 terrorists while defending their base³²¹.

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The Burkina Faso security forces have withdrawn from some military and police outposts in the northern part of the country, owing to incessant terrorist attacks. Burkinabe forces reportedly deployed a sizeable force and conducted two major CT operations in the eastern and northern parts of the country. The clearance operation was decisive. However, allegations of human rights abuses during the CT operations aggravated tensions between civilians and the state. Consequently, most aggrieved civilians were encouraged by such abuses to join the terrorist groups³²⁶.

In 2019, the Burkinabe government promulgated two decrees for the compensation of defense forces and public servants who fall victims to terrorist attacks. The initiative was aimed at encouraging public support for the state in the fight against terrorism. Equally, in 2019, Burkina Faso held the rotating presidency of the G5 Sahel and has sustained its collaboration with the G5 partner countries, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, and Chad, to coordinate their collective response to terrorism and other violent crimes in the region³²⁰.

In response to the incessant threats of terrorism, Burkina Faso convened an extraordinary summit on counter-terrorism for members of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and G5 Sahel heads of state, on 14 September, in Ouagadougou. During the summit, ECOWAS member states resolved set in place a \$1 billion fund from 2020 to 2024, to sponsor mutual CT programmes that include border security, terrorism financing, information sharing, and intelligence coordination. Also, Burkina Faso contributes one peacekeeping battalion in Mali, as part of the United Nations mission. (MINUSMA). Burkina Faso's total UN force contribution is over 1,626 personnel, making up six peace-keeping and special political missions³²³.

In 2019, Cameroon witnessed a resurgence of terrorist activities in the far north of the country. The Government of Cameroon attributed most of the terrorist attacks to BH, though it was reported that ISIS-WA was probably responsible for majority of the violent assaults. According to Amnesty

International, about 275 people were killed by Boko Haram terrorist group and ISIS-WA in 2019 and about twice the fatalities was recorded in 2018. It was reported that the terrorist groups targeted civilians in villages on the western border with Nigeria and in the northern part of the region, within the Lake Chad Basin. They conducted ambushes, abductions, raids, beheadings, and targeted killings of local vigilante committee members. Additionally, reports indicated that the terrorists targeted more soldiers and military posts compared with the violent incidents carried out in 2018. Also, in 2019, ISIS-WA changed from confiscating resources and collecting illegal taxes from locals, to attacking villages and security forces in the northern parts of the region. Similarly, in June 2019, ISIS-WA conducted an attack on Darak Island, near the Lake Chad Region, which led to over 24 deaths out of which 16 were security forces. This was considered the highest number of casualties from an attack since the influx of terrorists into Cameroon in 2014. Following the two distinct incidents of separate attacks, ISIS-WA fighters hoisted their terrorist flag in several localities within the region³²⁷.

In May 2019, the Cameroonian Government opened the border crossing with Nigeria at Amchide, in the northern part of the country. The border crossing had been closed since 2014. The closure of the border adversely affected bilateral trade with Nigeria and Chad. In July 2019, the Cameroonian Government introduced a USD2.5 million initiative that will be of immense benefits to youths resident in those areas most impacted by Boko Haram terrorist attacks. Additionally, in August 2019, the Cameroonian President, Paul Biya, provided financial and material aids to the vigilante groups involved in the fight against Boko Haram terrorists and ISIS-WA. Equally, in 2018, the government proclaimed efforts to establish rehabilitation and re-integration centers for Boko Haram recruits in Meme, in the northern part of the country. Regrettably, the initiative has not materialized, though a substantial number of ex-combatants defected from the Boko Haram terrorist group and surrendered to security forces³¹⁹.

Cameroon has actively continued to collaborate with the international community in conducting CT operations. In this regard, Cameroon also contributed to the MNJTF CT operations. Its involvement centers mainly on the provision of intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance flights by two U.S.-donated C-208 Cessnas. Cameroon has also remained an active member of the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS as well as a member of the Trans-Sahara Counter-terrorism Partnership (TSCTP). The Government of Cameroon has sustained collaboration with the United States, to enhance the capacity of its security forces in the fight against terrorists, which has become a top priority. Similarly, in 2019, the United States' CT support to Cameroon included increased project implementation by the Department of Justice and the Global Centre for Cooperative Security³²⁰.

In 2019, Kenya experienced its worst terrorist attack in four years, when Al-Shabaab assaulted the Dusit D2 Hotel complex in Nairobi. The attack, which mainly involved the use of a suicide vest, targeted several civilians in the hotel. Additionally, the region bordering Somalia has continued to witness terrorist attacks, in the form of IED assault and ambushes, targeting mostly Kenyan security forces and important infrastructure. Kenya is a member of the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS and a reliable partner with the US in CT investigation, prosecution, and incident response. Equally, Kenya performs a leading role in regional CT cooperation³²¹.

In the same vein, the Kenyan Defense Forces (KDF) have sustained their active participation in the AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). They have also ensured effective border security and counter-IED efforts within Kenya. The Kenyan Security Services have also been actively dealing with numerous terrorist incidents in the country. In particular, they have successfully limited Al-Shabaab and ISIS capacities to plan attacks, recruit fighters as well as move freely. Also, reports of human rights infringements by security forces during CT operations have heightened, including allegations of extra-judicial killings, disappearances, and torture. Furthermore, in responding to the 2019 DusitD2 Hotel

terrorist attack, Kenyan security forces displayed improved professionalism in line with international standards for the protection of human rights in response to terrorist threats and attacks³²³.

Terrorists have consistently exploited Kenya's largely uncontrolled land borders to launch their attacks. In 2019, Kenyan officials commenced the implementation of a border security strategy, but it is yet to fully materialize. Additionally, under a June 2018 accord with the US, Kenya has been programmed to receive the U.S. Automated Targeting System-Global (ATS-G) Software, which facilitates thorough screening of air travelers, using Application Programming Interface and Passenger Name Record (API/PNR). Eventually, when operational, ATS-G would be integrated with PISCES, the US government-provided frontline border management system, enhancing the capabilities of both systems to identify potential threats and obstruct terrorist movement. However, the passage of a data protection law in November 2019 has delayed the implementation of ATS-G. In an attempt to improve aviation safety and security at Nairobi International Airport, the Kenyan Government introduced inter-agency Joint Operations Centers at several points of entry, to promote information dissemination. Kenyan Immigration officers also utilize government watch lists. Suffice it to mention that watch list screening and basic equipment at smaller ports of entry were generally deficient³²⁷.

The influx of foreign trained fighters as well as Kenyan citizens sympathetic to the cause of Al-Shabaab and ISIS have constituted serious security threats to Kenya. Consequently, the Kenyan Government has taken stern measures to prevent the movement of these terrorists as well as citizens within and those returning from overseas. Equally, Kenyan security services have enhanced capacity for the detection and deterrence of terrorist plots. They have also responded adequately to several terrorism-related incidents. In effect, the collaboration of the Kenyan Government with its US partners on security and information sharing has been remarkable, with the provision of a dedicated General Service Unit Counter- terrorism (GSU CT) response team funded by the US.

In line with the various discussions on terrorism and counter-terrorism initiatives above, terrorist acts form part of a larger network of violence induced by a definite objective. In most cases, the distinction between the two could prove difficult to determine. The different scholars discussed terrorism and other violent incidents which may not be connected with international terrorism. In this regard, attempt was made to discuss various acts of terrorism in their contextual manner as well as the root causes.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

A theory is often seen as an untested suspicion or guess without the supply of evidence. To a scientist, a theory is a well buttressed submission of an aspect of the natural world that can include laws, hypotheses and facts¹²⁰. The University of California posit that; a theory is a broad, natural explanation for a wide range of phenomenon. Thus, theories are concise, coherent, systematic, predictive and broadly applicable, often integrating and generalizing many hypothesis¹²¹. The cogent argument that human behaviour is dynamic and can best be evaluated within context and time does not negate the fact that description, explanation and prediction cannot be made about a human behaviour. Actually, the long existence of terrorism and the fact that it is a global phenomenon, is a justifiable reason why a theoretical approach should be used to describe, explain and predict it.

Terrorism, in the context of current security concerns, is considered one of the most dreaded global security threats facing all countries in the international system. The 2016 Global Terrorism Database reported over 150,000 incidents of terrorism around the world from 1970 - 2015¹²². Although, terrorism had always been a part of modern civilization, it became more prominent in the 1960s, as it has increased in intensity and frequency and has become a major international security challenge¹²³. Modern day terrorists employ acts of terrorism as tools of political expression and this has assumed

alarming dimensions through the involvement of trans-national elements, hence resulting to what a scholar described as “a new mode of conflict”¹²⁴.

There are many theories to explain the variables of this research but four of them will be employed. Therefore, the research study shall make use of: (i) Social Contract Theory propounded by Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau, (ii) The Relative Deprivation Theory propounded by Walter Runciman (iii) The Conspiracy Theory and (iv) Frustration-Aggression Theory. These theories are discussed in this study. However, it is pertinent to state clearly that the Social Contract Theory is considered the most appropriate theory to explain the variables in this research. This is because the state is viewed as an entity vested with the responsibility to protect the rights, security and lives of its citizens.

2.2.1 The Social Contract Theory

The Social Contract Theory is a theory that focuses on the legitimacy of the authority of the state over individuals. Its argument typically established that, individuals have agreed categorically or implied to relinquish some of their liberties to the authority, elected representative, monarchs or prime minister, depending on the system of government, in exchange for the protection of their rights, privileges and social order¹²⁵. The theory also denotes the state as a product of mutual agreement of persons brought together with a defined purpose, which is, to guarantee certain social preferences.

However, Social Contract Theory is associated with modern moral and political theory. It is well interpreted and given its broad exposition and defense by Thomas Hobbes. Apart from Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau are the other well known proponents of this influential theory. It has remained one of the dominant theories within social sciences and political theories.

The concept of Social Contract Theory stipulates that, from the onset, man lived in the state of nature, without any superintending authority over them or laws to regulate them. There was hardship,

decadence and oppression in the society. Thus, to overcome this challenge, they entered into agreements which guaranteed the protection of lives and properties. This created a society where people resolved to respect each other and live amicably in peace and harmony. Additionally, the populace united and pledged to obey an authority placed over them as well as relinquish the whole or part of their rights and freedom to such agreed authority.

In exchange, the authority guaranteed the protection of lives and property as well the rights and liberty of the populace. Thus, there was consent to establish a society by collectively and reciprocally renouncing the rights they had which triggered hardship and anarchy in the state of nature. In effect, authority and power are vested in a person or assembly of persons to enforce the initial contract. In other words, to ensure a clear departure from the initial state of nature, they must agree to live together under common laws, and create an enforcement mechanism for their contract as well as the laws binding it.

The main focus of a Social Contract Theory is to indicate that members of some society have reasons to endorse and comply with the fundamental social rules, laws, institutions and the principles guiding the society. In the same vein, the theory concerns itself with the determination of the legitimacy or otherwise, of a given regime, or whether it is worthy of loyalty. The ultimate objective of a state-linked social contract is to show that some political system can resolve the challenge of the capacity of men to establish good government from reflection and choice or whether they are forever inclined to depend on their political institutions.

2.2.2 The State of Nature

The state of nature is the real or hypothetical state of human beings at the onset or without political integration and association. The proponents of this theory rely on this assertion to interrogate the

justification for political authority and the legitimacy of human integration and association. It must be noted that the focus of the state of nature differ distinctively among these theorists, but they all associate it with the lack of state sovereignty¹²⁶.

Historically, a Chinese philosopher named Mozi who propounded Mohism otherwise known as “Universal Love” (an ancient Chinese philosophy on logic, rational thoughts and science in 470 BC to 391 BC) is said to be the first scholar and thinker to propose the concept of the state of nature. His ideology was simply to develop the need to have a single ruler who oversees the affairs of the state¹²⁷. According to him, in the state of nature, each person in the society has their own moral rules. It was as a result of these individual rules that people were unable to reach any agreement and resources were wasted. Here is what he said about the state of nature:

“In the beginning of human life, when there was yet no law and government, the custom was everybody according to his rule. Accordingly each man had his own rule, two men had two different rules and ten men had eleven different rules, the more people the more different notions. And everybody approved his own moral views and disapproved the views of others, and so arose mutual disapproval among men. As a result, father and son and elder and younger brothers became enemies and were estranged from each other, since they were unable to reach any agreement. Everybody worked for the disadvantage of the others with water, fire, and poison. Surplus energy was not spent for mutual aid; surplus goods were allowed to rot without sharing; excellent teachings were kept secret and not revealed”¹²⁸.

Thomas Hobbes is another proponent of the state of nature. His explanation of the state of nature is a pointer to consider how life would be in a state of nature, that is, a state without a government. These expositions were described in his legendary work, *The Leviathan*, published in 1651 in England. He argued that, natural inequalities among humans are not so pronounced as to confer on anyone a clear mark of superiority. It follows then that, all must live in constant fear of loss or fear of violence, such that the period men live without a common authority, they live in apprehension, they are in that state called war and such a war is that of every man being against every man¹²⁹.

According to him, prior to having a social contract, man lived in a state of nature. Hence, man's disposition in that state of nature was one of fear and selfishness. Man lived in a chaotic condition of constant fear. Thus, Hobbes posited that, the life of man in the state of nature was solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short. He further submits that man has a natural preference for security and order. Hobbes explained that, in the state of nature, there is neither ownership of personal property nor feeling of injustice, because of the absence of law, order and authority, except for some natural rules discovered by reason. It is for this reason that Hobbes proposes the remedy to the state of nature, as government by mutual contract¹³⁰.

In order to achieve self-protection and self-preservation and to prevent misery and pain, man agreed on a social contract. The love of self-preservation and self-protection is inherent in man's nature. To achieve such goal, they voluntarily surrendered all their rights and freedoms to some authority agreed by this contract, who must command obedience from all. Thomas Hobbes submits that, the state of nature exists among independent states all the time, over whom there is no law except for the laws of nature. His ideas about the state of nature have formed the basis for theories of international relations, international law and theories about domestic interactions¹³².

John Locke is another scholar whose idea and explanation of the state of nature differ from the concept described by Thomas Hobbes. In Locke's view, man lived in the state of nature, but Locke's context of the state of nature is different from the Hobbesian theory of the state of nature. John Locke's view of the state of nature is not as disgusting as that of Hobbes. Locke conceives the state of nature as enjoyable, good and reasonable, but the property in this concept of the state of nature is not secure¹³³. In order words, Locke's concept of the state of nature is peaceful, laden with goodwill, mutual assistance and preservation.

In Locke's state of nature, men have all the rights which nature freely bestows upon them. John Locke justified this by stating that, in the state of nature, the natural condition of mankind was a state of perfect and complete liberty to live life as he best prefers it. It was free from interruption by others and all people were considered equal and independent. He considered the state of nature as the “Golden Age”¹³⁴.

The French scholar, Jean-Jacques Rousseau is another scholar that gave his own version of the state of nature. According to Rousseau, the idea of the state of nature is a completely distinct one from the previous explanations. The state of nature as argued by Rousseau could be termed a primitive state alien to socialization, hence, it is free of social traits like envy, pride and fear of others. According to him, the state of nature is a morally neutral and peaceful condition in which solitary individuals act according to their basic desire and natural preference for self-preservation¹³⁵. He stated that people were neither good nor bad, but developed as a blank state to a society and the environment influences their preferences. In Rousseau's state of nature, people did not know each other to the extent of having any serious conflict and they did not have normal values¹³⁶.

2.2.3 Thomas Hobbes

Thomas Hobbes is the first modern day political philosopher to articulate a detailed exposition of the Social Contract Theory. His explanation of this theory featured for the first time in his book “Leviathan” published in 1651 during the Civil War in Britain. He described this conflict in the most general terms as a clash between the King and his subjects, the Monarchist, who preferred the traditional authority of a monarch and the Parliamentarians, most notably led by Oliver Cromwell, who wanted more power and authority for the quasi-democratic institution of Parliament¹³⁷.

He submitted that man lived in a chaotic condition of constant fear. Life in the state of nature was solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short. It was viewed as a state in which self-interest and the absence of rights and contracts prevented the social interaction of the society. Life was anarchic, without leadership or sovereignty. Thus, individuals in the state of nature were regarded as apolitical and anti-social. From Hobbes' point of view, human beings could basically be likened to very complicated organic machines, responding to the stimuli of the world in a mechanical manner and in accordance with universal laws of human nature¹³⁸.

From these assertions about human nature, Hobbes further arrived at a provocative and compelling argument about the need to submit to a political authority. He concluded by imagining persons in a situation prior to the establishment of society, the state of nature. To Hobbes, the justification for political obligation is hinged on the fact that men are naturally selfish, though rational and will willingly submit to a sovereign authority so as to live in a civil society, which accommodates their interests¹³⁹.

He submits that men are in their natural state which is the state of nature. In this hypothetical state of nature, men are considered naturally and exclusively selfish. They are seen to be equal to one another, (even the strongest man can be killed in his sleep), there are limited resources, no power to compel men to cooperate. Hobbes implore subjects to relinquish their rights and liberties to a sovereign authority, for the preservation of peace, life and prosperity of the subjects. It is through this approach that the natural law became a moral guide to the sovereign authority for the preservation of the natural rights and liberties of the subjects¹⁴⁰.

In his view, all laws are dependent upon the sanction of the sovereign authority. All real laws are considered civil laws. The laws are enacted and enforced by the sovereign authority and are meant to

limit the natural liberties of men and support one another against a common enemy. He also advocated for an established order. Hence, Individualism, materialism, utilitarianism and absolutions are inter-connected in the submissions of the theory of Hobbes¹⁴².

2.2.4 John Locke

John Locke's views of social contract theory differ from Hobbes' in several distinct ways, aligning only the central concept that persons in a state of nature would willingly come together to form a state. John Locke (1632–1704) is among the most influential political philosophers of the modern world. In his work, the *Treatise of Government*, he supported the claim that men are by nature free and equal against claims that God had made all people naturally subject to a monarch⁹⁴. He argued that people have rights, such as the *right to life, liberty, and property*, which have an independent foundation from the laws of any particular society.

Locke's view about the state of nature is solitary, reasonable, good and enjoyable, but the property was not secure. Hence, his classification of the state of nature as a Golden Age. It was considered a state of peace, goodwill, mutual assistance, and preservation. In that state of nature, men had all the rights given naturally by nature¹⁴⁴. Locke justifies this by asserting that, in the state of nature, the natural condition of mankind was a state of perfect and complete liberty to live life according to one's preferences and free from any interruption from others. It is considered a state where there is equality and independence¹⁴⁵.

Locke's views that men are naturally free and equal form his justification for the recognition of legitimate political government as the result of a social contract. He opined that in this state, the people conditionally transfer their rights and liberties to a central authority, for a stable, comfortable enjoyable and peaceful life as well as for liberty and security of property. Locke maintained that any

government that fails to guarantee the protection people's rights and promote public interests can be resisted and replaced with a new government¹⁴⁶. His assertion provides the justification for the right of revolution by the people in defence of their common good. He also defends the principle of majority rule as well as the separation of legislative and executive powers.

Property is central to Locke's argument for civil government and the contract that supports it. He attributed the insecurity of property in the state of nature to absence of established laws, impartial judge and natural power to implement natural laws. Thus, man in the state of nature, favoured a social contract for the purpose of the protection of their property. Under the contract, man did not relinquish all their rights to an individual, but only the right to preserve or maintain order and enforce the law of nature. The individuals thus retained the other rights such as the right to life, liberty and estate, because these rights were considered natural and inalienable rights of men¹⁴⁸.

Having established a political society and government through their consent, men became subject to laws, judges to adjudicate laws, and executive power required to enforce the laws. Each man therefore, relinquishes to the government by consent, the power to protect himself and punish transgressors of natural laws. According to Locke, the purpose of government and emplaced laws is to preserve and protect the natural rights of men¹⁴⁹.

He submits that the legitimacy of government hinges on its capacity to preserve and protect the rights of the people. If the government fails in its obligations, its laws would no longer be valid and binding on the people. Such government that cannot guarantee the preservation people's rights and safety can be rejected by the people. In Locke's view, unlimited sovereignty is not in consonance with natural laws. In this regard, John Locke advocated the principle of a state of liberty and not of license¹⁵⁰. Locke advocated a state that works for the general good of people. He favoured a constitutionally

limited government. John Locke referred to life, liberty and property as the three cardinal rights, which greatly dominated and influenced the declaration of American independence in 1776¹⁵¹.

2.2.5 Jean-Jacques Rousseau

Jean-Jacques Rousseau was a Genevan philosopher whose political conception gave needed impetus to the French Revolution and facilitated the development of socialist theory as well as the growth of nationalism¹⁵³. His ideas are well expounded in his books; *Discourse on the Origin and Foundations of Inequality among Men*, *On the Social Contract*, *Le Bonheur Public*, and others. He portrayed man as neither inherently good nor bad in the state of nature, but had been significantly influenced by the growth of society. According to Rousseau, human beings could be termed good when they are self-sufficient and free from the vices of the political society.

Rousseau asserted that the state of nature started as a primitive condition without law or morality. Accordingly, the condition of the state of nature progressed through the relinquishing of rights and freedom for the benefits and necessity of cooperation in the society. The development of society which was evidenced by the growth of agriculture, private property and the division of labour, significantly facilitated close interaction among men, thus entrenching self-actualization and interdependence. Consequently, man came under intense pressure and his liberty and survival were also threatened¹⁵⁴. Accordingly, the social contract induced man to relinquish his liberty and natural rights to gain self-preservation and protection through willing submissiveness to the overall collective will of the people. In effect, individuals no longer surrender to the will of opponents but all become subordinate to the laws enacted by their collective resolve.

He opined that man is composed of two distinct personalities; the natural man and the political man. Furthermore, Rousseau avered that an attempt to unite the characteristics inherent in man usually

results in conflict and self-division in man. According to him, the natural man and the natural group were more pre-occupied with their self-interests or self-preservation. On the other hand, the political man was subject to the laws, rights, rules and regulations established by the group. Rousseau viewed the conflicting compositions of man as unnatural and a definite transformation of the natural man¹⁵⁵. He opined that such transformation could erode the happiness of man who would naturally be happier in his original state of nature.

In Rousseau's opinion, social contract is not rooted in any historical fact but a mere hypothetical construction of philosophical reasoning. Prior to the social contract, man lived happily in the state of nature with a feeling of equality among men. Progressively, humanity became subjected to changes in the state of nature as increased population accounted for the diversification of needs and the means of satisfying them. People gradually commenced living together in small families and later in small communities¹⁵⁶. Furthermore, division of labour became necessary among families, new discoveries, inventions and innovations improved the quality of lives, creating ample time for leisure. Such leisure time allowed comparisons, leading to admiration of public values and consequent envy, contempt and pride.

Rousseau also attributed the loss of the original freedom, happiness, equality and liberty which existed in primitive societies prior to the social contract, to modern civilization. Through the social contract, a new type of social organization in the form of a state was established, to preserve guaranteed rights, liberties, freedom and equality. The import of Rousseau's concept of general will is that the establishment of a state and associated laws were offshoots of the general consensus of the people. The state and laws are established by people's consent and would be jettisoned if the government and laws do not address the people's overall preferences¹⁵⁷. The general will becomes

dominant over the will of the individual. Each individual is subject to the general will which equally translates to obedience to themselves as they all form part of the consensus.

Thus, Rousseau supported the sovereignty of the people. His concept of natural law strictly addresses the issue of freedom and liberty of the individual. According to him, state, law, sovereignty, general will are interchangeable terms. Rousseau's concept propelled the French and American revolutions and facilitated the idea of nationalism. Rousseau hinged his theory of social contract on the notion of man being born free but he is restricted everywhere. The system that Rousseau considers as the solution to corruption in the society is vague and unalterable¹⁰⁹. This constitutes a challenge as Rousseau fails to provide a practical guide on the application of his social contract, making it difficult in practice.

2.2.6 Criticism of the Theory

The Social Contract Theory has been critiqued by many scholars despite the broad influence of its concept. Some of the scholars have established that the people's consent or willing submission to a controlling authority has no link to the legitimacy of a modern state and the expected obligations from the subjects.¹⁵⁹ Other critiques also questioned the veracity of the existence of a social contract among men borne out of any form of consensus. In addition, scholars have interrogated the nature of the said social contract, demanding whether it was a single and final social contract recorded historically, or such that would be continually reviewed over time by the players.

Various scholars have also criticized the Social Contract Theory as a standard one so as to justify their stance on the improbability of its reality. In this regard therefore, Waldron referred to it as a challenge of different interpretations¹⁶⁰. In relating to the issue of the probability of the social contract being a one-off event or a series of events, he contended that social contract does not

outrightly imply that political institutions of governance were established by human consensus in a single unparalleled event. He maintained that political institutions of governance could be established gradually over prolonged periods by human interactions¹⁶⁰.

A modern day critique of the Social Contract Theory is contained in the scholarly work of Barnett. In an attempt to avoid the challenges of interpretation associated with the criticisms of the Social Contract Theory, he suggested an alternative to consent as the standard for legitimacy. He maintained that, the enactment of legitimate laws was possible without consent, provided the laws are just and binding in conscience¹⁶¹.

The Scottish philosopher David Hume also expressed his displeasure regarding the hypothetical form of the state of nature. He was not convinced about the notion of implied agreement. According to Hume, willful consent is paramount in any agreement. He further submits that most people opined that they were conditioned into a system of obedience. Hume maintained that politicians always strive to cajole the people into accepting that governments have natural authority over their citizens, in order to sustain their dominance¹⁶².

The current political players claim that many years ago, an older generation of citizens implicitly consented to the establishment of a specific government whose powers are still exercised by the current government in place. A government is necessary to carry out established obligations of security and welfare to its people, though the people's consent remains a key factor. The fact remains that the hypothetical nature of the social contract continues to undermine its validity¹⁶³.

Hume is correct that people do not willingly consent to the terms of a social contract either precisely or in an implied manner. Critics of this theory other than Hume noted this problem, hence the British

political philosopher, William Godwin identified some related conceptual challenges with the terms of the social contract:

Upon the first statement of the system of a social contract various difficulties present themselves. Who are the parties to this contract? For whom did they consent, for themselves only, or for others? For how long a time is this contract to be considered as binding? If the consent of every individual be necessary, in what manner is that consent to be given? Is it to be tacit, or declared in express terms?¹⁶⁴

According to Godwin, there are pertinent questions relating to whether the contract is tacit or explicit, and also about who is involved in the contract, how long the contract is binding, and what the exact terms of the contract are.

2.2.7 Application of the Theory

Social Contract Theory entails a collective resolve of people to succumb to a given authority, with the ultimate objective of providing security and welfare as well as other basic necessities of life to the people. There is no doubt that every democratic government in power has a social contract with its people and this is usually presented to the people while it seeks their mandate to govern them. It is pertinent to state that, though there are strong contentions among the various scholars on the concept of social contract and the origin of the state, there is however a consensus on the existence of a social contract evolving from the state of nature.

Thomas Hobbes viewed the social contract as being between the people and the established controlling authority while Locke considered the social contract as people centered but not a contract with government¹⁶⁵. Evidently, Hobbes' major consideration was about human nature and the absolute necessity of government and societal preferences. The import of this therefore was to compel government to fulfil those obligations that engender conflicts through human interactions in the state

of nature. In other words, the social contract prescriptions were mainly to address the challenges of insecurity prevalent in the state of nature due largely to the absence of a controlling authority charged with the responsibility of protecting lives and property as well as the provision of welfare services to the people¹⁶⁶.

The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 (As Amended) clearly states the obvious when it declares in Section 14(1) that “the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be a state based on the principles of democracy and social justice”¹⁶⁷. And Section 14 (2a and b) respectively read thus “sovereignty belongs to the people of Nigeria from whom the government through the Constitution derives its powers and authority” and “the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary responsibility of government”¹⁶⁷. The forgoing was the premise in which Thomas Hobbes in his book the ‘Leviathan’ defined the essence of government.

When the Constitution makes an express declaration that “sovereignty belongs to the people of Nigeria from whom government through the Constitution derives its powers and authority” and that the primary responsibility of government is “security and welfare of the people”, they are very serious statement of a determined social contract, in line with the prescriptions of Hobbes for an ideal society¹⁶⁷. It is not in doubt that rather than keep to the terms of the social contract, the Nigerian state seems to be caught in a cyclic obliteration of its social contract with the people against the provisions of the Constitution of Nigeria, 1999 (As Amended).

To worsen it, the people in whose hands powers of sovereignty absolutely reside have also abdicated this onerous responsibility, thereby making the essence of government as conceived by eminent social contract theorists such as Thomas Hobbes an exercise in futility¹⁶⁷. The state of affairs in Nigeria indicates a near loss of the state’s role of securing lives and property including the provision of

welfare to its people, in spite of the enormity of the resources available to it, especially since the return to democracy in 1999. The current situation in Nigeria is one that is very disturbing as what is happening is not in line with what Hobbes proposed for an ideal state such as Nigeria.

The country has continued to witness economic down-turn, poverty, decrepit infrastructure, poor governance structure, political violence, ethnic crisis, insurgency and all manner of insecurity with little or no concerted efforts at containing the situation. The current situation in the country is a reflection of failure in governance. A scholar described it thus:

We are all victims of Nigeria's crisis of governance, and we all experience its symptoms: failed schools, failed hospitals, failed roads, failed security, and failed power supply, Boko Haram, Niger Delta militancy, kidnapping, the vanishing opportunities for youths, the widening gulf between the rich and the poor and worse of all, the receding faith in Nigeria by Nigerians, even as we gleefully marked the centenary of its creation the past few days¹⁶⁸.

There is no doubt that the level of physical and social infrastructural decay, poverty and insecurity in Nigeria is an indication that the social contract theory is at variance with governance despite the seeming commitments they made prior to assumption of office. The existence of adequate infrastructure is the underlying basis for sustained public welfare architecture and also the propeller of economic growth and development in most countries of the world; hence Nigeria cannot be an exception.

There is a great decline of public sector participation in this regard, an indication that the state is relenting in living up to its ideals as provided for in the social contract. It is on the premise of the structural decay and insecurity that a scholar stated that:

In Nigeria, this capacity has been a major challenge, remaining at a declining state since the 70s, and complicating the nation's many crises: from infrastructural decay to insecurity, economic instability, mounting ethnic tension, pervasive and institution-suppressing

corruption, threatening security upheavals and violence, environmental threats and disasters, political violence and resource struggles to militancy, armed violence and kidnapping. The effect of this on public welfare is pervasive¹⁶⁹.

This position is further buttressed by a renowned legal scholar in Nigeria when he clearly asserted that:

In the last five years, the federal government earmarked not less than ₦5 trillion for the defense of the territorial integrity and internal security of the nation. The various state governments equally allocated hundreds of billions of naira on law and order. In fact, individual citizens and communities paid levies and salaries to young men and women engaged to secure them and their properties. In spite of huge funds spent on security, it is common knowledge that the country is currently grappling with the menace of kidnapping, hostage taking, terrorism and armed robbery being carried out by disenchanting youths. It is our contention that life and property cannot be secured in any country without the provision of adequate welfare for the generality of the people. I will conclude this piece by calling on Nigerians to demand for full compliance with all welfare legislations including appropriation laws of the Federal, State and Local Governments to ensure that the national economy is managed in such manner as to secure the maximum welfare of the people¹⁷⁰.

Those placed in authority of the state appear to have been mismanaging the national economy in a manner that does not guarantee maximum security and welfare for the people. The people at several times were deprived of their freely given sovereignty. This occurs under the guise of the conduct of free and fair elections by the Nigerian state and their actors. They have, over time, eroded the essence of the state as opposed to what obtained in the state of nature which gave rise to Hobbes' prescriptions for an ideal state.

From the foregoing, it becomes evident that the Nigerian state that is built on the principles democracy and social justice, as espoused in the extant provisions of the Constitution of Nigeria 1999 (As Amended), has not lived up to the ideals of the social contract in this regard. The state of the country's security architecture is worsening day by day as the Nigerian state appears to have lost focus on effectively managing the country's security and governance issues leading to heightened insecurity and poor governance structure resulting from endemic corruption on the part of its political

leadership¹⁷¹. The security of the Nigerian people remains the responsibility of government in line with its social contract with the people. Nigerians at the time were tired of the situation and needed immediate change for the well-being of a country that has every potential to be great, yet is enmeshed in poverty, decay in infrastructure and deteriorating security architecture against the postulations of the Social Contract Theory¹⁷².

The fear of insecurity in Nigeria has been on the increase and this has been compounded by the activities of terrorists and herders-farmers crises that have ravaged the length and breadth of the country. Prominent among them is the Plateau massacre that took the lives of over two hundred persons including the other monumental killings in Benue, Nasarawa, Adamawa, Enugu and Taraba¹⁷². The state of the country's lack-luster responses towards the country's security and welfare issues calls for greater concern about the sincerity of the present government.

2.2.8 Relative Deprivation Theory

Relative deprivation refers to the absence of basic resources to sustain diet, amenities and lifestyle that an individual or groups are accustomed to or that are broadly supported and encouraged in their society or communities. The theory is a social psychological theory of aggression and terrorism. The theory situates conflicts and terrorism within the context of individual's psychology of frustration, relative deprivation and aggression.

The central theme of the Relative Deprivation Theory suggests that individuals or groups feel deprived when their current demeaning states are contemptuously compared to the favourable conditions of others. In other words, the theory asserts that, there is a relationship between people's perception of treatment in a society relative to the treatment received by their counterparts in the society. Once people perceive injustice in the way they are treated compared to other groups, the

Relative Deprivation Theory submits that frustration sets in and frustrated individuals are more likely to revolt¹⁷³. The theory was originally developed by Ted Gurr in his work 'Why Men Rebel' published in 1979. He holds that, violence is not always caused by frustration experienced in a society but the perception that such an ugly experience is peculiar to one's group. He further states that, instead of an absolute standard of deprivation, a gap between expected and achieved welfare status creates collective discontent¹⁴⁵. An objective measurement of relative deprivation allows an impartial scrutiny of the condition of an individual or group in relation to the status of the rest of a society.

The Relative Deprivation Theory submits that feelings of deprivation and frustration propel the resolve of individuals to engage in collective action¹⁷⁴. In other words, the theory is a representation of the thrust in sociology from an outlook of theory to social reform. Turner added that, sociologists use the Relative Deprivation Theory to articulate the foundations of social movements. Social movements refer to a deliberate voluntary effort to organize individuals who act in a similar manner, to develop group influence which will empower them to actualize their group's preferences, by making or preventing changes to a situation¹²⁶.

In sociology, the Relative Deprivation Theory reflects a view of social change and movement. It pinpoints the resolve of a group of people to agitate for social change from a precarious situation in order to acquire some benefits or opportunities that others possess. It usually goes with a feeling of justification to be on the same level as other privileged individuals or groups. This feeling of deprivation can engender political violence. The Relative Deprivation Theory has become a commonly used theory among experts. However, other scholars have interrogated the link between relative deprivation and social movements. Suffice it to mention that, much of the evidence associating social movements with feelings of relative deprivation is indirect¹⁷⁶. In effect, absolute deprivation could clearly trigger feelings of discontent and ultimately produce a collective resolve to

effect social change. However, it is important to state that feelings of relative deprivation may not ultimately provoke social movement and collective identity in some instances.

Using this theory in a study of socio-economic profiles of terrorists, a scholarly work found unemployment to be a key driver of terrorism and terrorist recruitment. The study showed that an individual who is unemployed is more likely to be recruited for terrorist jobs than the gainfully employed. Hence, absence of work among young people naturally creates a vacuum between their physical energy for work and sense of isolation presented to them by society¹⁷⁷. This vacuum is the gap that terrorist organizations often exploit and rely on in recruiting members to their folds. Another study also made this submission about the reasons why more young people join the Islamic State and other radical jihadist groups around the world.

The concern of why young Muslims all over the world join the ranks of the so-called Islamic State has again triggered a polarized and familiar debate. On one side, are those who assert that ideology, culture and religion are the main reasons. Radical Islam, jihadism and the clash of civilization are all integral parts of the views of this group. The narrative that the real conflict should be within Islam, that is between radicals and moderates, connotes a more nuanced version of the same argument which prioritizes ideological factors. On the contrary, the other group believes that social and economic factors are weightier than ideological and religious factors. Lack of education, unemployment, poverty and dejection lead to a growing sense of frustration and radicalization. In this sense, the absence of socio-economic opportunities is of greater concern than either the clash of civilization or within Islam, the war of ideologies. Both schools of thought advanced valid points with major implications for policy makers. However, a whole lot of other reasons beyond socio-economic factors and pure ideology could also account for increased terrorist recruitments of Muslim youths¹⁷⁸.

In the north eastern Nigeria, almost the same scenario has played out in the case of the young people joining the radical Islamic sect, Boko Haram. In Nigeria's northeast, there is a pool of illiterates living previously as Al Majiris, who lack access to Western education and are even not sure of their means of livelihood, but are ready to be recruited as members of the deadly Islamic sect. Critics of this theory have indicated that, the theory did not explain why persons who feel dissatisfied with certain situations do not encourage or participate in social movements. Counter-arguments advanced the fact that some people always want to avoid conflicts. It is considered a temporary measure, such that imminent life difficulties and the absence of guaranteed life-improvement, will ultimately lead to social action¹⁷⁹. Another criticism of the theory is that, it does not consider individual preferences. Critics assert that sociologists examining relative deprivation focus more on collective relative deprivation but ignore individual preferences.

The Relative Deprivation Theory could also explain the basis for the persistent terror attacks and militancy in the Niger-Delta by youths in the region. It is reported that prolonged neglect of the region by successive governments in the country as well as perceived feelings of marginalization among the youths, are responsible the violent agitations in the region, usually in the form of abductions of foreign nationals and destruction of oil installations. In recent time, kidnappings for ransom, extortions, armed robbery and other organised crimes have become prevalent in the region.

2.2.9 Conspiracy Theory

Conspiracy Theory provides explanation for harmful or tragic events which are often linked to the actions of a small powerful and influential group. In other words, it gives an exposition of situations which occur owing to acts of conspiracy by some sinister, influential and powerful groups who are often politically motivated. The theory hinges on the assumption that elites are key stakeholders in the incitement and resolution of political conflicts in modern society¹⁸⁰. Political conflict such as terrorism,

the theorist insists, has to be interrogated within the context of power play in national politics. Historically, Conspiracy Theory had been closely associated with prejudice, witch hunt, war and genocide¹⁸¹.

*Conspiracy theories increase in prevalence in periods of widespread anxiety, uncertainty, or hardship, as during wars and economic depressions and in the aftermath of natural disasters like tsunamis, earthquakes, and pandemics. This fact is evidenced by the profusion of conspiracy theories that emerged in the wake of the September 11 attacks in 2001 and by the more than 2,000 volumes on U.S. Pres. John F. Kennedy's assassination. This suggests that conspiratorial thinking is driven by a strong human desire to make sense of social forces that are self-relevant, important, and threatening*¹⁸².

Conspiracies typically aim at usurping political or economic power, rights violation, infringement upon emplaced agreements as well as withholding vital secrets or altering the foundation of institutions. Conspiracy theories explain the ultimate causes of significant social and political events as well as contexts, with claims of secret plans by two or more powerful and influential actors. A study used a survey of New Jersey residents in the United States that interrogated about 10 conspiracy theories. The data collected indicated that some people believed in several of the conspiracies while others believed none. As a consequence, the study proposed that conspiracy beliefs constitute parts of a mono logical belief system in which these components form a self-sealing and increasing network of ideas that mutually support each other¹⁸³.

Considering the fact that elites control much of the political power in society, it is almost difficult to explain the emergence of armed conflicts and the attacks of these groups without looking at the dynamics and locus of power in society. The Nigerian society is also not an exception in this regard.

Since the beginning of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria, two versions of elites conspiracy theories have featured in the national discourse. The first conspiracy theory was to assume that Boko Haram terrorists were sponsored by the northern elites to destabilize the administration of President Goodluck Jonathan. The theory which flourished in the wake of the campaigns of the 2015 elections was common in the southern parts of the country than the northern parts¹⁸⁴.

It was assumed at the time that the north was not pleased with the decision of the then President, Goodluck Jonathan to contest for the Presidency in the 2015 Presidential Election., having spent the remaining years of the late President Umar Musa Yar'dua in office. This was buttressed thus:

This theory is very popular among commentators and leading politicians from the southern part of the country. President Jonathan is a southerner from the minority Ijaw ethnic groups. To the theory, the people from the north essentially the “core north”, that is, the Hausa/Fulani, believe in their birthright to govern the country and because a Christian southerner is in charge, they decided to sponsor Boko Harm as an instrument for destabilizing the Jonathan presidency. A major weakness of this theory is that much of the mayhem carried out by the sect has been in the north and against northern Muslims. If northern politician really was to make the country “ungovernable” for President Jonathan, why would they do so by sponsoring a group which is disproportionately killing northern Muslims and literally destroying several parts of the country¹⁸⁴.

The second conspiracy theory was to argue that Boko Haram terrorists were sponsored by former president Goodluck Jonathan to project Islam in bad light and mobilize support for his Christian dominated south for the presidential election. Part of this theory, was to argue that the sect was an attempt to depopulate the north ahead of the 2015 election. This conspiracy, which could not be substantiated, flourished in the northern region during the administration of former President Goodluck Jonathan and was even the basis upon which opposition parties criticized the ineptitude of the government in the handling of the Boko Haram terrorism in the country¹⁸⁴.

2.2.10 Frustration Aggression Theory

Frustration Aggression Theory, more commonly known as the Frustration Aggression Hypothesis, is rated among the most influential and productive theories in research works on aggression. Its prolific nature has enabled the application of the theory in several fields of study since its inception in the 1930s till date. The proponents of this theory such as Dollard, Doob, Miller and Mowrer state hypothetically that, “the occurrence of aggressive behavior always presupposes the existence of frustration and, contrariwise, that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression”¹⁸⁵.

In this definition, it is important to note that frustration is not an emotional experience as it's commonly implied in plain language. In this sense, it is an interference with the occurrence of an instigated goal-response¹⁸⁶. In order to further understand Frustration Aggression Theory, it is necessary to examine the word “frustration.” Frustration can be defined as “an unpleasant, aversive stimulus which evokes negative effect by automatically eliciting cognitions that are associated with aggressive tendencies”¹³⁸. This view about frustration can provide needed insight into group motivations to justify acts of aggression. An assessment of these two important aspects of Frustration-Aggression Theory provides not only a foundation for Boko Haram terrorism, but a projection into future dispositions.

In this theory, Sigmund Freud provided a psychological perspective regarding the minds of terrorists. He noted that dejection and hopelessness are root causes of acts of terror and frustration, which in themselves are responsible for aggressive behaviour. His Theory of Frustration Aggression provides an explanation for aggressive behaviour being a manifestation of terrorist act. He averred further that man has an instinctive urge for self-destruction when frustrated. However, since his ego does not

always permit self-destruction, the destructive instinct is unleashed on others as a form of displaced or transferred aggression¹⁸⁸.

In this regard, the Frustration Aggression Theory stipulates that aggression is always the consequence of frustration and the manifestation of aggressive behaviour always pre-supposes the existence of frustration. Thus, frustration is the product of relative deprivation arising from failure to achieve an expected goal, thus creating a gap between desire and achievement. Freud's paradigm helps to conceptualize and highlight contemporary terrorist acts such as suicide bombing, hijacking and assassinations. Such heinous crimes committed by terrorists could be attributed to the propositions of Frustration Aggression Theory.

This research makes use of key parameters of frustration and aggression. First, the act of frustration defined as "preventing someone from achieving an expected gratification"¹⁹⁹. Second, aggression which is defined as "any act which is intended to harm the individual to whom it is directed"¹⁸⁹. These key aspects of Frustration Aggression Theory provide a clear exposition of the decision-making process utilized by Boko Haram terrorists. Boko Haram terrorists have consistently exploited the harsh economic realities and frustrations of the Nigerian people. The condition of poverty in Nigeria is worsened in the face of rich human and mineral resources¹⁸⁹. This economic decline and attendant inequalities and suffering tend to justify Boko Haram's legitimacy and power. The precarious situation has also increased the frustration of the Nigerian people against the Boko Haram terrorists and the Nigerian government.

The level of poverty pervading the region has also proved to be a factor encouraging the Boko Haram terrorism. Mohammed Yusuf, the sect's leader, encouraged devout Muslims to leave the morally bankrupt society to a secluded location and establish an ideal Islamic society devoid of corruption

and moral depravity. The poor economic conditions in Nigeria have become the driving force for the influence of the Boko Haram terrorists¹⁸⁹. The hardship experienced by the Nigerian people has led to corruption and moral deprivation¹⁹⁰. This continuous frustration from current economic realities has also produced more insight into Boko Haram's increased aggression¹⁹¹.

The increased frustration of Boko Haram terrorists has led to more acts of violence in the country. However, the targets of Boko Haram's aggression are mostly the Nigerian security forces. Boko Haram terrorists have used the adverse political situation in Nigeria to spread its ideology. The deadly group has also exploited the high level of illiteracy in northern Nigeria to manipulate its recruits. In contemporary Nigeria, most of the existing militant organizations are made up of a large percentage of uneducated and unemployed people who are dissatisfied with the existing imbalance in the structure of governance¹⁹¹.

There are limitations to Frustration Aggression Theory. It is worthy to note that not all frustration produces aggression. This study is also limited to the evaluation of intense cases of frustration such as corruption and terrorism in relation to Boko Haram terrorism. Further application of this theory could investigate Boko Haram's perception of Western education as a threat to their religious belief. The study could examine how Boko Haram exploits religious beliefs to gain sympathy in the recruitment of its members. Frustration Aggression Theory could rationalize the underlying frustration caused by religious intolerance and perceived colonization by the West to explain terrorists' aggression.

In summary, the frustration Aggression Theory provides an exposition about the consequences of frustration and aggression in relation to the activities of the Boko Haram terrorists, political elite and citizens of Nigeria. Furthermore, it is imperative to recognize the effects of Boko Haram's violent

activities and the measures necessary to counter them. Such counter measures will help provide the much needed peace and security, which are essential factors for national development and cohesion in Nigeria¹⁹¹.

2.3 Review of Empirical Studies

The world is replete with several studies on terrorism, national security and national question. Most of these studies have produced sufficient findings on the concepts of terrorism, national security and national question, useful for policy formulation and implementation across nations of the world. Hence, this review gives a summary of some studies conducted on terrorism, national security and the national question.

A researcher examined the concepts of terrorism and insurgency in Nigeria. The study investigates the remedial efforts of the Nigerian government as well as international stakeholders towards curbing the menace of terrorism and insurgency. The study found out that the international community and organisations exploit the application of economic sanctions as measures to dissuade states from sponsoring terrorism and insurgency. The study therefore recommends the cutting off of the sources of funds and contacts available to Boko Haram and other terrorists, an empowerment initiative that reduces unemployment, conflict resolution mechanisms among parties and strict enforcement of law against terrorists and their sponsors¹⁸⁶.

Another scholar examined the relationship between national security and youth empowerment in Nigeria in 2018. The study indicated that over the years, government had prioritized the military option against terrorists, through the deployment of security forces across the nation, particularly the troubled regions. It was observed that much has not been done by the government to address the underlying challenges of youth empowerment, to prevent them from being used by terrorists to

continually undermine national security. Consequently, the remedial efforts of the government to improve national security and address the national question have not yielded the desired results¹⁸⁷.

Another study considered the anti-terrorism legislation by the Nigerian government. The study revealed that various dispositions of the Nigerian government since 2006, to enact a comprehensive and implementable anti-terrorism legislation had been unsuccessful. The study further argues that the litany of domestic imperatives that triggered a lethargic response to counter terrorism were subjugated by more vicious domestic and international terrorist acts¹⁸⁸.

A paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Nigerian Association of Law Teachers examines the relationship between national security, terrorism and development¹⁴⁰. The paper investigates the Nigerian statutory response to the challenge of terrorism in the context of its socio-political landscape and implications. Thus, their research argues, that there should be a re-conceptualization of this approach, in favour of a holistic and ideology driven approach. They equally found out that the Nigerian response to terrorism is not only dynamic but also exposes the loop-holes in the law, hence the urgent need for a review.

Another person discussed the Boko Haram terrorism, insurgency and national security in his work in 2015¹⁹⁰. In his analysis, the author contends that the precarious security situation in the country provided a suitable condition for Boko Haram terrorists to freely operate. In effect, the terrorist group has continually unleashed several vicious attacks that have severely threatened the political and economic wellbeing as well as the security of Nigeria, giving rise to the national question. However, the author only gave priority to events that undermine the security of the country. Two persons discussed the impact of terrorism on world peace in 2015¹⁹¹. The research examined the impact of social, psychological, political and economic imperatives propelled by terrorism, on the peace and stability of the world. They resolved that the loss of lives and property are the most grievous

consequences of terrorism . According to them, terrorism instills fear, anxiety and psychological trauma among people. They averred that, terrorism could be likened to a viral infection that will torment the world relentlessly unless the international community strongly unites against it.

A research investigates the economic impact of terrorism on national security and development in Nigeria. The research contend that terrorism has undermined the national security as well as hindered national development in Nigeria, through human rights violations, displacements of persons, hampering trade and investment among others. The research analyzed that, ethnic and religious identities, exclusionary character of the state and lack of political will are part of the underlying causes of terrorism in Nigeria. The research therefore advocates for a strong commitment to counter-terrorism strategies as well as the strengthening of institutions as the way forward¹⁹².

Some researcher utilized ex post facto survey research to scrutinize the consequences of Boko Haram terrorism on human security in Nigeria in 2020¹⁹³. The findings of their research indicate that both the frequency of terrorism and the resultant apprehension of the population have created social and moral unrest with adverse effects on education, food, economy, national cohesion and human rights. They resolved that, the national security arcitecture should be reviewed to eliminate ineptitude, sabotage, compromise and other irregularities in the system, which have impeded decisive victory over the terrorists in recent years.

The work of a scholar shows the symbiotic relationship between poverty and national security in Nigeria¹⁹⁴. The research posited that the issue of poverty is essentially a multi-faceted phenomenon of bad leadership and governance, dependent and unproductive economy as well as poor patronage of Nigeria's indigenous technology. The research reiterates that the emplacement of developmental processes in Nigeria could lead to poverty eradication with favourable consequences on national

security. He further explained that, poverty and national security mismanagement metamorphosed in such a way that the poor masses, as a means to register their discontent, took up arms against the state, which manifest itself in various forms. The research therefore concludes by recommending a transformational leadership as a framework for a better Nigeria.

2.4 Synthesis of Gaps in Literature Reviewed

The various literature reviewed relates to the concept of terrorism, national security, and national question, all of which identify with the theme and purpose of the research. With regards to terrorism, there is a consensus about the deadly nature of terrorism and its focus at undermining the security of any nation. Although, there were diverse conceptions of national security, but a large quantity of the literature reviewed revealed that the concept has left the conventional military prowess depicted by states. Thus, in the contemporary world, national security encompasses a whole lot of breaches of security which could be economic, social, cyber, political, food and so on. However, the specific impact of terrorism on national security was not adequately addressed. The following gaps were also identified in the reviewed literature:

- a. Most of the cases analyzed in the literature revealed limited empirical evidence on the relationship between the variables examined. Thus, this study considers the relationship between terrorism and national security as well as the national question in Nigeria.
- b. Based on the study analyses, most literature focused on terrorism, national security and national question alone; however, this study will focus on identifying the specific impact of terrorism on national security and their consequences on the national question in Nigeria, in light of national security vision, objectives and threats. It will also examine the policies initiated to facilitate sectoral security initiatives in the interest of the implementation of the overall security strategy for Nigeria.

c. Finally, there are limited studies on terrorist and extremist movements in Nigeria; this study shall investigate how Nigeria continues to face multiple security challenges posed by various terrorist groups and the different counter terrorism strategies in Nigeria.

It is this gap in literature that this study seeks to explore by assessing various views on terrorism, national security and the national question in Nigeria.

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Chapter Three

Methodology

3.1. Research Design

This study adopts the basic qualitative research design. The basic qualitative research design aligned with the research questions, purpose of the research as well as the nature of the topic. A qualitative study has an interpretive characteristic. When adopting it, researchers exploit a phenomenon to properly understand the explanations for the actions of the persons or groups being studied. Basic qualitative research design involves the critical examination of a particular event within the context of a real-life experience¹.

The researcher in this sense, utilized the basic qualitative research design in attempting to interrogate the consequences of the activities of the Boko Haram terrorist organization against the people of Borno State. The design for this study was consistent in determining the implications of the Boko Haram terrorist attacks on the people of Borno, in northeastern Nigeria as well as the overall effects of the identified impact on the region and the nation in general. The adopted qualitative research design also facilitated the researcher's efforts at identifying the possible causes and motivations for the vicious terrorist attacks and their associated implications. Equally, the qualitative research design facilitated the documentation of the real life experiences of people of Borno State in Nigeria, who are the direct victims of the Boko Haram terrorism. The qualitative research design took into consideration the reactions of the victims of terrorism as well as the interpretations of their experiences. Furthermore, it was possible to conduct a direct interview with study participants who had been victims of the brutal acts of the Boko Haram terrorists in Borno State, Nigeria. The qualitative research design utilized for this study, provided opportunity to study the various phenomena within the framework of some temporal or geographic factors or both. This conferred advantage gave a comprehensive understanding of the phenomena being investigated².

The employment of the qualitative research method involves the identification of the particular phenomenon to be studied, which could be an individual, organization, relationship, project or a small group of people². The use of appropriate theory provides a broader perspective and interpretation for identified attitudes and behaviors in a basic qualitative study³. It was argued that theory should pinpoint directions and situate the tone in a research or study¹. Additionally, researchers apply theories to provide answers to questions, analyze, and interpret the findings as well as conclusions reached. The qualitative research design is flexible and allows a critical scrutiny, making it optimally productive in studying the impact of Boko Haram terrorist attacks on the people of Borno State, Nigeria. The researcher clearly defined the scope and context of the study to avoid an extended study which could undermine the purpose and period of the research⁴. It was a strenuous task keeping within the set boundaries but the challenge was surmounted through discipline and determination. Qualitative research design was considered the most appropriate methodology for the study. This choice was based on the fact that direct interactions with the various stakeholders provided deep insight regarding the effects of Boko Haram terrorism on the people of Borno, in northeastern Nigeria. Additionally, the qualitative research design enabled credible answers to the research questions posed⁵. According to a scholar, constructivist paradigm “recognizes the importance of the subjective human creation of meaning but doesn’t reject outrightly some notion of objectivity. Pluralism, not relativism, is stressed with focus on the circular dynamic tension of subject and object”⁶. The philosophical importance of the qualitative design on constructivism is that it permits a symbiotic relationship between the researcher and the study participants. This clearly manifests in the creation of an enabling environment for the participants to relate their experiences without hindrances. The researcher in turn is able to make credible deductions from the narratives of the participants⁶. Finally, these benefits were fully exploited in the application of the basic qualitative research design to this study.

3.2. Population of the Study

Population of the study refers to a group of persons or aggregate of items and things from which the researcher is interested in getting information for the study¹. Population therefore involves all cases or individuals that fit a certain specification². The target sample population of the study is those affected by terrorism and those living in IDP camps in the North East of Nigeria.

The people that participated in the in-depth interview include security personnel, scholars, repentant Boko Haram members and commanders, and citizens in the war-torn/terrorized communities and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). Adult members (citizens in the war-torn/terrorized communities and Internally Displaced Persons) were selected for Focus Group Discussion (FGD), and the selection was based on homogenous factors (Age and sex).

Scholars, security personnel, repentant Boko Haram members were selected for in-depth interview (IDI) as a filter for biases, falsehood, and exaggeration from the data elicited from the communities³. This set of people i.e. scholars and security personnel are more likely to present balanced accounts and arguments on the issue under investigation than indigenes of the communities whose responses may be embellished with popular opinions held by their communities on the issues.

3.3 Sample Size and Sampling Techniques

The target participants for this study include security personnel, scholars, repentant Boko Haram members, citizens in the war-torn/terrorized communities and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). The study employed the non-probabilistic method of sampling and utilized the purposive sampling techniques. The samples were selected based on the observed distribution of the population and the researcher's judgement. A fairly distributed sample was used for efficient collection of data and the near

impossibility of studying the entire population due to cost and time constraints. This study adopted the basic qualitative research design method. This consisted of forty (40) interviewees (i.e. 12 IDIs, 20 FGDs and 8 KIIs) from the selected areas of Borno State in North East of Nigeria. This selected areas include; Maiduguri LGA, Jere LGA, Kukawa LGA, Mobbar LGA, Abadam LGA and Marte LGA.

Forty (40) in-depth interviews were conducted with five (5) victims of terrorism in each selected local area/community. The interviewees were selected using a purposive method, emphasizing the victims of terrorism and criminality in their respective communities, particularly their social burden. Similarly, four (4) Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) were conducted in each of the selected communities studied and this cut across the homogenous population (1 for the male group; another for the female group; and two for different age categories). Each FGD comprised four (4) discussants/participants, and the participants were selected purposively. Again, eight (8) key-informant interviews (KII's) were conducted, and the target population were the security personnel and community leaders, to hear their views on terrorism and criminality management strategies to address the menace.

3.4 Study Area



Figure: 3.1

Source: researchgate.net

3.5 Sources of Data

The study sourced for data from both primary and secondary sources as indicated below:

- a. **Primary Sources:** Data from primary sources were obtained through structured interview.

The list of those interviewed were referenced at the end of the research study, while the questions used are included in the work.

b. **Secondary Sources:** The secondary sources of data for the study include written literature from public and institutional libraries. It also covers relevant books, journals, newspapers, magazines, periodicals, seminar and conference papers as well as published and unpublished materials. The University of Ibadan and Lead City University Libraries were very useful as well as the National Defence College Library. The internet was also used as an additional secondary source of data.

3.6 Instrument of Data Collection

The instrument or procedure used in gathering information for this research was through the in-depth interviews (IDI's), and existing data. The interview questions focused on issues of terrorism, national security and the national question. This was designed to elicit relevant responses from respondents in line with the research questions. In addition to the interview, questions were asked in which the respondents were required to answer based on their expert experiences on the study area.

Table 3.1: Matrix for Research Instruments

Methods	Objective1	Objective2	Objective3	Objective4	Objective5
IDI	*	*	*	*	*
FGD	*	*	*	*	*
KII	*	*	*	*	*

Source: www.researchconnections.org

IDI=In-depth Interview, FGD=Focus Group Discussion, KII=Key Informant Interview.

To support the data to be collected, the study also got additional information from secondary sources including, textbooks, journals, articles, seminar papers, Newspapers, magazines, official gazettes, official statistics and internet materials. Visits were made to some libraries and archives to gather materials and information on the subject matter. Also, case files relating to concluded and ongoing terrorists and Boko

Haram cases from the respondents to serve as supporting documents for information gathered through the above-listed media were requested. In conclusion, a combination of these instruments provided a piece of vital information on the subject matter. Also, it served as a basis for cross-checking the consistency of the information supplied by respondents.

3.7 Validation of the Research Instrument

The questions that were used as measuring instrument in this research were given to experts in the study area to ascertain their validity and reliability. The researcher consulted experts and practitioners by giving them the instrument, to review the relevance of the questions on the subject matter, to ensure that it could test what it was designed for. In this regard, the research instrument is considered valid for the study.

3.8 Reliability of the Research Instrument

An instrument is reliable if it is consistent in measuring what it is designed to measure. The reliability measures were justified using the works of Goode and Hatt, which states that the method of test ensures that the instruments being measured are consistent with the requirements or expected results⁴. It also shows the extent to which the researcher will be able to carry out the research and also to ensure the reliability of the instrument. The reliability of the instrument is 0.97. The consistencies in the results obtained from the various research instruments attest to their reliability.

3.9 Administration and Methods of Data Collection

Field survey method and document analysis were utilized to collect data for the study. Primary data were also collected through structured interviews with resource persons, security practitioners and victims of terrorism. The interviews concentrated on the study of terrorism and the national question

in Nigeria. Secondary data were obtained through document analysis using historical/archival libraries and internet search techniques.

3.10 Methods of Data Analysis

The data analyses helps to produce information that allows the researcher to answer research questions or resolve them. The different data generated for this study were analyzed using qualitative methods with the support of existing data. The qualitative data obtained from the in-depth interviews (IDI's) were analyzed thematically, that is, as they relate to the study. This is with the aim of ensuring clarity and avoiding any form of ambiguity.

The data generated through the in-depth interviews (IDI's), KII's and Focused Group Discussions (FGD) were processed and analyzed qualitatively. This began with the transcription of the interviews conducted, from where the coding of similar themes and patterns of responses were achieved. The responses were read and scrutinized from the field notes/ tapes. Second, responses with similarities and/or differences were identified and merged. Also, alternative inferences from these responses were compared, out of which line of inferences were easily identified.

3.11 Ethical Considerations

The researcher sought the consent of the selected respondents to participate in the conduct of the research (i.e. Informed consent). At the commencement of the interview, the purpose of the study was explained to the participants who were also given an assurance of the confidentiality of the data to be collected. The place of the interview was made free of interference as much as possible. The participants' permissions were sought before recordings were done. It is incumbent on the researcher to protect the rights, dignity and safety of the participants in the study. The right of refusal and withdrawal of the participants at any stage of the study was also explained to them before and during the study.

Endnotes

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5. J. Patterson, & C. Dawson, *Critical Appraisal of Qualitative Literature. Perspectives of the AISHA Special Interest Groups*, 2-3, 2017.
6. C. Davis, G. Cuddeback, M. Grady, & A.A. Scheyett, *Practitioner's Guide to Sampling in the Age of Evidence-Based Practice*. Translation of Research into Practice, 2011.

Chapter Four

Data Analysis

4. Findings of the Study

This aspect of the study considers the findings and related discussions. It includes the results obtained through the primary and secondary sources of data collection. Primary sources included the data collected from the interviews conducted while the secondary sources included the data from journals, books, newspapers and other records that were relevant to the study. Content analysis was carried out to present the results of the qualitative data collected.

The qualitative study was conducted in line with aim and objectives of the research. Specifically, the research focused on providing answers to the research questions set. In particular, it was paramount to interrogate various events relating to the violent activities of the Boko Haram terrorist group in the northeastern part of Nigeria. The socio-economic and political impact of the terror activities of Boko Haram on the people of Borno State, Nigeria, was equally significant in the conduct of the study. It was evident from the findings that the violent activities of the Boko Haram terrorist group have impacted grievously on the people of Borno State compared to other parts of Nigeria. This exposure is not surprising considering the profile of Borno State as the origin of the Boko Haram terrorist group in Nigeria. Additionally, in the course of the study, it was necessary to assess the adequacy of the support services rendered to the victims of terrorist activities in the target region. This was to facilitate an objective submission on the adverse effects of terrorist activities on the people and to aid policy formulation or review in that respect, to provide needed succour to the victims of terror attacks.

The researcher conducted deliberate direct interviews with the identified stakeholders with due consideration for the demographic spread indicated. The interview questions were equally veritable in eliciting relevant information from the target groups. This chapter articulates the findings from the data collection analyses conducted in consonance with the stipulated demography of the selected participants. It equally assures of the veritability of the instruments used in the course of the research and results presented.

4.1 Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

The demographic outlook shows the distribution of the socio-economic features of selected participants for the in-depth interview (IDI) and Focus Group Discussion (FGD). The demographic features include: sex, age, marital status, ethnic group, religion affiliation, highest educational qualification and length of stay in their respective communities. Thus, the table contains a summary of number and valid percentages of participants who provided information from each demographic variable.

There were 40 participants drawn for the study with different backgrounds, 25 of which are men and 15 are women. Majority of the participants are indigenes of Borno State while a few of them hail from other parts of Nigeria. All the participants displayed sufficient understanding of the issues relating to the study and their ages range from 18-65 years. The participants equally have different academic and religious profiles, though a few are not well educated.

There was also a good mix of both prominent religions in Nigeria; Christianity and Islam, to facilitate a broad view about relevant issues discussed in the course of the study. In the same vein, most of the participants had lived long enough in the affected areas to make informed comments on the subject matter. In addition, they could all communicate well without any form of ambiguity in their responses. The Table below provides a summary of the demographic features.

Table 4.1 Showing the Distribution of Respondents Socio-Demographic Characteristics

Characteristics	Community Leaders and Security Personnel (IDIs) N= 12	Security Personnel and Repentant Boko Haram (KIIs) N= 8	IDP Camp and Residents (FGDs) N= 20	Total N= 40
Sex				
Male	8	4	13	25 (62.5%)
Female	4	4	7	15 (37.5%)
Age in Years				
Below 30yrs	-	1	5	6 (15%)
30-40yrs	6	3	7	16 (40%)
41-50yrs	5	2	5	12 (30%)
51-Above yrs	2	-	3	5 (12%)
Marital Status				
Single	3	1	4	8 (20%)
Married	7	4	12	23 (57.5%)
Others	2	1	4	7 (17.5%)
Religious Affiliation				
Islam	10	5	9	24 (60%)
Christianity	2	1	7	10 (25%)
Others	-	-	4	4 (10%)
Highest Educational Qualification				
No Formal Education	4	1	4	9 (23%)
Primary	3	1	5	9 (23%)
Secondary	5	3	9	17 (43%)
Tertiary	2	1	2	5 (13%)
Others	-	-	-	-
Length of Stay in the Community				
Below 11yrs	2	1	2	5 (13%)
11-15yrs	6	2	5	13 (33%)
16-20yrs	2	2	7	11 (28%)
21yrs and Above	2	1	8	11 (28%)

Source: Field Survey, 2021

The sex distribution of the respondents indicates that males constituted 62.5%, while females constituted 37.5%, signifying that more male respondents than females. The age distribution shows that most of the respondents were between 30-51 (82%). This indicates that most of the respondents who took part in the research are relatively within the productive age population.

Furthermore, the marital status indicates that an overwhelming majority of the respondents (57.5%) were married; 20% were single, while 17.5% were divorced/widowed/separated. The number of those married is not surprising since most household heads are usually married people. A substantial percentage of the respondents (60%) are adherents of the Islamic religion, as against 25% Christians. This shows that Muslims dominate the study area.

With regard to levels of education (23%) had primary school education, (43%) of the respondents had secondary education, (13%) had tertiary education while only (23%) had no formal education. The fact that most of the respondents (78%) had primary school education and above indicates that the studied area is relatively a literate society. As such, the selected respondents well understood the dynamism of terrorism in their respective communities. Also, a large proportion of the respondents (98%) had lived or had experience of the study area. The above shows that the selected respondents have a good understanding of the study and issues of terrorism.

4.2 Document Review

The secondary data collected from the various listed sources were reviewed in line with the focus of the research. Essentially, various related themes were analysed and appropriate inferences drawn, with the research questions in view. These outcomes were then compared with the findings from the direct interviews and discussions held in the course of the research, to make informed generalizations for the study.

Data Collection Strategy

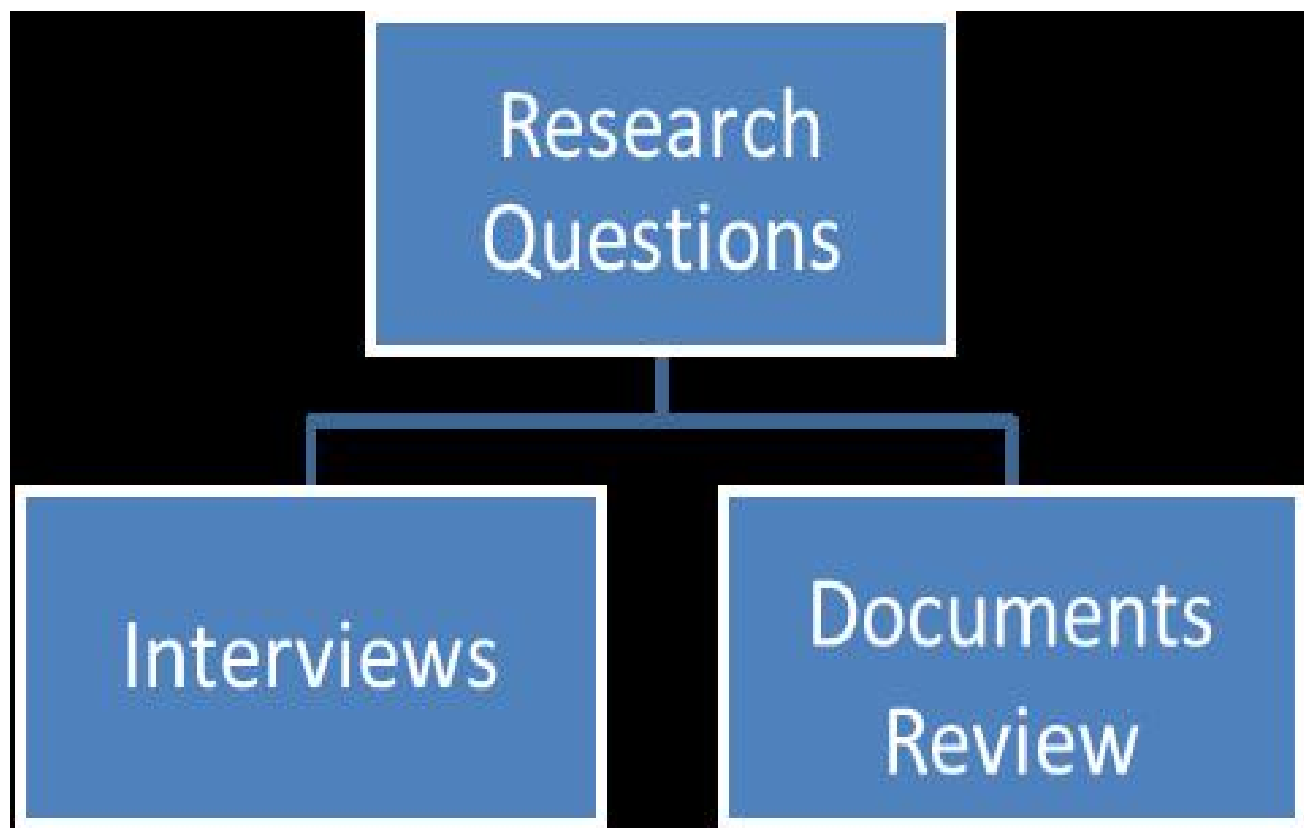


Figure: 4.1
Source: cuemath.com

4.3 Data Analysis

The main findings for this research were derived from the application of basic qualitative study to appraise the experiences of scholars, military experts and citizens who were victims of the vicious operations of the Boko- Haram terrorists in Borno State, Nigeria. The interviews conducted formed the basis of the primary data gathered. The interviews were transcribed and reviewed as a working document for coding and subsequent analysis. Furthermore, content analysis was employed to scrutinize the data collected from the field survey and prescribed documents. Content analysis involves a careful organization of the data collected in a manner that will clearly indicate the themes, contexts, patterns and their relationships. It is an iterative methodology which ultimately results in inductive and deductive processes in reaching

acceptable conclusions from the issues under consideration⁴⁷. The researcher exploited the fundamentals of data management, which involved reading and note-taking, description of the details and classifications as well as interpretations and presentation of the findings. All these processes were exemplified, keeping the research questions and the objectives of the study in clear focus.

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Objective 1: The Relationship between Security and the National Question in Nigeria

National security parameters have often been limited in interpretation by various perspectives. To many, national security is simply restricted to the preservation of sovereignty, territorial integrity and internal stability, with the main emphasis on the coercive power of the state⁴⁸. However, a broader perspective of national security entails a more comprehensive interpretation and holistic management structure for its sustenance.

In 1999, Olusegun Obasanjo, a former President of Nigeria, defined national security as the aggregation of the security interests of individuals, political entities and ethnic groups which make up a nation. The security interests include safety of lives and property, economic and freedom to pursue legitimate objectives without hinderance⁴⁹. Such a broad perspective of national security requires that the determinant of national security is not restricted to the coercive elements of state power, but to an aggregate of several factors across all aspects of national life, which constitute its comprehensive national power⁴⁹. National security also entails the protection and preservation of the minimum core values of any nation as well as political independence and territorial integrity⁵¹. Equally, national security connotes the protection of the national interests and national values, political and economic ways of life against internal and external threats and challenges⁴⁸.

In recent time, Nigeria's national security has been plagued by increasing terrorist activities and other violent crimes, some of which include the use of improvised explosive devices by criminal elements⁵⁰. Consequently, the level of insecurity in Nigeria has assumed an alarming proportion with enormous consequences on the peace and stability of the country. The country witnesses

terrorist attacks against civilians, security agents and national assets virtually across the six geopolitical zones, characterized by severe losses of lives and property as well as displacement of population⁵¹. This negative trend has aggravated the national question which deals significantly with issues of national survival. The grievous consequences of ethnic distrust, religious disharmony, political unrests and economic degradation have become intensely pronounced in Nigeria. There are turbulent issues of rotational presidency, injustice, resource control, revenue allocation, ethnic secession, nepotism amongst others, aggravated by heightened insecurity in Nigeria. These challenges severely threaten national survival and development in Nigeria as well as the overall national security. The northeastern part of Nigeria exemplifies the manifestations of the consequences of terrorism across the nation with attendant ethnic agitations and mistrust.

A participant said insecurity as resulted in the destruction of the socio-economic and political stability of the affected communities in Borno State.

This participant was emphatic on the impact of the destructive activities of Boko Haram terrorists on the people of Borno State and the North East in general. He expressed sadness and frustration over the human and material losses suffered in the region. Furthermore, he expressed sympathy for the victims of these criminal terrorist activities in the area, while also condemning the adverse effects on socio-economic and political outlook of the region in general.

{Resident of affected community 1/11/2021}

It was observed that Nigeria is presently confronted with a serious threat to its national security through the violent activities of Boko Haram terrorists across the nation, especially in northern Nigeria. The frequent news of terrorist attacks is worrisome. Terrorists attack civilians, churches, mosques, media houses, international organization such as the UN Office, security forces as well as rail and aviation transports. The proliferation of terrorist organizations and their alliances with

international terrorist networks makes the challenge of terrorism in Nigeria a very delicate phenomenon, requiring a holistic remedy to forestall further deterioration socio-economic and political structures. Nigeria's socio-economic growth is seriously threatened by the increased sophistication of the Boko Haram and other affiliated terrorist networks. No state of Nigeria is presently spared of the onslaught by terrorists. There are records of gross violations of human rights by terrorists as well as severe human and material losses across the nation.

A participant revealed that:

Boko Haram terrorist activities resulted in the destruction of farmlands and economic activities. He noted that farmers live in fear and can't go to their farms. Terrorists were said to have burnt several markets and looted items, thus wrecking various businesses. He also noted the consequent food scarcity and high prices of food and other essential items. According to the participant, there is the prevalence of diseases such as malaria, malnutrition and diarrhea among children and other vulnerable people, including aged and sick people. He also confirmed the feeling of frustration among youths, most of whom have taken to the use of illicit drugs as well as prostitution among females. These new lifestyles are considered self-imposed indulgences to cope with the effects of terrorism in the affected areas. The participant also attested to the near collapse of socio-economic activities in Borno State.

{IDP Camp 07/10/2021}

Discussions from the IDIs and KIIs showed that the security forces have been unable to deal adequately with these terrorist groups because of inadequate capacity borne out of insufficient weapons and inadequate manpower . Because of these deficiencies, they are unable to decisively deal with the terrorists and this has resulted to high level of insecurity in the country , making Nigerians and other residents vulnerable to terrorist attacks.

A participant revealed that:

Boko Haram terrorism has grossly affected Borno State and its residents, with severe economic losses worth billions of naira. It is devastating and unimaginable. Common effects include population displacements and relocations. Many non-indigenes were forced to relocate to other states, closing their investments in Borno State. Many residents too have become IDPs of various camps set up to provide relief for victims of terrorism. This has dealt a big setback to economic and social engagements in the state. In most of the IDP camps, life is still difficult for the people because of inadequate provision of essential materials and other basic items. The respondent exposed the sad reality most of the victims face in the camps. Many residents of Borno State have become helpless and criminals are consistently taking advantage to kill, loot and kidnap without regards for the sanctity of human lives.

{University professor 11/11/2021}

A security personnel also had this to say:

Most of the terrorists are unemployed people. The Boko Haram terrorists are some set of people not happy with government. Most of the politicians use the terrorists to stay in power or for political reasons. Terrorist attacks have different effects on economy, political and the social environment. It has brought poverty, insecurity and as a result the peace of the people has been disrupted. Most of the states affected by this insecurity are not making progress. E.g. north east and north west; the education calendar has been affected and most of these youths can be easily lured to criminality, and they can be easily employed by these terrorist groups. Elements of national power should be employed to fight terrorism in Nigeria. The military alone cannot eliminate terrorism. The military is more equipped than the terrorists, but military line of operation is not sufficient to eliminate terrorism in Nigeria. Other lines of operation or factors should be employed to fight or eliminate terrorism. Diplomatic factor, information factor i.e. Ministries of Information or Foreign Affairs, Finance etc. should be used. The military can never checkmate terrorism alone out of the country. Other elements of national power must play their roles with proper coordination.

{Military Gen. 11/12/2021}

The researcher was able to gather information from the IDIs and KIIs about the increased state of helplessness, frustration and sadness among the people of Borno State, because of the high level of insecurity in the state. This was exemplified by political and economic instability, suspended visits to the state by outsiders, assassinations by Boko Haram terrorists, kidnappings, rapings and forced marriages to terrorists, armed robberies, suicide bombings and relentless attacks on government and security agents. This despicable state of affairs has culminated in economic and financial difficulties, destruction of entrepreneurial ventures and pathetic increase in the level of poverty amongst the people of Borno State.

A security personnel also had this to say:

Most of the terrorists are unemployed, but some are employed and placed in different departments in various organizations. Most of their foot soldiers are unemployed people who joined for economy reasons. Some are employed but facilitate operations of the terrorists. Most of the terrorists are driven by economic and political problems, only few are based on ideology; religious induced jihad. Boko Haram terrorists want to establish their own caliphate and most of them are hypocrites. Whenever you send them packing from their camp you will find things like condom, expensive and foreign alcohols in their camp. Under this administration terrorism has thrived unlike the situation under President GoodLuck's administration. Since the death of Abubakar Shekau, Boko Haram terrorists have appeared degraded .They have some of their informants amongst the security services. People in employment are part of them. Democracy allows civil events unlike military regime. All this cannot happen under military regime. The effect of terrorism is on agriculture; most of these agricultural products come from the North East, especially from most of these affected regions. The effect is negative. The Nigerian military can handle them, but what these terrorists do is guerrilla warfare. For example, in China you can see the low level of crime because of their system of government and laws put in place. That is why you see their economy booming. Government should review the policies of terrorism, especially that of repentant terrorists.

{Military Gen. 7/12/2021}

The researcher gathered more information from the IDIs and KIIs that politicians were the sponsors of Boko Haram terrorism and associated criminal activities in Borno State⁵². It is common assertion that Boko Haram recruits who are mostly dejected and brainwashed youths, are being sponsored by northern politicians to cause instability in the country⁵². According to Economic Times, Boko Haram terrorists' violent activities have resulted in a systemic disruption of the existing economic outlook and framework in northern Nigeria⁵³. The extent of devastation caused by terrorists in the North East, through the destruction of farmlands, looting, burning of foodstuffs and domestic animals, have contributed immensely to food insecurity in the region and this could trigger famine in the region. Similarly, updates from the Famine Early Warning Systems, indicated rising food insecurity⁵⁴. Furthermore, remedial actions such as check points established by security forces, were noted to have restricted the movement of people from one point to another, coupled with increased cost of public transportation. This trend in turn, limited trading activities and created intense nutritional crises, as food insecurity remained unabated. Equally, there were reports of aggravated childhood diseases owing to persistent poor nutrition and these were mostly not remedied. In the same vein, the attendant nutritional deficiency resulting from food insecurity, is believed to have caused about 10.9% of deaths in conflict areas⁵⁶. It is generally accepted that the Boko Haram terrorism has resulted in several fatalities and worsened food and nutritional insecurity. The report also stressed the destruction of health and educational facilities, support services as well as the entrenchment of a sense of dejection and helplessness among the people of northern Nigeria.

The activities of Boko Haram terrorists have created a high rate of unemployment and equally limited the efforts of the Borno State Government at infrastructural development, causing the abandonment of many road, bridge and housing projects. Statistics revealed that, as at 2017, 57%

of all schools in Borno State could not continue to operate due to Boko Haram terrorism, thus temporarily suspending the education of about three million children in the state.⁵⁶

The researcher also collected information about the inadequacy of relief support available to the victims of terrorism. It was poorly rated by the study participants. They indicated it was inadequate and unsatisfactory. Majority of the participants expressed displeasure about the poor quality of relief materials made available at the IDP camps by government agencies. In the same vein, the participants acknowledged they preferred the quality of relief items brought by private donors to the ones from government agencies. This brings to the fore issues of corruption and misappropriation of funds released by government for the care of IDPs.

A repentant Boko Haram member also added that:

Employment and some basic benefits were reasons why most of them joined the Boko Harm terrorist group. He said that most of the repentant terrorists may rejoin the terrorist group if the Nigerian government fails to make available their basic needs. He stated that education, shelter and employment are things government promised them to desert the deadly group. He said they need shelter because most of them cannot return back to their homes or communities and employment to start a new life. He further stated that most of the foot soldiers are from Chad and few from Nigeria.

{Repentant BH 22/10/2021}

The Nigerian Government must ensure a holistic approach at countering the effects of Boko Haram terrorism. The soft and hard remedial approaches must be exploited in line with global standards. This would include battlefield initiative as well as the whole of people involvement to defeat the Boko Harm terrorists. It is for this reason that a scholar noted that national security

entails the preservation of the sovereignty of the state, the inviolability of its territorial integrity as well as the obligation of citizens to ensure collective defence against all internal and external threats to the nation. These findings from this aspect of the study confirms the assertion that activities of Boko Haram terrorists have adversely raised the level of insecurity and the quest for national dialogue, to address the underlying ethnic, religious, political and socio-economic challenges created by the menace of terrorism. It has made the national question more intense and needing urgent solutions. It is believed that a peaceful and stable nation with good governance would facilitate peaceful coexistence and national development.

Objective 2: The Modus Operandi of Terrorists to Undermine National Security

This section investigates the different activities of terrorists through a qualitative technique (In-depth interview). Based on the outcome of the study, it showed that several terrorist activities have been recorded in north east, especially Borno State, with adverse implications on the security of the communities. As a result of terrorist attacks, several lives and property were destroyed, including markets and shops, as such hoodlums use the undue advantage to loot people's property, hiding under the guise of terrorism.

The findings indicated that the terrorist attacks disrupted the running of government, destroyed institutions of government and accounted for the loss of many lives. These gruesome attacks instill fear in the people and create a heightened state of insecurity, giving undue attention to terrorists. They also raise funds by kidnapping for ransom and levying communities to guarantee their safety. This has created a state of insecurity across the nation in general and not only in the

northeastern region of the country. These terrorist activities have brought economic hardships to the extent that people cannot pay full attention to farming activities because of incessant attacks and killing of farmers across the nation.

A participant revealed that:

Borno State is in serious distress and needs urgent help to ensure that Boko Haram terrorists are completely defeated. However, concerning current events, the capacity of the Nigerian security forces is inadequate. This means urgent action has to be taken to improve, otherwise, the activities of Boko Haram will continue to trouble the peace and prosperity of Borno State. The violent actions of the terrorists have also strained the once cordial relationship among Christians and Muslims. Similarly, Boko Haram terrorists have crippled the socio-economic and political outlook of the state. They destroyed relevant infrastructure and make life difficult for citizens. Adequate welfare and security are lacking and many citizens have become increasingly frustrated. You hear of kidnappings, robberies and criminality frequently, forcing many people to relocate to other more peaceful states. He stated that peace may not return to Borno State and other parts of the country unless Boko Haram terrorists and other criminal elements are defeated. He indicated that military option alone may not end terrorism in Nigeria. Finally, he recommended community policing to improve the current security situation in Nigeria.

{Police Commander. 2/12/2021}

Another participant had this to say:

Most of the terrorists work on ideology; they don't operate on their own; they look for people to implement this ideology and they recruit their foot soldiers. Terrorism is used to achieve political goals and this is the situation in Nigeria. Most of the politicians use terrorists to attain power. Democracy has enabled terrorism to grow stronger in Nigeria. Democracy is good but if the type of democracy practiced abroad is retained in Nigeria, then there is problem. Democracy should be domesticated. Democracy is good but if not well managed it has a way of being used against the peace of the nation. The effect of terrorism on political, economic and social activities has led to lack of progress, making the nation unstable. This has given rise to poverty and when there is a poverty, people stand up against the government. It is one of the reasons you see security

agents everywhere. Military alone cannot end terrorism. There is need for more involvement of citizens, if not terrorism will not leave Nigeria. There should be effective national security policy and national security strategy for countering terrorism in Nigeria. The counter terrorism strategy in Nigeria is not yet fully implemented, though, the strategy in place is very rich.

{Military Gen. 2/11/2021}

The opinions of the study participants agree with the view that terrorism destroys inter-communal confidence and cohesion as well as liquidates the pool of social capital. This clearly constitutes an inhibition of the needed ingredients for the establishment of peaceful and harmonious societies as well as attempts at harnessing efforts for sustainable development¹¹.

One of the respondents had this to say:

Boko Haram terrorist group make use of stones, machetes, knives, sophisticated and high-calibre weapons, improvised explosive devices, landmines, guns mounted on pickup trucks, armoured vehicles and motorcycles to perpetrate killings. In Nigeria, Boko Haram deliberately kill civilians in attacks throughout the northeastern States of Borno Adamawa and Yobe. Many reports confirmed that Boko Haram terrorists killed many civilians during attacks on Askira Uba, Baga, Bama, Damasak, Gombi, Gwoza, Kwajafa, Madagali, Maiduguri, Michika and Mubi. The terrorists mostly send death threats to communities, calling for support and inviting youths to participate in the work of Allah. They killed all those adults that turned down their invitation. There were cases of brutally murdered bodies of victims being displaced publicly. The terrorists either shot or hacked many of them to death. Others were hanged or stoned to death in a very gory manner. The Boko Haram recruitment strategy involves abduction and indoctrination of youths. The young men become foot soldiers after indoctrination while the girls are sexually exploited, some forced into marriages to terrorists, while others are used as labour force to carry out chores. Many victims of Boko Haram terrorism have disappeared in this manner, without any hope of reuniting with their families. Various human rights abuses characterize the activities of Boko Haram terrorists in all the affected areas. They beat and torture their victims and even adopt forceful conversion to Islam,

propagating their wicked ideology. These wicked terrorists have continued to carry out inhuman treatments of their victims in communities controlled by them. These inhuman treatments have forced many people to abandon their communities and relocate to IDP camps to seek refuge.

{IDP Camp Director 14/11/2021}

Another respondent confirmed to the researcher the various incidents of forced marriages by the Boko Haram terrorists. It was reported that the terrorists killed the men in most of the communities and thereafter forcefully married the women. The forced marriages were conducted by the terrorist Imam. Additionally, the younger girls were usually recruited into forced labour, to do domestic chores for the terrorists in their respective camps. Equally there were reports of sad experiences of young girls giving birth and others having pregnancy miscarriages in very appalling conditions.

According to reports received during numerous interviews conducted by the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) in Nigeria, many women died during childbirth, while others abandoned their newborn babies as they fled from Boko Haram attacks on Baga, Gwoza and Michika. Equally, several women who were previously held in captivity by the terrorists recounted the same experiences, giving credence to the report of brutality by Boko Haram terrorists. A woman rescued from Sambisa Forest narrated her ordeal to OHCHR, which included witnessing 10 childbirths while in captivity. There were also reports of many babies that died while the women trekked long distances in the Sambisa Forest. Sadly, most of the dead babies didn't get proper burial, as the women fled for their lives during Boko Haram terrorist attacks.

A security personnel also had this to say:

The Boko Haram terrorist group has recruited most of the boys and girls for active terrorist activities. Some boys were forced by the terrorists to attack their own families as a mark of loyalty to the sect. Similarly, girls were forced to marry terrorists, clean, cook and carry equipment and weapons. The terrorists also use many boys and girls as human shields and to detonate explosives. The vicious group has maintained this evil trend since 2014. In May 2015, for instance, a 12-year-old girl was used to detonate an explosive device at a bus station in Damaturu, Yobe State, killing seven people. Also during Boko Haram terrorist attacks, abducted young recruits were used to expose those who refused to join the group, as well as unmarried women and girls in affected communities. Boko Haram terrorists destroyed socio-economic infrastructure in most communities recaptured by military forces. Victims consistently recounted that Boko Haram terrorists systematically destroyed and looted homes during their attacks. These evil acts were widespread and part of the group's strategy to dominate territories and to prevent escapees from returning home.

{Military Personnel 2/11/2021}

A police officer interviewed revealed that;

The North East has poor educational system than the south. Poverty and lack of education makes it easy for the rise of terrorism in Nigeria, especially for Boko Haram terrorist recruitment in the affected regions. Most of the parents give out their children to become al-majiris i.e. children educated in Islamic seminaries and the Boko Haram recruits mostly from them. These students are mostly beggars on the streets. In return, the cleric or religious leader supports them with food, shelter, and religious education. This is the origin of the false narrative that Western Education is Forbidden. Northern Nigeria is backward, and that the north's Sharia Law is not effective. The leader of the deadly sect, Mohammad Yusuf, was also al-majiri. Boko Haram terrorists target al-majiris for their recruitment, because they are ready tools prepared by the clerics. University students were also recruited after being brainwashed by Mohammad Yusuf's sermons condemning Western education. Many tore their certificates and joined the deadly terrorist group. They complained about high unemployment in the North East. Yusuf combined his ideology with promises of a better life hereafter. Many graduates destroyed their certificates or left school. Among the people who

destroyed their certificates were the Yobe State Governor's nephew, the Borno State's Secretary's son, and five sons of a successful businessman in the region. Most of those who joined the sect were either brainwashed or abducted.

{Police Officer 12/11/2021}

The findings from the field survey supports the views that Boko Haram terrorism was developed with a substantial number of adherents from the North East Region of Nigeria. Its membership grew from dejected youths to other wealthy and educated adherents of the strange ideology. It was evident from the interviews and discussions that most of the former members of the deadly sect are known by the people in the various communities. They deserted the group when it began to operate violently against innocent civilians. In the same vein, those sympathetic to the cause of the terrorist group are also well known in the society. According to a military personnel and two scholars from the north who interacted with the researcher, many members of the Boko Haram terrorist group and their sympathizers lived within the same communities and were quite familiar with themselves prior to their recruitment.

It could be concluded therefore, that support for Boko Haram terrorism is not restricted to the poor, uneducated people in the North East, but also includes educated and wealthy recruits. This negates the popular notion that lack of education is responsible for Boko Haram terrorism in northern Nigeria.

Objective 3: The Impact of Terrorism on National Security in Nigeria

The effect of terrorism on national security is obvious on political, economy and social engagements in Nigeria. The Nigerian government is doing everything to fight terrorism and has adopted different approaches in that respect. The Boko Haram terrorism has affected the northern

parts of Nigeria, especially within the North East Region, which has a higher spread of Muslim population than the southern parts of Nigeria. Borno State has been most impacted by the Boko Haram terrorism, recording about 30,000 deaths from July 2011 to date, while Adamawa State has witnessed about 4,000 deaths.

Several fatalities resulting from the violent activities of Boko Haram terrorists have been reported across the North East of Nigeria. For instance, on 27 July 2019, about ten years after the establishment of the deadly sect, 65 people were murdered at Maiduguri. Equally, on 10 February 2020, Boko Haram terrorists brutally burnt about 30 people to death while sleeping in their vehicles at Auno, enroute Maiduguri. The activities of deadly terrorist groups continue till date and extends to other parts of the country, in the form of banditry, kidnapping and unknown gun men. The Federal Government of Nigeria recently declared bandits as terrorists, in view of their nefarious and gruesome activities across the North West and North Central states as well as other parts of southern Nigeria.

In response to the different effects of terrorist attacks in Borno State, a community member explained that:

The different terrorist attacks have psychological impact on the people. It has affected societies and caused collective trauma on residents. Boko Haram terrorists mostly use dangerous weapons to commit heinous crimes. They kill, maim, rape and infringe continually on people's fundamental rights. In some instances, they loot and extort funds from innocent citizens. They are a very heartless bunch of people. They have destroyed economic activities and education of our children. We are eagerly praying for an end to their activities in our communities.

{Community Resident 18/11/2021}

A security personnel also explained further that:

Boko Haram terrorists have caused serious devastation to socio-economic activities in the North East. They killed farmers, destroyed markets and raided residential homes at will, killing, kidnapping and looting people's property. Even churches, schools and mosques were not spared. The terrorists have restricted movement of residents by destroying bridges and other social infrastructure. They equally kidnap young people and indoctrinate them into joining their terrorist group through their religious ideology. It was a traumatic experience for the victims of these vicious terrorist attacks.

{Military Personnel 2/12/2021}

In line with the above, it was reported that most villages were destroyed by terrorist attacks in December 2014. The extent of the devastation was corroborated by returnee victims who had fled the violent terrorist attacks. Many of the returnees recounted how the Boko Haram terrorists raided their houses and confiscated their money, food and property. Some of the terrorists even took over people's homes in many instances reported⁵⁷. For example, in Mabas, Maxi, and Tourou (Cameroon), Lamana and Ngoumao (Niger) and Baga (Nigeria), thousands of residents were made homeless and as such, fled overnight because of Boko Haram terrorist attacks. According to reports from the International Organization for Migration (IOM), 40 per cent of registered internally displaced persons in northeastern Nigeria acknowledged the complete destruction of their houses by Boko Haram terrorists, while 26 per cent reported partial damage to their homes, and other 21 per cent could not ascertain the state of their homes⁵⁷.

A police officer interviewed revealed that;

The state has the responsibility to protect the right to life of individuals within their jurisdiction from attacks by terrorist groups. Such an obligation involves the emplacement of adequate measures to safeguard the lives of citizens from attacks, investigation of human rights violations as well as infringements of international humanitarian laws. Furthermore, investigations must be done thoroughly and independently and those found culpable should be prosecuted. The state also needs to provide adequate and effective counter-measures to curb the recurrence of rights abuses. He expounded the provisions of Article 4 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights "which provides for the possibility for states to adjust temporarily certain obligations under the treaty in time of public emergency which threatens the life of the nation, provided a number of conditions are met, in particular that measures are limited to the extent strictly required by the exigencies of the situation, that adequate safeguards are in place to protect against arbitrary and disproportionate interference with human rights, and that procedural safeguards are never limited in a manner that would circumvent the protection of non-derogable rights." In this regard, he admonished the state to develop strategies to prevent terrorism attacks within their areas of jurisdiction.

{Police Officer 12/11/2021}

The findings from this aspect of the study also confirm widespread atrocities by the Boko Haram terrorists. The activities of the terrorists are characterized by gross human rights violations and serious breaches of the international humanitarian laws. The resultant loss of lives and property as well as the devastating effects on socio-economic and political engagements in Borno State in particular, are colossal. This trend of Boko Haram terrorists' violent activities has severe implications for national security in Nigeria. It is imperative therefore that urgent remedial actions are taken by the government to safeguard lives and property, while also providing needed succour to the victims of terrorism across the country.

Objective 4: Challenges and Prospects in Combating Terrorism for Enhanced National Security in Nigeria

This section looks at the different challenges and prospects in combating terrorism in Nigeria and the impact on national security, through a qualitative technique (In-depth interview). A major challenge in the fight against terrorism in Nigeria is the need to identify and prevent the sources of terrorist funding. There are various joint initiatives in this respect between Nigeria and other partners at the sub-regional, regional and global levels, though much collaborative efforts are still necessary, to completely incapacitate the ravaging terrorists. The Boko Haram terrorist group and other affiliates utilize their strong financial base to sustain their nefarious activities, including the recruitment of vulnerable citizens into their fold. Information elicited from respondents in this respect, confirmed the efforts of the state and non-state actors to identify and block the sources and channels of terrorist funding.

In an Interview with a Military General, he said that:

Countering terrorist financing is a difficult task. Most of the stakeholders and actors are increasingly being faced with several challenges in the fight against terrorism, in particular, identifying and blocking the sources of terrorism funding. This is the reality despite various institutional, legislative, and policy engagements. The National Counter-Terrorism Strategy (NACTEST) is yet to make any meaningful impact at addressing the threats of terrorism and terrorist financing. This is evident considering the sustained violent activities of Boko Haram terrorists and other radical jihadist groups across the nation.

{Military Gen. 2/11/2021}

A key informant also supported this line of argument that:

The menace of Boko Haram terrorism in Borno State was aggravated by the restriction of movement by the government, along Maiduguri-Dikwa, Gamboru Ngala and Damboa Axis. The action virtually emboldened the Boko Haram terrorists who completely gained control of the route and continued to unleash terror on passengers.

{Civilian Joint Taskforce in Maiduguri 22/11/2021}

Interview with a Senior Research Fellow on Counter- terrorism:

It is a serious matter to counter Boko Haram terrorist financing. Emphasis must shift to practical implementation of the policies already put in place for that purpose. All hands must be on deck to ensure that government succeeds in the fight against terrorism in Nigeria. There is so much written down about countering terrorist funding but with little implementation. The scenario has to change for the better to be able to cripple terrorist financing. The collaborations at the sub-regional and regional levels must be practically oriented.

{ Senior Research Fellow 2/11/2021}

A respondent stated during the interview that:

Inter-agency cooperation is very instrumental to a successful fight against terrorism in Nigeria. Outright negligence and lack of cooperation among security agencies are major challenges to deal with. The agencies also need to build more capacities to be able to effectively contend with the terrorists. Government must be proactive in this regard, to ensure that security forces are well equipped to defeat the terrorists across Nigeria. They must deploy in great overwhelming strength to completely subdue the Boko Haram terrorists and other criminals troubling Nigeria. Security agencies need to be well coordinated and use modern techniques in their operations against terrorists' operations and funding.

{Assoc. Professor of Political Science, 12/12/2021}

The various contributions by respondents were buttressed by the assertions of the United Nations Security Council on the challenges of tracing and blocking terrorist financing. They maintained that the Boko Haram terrorists mostly rely on informal sources of funding. Such informal sources include illegal activities like smuggling, collection of levies from communities, looting and armed robbery, kidnapping for ransom as well as wilful contributions by members. These sources of terrorist financing and their delivery channels are difficult to track by the relevant agencies and institutions established for that purpose⁵⁷.

Another respondent stated during the interview that:

It is difficult to track the informal sources of financing utilized by Boko Haram terrorists because of the absence of relevant intelligence. Sophisticated techniques are required to track terrorists through their mobile phones or other sources of communication. Government must exploit the use of modern technology in this respect to continually monitor the activities of these terrorist groups, including their financing. Good intelligence gathering techniques will help identify the sponsors of terrorism, most of whom could be influential people in the society.

{Affected Community Resident 2/11/2021}

Interview with a Military Lawyer who stated that:

The nation requires an effective counter-terrorism strategy to fully address the issue of terrorism in Nigeria. Efforts must be made to prosecute all those arrested in connection with terrorism, to serve as a deterrence to other people. The idea of repentant terrorists should be taken carefully. Most of such repentant terrorists may not be sincere. Government must enhance the capacities of security agencies to effectively take on the Boko Haram and other terrorist groups in Nigeria. Needful too to address the underlying challenges such as poverty, unemployment and the dangerous issue of negative ideology. Religious preachings must be regulated to prevent undue indoctrination of ignorant citizens.

{Military Lawyer 2/11/2021}

A respondent stated during the interview that:

Every Nigerian must be involved in the fight against terrorism. The nation cannot make meaningful progress if citizens continue to collude with terrorists to undermine national security. A holistic counter-terrorism approach is necessary to win the fight against Boko Haram and other terrorist groups operating in Nigeria.

{Professor of Engineering 5/12/2021

Another respondent stated during the interview that:

It is important that government identifies the root causes of terrorism with a view to addressing them. The deployment of security forces alone cannot solve the problems of terrorism in Nigeria. The underlying threats of negative Islamic ideology and other socio-economic issues must be thoroughly remedied. It calls for regulation of religious sermons to ensure that only the correct interpretations are given to the adherents. Government needs to address the problems of hunger, unemployment, drug addiction, smuggling and poverty in general.

(Conflict Resolution Researcher 11/12/2021).

A politician has this to say:

It is obvious that our security forces need more capacity to defeat the terrorists. Government must do all it takes to fully equip the security forces to effectively deal with the Boko Haram and other terrorist groups. It is also necessary for government to address the political and socio-economic issues that promote terrorism in Nigeria. Government must show the political will to arrest and prosecute the sponsors of terrorism and their foot soldiers.

(Politician in Maiduguri 11/12/2021)

The findings from this aspect of the study clearly indicates the inadequacies in the capacities of the security forces and other relevant agencies in Nigeria. Access to modern technology and techniques would certainly make a difference in favour of the security forces and relevant agencies. There is the need for effective intelligence gathering techniques to be able to track terrorists' financing and their sponsors as well as effectively policing the various porous borders and ungoverned spaces. The Boko Haram and other terrorist groups have become increasingly sophisticated in their operational involvements. In this regard, the Nigerian security forces require adequate manpower and equipment to overwhelmingly defeat the terrorists. Similarly, the various political, ideological, religious and socio-economic challenges need to be urgently addressed by the Nigerian Government.

Objective 5: Strategies for Improving National Security in Nigeria

The level of insecurity in Nigeria has become alarming and disturbing to both government and citizens. To remedy this trend of insecurity, it is pertinent to examine the possible causes with a view to finding lasting solutions to improve national security. The study identified different strategies of improving national security in Nigeria through in-depth interviews (ID). The focus was to examine the contributions of government and the various stakeholders towards the improvement of national security in Nigeria.

A military personnel explained that:

The Nigerian National Security Strategy relies on sectoral strategies and the sectoral documents are derived for the Grand Strategy and the National Security Strategy. They are developed as responses to the identified threats to Nigeria's national interests. Some of these strategies are fully articulated, including the

National Defense Policy, the National Counter Terrorism Strategy, and the National Policy on Public Safety and Security. All these strategies are meant to counter insecurity in Nigeria and improve national security.

{Military General 2/11/2021}

The comment of the above interviewee buttressed the complexities of the Nigerian security environment. It therefore calls for an effective counter-terrorism strategy to remedy the challenges of terrorism and ultimately improve national security in Nigeria. It requires efficient coordination and cooperation among all the security agencies.

Another participant added that:

The different instruments for implementing national security in Nigeria comprises of the Joint Intelligence Board which has both advisory and executive functions. It provides the President with advice, reports and current assessments of all matters affecting the security of Nigeria; formulating general security policies and procedures; reviewing current issues of national security; and acting promptly to deal with subversion and unrest, after due consultation with the President. The Department of State Services (DSS), Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) and National Intelligence Agency (NIA) are specialized agencies for the collection of intelligence and the provision of security services. The DSS provides internal security, The NIA provides external intelligence and DIA provides defense intelligence and security. The Armed Forces, Police and paramilitary groups carry out specialized tasks to improve national security.

{Military Intelligence Officer 12/12/2021}

A respondent said that:

All the national security policymakers work with key officers and appropriate committees of both chambers, especially in cases where secrecy is necessary. A lot needs to be done to strengthen transparency and accountability in terms of security matters. The government is continuously refining means in the implementation phase so that security strategies can achieve their desired objectives.

(Interview with Politician 18/12/2021).

The government is continuously contending with the dynamism of the Boko Haram terrorists, ISWAP and other terrorist organizations operating in Nigeria. Terrorists seem to change tactics frequently to circumvent the initiatives of the security forces. This was corroborated in a 2017 North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) Review. The trend necessitates the evolution of improved strategies to contend with the menace of terrorism in Nigeria. There is the need to constantly review the various security strategies in place in Nigeria, to seize the initiative from the terrorists.

Another respondent opined that:

The fight against terrorism in Nigeria must be holistic, involving all law abiding citizens. Terrorists rely on popular support from the populace to sustain their operations. Efforts must be tailored towards cutting that support. The overwhelming majority of the people must team up with the government and security agencies to defeat the Boko Haram and other terrorist groups tormenting Nigeria. All of population approach is key in the fight against terrorism. People must renounce their dangerous ideology and provide useful information to government agencies about the activities of terrorists. Government must identify and dissuade all the sponsors of terrorism as well as other sympathizers and collaborators.

(Interview with a Researcher 11/12/2021)

4.4. Discussion of Major Findings

The Nigerian counter-terrorism operations have increased due to the increasing activities of diverse terrorist groups, making the country one of the most impacted countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. As a result of this, the national question arises because of the impact of terrorism on political, economy and social well being of the country. The significant findings align with the study objectives and several works of literature reviewed as well as the theoretical framework.

The study revealed that the impact of terrorism in Nigeria has abated relatively, likely as a result of factional splits within Boko Haram and other terrorist groups. The lull strategy has been adopted severally by terrorists to deceive security forces in Nigeria. They usually return stronger with new strategies and deadly consequences. Therefore, security forces and other agencies must be dynamic in the fight against terrorism. It requires constant review and improvement of counter-terrorism strategies in place.

The findings from this study identified the specific functions of different stakeholders at ensuring that peace and stability are entrenched in Nigeria through effective counter-terrorism strategies. It identified the impact of terrorism as well as the various challenges of countering the menace. From the findings of the study it is obvious that poverty among other factors is the reason for increased terrorist activities in Nigeria. This agrees with the work of another researcher that argued that conflict and criminality are functions of poverty of the working class in a capitalist-oriented society⁵⁸.

The high level of insecurity prevalent in Nigeria as a result of terrorism gave rise to the national question. This took the form of political, ethnic and religious agitations. There have been calls

for the introduction of a new constitution for Nigeria which would better guarantee equity, justice and fairness among the various ethnic groups, as against the inadequacies of the 1999 Constitution. The issues of devolution of power to the states, state police, revenue allocation and the recent clamour for self-determination and rotational presidency among others have become contentious in recent time.

Boko Haram and other splinter terrorist groups undermine national security in Nigeria through gruesome destruction of lives and property. Terrorists levy communities to raise funds for their nefarious activities. They equally kidnap for ransom, loot and abduct citizens to instill fear in the populace and gain undue attention. The northeastern States of Borno, Adamawa and Yobe are worst hit by the menace of Boko Haram terrorism, though in recent time, other states of the federation had experienced major terror incidents perpetrated by marauding Boko Haram elements.

The impacts of terrorism on Nigeria's national security are political, social and economic in nature. They range from political upheavals to severe disruptions in the socio-economic structure of the nation. Most farming communities now live in fear of being killed, resulting in food insecurity and high prices of foodstuff. Many citizens have been killed, families disintegrated and children out of school because of terrorist attacks. Also, many citizens are now IDPs with little hope of returning to normal routines in their communities. Boko Haram terrorists have destroyed basic infrastructure in most communities, making life unbearable for the people.

The efforts of the Nigerian Government at combating Boko Haram terrorists have been limited by several challenges. These challenges include inadequate capacity by security agencies to deal with the menace as well as lack of political will by the government. Consequently, there is

mutual distrust amongst the major ethnic groups and general feeling of discontent among the populace regarding the insincerity of the Federal Government to deal decisively with the terrorists. There is also the difficulty of tracking terrorist financing and sponsors. The spread of false religious and ideological narratives are equally posing a serious threat to national security in Nigeria.

It is widely believed that the use of the military and other security agencies alone in the fight against terrorism would not give the desired results. Little wonder the menace of terrorism has lingered for years despite heavy military deployments and operations across the country. It is expedient for the military and other security agencies to build better capacity through the use of modern technologies and enhanced manpower to decisively degrade the terrorists. The Federal Government is also expected to show more sincerity and political will in getting rid of the terrorists in Nigeria while also promptly addressing the issues of poverty, hunger and unemployment that are currently prevalent in the country. The fight against terrorism should be the responsibility of every law abiding citizen of Nigeria, signifying all of population approach as a more effective counter-terrorism strategy.

It is imperative that government encourages the support and cooperation of all law abiding citizens in the collective fight against terrorism. Efforts must be geared towards cutting off the sources of terrorists' financing and isolating the terrorists. The government needs to identify and dissuade sponsors of terrorism, sympathizers and other collaborators. It is necessary also to identify the underlying political, ideological, religious and socio-economic issues that promote terrorism, with a view to providing effective remedies. Equally, unproductive ideologies and religious teachings must be regulated to stem cases of indoctrination of citizens. Government

must promote counter narratives to hinder further spread of Boko Haram and other false ideologies and sermons misleading various citizens. It is evident that military options alone, without addressing other root causes, would not decisively defeat terrorism in Nigeria.

4.5 The Impact of Boko Haram Terrorism in Northeastern Nigeria

Different studies have discussed the causes and impact of Boko Haram terrorism on the people of northeastern Nigeria. Similarly, some scholars have gone the extra mile to carry out their studies in Borno State, to interrogate the live experiences of selected respondents. A scholar referred to the group's activities as a religious uprising in Northern Nigeria. It was further averred by another scholar that the sophistication and military capability of the Boko Haram terrorist group, make their violent activities clearly distinct from normal religious riots in Northern Nigeria¹. It was asserted that the deadly terrorist group had ulterior motives deeply rooted in political and religious objectives of islamization of Nigeria as well as undermining the authority of the Nigerian Government².

The violent activities of the Boko Haram terrorist group since its establishment in 2009, have brought severe hardship to the people of Northeastern Nigeria till date. Details of fatalities in northern Nigeria occasioned by the deadly activities of the sect revealed about 35,000 deaths from 2009- 2022³. Similarly, according to the UNHCR, over 3.2 million people were internally displaced in Nigeria by the Boko Haram terrorism as at April 2022⁵. Similar reports from the Borno State Government indicated that 2,246 classrooms have been destroyed while about 512 public schools were attacked by the Boko Haram terrorist group in Borno State between 2009 and 2021. It is envisaged that the figures could rise in the face of unabated terrorists attacks in Nigeria⁶. In the same vein, as at March 2022, UNICEF reported that about 18.5 million children

are currently out of school due to the activities of Boko Haram terrorists and other criminal elements in northern Nigeria⁷.

According to the BBC, targeted attacks by the Boko Haram terrorists led to the killing of several people in Nigeria progressively from the onset of their vicious activities. For instance, about 200 worshippers were killed in 2014, when the terrorist group attacked the Central Mosque in Kano. Equally, the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office attributed over 4000 deaths and 900 people kidnapped in Nigeria to the brutal activities of Boko Haram terrorist group in 2014⁸.

The northeastern part of Nigeria has incurred huge economic losses to the tune of about USD 9 billion due to the activities of the Boko Haram terrorists as at 2017. Borno State was reported to have been most impacted economically, as its estimated loss was about USD 5.9 billion out of the total estimates for northern Nigeria. Further devastations occasioned by terrorist activities include about USD 3.5 billion losses in agricultural products in the North East of Nigeria. Similarly, other critical infrastructure were also destroyed by terrorists, including about 450,000 houses, 95 per cent of which were in Borno State⁸.

Notwithstanding the ongoing military operations against terrorists across Nigeria, loss of lives and property as well as socio-economic, religious and political setbacks have continued unabated⁹. There are several reports of more displacements of population in Maiduguri and other parts of northern Nigeria, attributed to the onslaught by terrorists, mostly Boko Haram terrorists and those of ISWAP¹⁰. Sadly, this ugly trend has extended up to the North West, North Central regions and the southern parts of Nigeria. There is therefore the urgent need for the Nigerian Government to reappraise its counter-terrorism strategies with a view to checkmating the seeming boldness and relentless vicious attacks by terrorists across the nation.

4.6 Armed Herdsmen and Insecurity in Nigeria

In Nigeria in recent time, armed herdsmen have unleashed terror on several communities in the Middle-Belt region of Nigeria. Their violent activities have extended to Plateau, Benue, Taraba, Niger, Plateau, Nasarawa and Southern Kaduna States as well as to the southern parts of Nigeria. The spate of vicious attacks by these armed herdsmen have equally been of grave concern, resulting in ethnic and political tension across the nation. In 2013, a group of armed herdsmen further migrated from the Middle-Belt region to the Eastern and Southern parts of Nigeria, wrecking havoc on farming communities. Some researchers refer to the menace as Farmers/Herders conflicts, involving mainly a struggle for land and pasture¹¹. Of recent, the armed herders have become increasingly violent and their activities have accounted for various deaths, rapes, kidnappings as well as the destruction of farmlands and other property belonging to community members. The violent actions of these armed herdsmen bear resemblance to those of Boko Haram and other terrorist groups operating across the nation. Evidently, the violent actions of armed herdsmen constitute a serious threat to national security, in terms of the

resultant loss of lives, property and battered national image as well as funds meant to cater for the numerous people displaced from their communities by these criminal elements, which could have been utilized for other developmental purposes¹².

Several human fatalities have been linked to the deadly attacks perpetrated by armed Fulani herdsmen in Nigeria¹³. The 2015 Global Terrorism Index (GTI) ranked armed herdsmen as the fourth deadliest militant group in the world. Credible reports indicated that about 5,275 were killed by this vicious armed group between 2015 and 2018¹⁴. Additionally, the International Crises Group (ICG) indicated that in 2016, about 62,000 people were displaced from their communities in Benue, Plateau and Kaduna States, by violent Fulani herdsmen¹⁵. According to estimates from the Global Terrorism Index 2019 on the impact of terrorism, human fatalities from terrorism in Nigeria was 2,040 in 2018, signifying an increase of 33 per cent. Terror-related incidents increased from 411 in 2017 to 562 in 2018. The escalation was attributed to increased violence by armed Fulani herdsmen across Nigeria. Violent clashes between armed herdersmen and farmers heightened in 2018, with about 300,000 people displaced from their communities. The Boko Haram terrorist group and armed Fulani herdsmen are responsible for about 78 per cent of terror-related incidents as well as 86 per cent of human fatalities¹⁶. Similarly, in another report, over 7000 people were killed between 2018 and 2019 due to the vicious activities of Boko Haram terrorists and Fulani herdsmen¹⁷. The spate of violent activities by Fulani herdsmen poses a serious threat to national unity and consequently, national security in Nigeria¹⁸.

Many eminent personalities and opinion leaders have continually appealed for peace in Nigeria. There have been strong voices against the seeming ineptitude of the government to stem the tide of criminality across Nigeria¹⁹. Violent attacks by Fulani herdsmen and other terrorists against civilians affect both dominant religions in Nigeria. The danger of reprisal attacks is severe in Nigeria with the apprehension that it could spark ethnic or religious uprising in the country²⁰. The situation calls for restraint by all the stakeholders, while the government continues to explore ways of restoring peace and tranquility to Nigeria. The lack of political will and seeming insincerity by the government has created much apprehension among the people²¹. This feeling of mistrust is commonly witnessed in the southern part of Nigeria, where majority of the people insinuate an ethnic and religious agenda by the northern leaders against the rest of the country²². This has aggravated the national question, especially with the ongoing secession agitations by the Yoruba and the Biafra nations in Nigeria. The current political tension as a result of heightened insecurity, is a serious threat to the survival of Nigeria.

4.7 Activities of the Indigenous People of Biafra

The Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) is a group that operates in the southeastern part of Nigeria, seeking the establishment of the Republic of Biafra. It would be recalled that a similar agitation led to the Nigerian Civil War from 1967-1970, which resulted in massive destruction of lives and property. It is a strong commitment of government to protect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Nigeria, hence it is not favourably disposed to any agitation of secession by any ethnic group. In recent time, following the increasing level of insecurity and perceived injustice and marginalization, some ethnic groups have continually agitated for self-determination, to form separate republics, like the Republic of Biafra²³. Such relentless agitation

by aggrieved ethnic nationalities, like the Igbos of southeastern Nigeria, is a consequence of the national question occasioned by terror-induced heightened insecurity across the nation.

The violent activities of IPOB and their recently created para-military wing, the Eastern Security Network (ESN) necessitated military deployments, complemented by other security agencies, in the southeastern states of Nigeria. The ongoing initiative is to restore peace and stability to the region. The crises which started at Orlu, a town in Imo State, in January 2021 and became known as Orlu Crises, witnessed brutal engagements between the security forces and IPOB/ESN. The conflict has since escalated in the South East of Nigeria, with the brutal murder of several innocent citizens, kidnappings and destruction of property²⁴.

On 19 February 2021, IPOB declared its resolve to continually engage security forces for obstructing their self-determination agenda²⁵. In this regard, IPOB and other collaborators have consistently operated to undermine national security in Nigeria. Credible reports by the Federal Government have attributed the death of about 175 security agents to the violent activities of IPOB in the southeastern part of Nigeria. In response, IPOB has maintained that their objective is to defend the southeastern part of the nation against the violent actions of armed Fulani herdsmen and other terrorist groups terrorizing the region²⁶. IPOB's leader, Nnamdi Kanu, was prosecuted by the government for various offences following his arrest in Kenya and repatriation to Nigeria in June 2021, though discharged and acquitted in October 2022 by the Court of Appeal, Abuja.

4.8 Socio-Economic Impact of Terrorism

The high level of insecurity in Nigeria owing to terrorism has contributed to low quality of life, population displacements and unwarranted deaths in most instances. According to UNICEF, over

1.5 million people were displaced due to the violence of terrorists in 2015, thus aggravating mass migration, forced labour and sexual exploitation. A large population of Nigeria affected by terrorism have had their businesses disrupted, property and equipment damaged and in some instances, outright relocation of businesses. Poverty is more pronounced as a result of terrorists activities in Nigeria, thus indicating the need for the creation of employment opportunities by government.²⁷ Terrorism has also adversely affected the tourism sector in Nigeria. The tourism sector which previously generated about 80 billion naira annually has been stagnated by the effects of terrorism. For instance, the Yankari Games Reserve, Argungu Fishing Festival, Tomb of Usman Dan Fodio and Mambila Plateau, which hitherto attracted local and foreign tourists, have been less patronized in recent time.

In the same vein, the northern economic infrastructure has been destroyed, as a substantial number of foreign and local contractors have abandoned sites and relocated because of insecurity. The trend constitutes a real setback on the once booming economy of the northern region. In Borno State, the main occupation, which is fish, crop and animal farming has been severely affected by terrorism. The people have abandoned their farmlands for fear of being killed by terrorists. This has led to increases in the cost of farm products, a condition that has further impoverished the populace and disrupted free flow of goods and services in the region as well as inter-state and international agricultural trade. For example, in the northeastern markets, the price of cereal had increased by 74-120 percent in January 2017 when compared with the previous two years.²⁸

The menace of terrorism has also drastically reduced the access to proper healthcare services. The high level of insecurity in the affected areas of the northeastern states has led to the

relocation of many medical personnel who hitherto provided medical care to the populace. Similarly, many medical facilities have been destroyed by terrorists, a situation that has left the ailing populace more vulnerable. The World Health Organization reported in 2017 that two third of the 749 health facilities in Borno State were no longer functional as a result of terrorists activities.

The economic impact of terrorism on the national security of Nigeria is an obvious thing for every scholar, researcher and even residents of the states. Aside from creating an ambiance of displacement, many economic activities in Yobe, Plateau, Adamawa, and Maiduguri have been permanently crippled with little hope of restoration. The lack of a market system for setting the value or compensation for victims of terrorism or violence makes calculating the cost of terrorism challenging. According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 2019, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) losses to terrorism in Nigeria for the period of 10 years was conservatively estimated at USD 565 billion. The effect of terrorism on growth, investment and tourism poses a threat to economic development and prosperity in Nigeria. Budgetary allocations meant for developmental purposes are often utilized to provide relief and other measures to safeguard lives and property of citizens.

Moreover, terrorist activities have increased the negative perception among potential investors, leading to a decline in the Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) of the country. For example, in the Second Quarter of 2021, Nigeria's FDI fell to 77.97 million USD. This represents a steep drop of 49.6 percent and 47.5 percent, respectively, from the previous quarter's 154.76 million USD and Second Quarter 2020's 148.59 million USD²⁹. Although, Nigeria has the highest number of tech start-ups, with most of them operating in Lagos, it was observed that poor infrastructure,

education, political instability and insecurity have undermined the activities of most foreign companies to invest in the country.

Since its inception in Nigeria, terrorism has greatly affected the politics of Nigeria. Nigeria has recently risen to become one of the prominent terror hotspots in the world, both in terms of frequency and complexity of assaults. Nigeria ranks second in the world in terms of frequency of occurrence of attacks, with over 750 assaults between 2000 and 2013. While the degree of complexity of terrorist activities in Nigeria is relatively low, as judged by the frequency of suicide strikes, despite continued government counter-terrorism spending and efforts, the tendency looks to be rising in recent years. The group's importance and strength have swiftly grown from a local terrorist organization to a worldwide organization acknowledged by Al-Qaeda. This is supported by recent patterns indicating ties between Boko Haram and ISIL, a group to whom they had previously declared loyalty.

In reference to the impact of terrorism in the Nigerian political space, it was observed by a Sahara reporter in 2019, that terrorism has led to unfavorable impression of Nigeria as a dangerous or unsafe country among states in the international system. Obviously, this has harmed Nigeria's reputation as a desirable foreign investment, travel, tourism, education, and relocation destination. As a result, Nigeria is rapidly slipping into the category of a marginalized country. The nature of terrorism in Nigeria is often regarded to be primarily elite-motivated, stemming from political struggle for resources. According to proponents of this hypothesis, it is extremely difficult for potential terrorists groups or individuals, who are generally impoverished

and illiterate rural people, to collect resources to wage a large-scale, long-term assaults against civilians and armed personnel.

Terrorism can erode liberal democratic stability by allowing more extremist factions to acquire a foothold.³⁰ A massive terrorist attack and the resultant fatalities, which is typically perpetrated in a vicious manner that draws media attention and criticism of the government, can erode trust in the elected representatives. Indeed, ensuring the protection of its population is likely the most basic role of any reputable government, although some atrocities generate a "protest behind the flag" mentality, recurrent terrorist strikes cause residents to mistrust their leaders and even question their ability. Thus, this lack of trust can persuade voters to align with more extremist groups which guarantee security, or if they do not see any hope in the government, they tend to seek succour from terrorist groups. In addition, the impact of terrorism was also felt in 2021, when the United States of America delayed the intended sale of 12 AH-1 Cobra attack helicopters on grounds of authoritarianism and gross violation of human rights. The sale of this equipment was supposed to help combat terrorist attacks in the country³¹. Hence, the activities and response of the Nigerian government on domestic politics have strained its relationship with other states. However, with the recent improvement in relations, the United States of America honoured its pledges with the delivery of weapons and equipment to Nigeria, in support of the fight against terrorism.

4.9 Highlights of Terrorist Attacks in Nigeria

Abduction for ransom is one of the tactics employed by the Boko Haram and other terrorist groups in Nigeria. Several abductions by terrorists took place in December 2020 in many parts of the country. Highlights of these abductions by terrorists are discussed. On 11 December 2020, about 300 boys were abducted by terrorists at the Kankara Government Science Secondary School but were released after a week. Equally, on 19 December 2020, about 84 students were abducted at an Islamic school in Dandume, near Kankara, but were freed by the police and a vigilante group³¹.

Furthermore, on 17 February 2021, 69 persons including students of Government Science College in Kagara, Niger State were kidnapped by terrorists. Similarly, on 26 February 2021, about 317 students were also kidnapped from the Government Girls Secondary School in Jangebe, Zamfara State. Additionally, on 11 March 2021, 39 students were abducted from the Federal College of Forestry Mechanization in Mando, Kaduna. Also, 18 persons were kidnapped on 13 March 2021 and security forces equally foiled terrorist attack on Government Science Secondary School in Ikara³¹.

On 15 March 2021, 3 teachers were abducted by terrorists from the UBE Primary School in Rama, Birnin Gwari. In the same vein, on 20 April 2021, 20 students and three staff were abducted from Greenfield University in Chikun, Kaduna State, resulting in the death of 5 students while the other students were released in May 2021. Additionally, on 30 May 2021, about 136 children and several teachers were abducted from the Salihu Tanko Islamic School in

Tegina, Niger State and were released in August 2021. Equally, on 17 June 2021, 103 students were abducted from the Federal Government Girls College in Birnin Yauri, Kebbi State³³.

Similarly, on 5 July 2021, 121 children were abducted from the Bethel Baptist High School in Maramara, Kaduna State. Equally, on 16 August 2021, 15 students, a teacher, and his family, were abducted from the College of Agriculture in Bakura, Zamfara³³.

In spite of the enormous security challenges in the country, security agents have continued to display gallantry to address the menace of terrorism. However, limited capacities of these security agents have been a major limitation in the fight against terrorism. In order to address the various security challenges, most of Nigeria's schools have soldiers and police deployed to protect them but the schools are not the only ones vulnerable to terrorist attack³⁴. In reality, every Nigerian citizen has become a potential target to terrorists. There is therefore the need for increased manpower and more modern weapon systems to boost the capacities of the various security agencies. Additionally, without addressing the issue of trust between the security forces and citizens, the credibility of any response to acts of terrorism or other crimes, will always be doubtful. This is because many Nigerians do not trust the credibility of the Nigerian security forces because of the various cases of corruption and human rights violations. It follows therefore that, the deployment of security forces without addressing the issue of trust and credibility, will not mitigate insecurity in the country, but more likely to promote continued militarization and repression³⁴.

The enormity of Nigeria's population and number of educational institutions, evidently makes the indefinite deployment of security forces to protect all institutions impracticable. Furthermore,

institutions of learning have become lucrative targets to terrorists because of the enormous amounts paid as ransoms by rich parents. However, despite the difficulty of deploying the security forces to physically protect all institutions, there have been relentless efforts to deploy armed security agents to secure institutions of learning across the country³⁵. Many analysts and opinion leaders have continually called for police reforms, to build enough capacity that would enable the military concentrate more on their statutory roles of territorial defence. It is expected that improved synergy among the military, police and other security agencies would boost the fight against terrorism in Nigeria³⁶.

4.10 Politics and Advent of Vigilante in Nigeria

There is a general feeling of dissatisfaction among citizens about government's handling of insecurity in Nigeria. The Boko Haram and other terrorist groups have continued to terrorize the nation despite the deployment of security forces across the North East and other parts of Nigeria. An attempt to boost manpower in the fight against terrorists in the northeastern region led to the formation of the Civilian Joint Task Force, comprising of local hunters and volunteers who have continued to support the security forces³⁷. The initiative has been productive so far, especially in communities with lean military presence in the northeastern region of Nigeria. Interestingly, the initiative has been replicated in various states of the federation to combat terrorism. The involvement of vigilantes in Niger State, in support of military operations against bandits and other criminal elements, have produced encouraging results, as most of the terrorists that hitherto besieged Niger State have been degraded significantly³⁸. Vigilantes are now actively involved in protecting schools in the northern states, thus curbing the violent activities of terrorists.

However, despite the patriotic acts of this group of volunteers, the level of insecurity in Nigeria is still worrisome and necessitates urgent action by government, to give hope to the citizens, most of whom are displeased with the performance of government in the fight against terrorism⁴⁰. Evidently, there is dire need to improve the capacity of the military forces and other security agencies, to effectively combat terrorism. Terrorists are getting more sophisticated increasingly, thus, the Nigerian security forces cannot remain passive and disadvantaged. The introduction of modern technology and equipment as well as increased manpower have become overdue, to boost the capacity of Nigeria's security forces⁴⁵. Similarly, government must show more political will and sincerity in the ongoing fight against terrorism in Nigeria. This is necessary to regain citizens' trust and confidence which seem to wane increasingly with the persistent terrorist attacks across the country⁴⁶. It would be recalled that the South West States of Nigeria took the bold step of establishing the regional security outfit called Western Nigeria Security Network also known as 'Amotekun Corps'. This was to complement the limited efforts of the conventional security agencies and improve the security of citizens within the South West. The results of the initiative have been positive in the South West of Nigeria, though emphasis in recent time has been on the approval of automatic weapons for the group to make them more effective, a request that the Federal Government is not favourably disposed to. Many states in the North West, especially Katsina, have also adopted similar initiative to improve security of lives and property. The onus lies on the Federal Government to support the efforts of the federating states to collectively improve the security of lives and property across Nigeria.

4.11 Theoretical Findings

The research study presented both theoretical findings and qualitative findings in the course of examining the concepts of terrorism and the national question in Nigeria. The volume of literature consulted and the field survey conducted confirmed the destructive nature of terrorism and the consequences of heightened insecurity on the national security and survival of the Nigerian state. In particular, the national question plays out distinctly in response to the persistent high level of insecurity occasioned by terrorism. The religious and ideological dimensions of the Boko Haram terrorism and the vicious activities of Fulani herdsmen in Nigeria as well as their perceived links to the northerners, have worsened the level of mistrust among the various ethnic groups, most of which actively agitate for self-determination. This is aggravated by the seeming ineptitude and lackadaisical approach of the government to the ongoing fight against terrorism in Nigeria. The violent activities of Boko Haram and other terrorist groups, Fulani herdsmen, IPOB and other criminal elements constitute a serious threat to Nigeria's national security. The failure of the government to explicitly address the various political issues affecting other ethnic groups and the increasing level of insecurity occasioned by terrorism, will continue to aggravate the national question in Nigeria.

The violence perpetrated by the Boko Haram and other terrorists has adversely affected the political and socio-economic outlook of Borno State and other states in the North East region of Nigeria. The victims of terrorism have been severely traumatized and plunged into a new life of dejection and hopelessness. Many have suffered irredeemable human and material losses over time. While acknowledging the efforts of the government in providing succour to the victims of terrorism, only a decisive defeat of the terrorists and restoration of sustainable peace and stability, would give the needed hope to the people. In this regard, it is essential for the government to step

up the fight against terrorism. The literature examined also identified challenges to counter-terrorism efforts and factors standing as hindrances to achieving peace and security in Nigeria. These are captured as widespread corruption, inadequate intelligence, inadequate equipment and professional skills as well as unwarranted collusion by some government officials in the affected regions and communities, paying Boko Haram terrorists for protection amidst military onslaught.

The Social Contract Theory adopted for this study justified the subordination of a group of people to the prevailing laws, norms and principles of their society in exchange for other benefits. The theory hinges the legitimacy of any constituted authority to its capacity to guarantee the welfare and security of the people. In particular, it recognises the importance of the collective resolve of the people to address issues relating to their welfare and security, through a constituted authority vested with such responsibility. The Constitution of Nigeria, 1999, recognises governance based on the principles of democracy and social justice as well as sovereignty belonging to the people, from which government derives its authority and power. This clearly denotes a social contract between the people and government as expounded by Thomas Hobbes and other proponents. Evidently, a society like Nigeria needs a controlling authority to adequately address the welfare and security needs of the people. Government needs to take up responsibility to stop unwarranted loss of lives and property which would disrupt the peace and stability of a society.

4.12 Qualitative Findings

The qualitative findings were obtained using In-depth interviews (IDI) and Focus Group Discussions (FGD). The findings revealed the tenacity of the Boko Haram terrorist group as well as its use of ideology and religious narratives to recruit members. The findings from the IDI and FGD showed that Boko Haram recruits from al-majiris and unemployed youths. It also showed that terrorist activities have economic, social, and political consequences in the affected regions and the country in general.

The general state of insecurity resulting from tremendous destruction of lives and property, has hampered investments in the affected regions and the country. In particular, the battered image of Nigeria in the international scene owing to terrorism has also significantly reduced foreign investments, with adverse effects on economic growth. Finally, findings from the qualitative study showed that terrorism is a complex global phenomenon. It has grossly affected national security and cohesion among the various components of Nigeria because of unresolved issues of the national question. Consequently, there is a huge demand on the government to address the underlying factors responsible for terrorism, create an enabling peaceful and stable environment for economic growth, national unity and cohesion. It requires a strong political will and sincerity.

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Chapter Five

Conclusion

5.1 Summary of Findings

The main objective of this study was to examine the impact of terrorism on the national question in Nigeria. It was established that terrorism has aggravated insecurity in the country, thus intensifying the national question in the form of political, ethnic and religious tension. The study considered the economic, social, and political consequences of Boko Haram terrorism based on live experiences of victims in the northeastern part of Nigeria. The researcher used the qualitative research method to carry out the study. It involved interviews of victims of terrorism, in Borno State in particular, as well as scholars, security personnel, repentant Boko Haram members and other IDPs. Adult members (citizens in the war-torn/terrorized communities and Internally Displaced Persons) were selected for focused group discussion and the selection was based on homogenous factors (Age and sex).

Scholars, security personnel, repentant Boko Haram members were selected for in-depth interview (IDI) as a filter for biases, falsehood, and exaggeration from the data elicited from the communities. This set of people i.e. scholars and security personnel were more likely to present balanced accounts and arguments of the issue under investigation than indigenes of the communities whose responses could be embellished with popular opinions held by their communities on the issues of terrorism.

The findings of the study highlight possible measures that the government could adopt to facilitate sustainable peace and stability, security as well as economic development and political

progress, not only in Borno State but in the entire country. Most literature reviewed did not show sufficient scholarly work on the concept of terrorism and its relationship with the national question in Nigeria. Specifically, the political, social and economic impact of terrorism on Nigeria's national security were examined. The study revealed enormous destruction of lives and property, disintegration of families and disruption of social order as well as economic losses, being direct consequences of terrorism in Borno State and Nigeria as a whole. For instance, about 18.5 million out of school children in Nigeria as a consequence of terrorism and other socio-economic factors, is detrimental to national security and development.

Terrorists in the affected areas adopted vicious tactics to kill, maim, kidnap for ransom and levy host communities to instill fear and also raise funds for their nefarious activities. Sustained terrorist activities has led to complete destruction of infrastructure in the northeastern part of Nigeria, thus increasing agitations against the government for a more secured and stable society. The Federal Government of Nigeria has over the years been actively involved in counter-terrorism operations with modest successes. There had been claims of degrading the Boko Haram terrorists but total defeat of the terrorists is yet to be achieved. The efforts of security agencies are limited by inadequate manpower, inadequate capacity and intelligence. It is generally believed that more sophisticated weapons and better intelligence gathering methods are required to decisively defeat the terrorists. The government needs both soft and hard approaches to achieve the ultimate goal of eliminating terrorism in Nigeria. The underlying factors of poverty, unemployment and fanaticism must be addressed by the government, while deploying a robust, well equipped and motivated force against the terrorists. An all of population approach

against terrorism is considered most desirable to deal decisively with the Boko Haram terrorists and other splinter groups.

The data collected during different interviews coupled with existing literature supported the findings in relation to the experiences of the study participants. The Social Contract Theory was the theoretical framework on which the study was anchored. The goal of this theory is to highlight the collective resolve of a group of people to subordinate themselves to a given authority, with the ultimate aim of obtaining the basic necessities of life, such as security and welfare.

The content validity was adopted to validate the instruments of data collection and this was done by subjecting it to scrutiny in the wording, content, question sequencing and bias, before their application. Furthermore, the qualitative data obtained from the interviews were analyzed thematically, as they relate to the study. The result of the qualitative data revealed that terrorist activities have economic, social, and political consequences in the affected regions and Nigeria as a whole. In summary, the following were the findings:

- a. Terrorism has created a high level of insecurity in Nigeria, thus aggravating the national question, in form of political, ethnic and religious agitations.
- b. Terrorists use vicious tactics to kill, maim and instill fear, resulting in wanton destruction of lives and property, thus undermining national security in Nigeria.
- c. Terrorism has adverse political, social and economic impacts on Nigeria's national security.
- d. Security agencies in Nigeria have demonstrated limited capabilities to decisively deal with the menace of terrorism.

e. The Nigerian Government has not shown adequate political will to combat terrorism, neither have they fully exploited the soft approach in dealing with terrorism, as it relates to poverty, unemployment, social justice and religious fundamentalism in the country.

f. The Nigerian populace is not adequately involved in the provision of relevant information to support the government and security agencies in the fight against terrorism.

5.2 Conclusion

Terrorism has become a global phenomenon owing to its devastating effects on the wellbeing of nations. The national security of various nations of the world are of immense importance hence the consolidated efforts globally to preserve the sovereignty and territorial integrity of nations to achieve global peace and security. In line with this, Nigeria, being the sixth most terrorist impacted country in the world, has been collaborating with the international community to eradicate the menace of terrorism. The study examined terrorism and the national question in Nigeria, based on the prevailing high level of insecurity which has aggravated in varying degrees the political, ethnic and religious agitations in the country. The desire for a stable, secure and prosperous country cannot be over-emphasized, hence the urgent need to defeat terrorism in Nigeria. The Federal Government of Nigeria has put in lots of efforts to combat terrorism but some identified limitations have been hampering the achievement of the desired objectives. It is considered expedient for government to reappraise its current strategies with a view to improving its chances of completely defeating terrorism and enhancing Nigeria's national security in response to the intense debate about the national question.

5.3 Contributions to knowledge

The study, no doubt, has contributed significantly to the body of organized knowledge and literature on the subject matter. It has introduced a new dimension for researchers in the area of peace and conflict studies and public policy analysis, to investigate how Boko Haram terrorism has caused unrest in Nigeria. The study has also contributed to academic and professional knowledge on Boko Haram and other forms of terrorism in Nigeria. The limitations identified in this study could serve as basis for further research, which will create more opportunities for researchers on the issue of terrorism and the national question in Nigeria. Finally, this thesis could be serially published in learned international journals as contribution to the body of knowledge.

5.4 Recommendations of the Study

Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations were proffered:

1. Government should address the economic, political, religious, ideological and socio-cultural challenges as well as other forms of inducement that make terrorism attractive.
2. The Federal Government should show more political will and sincerity to rid the country of terrorism.
3. The Nigerian government should enhance the capacity of security agencies to decisively deal with terrorism in the country.
4. The government should strengthen the judicial processes and set up special courts with clear mandates to prosecute terrorists.
5. The government should produce a new workable constitution to replace the perceived defective 1999 Constitution, in the interest of equity, fairness and justice necessary for national security, cohesion and development.

5.5 Policy Implications

The findings of the study could impact on the policies of government as follow:

- A. Security policies could effectively pilot the fight against terrorism, as such, facilitate needed remedies to the economic, social, and political impacts of terrorism on the people.
- B. Policy formulation would be well articulated to provide relief to the victims of terrorism.

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5.6 Suggestions for Further Research

The purpose of this study was to look at the effect of terrorism on the national question. Specifically, economic, social and political impact of Boko Haram on Nigeria's national security was examined. The experiences of various victims of terrorism and other stakeholders were used for the study. It was meant to examine the effectiveness of the strategies employed in the fight against terrorism. The findings were drawn from the data collected and analyzed in the course of the study. The interview questions were used to obtain information from the study participants.

In addition, Boko Haram terrorism is not solely responsible for the high level of insecurity in Nigeria. There are other prominent actors such as unknown gun men, armed Fulani herdsmen, IPOB and other violent criminal elements which threaten Nigeria's national security, thus aggravating the national question. Consequently, further studies are suggested on the subject matter to probe any presumed biases.

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Appendix I

In-depth Interview Guide on Terrorism and National Security in Nigeria

Introduction

My name is Akintunde Bashir Busari from the Politics and International Relations Department, Lead City University Ibadan. The aim of this discussion is to elicit information about your view concerning related issues on “Terrorism and National Security in Nigeria”.

I thank you very much for accepting to participate in this study. I want to crave your indulgence to record our session today. This will enable me to analyze this session for the purpose of generalizing the results.

There are few questions I would like to ask and I will be happy if you can be as open as possible and be confident that your responses shall be kept confidential.

Confidentiality and Informed Consent: Please note that all information generated from this discussion is purely for academic purposes and will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Do I have your permission to continue as I would have to record the interview?

Yes () No ()

Please, I will like to know your view about the following:

Age -----

Sex -----

Position in office-----

Indication of Status:

1. Force ()
2. Military ()
3. Academia ()
4. politician ()
5. Others ()

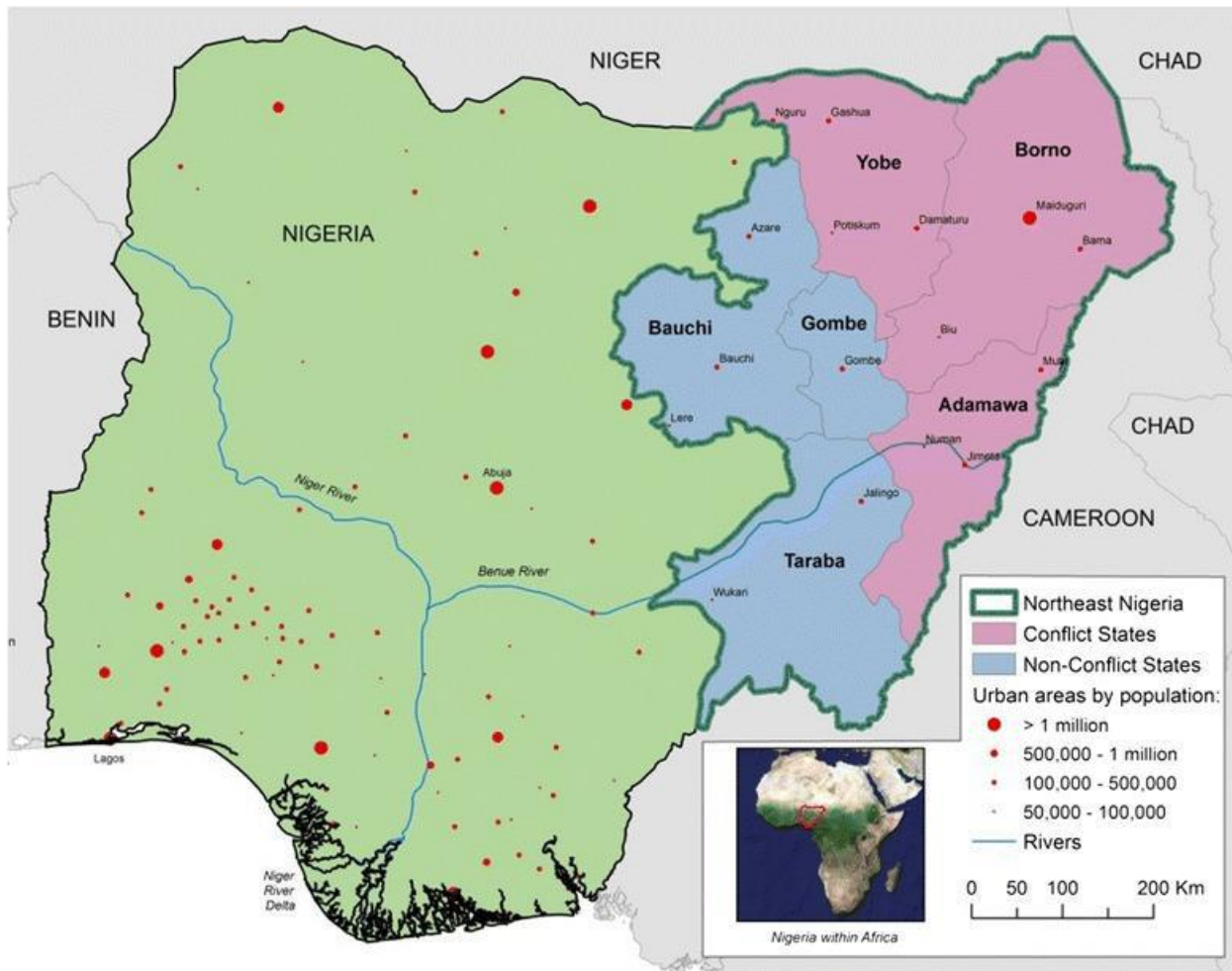
Question 1:

- A. Do you think terrorists are unemployed people and easily recruited by the sponsors?
- B. Are terrorists driven by poverty and economic problems?
- C. Can we say terrorists are driven by dislike for the government of the day or extreme political ideology or extreme religious feelings?

Question 2:

- A. Are terrorists designed by politicians to stay in power?
Yes () No ()
- B. Arising from above, do you think democracy has given room for terrorists to operate?
- C. Do you think terrorists are also driven by feelings of regional marginalization?
- D. What are the implications of terrorist attack on political, economy and social development in Nigeria?
- E. Are terrorists driven by dislike for democracy?
- F. Do you think the Military is well equipped to handle terrorism in Nigeria?
- G. Are there any legal frameworks or policies on counter terrorism strategy in Nigeria?
- H. In your opinion, what aspects of the policies should be improved upon by the government of Nigeria on the Counterterrorism strategy in Nigeria?

Appendix II: Brief on Borno State



Source: researchgate.net

Borno State was created on February 3, 1976 by the Late General Muritala Mohammed regime out of the then North-Eastern State. Until 1991 when more states were created, it included the present Yobe State. The Borno State capital is Maiduguri. It is located in the northeastern part of

Nigeria. Borno State stretches through 70,898 square kilometers of landmass. The state extends to a substantial part of the Lake Chad Basin and shares borders with Republics of Niger in the north, Chad in the northeast and Cameroun in the east. Borno State derived its name from the ancient Borno Empire. The state is dominated by the Kanuri ethnic nationality. The state is subdivided into 27 local government councils and the people of Borno State mostly depend on agriculture as their major occupation.

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Biodata

A. Personal Data

1. Akintunde Bashir BUSARI

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Email: bestmandee@gmail.com

2. Date of Birth: 15 Nov 63

Place of Birth: Ibadan

3. Nationality: Nigerian

4. Peter Busari

Same Address as Above

B. Educational Background

1. Primary: Army Children School, Ikoyi, Lagos- First School Leaving Certificate, 1975

2. Secondary: Nigerian Military School, Zaria- GCE O Level, 1983

3. University of Ilorin, Ilorin- B.Engr Mechanical, 1988

4. University of Ibadan, Ibadan- Masters in Strategic Studies(MSS), 2018

5. Lead City University, Ibadan- PhD in Peace and Conflict Studies(In View)

C. Work Experience

Nigerian Army- 1983- 2019 (Brigadier General Retired)

D. Awards

1. Distinguished Service Star- DSS
2. Meritorious Service Star- MSS
3. Forces Service Star- FSS
4. Fellow of the Defence College, Nigeria - fdc
5. United Nations Operations Medal, Liberia-UNMIL
6. Field Command Medal- FCM
7. General Operations Medal- GOP
8. Command Medal- CM
9. ECOMOG Medal-ECOWAS Operations in Liberia
10. Silver Jubilee Medal, Nigerian Defence Academy
11. Passed Staff Course (Dagger)- psc(+)

E. Membership of Academic Professional Bodies

1. Member Nigerian Society of Engineers- MNSE
2. Council for the Regulation of Engineering in Nigeria-COREN
3. Institution of Mechanical Engineers-MNIMEchE
4. Nigerian Institute of Management Chartered-MNIM
5. Society for Peace Studies and Practice- SPSP

F. Publications

1. Terrorism and the National Question in Nigeria.
2. Impact of Terrorism on National Security in Nigeria.

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University Compliance Certification

This is to certify that, this project written by Akintunde Bashir BUSARI with Matriculation Number LCU/PG/001222, in the Department of Politics and International Relations, Faculty of Management and Social Sciences, Lead City University, Ibadan, is in full compliance with the approved university format and style.

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Signature

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Date

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