



UNDERSTANDING
GOVERNMENT AND
POLITICS IN
NIGERIA

Rotimi Aiyi

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Rotimi Ajayi
Joseph Olayinka Fashagba

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Notes on Contributors

Rotimi Ajayi is a Professor of Political Science and the pioneer Vice Chancellor of Landmark University, Omu-Aran, Kwara State, Nigeria. He is a holder of PhD degree from the University of Ilorin, Nigeria. His area of research interest span comparative politics, political economy and public administration. Professor Ajayi has won a number of local and international awards at different times. He was with the University of Texas on Fellowship between 1993 and 1994. He has published extensively in both local and foreign outlets. He was Acting Head of Department of Political Science, Delta State University, Abraka; Head, Department of Political Science and International Relations, Covenant University, Ota, Ogun State; Dean, College of Development Studies, Covenant University, Ota, Ogun state. He co-edited a book, *Introductory text in Political Science* with Dr Joseph Y. Fashagba in 2012.

Joseph OlaYinka Fashagba is a Senior Lecturer and Acting Head of Department of Political Science and International Relations, Landmark University, Omu-Aran, Kwara State, Nigeria. Fashagba holds a PhD degree in Political Science from University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria. He is interested in democratic institutions, particularly legislative studies. His papers have appeared in both local and international journals. He has presented papers in different countries and institutions. These include the papers presented in 2012 at John Hopkins University, Washington DC and 2014 at the National Endowment for Democracy, Washington DC. He is an alumnus of the American Political Science Association (APSA) Africa Workshop. He co-edited a book, *Introductory Text in Political Science* with Professor Rotimi Ajayi in 2012. He is currently collaborating with Professor Carl LeVan of the School of International Service, American University, Washington DC to co-edit a book entitled, *African State Legislatures: Subnational Political Politics and National Power*.

Mohammed S. Audu is an Associate Professor and Dean, Student Affairs of Federal University, Lokoja, Nigeria. He holds a doctorate degree in History, and currently the Head of Department of History of the Federal University, Lokoja, Nigeria.

Daniel Eseme Gbervbie is an Associate Professor of Political Science in the Department of Political Science and International Relations, Covenant University, Ogun State. He holds a BSc, MSc and PhD degrees in Political Science and Public Administration. Currently, he is the Deputy Dean, School of Social Sciences. He is a member of Nigerian Institute of

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CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

TERRORISM IN NIGERIA

Segun Joshua

segun.joshua@covenantuniversity.edu.ng

&

Felix Chidozie

felix.chidozie@covenantuniversity.edu.ng

Department of Political Science and International Relations

School of Social Sciences, College of Development Studies

Covenant University, Ota

Introduction

The word "terrorism" is from "terror" and terror has a Latin origin meaning to frighten; akin to Greek *triein* to be afraid, flee; *tremein* to tremble (Rodriguez, 2003:9). Terrorism has a long history in the world. In fact, Abimbola and Adesote (2012) contend that terrorism has existed at least over 2000 years ago. According to Whittaker (2002) in the first century AD the Roman province of Judea was plagued by the hit-and-run terrorism of the zealots. These Jew zealots resisted Roman Empire rule and Jews whose orthodoxy was tainted with heresy. Abimbola and Adesote (2012) explained further that these zealots carried out their campaign through assassination of their perceived enemies in broad day light, often in the crowd like markets places or on feast days. They killed many Roman soldiers and destroyed properties in Rome.

However, what is described in modern language as "religious fundamentalism" played a part in what some thugs brought to the central and northern India that lasted for twelve hundred years. Thus, the thugs of roving bands carried out thousands of sacrificial strangulations to the goddess *Kali* and

also involved in some criminal acts tantamount to outright banditry. In the eleventh and twelfth century, the Shi'ite Order of the Assassins whose followers considered it a sacred duty to hunt down Christians in Persia, Syria and Palestine came up. They were made to believe that success in their murderous missions would ensure them a place in paradise. This is similar to the doctrine imbibed by modern suicide bombers among the Hezbollah in the Lebanon and the Tamil Tigers of Sri Lanka (Whittaker, 2002). Thus, religion remained the major source of terrorism until the French revolution (1789-1799). The French revolution led to the emergence of nationalism, anarchism, and some secular political movements to challenge divine rule by monarchs. With the passage of time, terrorism became associated with some repressive governments like Lenin and Stalin in former Soviet Union, Nazi, Fascist totalitarian regime in Germany among others that employed repressive style to deal with opponents (state sponsored terrorism). There also exist other non-state terrorists (Abolurin, 2011; Abimbola and Adesote, 2012).

Act of terrorism has become a frequent occurrence in contemporary world and Nigeria too has joined the clique of terrorist countries. In recent times there seems to be an increase in terrorist activities associated with religion. That is to say although religion and terrorism share a long history, continuous rise in religious terrorism in recent time is frightening. For instance, in 1980 religious terrorist groups amount to only two (2) out of sixty-four (64) groups of terrorists that were active that year. Twelve years later (1992), religious terrorist groups have increased nearly six-fold, representing a quarter (11 of 48). Instead of the situation getting abated, it was accelerated. In fact, by 1994, a third (16) of the 49 identifiable terrorist groups were religious in character. The number increased yet again in 1995 to nearly half (25 or 45 percent) of the 58 known terrorist groups that were active. The situation seems not to have changed (Hoffman, 2000:19).

It has been observed that religious terrorism tends to be more lethal than secular terrorism due to the radically different value systems, mechanisms of legitimization and justification, concept of morality and world views that directly affect the "holy terrorists" motivation. Religious terrorists see violence as sacramental act or divine duty: executed in response to some theological demands or imperative and justified by scripture. In other words, religion legitimizes wide range violence against and all non-members of the religious terrorist group (Hoffman, 2000).

Some of the terrorist organizations according to Abolurin, (2011:135-139) include the following: Abu Nidal Organization (ANO)- Middle East; Palestinian; Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG)- Philippines; Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades (AAMS)-Middle East; Al-Shabaab-Somalia; Ansar al-Islam-Iraq; Asbat al-Ansar-Lebanon;

Aum Shinrikyo (AUM)-Japan; HAMAS (Islamic Resistance Movement)-Middle East; Hezbollah (Party of God)-Lebanon; Islamic Jihad Union (IJU)-Middle East; Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU)-Uzbekistan

Kahane Chai (Kach)-Israel; Kata'ib Hezbollah (KH)-Iraq; Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG)-Libya; Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)-Sri Lanka; Palestine Liberation Front (PLF)-Middle East; al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI); al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP)-Saudi Arabia; al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (formerly GSPC)-Saudi Arabia; Taliban; and of course the dreaded Boko Haram (BH)- Nigeria among others.

Although there have been pocket of terrorist activities by some groups in Nigeria, that of Boko Haram has been more deadly, more organized and more devastating in the history of terrorism in Nigeria. The fact that Boko Haram is a terrorist group is not in doubt. According to Lacey (2012) the sect: (1) pursues political goals, (2) is a non-state actor, (3) systematically uses violence against civilians, and (4) aims to spread terror in a target audience. Comparison of BH with contemporary terrorist organizations supports this assessment and as such BH should thus, be understood within the context of modern terrorism.

Boko Haram operates in northern Nigeria especially in Borno, Bauchi, Yobe, Adamawa, Gombe, Taraba and some other states in the north. The sect is known for bombing, using explosives to kill, maim and to cause massive destruction, hence a threat to national security. The group has been using religion as a facade to unleash terror on innocent citizens (Abolurin, 2011).

Meaning and Feature

There are varying conceptions of terrorism. This is because there is no agreement on what constitutes a terror attack. This implies that the definition of terrorism is eclectic in nature. This lend credence to the philosophical dictum of John Stuart Mill (cited in Bender and Leone (2000:9) that: "The only way in which a human being can make some approach to knowing the whole of a subject is by hearing what can be said about it by persons of every variety of opinion and studying all modes in which it can be looked at by every character of mind. No wise man ever acquired his wisdom in any mode but this". From this philosophical premise, some definitions of the concepts are given below. According to Oche and Dokunbo (2001), terrorism is traceable to Latin word, *terrere* similar to what has been said before. It is characterized by the desire to instill fear and disrupt the socio-political lives of its target population. Cline and Alexander (1987:215) define terrorism as a deliberate employment of violence or the use of violence by sovereign states as well as some national groups, assisted by sovereign states in order to attain strategic and political objectives through the violation of law. It is also seen as the use or threat, for the purpose of advancing a political, religious or ideological course of action which involves serious violence against any person or property (British Government, cited in Whittaker, 2002:22). A premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by sub-national groups of clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience (US State Department, cited in Whittaker, 2002:22).

However, there are little consensus as to the root causes of terrorism, whether they bear political, economic or social imprints. In terms of political

terrorism, Shultz and Sloan (1980) define it as the threat and/or use of extra normal form of political violence, in varying degrees, with the objective of achieving certain political goals or objectives. This is to influence the behaviour and attitude of certain groups within a political context. The problem of terrorism has kept people in perpetual fear, robbing people of freedom and security. Thus, the world as a whole is voicing concerns over the menace of terrorism, extremism and radicalism. A huge number of lives and properties worth billions also destroyed. People live in perpetual fear of insecurity, because they do not know the next turn of events, where it would take place and the propensity of the effects. Apart from the fear of insecurity terrorism brings about, it also reflects in economic decline, unemployment and poverty as well as a general sense of frustration amongst the victims because with terrorism, people are afraid to walk the streets. As such, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness which are inalienable rights are affected negatively.

Type of Terrorism

Terrorist groups differ from one another in important ways. They differ in the nature of ideology and the specificity of their political objectives. They differ in their relationship to religion and to the communities from which they derive support. They also differ in the trajectory of their violence. Historically, for example, most terrorist groups were domestic, and other started locally and went global (Richardson, 2006). In other words, there are different types of terrorism, however the common ones according to Abolurin, (2011:19-29) include the following:

International Terrorism

International terrorism takes place all over the world. It is practiced in a foreign country by terrorists who are not native to that country. International terrorism became American domestic news in 1993. Terrorism has been a concern to the international community since 1937 when the League of Nations elaborated the convention for the prevention and punishment of terrorism. The international community since 1963 has however, elaborated universal legal instrument related to prevention and suppression of international terrorism.

Domestic Terrorism

This is the broadest form of terrorism and it involves car bombing and international hacking. For instance the bombing of the Nigeria Police Force Headquarters at Abuja on Thursday, June 16, 2011 is domestic terrorism. In fact, domestic terrorism can be described as unlawful use of force or violence by group (s) of two or more individuals, against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof in furtherance of political or social objectives. During the 1990s, the United States became more concerned about domestic terrorist activities perpetrated by her citizens. A man called Unabomber killed three (3) people and injured twenty-three others with package bombs.

Political Terrorism

This type of terrorism is politically motivated as the name implies. Terrorists who embark on this type of terrorism are politically oriented. It is therefore, a political tactic, which is used by activists when they believe that no other means will affect the kind of change desired. It is indeed a political crime that emphasizes violence as a mechanism for promoting change. Terrorists systematically use murder and destruction or the threat of these to terrorize individuals, groups, communities, or government into conceding to their political demands. The terrorists communicate a political message. For instance, in Nigeria, political terrorism tends to be organized around such issues as the Niger Delta development, resource distribution and control, boundary delineation among others. Government can as well use political terrorism to instill fear on the masses to achieve their aims and eliminate anyone that opposes them or against their political aspiration.

State Terrorism

States can use force or threat of force, without declaring war to terrorize citizens and achieve political goals. This occurs when national government aids terrorists to further their own foreign policy and goals. State-sponsored terrorism can be described as a form of secret warfare; it is a means to wage war secretly through the use of terrorist surrogates as hired guns. For instance, the United States has been called terrorist, through its covert sponsorship of Nicaraguan Contras in the 1980s. State-sponsored terrorism has the backing of government of the state who supply arms, money and safe haven to terrorists. State sponsorship can placed at terrorist disposal the resources of an established country's diplomatic, military and intelligence services.

Religious Terrorism

Religious terrorism as the name implies is rooted in faith-based tenets. It is performed by groups or individuals. Religious terrorism defines an individual or a group's view or interpretation of that belief system's teaching and does not in itself necessarily define a particular religious view. It must be noted that terrorist acts throughout the centuries have been carried out on religious grounds with the hope to either spread or enforce a system of belief. Religious terrorism is of two kinds: Political religious terrorism and Milleniaristic terrorism. While the former aims for political goal, the later strives for a higher abstract sacred goal that is impossible to reach. It is in retaliation of something that somebody or a society has done. For example if a society has done something, everybody as a matter of fact is a possible target.

Cyber Terrorism

Cyber terrorism involves the use of information technology to attack civilians and draw attention to their cause. It can also be described as a computer crime targeting computer networks without necessarily affecting real world infrastructures, lives or property. Cyber terrorists use information technology

such as computer systems or telecommunications to perpetrate their act. For instance, cyber terrorists could disable networked emergency systems, totally disrupting its services, by means of what is referred to as computer virus. A large chunk of information could be lost through that process and it may be impossible to recover such.

Bioterrorism

This form of terrorism refers to the international release of toxic biological agents to harm and terrorise civilians, for political or other cause. The viruses, bacteria and toxins that can be used in an attack as identified by the United States Centre for Disease Control include: Anthrax (*Bacillus Anthracis*); Botulism (*Clostridium botulium* toxin); The Plague (*Yersinia Pestis*) to mention just a few.

Theoretical Explanations of Terrorism in Nigeria (Boko Haram Insurgency)

Even though violent flare-up has been part of Nigerian society since inception, the dawn of the Fourth Republic democratic dispensation has witnessed rise of violent groups, most of them wielding ethnic agenda with clear and specific demands on the Nigerian state. Such irredentist groups include Oodua Peoples Congress (OPC), Movement for the Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND) among many others that employed terror tactics in their agitation, but none has been as daring as the Boko Haram, which emerged visibly in 2009. The activities of Boko Haram of recent has posed the greatest security challenge to the country and finally destroyed the myth that Nigerians are not terrorists. But what are the specific explanations in scholarship to the emergence of the insurgency waged by Boko Haram. The following points have been espoused so far.

Deeply Divided Society, State Failure and Violent Conflicts in Nigeria

From sociological viewpoint, most African countries are multiethnic societies with populations that are sharply divided along racial, cultural, linguistic, religious, and similar cleavages. Most are composed of several and some, of many different traditional societies, each with distinctive institutions to which members of other traditional societies are not only detached, but also disinclined, if not actually opposed (Jackson and Rosberg, 1998). The inherent complexities in the states created by European imperialism made less feasible the prospects of the new states modeled after the Western types. In spite of the long process of nation-building, many of the states still convulse from one shock after another resulting from those sociological and political divergences. In fact, "the African state is hardly ever coextensive with a common society" (Ekeh, 1989:5) and "the society in which the African state exists is typically segmented into small rival political communities, often with strong localized identities competing to capture and exploit state power or at least prevent it from

oppressing them" (Ake, 1999:42). The arbitrariness of the African state conferred on African political culture, attributes of negativity, so that "African political culture has become characterized by a vast array of negative elements such as corruption, violence and mistrust". Those negative elements identified by Ekeh, and much more, have all combined to make the African state irrelevant to the citizenry, thus eroding its legitimacy. Additionally, the state becomes prone to economic dislocation and political instability – all which are indices of state failure (Rotberg 2002: 86 cited in Uzodike and Maiangwa, 2012).

This theoretical construct which also mirror the Nigerian state point to a deep gulf between state and society, what Ekeh (1989) term "the difficult relations between state and society" and Claude Ake's 'Irrelevant State' In the realm of theory, such disconnect is not only capable of eroding legitimacy but also inducing state failure and the subsequent repercussions that emanate from it, such as violent conflicts or terrorism.

This view is supported by Uzodike and Maiangwa (2012:97) study which highlights the various conditions and features of a failed state as pertaining to Nigeria, ranging from the Failed States index in which the country ranked 14 in 2011, Terrorism and Political Mapping (2010-2011), which ranked her fifth and the Human Development Index Trend (2011), where Nigeria emerged 156 out of 186 countries. On these bases, they asserted that the chaotic and anarchic situation in the Nigeria of 2012 exemplifies the characteristics of a failing or weak state that is degenerating into full failure conducive for terrorism to fester.

The Relational/Vengeance Theory

Relational theory attempts to provide explanation for violent conflicts between groups by exploring sociological, political, economic, religious and historical relationships between such groups. The belief is that, cultural and value differences as well as group interests all influence relationships between individuals and groups in different ways. Thus, a number of conflicts grow out of past history of conflict between groups that has led to the development of negative stereotypes, racial intolerance and discrimination, (Faleti, 2006). The differences in value invariably create the "We" and 'Others' dichotomy: "The fact that 'others' are perceived as different, makes us feel they are entitled to less or are inferior by reason of values. This disrupts the flow of communication between us and them and to that extent, twists perceptions that we have about each other" (Faleti 2006). Consequently, terrorists' sects are attracted to places where this perception of the local population is prevalent.

The Human Needs/Socio-Economic Perspective

The socio-economic perspective of the challenge of terrorism in Nigeria, essentially attempts to de-emphasizes the interpretation of this wave of terrorism on Muslim or northern crisis (Kukah, 2012). It rather blames social conditions for the violence, anchored on the human needs theory of social conflicts. The central thesis here is that, all humans have basic needs which they seek to fulfill

and failure caused by other individuals or groups to meet these needs could lead to conflict (Rosati et al, 1990 cited in Faleti, p. 51). The theory is similar to the frustration-aggression theory of violence, which posits that aggression is always a consequence of frustration (Dougherty and Pfaltzgrate Jr, 1990). According to the theory, relative deprivation is a perceived disparity between value expectation and value capabilities and that the lack of a need satisfaction defined as a gap between aspirations and achievement generally relies on the psychological state of frustration and aggressive attitudes emanating from it (Midlarsky, 1975:29). Unlike the relational/vengeance theory, the perspective goes beyond the trigger to focus on the underlying factor(s) that could have bred the emergence of groups like Boko Haram.

The Political Feud Perspective

In political terms, domestic terrorism phenomenon is perhaps, more interesting because of the specific historical context in which it is occurring. A classic example is the Boko Haram which is an Islamic movement, occurring in a multi-religious political setting in which religion is a major factor in determining the distribution of political power (Kukah, 1993: x). The emergence of Boko Haram was preceded by intense political bickering between some, mainly Muslim political actors in the north and their counterparts in the south in the period leading to the electoral victory of President Goodluck Jonathan, a southern Christian. In a political environment in which the power of incumbency is a major factor in determining electoral success, the fact that the victor in the contest superintended over the machinery of the state at the time of the election is a critical variable in conveying a sense of fair play or otherwise to the losing side. Importantly, Jonathan's electoral victory came barely three years after power returned to the north, from an eight-year sojourn in the south, where the north grudgingly ceded it to the south in 1999, following the tumult that resulted from the annulled 1993 presidential election, which Moshood Abiola, a southerner was acclaimed to have won. This is countervailing to the ingenious political engineering by the Nigerian power elite that devised a power-sharing arrangement in which central power rotates between the north and south. After eight years in the south via Olusegun Obasanjo's presidency (1999-2007) power had returned to the north in May 2007 via the Umaru Musa Yar'Adua's presidency and was supposed to remain there for another eight years. Despite the constitutional provision that guarantees his succession by his deputy Goodluck Jonathan, a southerner, the north was sour for having 'lost' power again to the south by virtue of Yar'Adua's death in May 2010 barely three years into office. The sense of loss, which ensued from Yar'Adua's death, manifested in the succession tension in Nigeria prior to the-2011 general elections period. The Boko Haram insurgency is therefore, a reaction against the prevailing situation and a ploy to prevent the Jonathan presidency from taken firm hold beyond the first term.

The Islamic Theocratic State Theory

This viewpoint contends that some segments of the northern Muslim population may be unhappy with the compromise of state-level shari'a coexisting side by side with a secular federal system. Hence, although this segment may arguably be small, "they are increasingly becoming radicalized and more willing to periodically express themselves through violence (Lengmang 2011:101). Furthermore there is resentment to the coexistence of shari'a with secular federal system among northerners who also believe that western education is incapable of stimulating meaningful development and prosperity in the region, and so shares the fallacy of western education being incompatible with Islam (Lengmand 2011: 99). However tangential, its link with international terrorists groups, and the fact that insurgents in Nigeria holds the vision of global political Islam, which is the overthrow of all worldly government (Kufur system) and the enthronement of an Islamic theocratic state cannot be brushed aside. Thus, the demand of Boko Haram to islamise Nigeria, stem from this view.

Conspiracy Theories

The conspiracy theory explains the emergence of terrorism on both machinations of internal actors and external actors. Internal actors here include the disgruntled sectional elites who have lost out on power, but are bent on bringing down Nigeria under an outside elite leadership. Another angle to this is that this outside elite group that ascended to power by default may be sponsoring the crisis in order to rally base support behind it. The third angle views terrorism as a grand design controlled by some 'invisible' hands that seek to destroy the hitherto dominant section of the country ahead of the next election circle so as to forestall or weaken its bid for the presidency at that time (Adibe, 2012:58). External actors, on the other hand, may include powerful western states like the United States, or neighbouring African states envious of Nigeria's progress and stability are the ones sponsoring terrorism to halt the rise of the country.

Terrorism in Nigeria: A Historical Overview

Terrorism in Nigeria is traceable to the emergence of the Maitatsine sect in the 1980s in Kano State. From 1980 to 1985, maitatsinism became a veritable force that threatened the socio-political and religious stability of Nigeria. Muhammadu Marwa alias Maitatsine, personally led the uprising, although he was later killed. His disciples that escaped from Kano later were alleged to have caused insurrections which occurred in Bullumkuttu area of Bornu State on October 16th, 1982, Rigassa village, Kaduna State on October 20, 1982 and the Jimeta- Yola in Gongola State in 1984 (Adeoye, 2005a). The Maitatsine was a religiously motivated terrorist group. The group was anti-authority, as they regarded every authority as an idol, and as such respect for authority is tantamount to idolatry. The belief of the group was that violent destruction was necessary to bring about radical transformation of a society in order to build a new order on the ruins of the old (Adeoye, 2005a).

On October 25, 1993 Nigeria experienced what can be termed as international terrorism in the aviation industry when the Airbus 310, Flight WT 470 which took off from the domestic wing of Murtala Mohammed Airport Lagos for Abuja was hijacked by four Nigerian youths, under the umbrella of the Movement for the Advancement of Democracy (MAD). The drama lasted for four days with the Airbus diverted to Niger Republic. At Niamey, in Niger Republic, while strangers, women and children were allowed to disembark, others were detained and used to negotiate with the Nigerian government then. Their demands included the deproscription of some newspapers which government has proscribed at the heat of political impasse in the country, calling the National Assembly into session and handing over government to them, trial of public officers, both serving or retired that have stacked away about US\$33 billion of the nation's money abroad (Adeoye, 2005b).

The Fourth Republic as mentioned before has witnessed a revival in terrorist activities. The period is characterized with the emergence of some groups championing ethnic agenda whose violent activities made them to be described as terrorists. They include: the Ijaw Youth Council (IYC) that was involved in hostage taking, sacking of police station, killing of state security officials, kidnapping and ransom seeking of oil companies' workers (Adeoye, 2005a). The Oodua People Congress (OPC) defending the Yoruba race as a result of the June 12, 1993 presidential election which was alleged to have been won by a Yoruba man the late Chief M.K.O. Abiola as stated before among others. However the most dreaded terrorist group in Nigeria as stated before is the Boko Haram group. The sect has perpetrated violence in a most unthinkable way and has been a hard nut to crack for the security agencies. The *Boko Haram* group started as *Shahaba* group in 1995 under the leadership of Abubakar Lawan who later traveled to the University of Medina to further his study. Yusuf Mohammed took over from him, changed the doctrine and came up with a new name Boko Haram also known as *Jamaatul Takfir Wal Hyra Alilus Sunna, Jamaatu Ahlissunnah Lidda awatiwal Jihad*. It is believed that the sect emanated from an orthodox teaching similar to that of the Taliban in Afghanistan and Pakistan. To this school of thought, anything western is an aberration and unislamic. It sees the influence of the West on Islam as its basic weakness and as such declared all western institutions as infidel and must be avoided by Muslims. Membership of the sect cut across young people many of them left schools especially in states like Bauchi, Bornu, Yobe States. Some lecturers and highly placed individuals also joined the sect. Some people sold their property to contribute to the purse of the sect in order to fight the cause of Allah so as to save Islam from the influence and domination of west (Abolurin, 2011). The group has clashed with the security agencies on several occasions, killed so many people and had claimed responsibility for most bombings and violent killings in the country.

Causes of Terrorism in Nigeria

According to Fafowora (2012) the following are responsible for terrorism in Nigeria: colonial legacy; the pre-independence political process; weak

postcolonial political and economic systems and the progressive breakdown of the old and powerful emirates. Terrorism in Nigeria has its root in the colonial policies in the country. Thus, it has generated uneven economic and social development between the North and the South. Added to this is the fact that northern leaders failed to invest in the education of their people. It is this failure and not mere religious differences that account for the deep seated grievances of the Boko Haram Insurgents in Nigeria. It seems the process and pace of modernization in the north appear much slower than the south, hence the frustration among the northern youths who find themselves unable to compete with their southern counterparts in all respects. The pre-independence political process that laid the foundation of ethnic politics, equally prepared the ground for the emergence of insurgents in the country as there has not been noticeable improvement in curbing ethnic politics in the country. The political organization of power appears to play contributory role in the emergence of terrorism in the country. The terrorist group has been more active since the north lost power to south-south in electoral contest. The progressive reduction of the influence of emirs has equally contributed to the emergence of insurgents in the country. The old emirates no longer have power of coercion as they now rely on the state security forces to maintain law and order in their domain. They now find it difficult to call errant youths to order.

Other causes of terrorism according to Nweze (2012) are: Inadequate Community and Youth Development Agenda:- Lack of effective grass-root youth development scheme is partly responsible for youth participation in violence acts including terrorism. Because of apparent low level skill, youths are known to flock the capital cities, some of whom have no meaningful skills, are largely unemployed and in many cases unemployable. Many of them turned out to be motor park touts and urchins, area boys all ready to give themselves up for any kind of enlistment for various nefarious criminal activities. This is largely the situation in Nigeria.

Porous Nature of Nigeria's External Borders:- illegal aliens find their way easily into Nigeria. In fact, some criminal records have shown that some illegal aliens who have no legitimate business in the country have been caught to have perpetrated criminal activities. It is on record that some members of the notorious Boko Haram are not Nigerians. Added to this is the fact that, large quantities of arms and ammunition found their way to the country through the porous borders with criminal implications.

The Globalization Factor:- terrorists in Nigeria largely draw their orientation, tactics, determination to succeed and the modus operandi from what is currently taken place in the Middle East Afghanistan. The late Osama Bin Laden has become a figure of mentor to terrorists all over the world. Furthermore, Afghanistan has become the training capital for world terrorists. Even Nigerian terrorists are known to have obtained their lessons from Afghanistan.

Nature of Nigeria Internal Security Operatives:- although Nigerian Police seems to be well trained, particularly in the combatant area, however, there seems to be some gaps in the area of surveillance and information gathering. It appears the terrorists were taken for granted initially before it snowballed to uncontrollable conflagration.

The Muslim-Christian Divide:- religious differences seems to be having effect on the wave of terrorism in the country. Many leaders on either side often fail to speak against terrorist activities because of shared religious sentiment. It took the northern leaders some time to speak out in condemnation of activities of Boko Haram at the initial stage until it became clear that the Boko Haram group did not mean well for anybody irrespective of religious, ethnic, social and political affiliation.

Cases of Terrorists Attack

Some of the cases of terrorists attack have been documented by Okpaga, et al (2012). On July 27, 2009, Boko Haram attacked Potiskum, Yobe State Divisional Police Headquarters, three Policemen and one fire service officer died. The sect attacked Bauchi Central prison, set the prison building ablaze and freed members of the sect in prison custody on September 8, 2010. The sect attacked Jos Plateau State which led to the death of 300 people on March 13, 2010. In January 21, 2011 the sect killed Alhaji Modu Gubio, brother to former governor of the state Modu Sheriff along with six others in Maiduguri, Borno State. In March 30, 2011, bomb planted by Boko Haram in Damaturu, Yobe State exploded and injured a police officer. Bomb planted by the sect at INEC office in Suleija, Niger State claimed lives of 8 corps members and a suicide bomber on April 9, 2011. Boko Haram bombed an army Barrack in Bauchi April 29, 2011. Nigerian Police Headquarters', Abuja was bombed by suspected Boko Haram suicide bombers, three persons were killed and many vehicles were damaged. On June 16, 2011, a suicide bomber drove into the United Nations building in Abuja, killed 25 and injured 60 persons. About 150 people were killed by Boko Haram in Damaturu, Yobe State on November 4, 2011. On December 24, 2011, about 80 people were killed in bombing in Jos, Plateau state. 50 people were killed on Christmas day bombing in Madalla, Niger State on December 25, 2011. About 250 people were killed in multiple attacks in Kano by the sect on January 20, 2012. On February 15, 2012, Boko Haram attacked Koton Karufi prisons, in Kogi state, a warder was killed and 199 prisoners were released. In Maiduguri, Borno State, 5 persons were killed by the sect on February 17, 2012 to mention just a few.

Effects on Nigerian Economy, Politics, and Diplomatic Relations

Nigeria, until the Boko Haram saga assumed an international dimension in 2011, had no record of international terrorism, but it has experienced variants of municipal terrorism in specific circumstances. As a matter of fact, both state and non-state actors (government and groups) have created terrorism. States or

government-sponsored terrorism in Nigeria has been geared at stifling domestic opposition, through selective assassination, while sub-national groups and political parties also seem to adopt terrorism as a strategy or policy (a means) of publicizing their grievances, settling scores, gaining and maintaining political power (Adeoye, 2005).

In view of the domestic and international dynamics of terrorism, Nigeria has been affected in all facets of its existence- political, economic, social and diplomatic engagements. Indeed, terrorism and other forms of militia activities can impose costs on a targeted country through a number of avenues. Terrorist incidents have economic consequences by diverting foreign direct investment (FDI), destroying infrastructure, redirecting public investment funds to security, or limiting trade. If a targeted country loses enough FDI, which is an important source of savings, then it may also experience reduced economic growth. In some instances, terrorism may affect specific industries like tourism and aviation, thus generating industrial disputes. Terrorism also raises the costs of doing business in terms of higher insurance premiums, expensive security precautions and larger salaries to at-risk employees (Sandler and Enders, 2008).

According to Bamidele (2012), the recent statistics released by the Federal Government on the consequences of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria paints a gloomy picture. He argued that the year 2011 showed that Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism has continued to pose a clear threat to the Nigerian economy which is critically dependent on foreign investment and natural resources. He contended that renewable natural resources exploration in agriculture and foreign investment sectors contributes more to the Gross Domestic Products (GDP) of many Northern states' economies than manufacturing. In addition to the significant contributions to national economies, foreign investments sustain rural livelihoods through the provisions of a wide range of products and services. All these potential opportunities are not only undermined but crippled by unprecedented incidences of terrorism in that part of the country.

Similarly, the consequences of militia activities and domestic terrorism have shown some worrisome signs on the political scene. Given the ethnic configuration of the Nigerian state and its potential for conflicts, it is not surprising that politics in Nigeria have been reduced to 'do or die affair' where different political parties fan the embers of ethnicity to dominate certain regional interests to the detriment of the Nigerian state. The immediate consequences of this is witnessed in the highly volatile election contests in the country which has never been without serious structural and logistic challenges, thus undermining the political process and robbing the system of positive democratic credentials. Furthermore, since terrorism has assumed a cross-border dimension in contemporary international relations, it is expected that disturbances by domestic militia groups in Nigeria will attract international attention. This was demonstrated by the face-off between the Federal government and the United States Congress in the latter's attempt to enlist the Boko Haram sect in Nigeria

as terrorist group on the world list. Even though the issue was resolved diplomatically, it has left a permanent damage on the Nigeria-US relations in multi-faceted ways. It is all the more so with the increasing cases of harassment, kidnapping and hostage taking of foreign expatriates working in Nigeria.

The most dramatic turn-out of the above event played out recently with the abduction and eventual murder of seven foreign hostages by Ansaru, an Islamic terrorist group which is affiliated to Boko Haram. According to ThisDay sources (March 11, 2013), the Ansaru terrorist group claimed responsibility for the murder of seven foreign hostages in its custody who hail from Britain, Greece, Italy and Lebanon. This singular incident has not only damaged Nigeria's diplomatic relations with the countries affected, but has the potential of threatening the former's national security apparatus. In the main, the overall cost of terrorist related activities on Nigeria's foreign image is despicable, undermining the efforts of innocent citizens, especially in foreign countries and at international airports, who are continually subjected to indecent treatments.

Conclusion

This chapter has so far, examined the issue of terrorism in Nigeria. Certain conclusions may be drawn from the analyses above: First, there is a strong correlation between religion and terrorism. This has been amply demonstrated in the study that religion and terrorism share long history. Secondly, high rate of poverty and unemployment in the country especially among the youths provide a convenient platform for terrorism to thrive. This is because hungry youths deprived of legitimate source of income find it difficult to resist temptation of being enlisted into criminal groups that they feel could at least, provide them with immediate means of sustenance. Competition for political power and distribution of resources in the country among the various groups, have given impetus to the formation and revival in the activities of terrorist groups in the country. The inability of the Nigerian police to curb the activities of terrorist groups at inception by treating them with kid gloves, has given room to their activities to degenerate into uncontrollable conflagration, making it a herculean task for the security agencies in the country to manage. Lastly, the porousness of the Nigeria's borders has made it easy for illegal aliens with criminal tendencies to enter the country with implication for insecurity.

Given the above scenario, it is therefore imperative to take remedial actions to eliminate terrorism in the country. In view of this, the following measures are suggested: the government should install digital satellite that can monitor the activities of terrorist groups in the country so that they can be tracked easily. There is need to re-orientate the politicians towards shunning divisive politics and do or die politics that have imprints in terrorist activities by placing the unity and security of the country in high premium as against their selfish interests. Government should embark on mass youth employment. The government should solicit for the cooperation of countries sharing borders with Nigeria in tracking down illegal immigrants into Nigeria. They can also assist Nigeria to prevent the escape of terrorist groups into their country.

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