

THE THREAT OF NEW TERRORISM IN NIGERIA: AN ASSESSMENT OF BOKO HARAM

BY

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Degree of Master of Social Science in International Relations at the
Mafikeng Campus of the North-West University.



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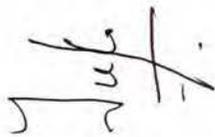
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DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation/thesis is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been appropriately acknowledged. The thesis is being submitted for the Masters of Arts Degree in International Relations in the Faculty of Human and Social Sciences, in the Department of History, Politics and International Relations of the North West University: Mafikeng Campus, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.



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Prof. Victor Ojakorotu

25/04/2014

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Date

12/09/2014

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Date

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to God, the creator of heaven and earth, for his infinite compassion, mercy and blessings upon my life. He has been my strength and my guide in getting this far and in concluding this work. My God and my father, without you I am nothing.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Firstly, I thank God, the Almighty and the creator of Heaven and earth for his infinite mercies, endurance, protection, guidance and provision.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

GSPC	Groupe Salafiste pour la Prédication et le Combat
JMTF	Joint Military Task Force
JTF	Joint Task Force
MASSOB	Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra
MEND	Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger-Delta
NDPVF	Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force
NDV	Niger-Delta Vigilante
OPC	Oodua People's Congress
PDP	Peoples Democratic Party
PSI	Pan Sahel Initiative
SFRY	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
SSS	State Security Service
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees

EXPLANATION OF TERMINOLOGY

Jamā'a Ahl al-sunnah li-da'wa wa al-jihād (AKA Boko Haram) is an Islamic radical group which is currently operational in the Northern region of Nigeria. Boko Haram also operates in other countries which share common boundaries with Nigeria in Northern Nigeria.

Sharia Law is the religious law of Islam which comes from the Quran.

ABSTRACT

The dynamics of terrorism in the global sphere has been on the rise and this can be mainly attributed to the single attack that was waged against the United States on 11 September 2001. This attack culminated in a global awareness and it has triggered subsequent attacks from both old and new terrorist organisations. Some terrorist organisations have changed their ways of operations so that they can be more destructive and become known. But the major international problem till now remains the delay in having a universally acceptable definition of terrorism and what can or cannot be accepted as terrorism. Hence, over the years, terrorism has thrived and gone unnoticed in various countries across the African continent.

About 5 years ago, very little work covered terrorism in West Africa or Nigeria; some scholars worked on studies that were more focused on the struggle for resource control and militancy involved in that. But the spate of attacks in Nigeria emphasised for a need for scholars to work on terrorism in Nigeria at all levels. The Nigerian society has been going through a serious ongoing battle with militants and also the Islamic insurgents, called Boko Haram, which is alleged to be affiliated to Al-Qaeda. These patterns of terrorism have been fueled by political, religious, ethnic and financial reasons.

This research is an explanation and description of the factors responsible for terrorism in Nigeria; the profiling of old and new terrorism; the emergence of new types of terrorism which have sprung up from existing and new patterns. Also, external influences have aided the emergence of such combinations in Nigeria. This study will also look at the similarity between Nigeria and the defunct Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

In addition, the existing measures to tackle terrorism will be analysed, which include, national and regional joint military initiatives. Recommendations will be offered to assist further researches and the government in understanding the mechanisms of terrorism in Nigeria, so that it can be effectively tackled. Hence, the research was able to pinpoint the types of terrorism (old and external influence) and the causal factors of terrorism which have led to the emergence of groups such as Boko Haram, JAMBS and MEND in

Nigeria. The research also established the roles of national and regional organizations in tackling terrorism. One of the measures introduced by the Nigerian government was the amnesty program.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Background of the study

Since the global acknowledgement of terrorism, most especially after the al-Qaeda attack on the United States of America on the 11th of September, 2001, there has been more focus on the Western world as being under direct threat from terrorist groups aimed at them or their allies, especially due to the fact that the 9/11 attack is seen as the starting point of New Terrorism globally; this attack by the Al-Qaeda terrorist group was the major turning point towards an international consciousness which heightened the fear of terrorism globally (Miko, 2005:3). Nonetheless, the first world countries, as the main targets of terrorists have aided in shifting the recognition and acceptance of terrorism in Africa because it was overlooked and undermined, especially in Nigeria (National War College, 2002: 4). The West African country of Nigeria has been one of the most affected regions of Africa in terms of poverty, slow development, corruption and internal conflicts as a result of political and religious struggles, which can be regarded as terrorism.

The multi-ethnic groups, different religious affiliations, diverse culture and geographical positioning are some of the factors that have triggered conflicts up to now (Okoye, 2009). The diversity in the languages and ethnic groups in Nigeria does not totally support unity and togetherness, mainly in the political sphere which is still plagued by so many failures and unsatisfactory work. The Federal Republic of Nigeria has a population estimated at slightly above 155,000,000 people and over 250 ethnic groups. The indigenous languages spoken in Nigeria are believed to be over 500 (Central Intelligence Agency: Nigeria, 2011). Nigeria is one of the few countries in the World with a very high population and also a large distribution of multi-cultural ethnic backgrounds combined with religious beliefs; in this it resembles the United States of America and the now defunct Socialist Former Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). The religious outlook in Nigeria can be linked with ethnic group and geographical location to a large extent because approximately 50% of Nigerians are Muslims, 40% are Christians, while the remaining 10% follow paganism or the worshipping of traditional deities (Central Intelligence Agency: *Nigeria*, 2011).

Hence, Obi (2006:9) explains that the multi-cultural facet of Nigeria combined with various religions and the failure of the Nigerian government to respond to people's needs due to the weaknesses of the political system in Nigeria continues to stir rebellion and militancy from dissatisfied individuals, who try to justify their acts by claiming to be fighting for the right to absolute freedom and democracy, equality, justice, and the right to a fairer distribution of the natural resources of their geo-political region. According to Minkov (2011:125), *Boko Haram* means Western Education is sinful and its objective is to cleanse the Islamic educational system of Nigeria of any Western or European ideologies and influence. *Boko Haram* has been responsible for many attacks including bombing and killings, on international organisations and members of the public in Nigeria. "The group Jama'atu Ahlus-Sunnah Lidda'Awati Wal Jihad, known the world over as Boko Haram, is an extremist Islamic sect in Nigeria that has created havoc across the north of the country and in the capital, Abuja. Its violent attacks on government offices, the United Nations, and churches threaten to destabilize the country" (United States Institute of Peace, 2012).

Although, prior to the early 2000's, the magnitude of terrorist activities in Nigeria had not garnered much media attention, a gradual growth of terrorist activities and networks has largely progressed unabated in Nigeria. Terrorism has been present in a way that makes it difficult to term it as terrorism, or separate it from other forms of justifiable rebellious activities. Anderson (2011) elucidates that "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter". Before the 21st century, the most common types of terrorism that had been present in Nigeria were state sponsored terrorism and political party sponsored terrorism. Terrorism has thrived silently in different forms in Nigeria and this is not unconnected with the instability of the government that had led to coups, rebellion and violent conflicts. The national threat of insecurity and terrorism in Nigeria has to a large extent been fostered by permeable national borders and widespread poverty which are products of weak states.

Terrorism can be defined as the "the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives" (Federal Bureau of Investigation,

2002-2005). However, a clearer understanding of terrorism is necessary since terrorism does not have a globally accepted definition, hence, the 2004 resolution of the United Nations will be applicable for this research. The resolution explains terrorism, “like any act of international terrorism, as a threat to international peace and security”, urges states to bring the perpetrators, organizers and sponsors to justice, and express “determination to combat all forms of terrorism” (Saul, 2005).

1.1.1 Old Terrorism

Groups that have been involved in old terrorism are groups such as Al-Qaeda and the Taliban amongst others, because these groups have been in existence for a long time as terrorist groups, more especially prior to the 9/11 attacks on the United States of America. Old terrorism can be explained as operations by groups that were active and known as militia/terrorist groups prior to the end of the 20th century, even in Africa (Plocek, 2009). Old terrorists were territorial and mainly did not operate out of their comfort zones because of poor networking, little funding and the struggle for control of political power via nationalism, anarchy, dictatorship and extreme party politics likened to a one party state system (Ibid).

1.1.2 New Terrorism

“The idea of ‘new terrorism’ was often used as a slogan which signalled that things were different from the past but provided no real explanation of how and why things had changed” (Neumann, 2009).¹ But, Tucker (2001:1) explains that new terrorism now has to do with a network of cells that builds personal relationships as opposed to the old hierarchical system whereby the central branch passes laws and orders.² This connotes a huge problem nowadays, because terrorist attacks are being carried out in the name of certain terrorist groups without the central body approving or knowing the person or

group of people responsible for the attack. Furthermore, the operational locations and the affiliations of terrorist groups now determine whether new terrorism approaches are being used or not (Neumann, *Ibid*).³ According to Braddock & Horgan (2013:28), new terrorism is an idea that has recently been accepted and applied by many people, and also criticized by a few persons who are not in support of this new notion because, the concept of new terrorism is not due to the global problem of not having a uniform acceptance and definition for terrorism. Furthermore, new terrorism can be explained as terrorism that is evolving in terms of the occurrence of something which has never occurred in the past; new terrorism can also be used to explain a form of terrorism which has been experienced in the past, but is now moving to an unknown dimension and perspective culminating in new and emerging forms of mixed terrorism (*Ibid*).

New terrorism operations are vicious and rebellious in approach towards targets; in most cases, innocent civilians suffer the most. The attack on the UN office in Abuja, Nigeria by Boko Haram in August 2011 was a great blow to Nigeria and the international community because of the casualties and international impact (CNN, 2011). Religious extremism by sectarian radical groups only started becoming a global phenomenon from the early 1970's, and it is still evolving as a new form of terrorism because most of the new Islamic groups that are being formed use religion and politics as a reason for their formation (United States Institute of Peace, 2012).

Therefore, Boko Haram has established itself as an international actor in new terrorism through its link with al-Qaeda and not necessarily through its domestic ways of operations because it does not yet possess the strength or connections to have other smaller cells within Nigeria (Roggio, 2012).⁴ However, this does not mean that smaller cells which can be affiliated to Boko Haram on a domestic or regional level, will not spring up in the near future.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Over the past 5 decades, Nigeria has gone through various evolutions in terms of regime change and governance to improve control and disbursement of states resources; before this period, colonialists had sovereign power over Nigeria and they made decisions concerning the governance of all their territories, which included Nigeria (Green, 2011). The increasing number of the educated indigenous people led to a rising awareness amongst the people of their right to control and orchestrate the governance and control the natural resources of Nigeria. This awareness spread amongst the masses which was happening among most black and African communities at that time. Pan-African movements emphasized the awareness and understanding of one's African identity and the importance of one's cultural and national identity (Mišćević, 2001: 293). After colonialism in Nigeria, there was an opportunity for leadership succession that led to the battle for internal supremacy, which culminated in the masses experiencing the greed and the negativity associated with power control from their own kinsmen. This also led to the opportunity for the military to seize power and because of the authoritarian approach, in which the affairs of state in Nigeria were handled, crimes were perpetrated under the guise of the military within the military and against Nigerians in a terrorist-like manner but these crimes were often overlooked.

As Nigeria gradually advanced and struggled towards modern democratization, there was an insatiable desire for adequate and satisfactory governance. In an egalitarian manner, a lot still needed to be done regarding the provision and distribution of social welfare needs to Nigerians at large. Events unfold daily in international political circles regarding policies and conflict resolution which demand a greater understanding and expertise of effective leadership to achieve a positive result. However, the societal needs of Nigerians have not been met. As long as the Nigerian leaders and politicians continue to compete for power, there will still be a societal divide. On the other hand, the vulnerability of those who believe they are being marginalised in the allocation of resources are tested in the sense that they embrace and perhaps aid groups and communal conflicts that fight against peace and stability in Nigeria through various regimes. Because the government continues to fail to find lasting solutions to the problems and the conflicts in Nigeria,

different violent groups and types of violent activities which have not been experienced before are emerging in Nigeria. This is very similar to the ways in which the defunct SFRY started becoming extinct. Hence, new terrorism has emerged in Nigeria with the activities of Boko Haram and not only in the form of internationally defined new terrorism, but also in new patterns that show fusion of different causes.

1.3 Rationale of the study

Researchers have been studying terrorism in Nigeria but no one has focused on the fusion of conflicts, militancy and terrorism in Nigeria. Terrorism cannot be dissociated from the weakness of the socio-politico-economic structure in Nigeria (Okumu & Botha, 2007: 9). The roles of Nigeria's neighbour states in aiding border weaknesses will also be explained; the porosity of the Chad Republic boundaries and the geographical closeness to the Sahara Desert make borders penetrable and too weak to resist the influx of rebels and Muslim fundamentalists that come into Nigeria via Chad Republic (Central Intelligence Agency: Chad, 2011). The aforementioned problems that have aided terrorism in Nigeria can also be traced to the leadership vacuum created by the colonial regime which granted independence to people who were inexperienced (Englebert, 2000:7). Thus, some terrorist attacks have been targeted at African allies of the Westerners and the attack has been justified as an attack against Westernisation and imperialists who once had an influence over a particular country (Chiriyankandath, 2007: 49). In addition, it will aim to explain how the fight against conflict and terrorism have failed because of the weaknesses of the state; the change in government and the transition to full democratisation has been tenuous and problematic due to corruption, electoral fraud, oppression and human rights violation by those in power, which is common in countries that have been destabilized due to ethnic conflicts and violence (Oko, 2009: 5).

1.4 Research objectives

The main objective of this research is to study the patterns and emergence of new terrorism in Nigeria, with a major focus on Boko Haram. However, this research will not only describe the patterns and emerging forms of terrorism in Nigeria but it will also describe the causal factors of conflicts and terrorism because Nigeria has very vast rich

cultural and religious patterns that can also be identified with particular geographical locations in the country. Particularly, this research

- Describes the notion and combination of terrorism as internal and external
- Identifies the key factors which have led to the rise in conflicts and terrorist activities of groups such as Boko Haram and MEND in Nigeria;
- Clarifies the role played by national and regional institutions in tackling militancy and terrorism in Nigeria.

1.5 Significance of the study

At the end of this research, Nigerian society and the entire African continent stands to benefit from this study because of the focus area of this work, which further reveals the ongoing trends of terrorism and the emerging patterns which cannot just be explained or profiled by any individual. Hence, this study will be of an immense help to individuals, government officials, multi-national companies, regional bodies, stakeholders, community leaders and religious leaders, among others. Furthermore, this study will help in proffering solutions on how to limit the spread of terrorism to other parts of Nigeria and Africa.

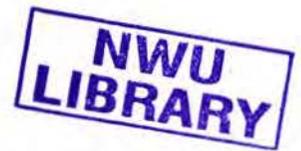
1.6 Research Hypothesis

This study is predicated on the following hypotheses which are to be verified and validated in this research:

- a. The combination of old Terrorism with the emergence of external influence as an impact on the current patterns of Terrorism in Nigeria.
- b. Unemployment and lack of true federalism which does not allow for resource control by the various regions with natural mineral resources as causes for conflicts and terrorism in Nigeria.

1.7 Research Methodology

This research paper will be a qualitative study that will describe and indicate the prevalence of different trends of terrorism and the emergence of new trends of terrorism in Nigeria. Hence, qualitative research can be used to create common authenticity and cultural connotation in the course of focusing on interactive proceedings and methods; in so doing, there is space for thematic study in a way that information and theory can unite (PEARSON, n. d).



1.7.1 Source of Data

The source of data for this study will be accumulated mainly through secondary sources of data because the issue is still ongoing and volatile. In addition, people are scared to comment because of the attacks that follow their input. For instance, This Day newspaper criticized Boko Haram, and their office was attacked afterwards in April 2012 (VOA, 2012). Therefore, this research will rely on secondary sources in an attempt to describe and explore the areas of study.

1.7.2 Data Collection Methods

Data will be collected via newspapers, online journals, articles, books, periodicals, accredited government and organisational websites. In other words, the use of secondary sources such as newspaper articles, periodicals, books, journals and information from relevant websites of renowned World organisations and other secondary materials will be used. Basically, the intention is to elucidate and explore the research topic in a way that it will be clearly explained and used in the future as a critique and argument for other researchers.

1.7.3 Data Analysis Methods

Secondary qualitative data analysis will be put into practice and used in actualizing and finalizing the study of this research. For this research it will be important to use descriptive data techniques to sum up the population of significance by describing what

descriptive data techniques to sum up the population of significance by describing what was garnered and observed in the study, as this is an essential aspect of the information that will be used in testing the hypotheses to reaffirm the goals of the researcher (Scott, n.d:2,13).

1.8 Scope of the study

This research is projected to describe old and new terrorism, and emerging patterns of terrorism in Nigeria. In addition, it will also describe the adverse effects of these generally unacceptable networks and conflicts in terms of security, peace and stability in Nigeria and how it also compares to the defunct Socialist Former Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) in terms of internal problems.

1.9 Ethical clearance

I do not require ethical clearance because my information will be based on secondary sources in determining the patterns and fusions of terrorism in Nigeria. The only instances that I might require ethical clearance for this research study are if I have to interview law enforcement officers, NGO's, militants, kidnappers, victims of conflicts/terrorism and the general public. In this case, the identities of the respondents will be protected to avoid any kind of complication that can arise as a result of security or ethics breach. But, my research does not require ethical clearance because of the dependence on secondary materials.

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CHAPTER TWO

Literature review & Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter encompasses the literature review and framework which are very important for any research: work done in relation to this topic by previous scholars will be analysed and theories which are suitable for this research will also be introduced.

2.2 Literature Review

The subject of terrorism flourishing and being a continuous threat in Nigeria has been largely overlooked and some people still perceive that it will be ephemeral as it is nearly non-existent. Perhaps this is a reason why terrorism in Nigeria has not been widely researched or talked about as an important or major focus by scholars. Tribal and ethnic sovereignty can be explained as the laws and customs or way of life of a particular tribe, ethnic group or group of persons that have a collective custom or norm, and the rights of tribes to rule themselves, identify their own association, handle ethnic belongings, and control ethnic trade and domestic affairs should be enshrined within democratic constitutions (The Leadership Conference, 2009).

Several notable scholars that have done previous research on terrorism and security issues in West Africa over the past 10 years include Cyril Obi (*op.cit*: 87,101), Amado Philip de Andrés (2008), Kehinde Bolaji (2010:Vol. 12, No. 1), Bamidele & Igbuzor (2002:2) and Jeremy Keenan (2007). Notwithstanding the fact that the focus of these scholars is on terrorism, their approach and description of the causal factors and patterns of terrorism in Nigeria differs.

The idea of terrorism being factual, rising and anticipated in Nigeria is examined and contested by Obi who challenges the identity of terrorism in Nigeria and its suppleness in the sense that it can be seen as an ideological and propagandist agenda by people and ethnic groups with ulterior motives (Obi, *op.cit*: 90). Interest in Nigeria's oil and other important mineral resources targeted by the West, especially the United States (US) are

the reason why terrorism is coming into West Africa because of the interest that the United States has in the region which attracts radical Muslim fundamentalists (Obi, *Ibid*: 91). This is the reason why the US initiated and started the Pan Sahel Initiative (PSI) which is for the recruitment and training of about 600 soldiers altogether from countries such as Chad, Mali, Mauritania and Niger in order to deter terrorist groups from operating freely in the West African region (Obi, *loc.cit*). de Andres (*op. cit*) describes terrorism and security issues in a way that the porosity and weaknesses of the common borders in West Africa are heightening the increase in human trafficking, cyber crime and organized crimes, and these are the reasons behind the boost in religious radicalism and terrorism in the region. de Andres relates the weaknesses in state institutions to tackle organized crime and human trafficking as tools via forgery and fund raising to finance terrorism by Islamist radicals directing their operations from other parts of the world such as North Africa into West Africa, especially Nigeria. His study lightly explains that the diverse ethnic and religious distribution in the region has been a major driving force of ethno-nationalism conflicts, even when most of these countries were still under military regimes and dictatorships (de Andrés, *loc. cit*).

Bamidele & Igbuzor (2002:3) explain in their work that some people believe Islamic fundamentalism is a direct response to the sharp rise in the strength of Christian fundamentalism by the Pentecostals, which enjoys the backing of the president at the time who is a Christian and who is from the South-West geo-political region of Nigeria. Other top politicians and government officials in the country are also Christians and they have openly criticized their political rivals on religious grounds. Furthermore, Bamidele & Igbuzor (*loc.cit*) explain that because the Christians have become more outspoken and are strictly against Sharia law, which is being implemented in most of the Northern and core Muslim states, there has been a retaliatory response from the Islamic fundamentalists who believe that they are losing their grip on power because of the confrontation and the alertness of the Christians. Although, I am not totally in agreement with the views of the authors because there has been a growth and a blend in the form of ethnic related conflicts and Christian fundamentalism which is already culminating in retaliatory attacks by Christians (Human Rights Watch, 2003:12). On the contrary, Bamidele & Igbuzor did not relate their work to the beliefs and aims of the Islamic extremist Group (Boko

Haram). Why was the group formed and what it does stand for? The affiliations between random groups in Nigeria and international terrorist networks such as Al-Qaeda and The Taliban were not also mentioned. Nonetheless, it is good to note that his work was not on terrorism and it was done some years before Boko Haram established a presence and became a threat in Nigeria.

Bolaji's (*op. cit*) focus is on the theoretical and practical validation of terrorism against governance by the people and also the problems of terrorism not being tackled by the government due to poor governance and weak institutions. The author sees unemployment, poverty, underdevelopment and bad governance as issues that are fueling terrorism and also hindering the government from tackling the problem in the West African region. His emphasis is also on bad governance to the extent that it results in militancy and revolution within the country as in the case of the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, there are ongoing battles between militants who have formed various groups and are constantly in conflict with the government and multi-national companies and organizations operating in the area (Bolaji, *loc. cit*). Keenan's view of the Sahara-Sahel region of Africa, having a close proximity to Mali and Chad, is an entry point for Islamist fundamentalists to penetrate Nigeria and move around with their victims who in most cases are foreigners who have been kidnapped and taken as hostages. The greatest concern is the freedom of movement in the Sahara-Sahel region by these terrorist groups such as the Groupe Salafiste pour la Prédication et le Combat (GSPC) which is linked to Al Qaeda.

On the other hand, as 'belonging' and 'harmony' are over-emphasized in some tribal or ethnic groups, other ethnic groups are perceived as a threat to their interests and agendas. Violent conflicts and unrest are possible especially when the needs of certain ethnic groups are favored above others. "Terrorism is defined by Title 22 of the U.S. Code as politically motivated violence perpetrated in a clandestine manner against noncombatants. Experts on terrorism also include another aspect in the definition: the act is committed in order to create a fearful state of mind in an audience different from the victims. Whether or not an act is considered terrorism also depends on a legal, moral, or behavioral perspective" (Ruby, 2002: Vol. 2). Therefore, national destabilization can be

encouraged by ideas that pit the needs of various ethnic groups against the needs of others. This thesis is researched to fill the gap in conflicts and terrorism; focusing on the intermingling of religious fundamentalism, ethnic nationalism, militancy and multi-ethnic diversities as reasons behind emerging forms of terrorism.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

This research will explore the prevalent and emerging factors behind ethnic conflicts, militancy threats and terrorism in Nigeria. The study will make use of the theory of ethnic conflict and religion theory by Marx to ground this study. Terrorism has different facets and ideologies and in whatever form that it is portrayed, there is always a negative and intimidating impact which promotes violence, coercion and sometimes religious radicalism. By definition “international terrorism involves violent acts, or acts dangerous to human life. These acts appear to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population, influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion, or affect the conduct of a government by assassination or kidnapping” (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2002-2005). Principally, there are always reasons for the actions of a terrorist group because the course legalizes the actions of the terrorists in their own minds.

This theory of religion was postulated by Marx. According to him, religion is a segregation of man which does nothing in terms of harmonization and unity. “Religious distress is at the same time the expression of real distress and the protest against real distress. Religion is the sign of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of a spiritless situation. It is the opium of the people” (Shagor, 2000:1). These statements by Karl Marx can be reflected on and linked to the wave of religious fundamentalism currently making waves in Nigeria. Was Marx right? Are people really oppressed and they sigh through religion? Perhaps, this is the reason behind the recent spate of religious extremism in Nigeria that is fueling the rise of Christian terrorism. Religious conflict is seen as a strong reason in the defining and elucidation of the socio-economic growth of a country. On the other hand it can also be the reason for the problems that a country experience, in the sense that religious division hinders economic development in a place due to the conflicts and violent clashes sometimes associated with

it (Reynal-Querol and Montalvo, 2000:1). The theory of religion simply explains religion as a creation of men; people who possess power and control over the society (Hamilton, n.d.). Therefore, he sees religion as a bogus perception which is being stirred by the orchestrators and political players to help the unfortunate and less privileged in society (Halyburton, 1812:85). This perception is such that it divides the society instead of uniting it. The rate of poverty and societal dissatisfaction might be a major shift; a detachment by the people from the government and a move to religion in Nigeria (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2010).

Jesse & Williams (2010) explains that “as ethnic groups clash, the international community faces the challenge of understanding the multiple causes of violence and formulating solutions that will bring about peace”. There seems to be a great connection between inter-ethnic relations and international relations but this does not mean that they are totally dependent on each other (Horowitz, 2000:9). Weber defined ethnicity as the belief of social actors in common descent based on racial and cultural differences, amongst other factors (Hamilton, 1991:284).

Conflict that can likely arise as a result of inter-ethnic causal factors in certain states and regions can attract global attention and a great media focus to the extent that it becomes an international issue and problem. When looking at conflicts, we easily remember instability, poverty, refugees, violence, war, genocide and other crimes against humanity; consequently, the term ‘conflict’ has a negative undertone that is very repulsive and detested (Senggirbay, 2011: 890).

According to Horowitz, “conflict is a struggle in which the aim is to gain objectives and simultaneously to neutralize, injure, or eliminate rivals” (Horowitz, *op cit*: 95). This definition of conflict is almost in line with the declaration “one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter” (Anderson, *op cit*). In other words, what others might regard and accept as a direct threat through conflict aimed and directed at them by another ethnic group or group of people might be easily justified and accepted as a struggle by another ethnic group or group of people with a common interest. Ethnic conflict as a focus of study is broad and there are numerous and interesting views that have been suggested by various scholars, which in most cases focus on the subjects or the causes of the conflicts

such as the aims, motives and motivations as well as the actors (ethnic, community and regional) involved. Furthermore, the environment in which a particular conflict is occurring is also looked at and issues such as the languages and resources available in the environment as the socio-politico-economic factors affecting the environment; the features of the conflict such as the time frame or duration that the fighting has lasted, the likely future consequences and also the losses and the possibility of an immediate resolution of the crisis (Tishkov, *loc.cit*).

The need for another theory to compliment Marx theory of religion arises because of its inability to fully explain the study. Therefore, the theory of ethnic conflict that will compliment Marx's theory is driven by three main pivotal schools of thought which are the primordialist view, instrumentalist view and constructivist view of the theory of ethnic conflict, but for this research study the primordialist and instrumentalist view will be valuable. Contentiously, ethnic conflict is explained to be a "discord among the group of people that can be differed from each other based on their religious, cultural, racial peculiarities as well as language and origin and provoked by the social, political, cultural, spiritual and economic competition. It may occur between the government and ethnic group or between two or more ethnic groups, and it is the normal situation in the country or region that inhabited by the groups with different religious, cultural, genetic and language origins" (Senggirbay, *op cit*: 892.) The type of terrorism that is prevalent in Northern Nigeria is more religious and it is being fueled and perpetuated on the basis of Islamic radical fundamentalism (BBC, 2010).

The primordialist account of ethnic conflict has a major strength that makes it outstanding against other accounts; there is a strong belief that social harmony can arise from the biological traits, skin colour, pigmentation and other physical traits that can make an individual to be identified and accepted as a part of an ethnic group (Szayna, 2000:20). Essentially, the identity of one's ethnicity is formed on the basis of general ancestry and toughened by general language and history (Szayna, *loc.cit*) The genocide that took place in Rwanda is one of the few instances that the primordialist form of ethnic conflict has been applied and portrayed in such a manner that it culminated in a great crime against humanity (Mamdani: 2001). Another such case is the conflict amongst

three renowned ethnic groups in Nigeria; at a point in time, the conflict was concurrent between the Ijaws, the Itsekiri's and the Urhobo's of Warri in Delta State, Nigeria. This conflict which later turned out to be a struggle for territory was initially started due to the creation of a new Local Government Area (LGA) in Warri towards the end of the 20th century and which lasted into the first 3 years of the 21st century (UNHCR, 2003). Many believe that it was the after effects of this conflict that started in the 1990's, that triggered a new threat in that region in the form of militancy and kidnapping of foreign nationals. Essentially, the primordialist concept of ethnic conflict can be linked to the Niger Delta Crisis in Nigeria, where armed conflicts and militant groups who shared a common language such as the Ijaws in the riverine areas carried out their activities based on their physical strength and skills as good fishermen and swimmers who have inhabited the riverine area of the Niger Delta region of Nigeria for years. Once again, "ethnic divisions and ethnic conflicts are considered inherent to multiethnic societies and a common phenomenon", (Ishiyama & Breuning, 2010:142).

Instrumentalists cite compelling socio-economic-political factors as the reason behind ethnic conflict; violence and terrorism for state recognition regardless of the consequences and direct impact it might have on the society and harmless, defenseless individuals; ethnic sovereignty or the freedom to join a neighbouring state to become a part of it. Instrumentalist's elucidation of ethnic conflict explains it in a way that ethnic conflicts are viewed as an assignment with a purpose rather than an obvious situation that cannot be avoided (Lobell & Mauceri, 2004:14). Furthermore, an instrumentalist looks at issues such as terrain and profitable and economic goods as well as language rights as having a high importance to ethnic conflicts, although ethnic nationalism and identity is seen as a useful instrument and ploy for elites and leaders who in most cases come as politicians to instigate and rally support from the people, in order to meet the interest and actualize the goals of these elites (Rivkin-Fish & Trubina, 2010:144). Thus, the main drive behind ethnic nationalism is interests (good or selfish) as seen in the political systems in Nigeria, provided it is justifiable and it promotes unity which is vital for the success and drive of any ethnic group. When this culminates in violence and terrorism via ethnic conflicts, it is viewed by the individuals of these groups to be for a just cause because they are demanding and fighting for ethnic sovereignty in a multi-ethnic society

or region. On the other hand, the government will term members of these groups as rebels, outlaws, militants, which are also acceptable terms for terrorists (Saul, 2005).

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CHAPTER THREE

Explanation, Findings, Analysis

3.1 Existing types of Terrorism in Nigeria

Arguably, some scholars believe there are three types of terrorists, which are criminal terrorists, tyranny terrorists and foreign terrorists (Sulcer, 2008: 19). The criminal terrorist can be explained as a neighbour or a resident of the same area or region who carries out a crime. In other words, a criminal is explained as a neighbour who commits terrorism. This is followed by the idea of a terrorist being a tyrant in the form of a ruler who carries out unjustifiable and unconstitutional attacks against his people (Sulcer, 2008:19). In this situation, tyranny has to be checked by the constitution. The third form of terrorist, who is becoming more widespread, is known as the foreign terrorist in an international form; powerful individuals and rulers from other countries can be a threat to the world or to other countries. For instance Osama Bin Laden can be referred to as a foreign or international terrorist because his terrorist activities were exterritorial. (Council on Foreign Relations, 2007)

If Sulcer's explanation of the 3 types of terrorists is acceptable, one will discover that criminal terrorists and tyrant terrorists were already active in Nigeria prior to the transition of power from military to democracy, although, in the past decade, there has been more experience of criminal terrorists in the Nigerian society compared to tyrant terrorists. Boko Haram is one of such groups which has succeeded in being a menace to the society and hence can be referred to as a criminal terrorist organisation. Although Boko Haram is allegedly affiliated to Al Qaeda, which falls under the foreign terrorist category, this is yet to be substantiated and because Boko Haram has not directly been a major threat to other countries. This excludes it from being a foreign terrorist group at the moment.

However, according to other scholars, the subject of terrorism can be made easier by simplifying the types of terrorism, which can also be accepted as the basic forms of terrorism worldwide. The types of terrorism which are most common global are political

terrorism and religious terrorism. These types of terrorism are not only regarded as the basic forms of terrorism but they are also known as the oldest forms of terrorism.

“According to the National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, there are six distinct types of terrorism. All of them share the common traits of being violent acts that destroy property, invoke fear and attempt to harm the lives of civilians” (Crime Library). On the other hand, the difference in the intensity of the violence committed distinguishes terrorism to be either old or new, but both with a common background of violence.

3.1.1 Political Terrorism

This is the kind of terrorism that is been used by the state or certain rich people in society for the purpose of causing havoc and disorganisation to the central leadership of a particular area. This act of terror has been very prevalent in Nigeria and most Western countries; it was applied during the military era in Nigeria and other parts of Africa. All arms of internal intelligence agencies such as the police force, the Military and the State Security Service (SSS) were used in attacks against civilians. These acts which were regarded as terroristic in nature were not that publicized at that time because of the limitations associated with globalization and the media (Wardlaw, 1989: 7)

3.1.2 Religious Terrorism

It is believed that the world’s greatest religions have both non-violent and violent sides because of the differences in denominations and practices, which sometimes make them have both internal and external conflicts which are sometime deadly (Jones, 2008:6). Religious terrorism has been one of the oldest and most prevalent forms of terrorism and it is also seen as the most common and highly networked form of terrorism across the globe (Ibid).

3.1.3 Domestic Terrorism

This is the kind of terrorism that is carried out within an area, state or region with the

intent of causing disruption within a state for the purpose of pursuing a cause (Oyeniya, 2007: 16). Domestic terrorism is currently ongoing in the Niger-Delta region of Nigeria, but compared to 3 years back, the Nigerian government has successfully curbed the menace and threat of domestic terrorism in the form of militants who claim to be fighting for a rapid and speedy development of the Niger-Delta region of Nigeria. People and groups who engage in these acts sometimes distance themselves from terrorism by claiming to be fighting for either an ethnic sovereignty, resource control or political recognition. One of such groups is the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND). People find it difficult to oppose such groups, most especially if they are from the same region or ethnic group because of the fear that they themselves will be ostracized. They might be perceived as going against the development of their area. However, the manner in which an attack is carried out can, to an extent, determine whether it can be categorized as violence against the public peace and the unity of a state.

Years ago, communal clashes and the struggle for land ownership and oil wells were the reason behind clashes before militant groups were formed (Omeje, 2006, p.61) Lately, the old militant groups have been distancing their groups from a few attacks that were carried out in the Niger Delta region by gunmen who continue to operate in the Niger Delta region as militants and under the name of these old groups. It was anticipated that there would be a total stop to the militant activities in the Niger-Delta region after the roll-out of the amnesty program by the late President Umaru Musa Yar-Adua (Ibaba, Ukaga & Ukiwo, 2012: 160). After the death of President Umaru Musa Yar Adua, the vice-President, President Goodluck Jonathan was sworn in as the President of Nigeria; and as expected, he continued with the amnesty program and made it more effective. Nonetheless, attacks are still being carried out in the Niger-Delta region, by people who claim to be ex-militants regrouping, or by militants who have not benefitted from the amnesty program. There is a thin line between extremism and terrorism and it is sometimes difficult to differentiate between the two of them (Oyeniya, 2007:17).

Ethnic conflicts and militancy both fall under domestic terrorism because they occur internally within a region or state and they are aimed at causing mayhem within a state,

holding the government to ransom and drawing attention on the grounds of marginalization and neglect on the part of the government.

3.2 Ethnic Egotism

In common with most West African countries, the multi-faceted culture of Nigeria has been one of the strengths of the country because of its rich culture and heritage. On the other hand, the differences have promoted the division and marginalisation because of greed, poverty, corruption, maladministration. During the first phases of the post-colonial era in Africa, most of the conflicts and terrorist attacks were carried out as a result of poor governance, weak government structures and the military regimes. Ethnic conflicts have been expressed as one of the biggest problems delaying development in Africa (Anugwom, 2000: 61). If we are to agree with Sulcer's explanation of a terrorist, the military regime in Nigeria made it possible for certain terrorist activities to be carried out against civilians and opposing forces. Attacks were carried out against civilians by the military and the dictators in a tyrant-like manner. However, most of these terrorist activities were never discussed or criticized that much because terrorism was given little attention at that time. For instance, under the military regime of the late General Sani Abacha, many civilians were murdered, especially those who opposed his military rule or criticized his government (Osha, n.d). Although, the military regime attacks were not based on ethnicity or religion, certain decisions were taken that infringed on the basic human rights of the Nigerian civilians (UNHCR, 1999). The allegations about the late General Sani Abacha can be substantiated to an extent because of the terrorist-like manner in which his orders were carried out against any opposition between 1993- 1998 (Africa Confidential, n.d). As a result of the activities of the military regime under the rule of General Sani Abacha, Nigeria was subjected to sanctions by international bodies (Aka, 2012:14). Prior to the Sani Abacha regime, there were a few political coups.

While some ethnic groups were attacked and marginalized, a few ethnic groups had an edge because of their large population and this always made them feel superior to other ethnic groups in the country. However, over the years, due to the transition in government and patterns of government, ethnic groups have been grouped under geo-

political zones and major to issues such as resource control, allocation, political slots/positions amongst others are now addressed according to the geo-political zones.

Ethnic conflicts in Nigeria have been occurring since the pre-colonial era and are becoming more rampant because of awareness on the part of the people, and weakness on the part of the government to assist all Nigerians fairly. The demands of certain ethnic groups are met, even if they are carried out in a way that can be termed as terrorism (Anugwom, op.cit: 64)

Ethnicity has somehow influenced certain religions because for some people, their religion is synonymous with their culture and ethnic group. This is most common with people who are still custodians of tradition, live in remote areas and are opposed to the loss of ethnic and national identity. The Northerners or Hausas in Nigeria are predominantly Muslims and it is very difficult for a different religion to be embraced by the Northerners of Nigeria, especially in their core areas, caused by poor societal and political decisions regarding these people.

3.3 The pattern of New Terrorism

The 9/11 attack on the United States of America not only affected the North American continent or the West, other countries were also affected in terms of the general feeling of insecurity that accompanied the attacks. There was also the issue of awareness because globally, many people did not know anything about terrorism before the September 11 2001 attacks on the USA, especially in underdeveloped and developing countries. On the other hand, some people knew little and did not concern themselves with it because they assumed there was no imminent threat by terrorists to their own locations. The beginning of the 21st century saw the dawn of a new form of global terrorism because, through Al-Qaeda, the world realized how exterritorial and deadly terrorists can be. The dynamics of terrorism has evolved and transformed from the old form into a new form that is carried out to get even more fatal results with the intention of holding the public and government

to ransom. For instance, groups like Al-Qaeda no longer rely on the presence of external agencies to influence them or teach them how to carry out terrorist attacks because they have manuals for educating and training people how to be terrorists. Also, the internet is now being used by terrorists group to disseminate training materials and instructions all over the world to people who are willing to be a part of their alleged “holy war”.

3.3.1 Jama'atu Ahlus-Sunnah Lidda'Awati Wal Jihad (Boko Haram)

Al-Qaeda is believed to be the most successful and highly networked terrorist group in the world at the moment because they have a very large network. Al-Qaeda has successfully infiltrated the security network of many countries; they have smaller groups, called cells, which are stationed worldwide. These cells work independently to solidify their ties with Al-Qaeda, which is the reason behind the spate of terrorist activities and attacks in East Africa and the emergence of Boko Haram in Nigeria. Boko Haram is gradually in transition to becoming a group which uses new terrorism because of its external ties and also due to the formation of other cells and splinter groups within Nigeria (Neumann, 2009).⁵ Boko Haram affirmed itself on the global stage when it carried out an attack against the United Nations office in Abuja; an attack which resulted in the death of 18 people, both foreign and local workers lost their lives in that attack and the United Nations (CBS, 2011).

Boko Haram's emergence as a religious terrorist group in the Nigerian society, remains the most deadly and worrisome security threat in Nigeria. Boko Haram's areas of activities are within the Northern part of Nigeria and the group is believed to be made up of a structure which includes the poor, the idle youths and Islamic radicals (Mantzikos, 2013:62). The group is believed to have been formed by Mohammed Yusuf who was murdered in 2009 (Mantzikos, 2013:61). “Launched in 2002, Boko Haram - which in the local Hausa language means western education is forbidden, a reference to the initial focus of its Islamist agenda - became a force to be reckoned with in 2009 when it raided

police stations and government buildings in Maiduguri, and other northern cities” (British Broadcasting Corporation). Boko Haram is still carrying out attacks on a weekly basis against the general public, Christians and the Nigerian government. So far, since the inception of Boko Haram, attacks have been staged against the Police, other law enforcement agencies, churches and civilians, mainly in the Northern part of the country, and in the Federal Capital Territory (IRIN, 2012). Although the activities of Boko Haram have been met with stiff opposition by the Nigerian government, it is still gaining ground due to the inexperience of the Nigerian government in handling such issues and due to the unavailability of the right equipment and facilities to tackle terrorism. Hence, Boko Haram can be referred to as a group that is heading towards the use of new terrorism group because its strategy is in line with the use of affiliate relationships in Africa and the globe at large. (Tucker, 2001:1).

In an effort to impose an Islamic state on some or all the Northern states, Boko Haram’s way of operations has culminated in the use of motorcycles in drive-by shootings and assassinations: it has used vehicles in suicide bombings and also the use of people who blow up themselves as suicide martyrs. But dominant amongst their tactics have been the use of foot soldiers or militants in causing mayhem in certain villages and communities (Zenn, 2013). Lately, kidnapping and the killing of Muslims while they pray has been new ways of carrying out attacks and getting the attention of the society at large (CSMonitor, 2013).

3.4 Mixed Terrorism

Truly, terrorism in any form does not sit well with most people in Nigeria and in any other part of the world. But, at this stage, it is important that the concept of terrorism is made simple for all to understand because it is an ongoing global problem and phenomenon. Besides, it is very difficult to differentiate between old and new terrorism for people who are not conscious of the difference. Some scholars simply believe that new terrorism is the type of terrorism that has existed from the September 11 2001 attack on the USA, while others believe it is just the dynamics by which terrorism is transforming. In addition, some scholars assume that new terrorism is just a notion which

is yet to materialise. There has not been any focus on the possibility of emerging combined forms of terrorism which are more disastrous. However, there is another aspect to mixed terrorism which may not just be due to internal mixed effects. There is the possibility of external forces aiding and influencing aspiring and already established terrorist groups in Nigeria. For instance militants of the Niger-Delta are understood to get aid from foreigners who trade weapons and money for illegal oil (IRIN, 2004). On the other hand, Boko Haram is believed to have support from Al-Qaeda (Zenn, 2013). Besides, Boko Haram's views are not too distant from the vision of of Al-Qaeda (Ibid).

The notion of the emergence of hybrid forms of terrorism in Nigeria is something that is already becoming a reality because militancy for advocacy has culminated and combined with the struggle for political power and leadership in the country. Gradually, Nigeria is heading towards a direct conflict between the South-South and the Northern part. Most militant groups still threaten to carry out attacks to destabilize the country if certain financial demands are not met and if they do not get the federal allocations they believe they deserve. On the other hand, the Northern part of Nigeria is being plagued by the menace of Boko Haram which was originally religious based but is now becoming more political because of their demand for a Northerner to be president of the country and for the entire country to be fully governed as an Islamic country. In other words, Boko Haram's intention is to impose Sharia rule and the Islamic religion upon Nigerians and in so doing control the government and affairs of the Nigerian state. Some key politicians and stakeholders have been accused as being responsible for the emergence of Boko Haram by sponsoring the group so that they can cause more havoc in the region for political and personal reasons. This new form of terrorism is a combination of religious and political terrorism.

Years ago, people from most of the main oil producing communities in the Niger-Delta region realised that a lot was being taken away from their communities by the federal government in collaboration with multi-national companies, and nothing or little was being done to put back into the region. Oil spillage was a huge issue; in addition, poverty and poor infrastructure amongst others were also huge issues (Courson, 2007: 21). The

struggle for political equity and fairness by certain ethnic groups in Nigeria has been going on for so many years, right from the inception of the military era (DonPedro, 2006:169). However, these initial peaceful demands have changed to become more violent in the sense that they are used to gain the attention of the Nigerian government, with the aim of getting a better allocation of funds from the federal government; and most recently for the financial interests of individuals (Malina). These militant groups claim to be fighting against the marginalisation and oppression of the Niger-Delta people but they have used the kidnapping of expatriates and oil workers, seizing of oil vessels and the destruction of oil pipelines as ways of getting back at the government for the underdevelopment of the region. Some scholars believe that the discovery of oil in the Niger-Delta came with a curse which is yet to be lifted because this pattern of ethnic violence started as early as when oil was first discovered (Ibid). The consequential effect when such attacks are carried out by militants is not only felt by Nigeria but also by the international community. If we are to apply the United Nations (UN) version of the definition of terrorism, the militancy in the Niger-Delta region of Nigeria can be categorised as domestic terrorism or a hybrid of both domestic and political terrorism.

3.5 Conflicts within conflict

Another major factor which affirmed that the militants were carrying out this rebellion not only because of a regional interest was the corruptness and selfishness which was later portrayed by some key members of a particular militant group which went on to split and form factions. In other words, militants decided to go against each other due to the internal conflicts that they had. Therefore, it was difficult for them to continue working together as a unit. There are several militant groups in Nigeria which also include Odua People's Congress (OPC) and Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB). However, since the focus is on the militant groups in the Niger-Delta, the activities of the NDPVF, NDV and MEND will be summarized.

3.5.1 Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF)

The Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force was formed in 2003 by Alhaji Mujahid Dokubo-Asari Dokubo and it made money by selling stolen crude oil to foreigners or exchanging stolen crude oil for weapons (Piracy and Maritime Terrorism: Logistics, Galletti, 2012: 182). It is believed that the NDPVF and the NDV were hired by the Rivers state government in 1999 and in 2003 to deliver in favour of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) by rigging the elections that were held for all political positions in the state in favour of the PDP. This implies that the NDPVF was at a point sponsored by the former state governor (Dr. Peter Odili) of Rivers state (Ojakorotu, 2010:135). This to an extent justifies the claim that the NDPVF was indeed engaged in state terrorism. According to a 2007 report published by Small Arms Survey (SAS), an "independent research project located at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva, Switzerland" (SAS Dec. 2007, iii), the NDPVF has a "loose command structure" (ibid., 128). There are reportedly groups affiliated with NDPVF in the states of Bayelsa and Delta that have their own command centres, each with their own sector commanders (ibid.). An August 2007 issue of the Jamestown Foundation's Terrorism Monitor similarly notes that there are several youth confraternities (i.e., cult groups) and gangs that operate under the umbrella of the NDPVF (2 Aug. 2007). These groups have reportedly kept their leadership structure intact, while "surrendering command-and-control to the NDPVF" (UNHCR, 2008).

3.5.2 Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND)

"The Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) is an active terrorist group that uses violent means to support the rights of the ethnic Ijaw people in the Niger Delta. In contrast to the healthy profit margins enjoyed by foreign oil companies operating in Nigeria, most Nigerians in the Delta region live in poverty, and many feel that they are being neglected by the government. These conditions have led to the proliferation of local terrorist groups, which at last count, numbered around 120. Of these organizations, MEND is one of the largest, and it works closely with other militant groups, coordinating and conducting joint operations. Notably, MEND has joined forces

with the Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF), the Coalition for Militant Action in the Niger Delta, and the Martyrs Brigade to form the strongest anti-foreign oil terrorist alliance in the region. Led by a notoriously shadowy and secretive elite cadre, MEND's ultimate goal is to expel foreign oil companies and Nigerians not indigenous to the Delta region from Ijaw land" (National Consortium, n.d). Contentiously, MEND is claimed to have been formed for the release of the former Governor of Bayelsa State (Diepreye Alamiesegha) and the leader of the NDPVF (Alhaji Asari Dokubo); hence, some militant groups think it poses less threat as a Militant group and should not be regarded as one (Vanguard, 2013). The purported leader of MEND, Mr. Henry Okah, is currently imprisoned in Johannesburg for his role as the leader of MEND and for the terrorist activities that occurred in Nigeria prior to and after the bombing that occurred on the 1st of October 2010 (The Africa Report).

3.5.3 Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV)

Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV) was formed in 2003 in Rivers state by Ateke Tom; he is one of the greatest rivals of Alhaji Mujahid Dokubo-Asari who is the NDPVF leader (Malina). The Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV) is "an armed group which was in a bloody, bitter and long-drawn rivalry with the Dokubo-Asari-led NDPVF, with his base in the creeks of Rivers. He was also involved in the big time illegal oil business. Like most of the self-acclaimed militant Generals, he also controlled a huge army of youths, especially boys from various communities of the region, mainly in the Okrika and Kalabari axis of Rivers State. His 'Evil Forest', Okochiri base in Okrika Local Government Area of Rivers State was indeed a dreadful place to mention while the crisis led by the rivalry between himself and Dokubo-Asari lasted. As a matter of fact, by the time the Joint Task Force (JTF) eventually brought the reign of his camp to a close in March 2008, taps diverting crude oil from pipelines were reportedly found in some places within Okochiri community, alleged to have been sources of this illegal business" (Tribune, 2012). Tom Ateke was greatly sponsored by the Rivers state governor (Rotimi Amaechi) until he accepted the government amnesty in late 2009 and agreed to surrender arms (Malina)

One notable reason why the mission and objectives of the abovementioned militant groups can be challenged is because of the way their leaders have become rich overnight and have been accorded national respect from the presidency (Tribune, 2012). The militant groups have proven that material interest is a major part of their agenda and this has also led to the conflicts that they have had with each other in the past as militant organizations. If they had a uniform regional interest, such quarrels and fighting will not be happening among them. Most recently, Alhaji Mujahid Dokubo-Asari stated that Nigeria will not be at peace come 2015 if the current President (Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan) is not voted back in as president (All Africa, 2013). This to a large extent indicates that the current inconsistent peace experienced in the Niger-Delta region is fueled by what the militants are benefitting from the conflicts and they can renege on their agreement with the federal government at any time. Therefore, the actions of the militant groups can be questioned because they have not only behaved as terrorists in the past, but their current interest as a group combined with the desire for financial wealth brings a new type of terrorism into the picture, that is, a mix of terrorism by militancy combined with terrorism for financial/material gain and political terrorism.

For organizations that claim they are fighting because of the injustice and unfairness to the Niger-Delta region of Nigeria, it has now become a fight for the South-South geopolitical zone as opposed to the initial claim of fighting for the betterment of the Niger-Delta; political figures and leaders are also leaders and allies of militant groups (Africa Faith & Justice Network, 2009). Recently there have been plans by ex-militants to regroup and carry out attacks against oil pipelines and foreign companies in the Niger-Delta region (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2013). These organizations do not like being referred to as terrorists but as long as they pose a threat to the Nigerian government, they cannot be ruled out as terrorist groups because there has long been diversity in their causes and interests.

3.6 Similarity between Nigeria and the defunct Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY).

Nigeria is currently experiencing similar problems to those which the defunct Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) experienced years ago (Weller, 1992). The only major difference was the political arrangement. As a matter of fact, the root causes behind the conflicts and eventual breakup of the SFRY are numerous and very diverse; these conflicts range from those of ethnicity to political; internal to external factors; and within states and nationwide conflicts (Braniff, 2011: 10). The SFRY had a population which was in excess of 23million people, and it was made up of 6 republics: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia (Ibid). To a large extent, change in political systems, underdevelopment and poverty played a major role in the problems that later affected the Former Republic of Yugoslavia (Papatheodorou & Petmesidou, op cit: 168). "Economic stagnation and decline affected families through mass emigration, often of the most skilled people "(Ibid, p169.)

3.6.1 Multi-ethnic SFRY

The SFRY was a multi-ethnic state and its political structure did not encourage unity because it was made up of various republics under one umbrella, the SFRY. A multi-ethnic society is one which is diverse and full of different cultural blends which may or may not believe in oneness as a uniting factor because of their differences in tradition, beliefs and maybe even religion (Frckoski, 1999). Post-apartheid South Africa and the United States of America are some of the few countries in the world that have successfully governed their multi-ethnic societies. On the other hand, countries such as Rwanda experienced a period of war and genocide due to political disagreements as a result of ethnicism. "A multiethnic society is one in which there are two or more ethnic groups that are different in an ethnic, linguistic, religious or racial sense." (Ibid)

To a large extent, religion was also an issue for the problems that arose in SFRY; in Serbia, the government still oppresses small religious minority groups and makes it difficult for certain religious groups to practice freely in the country.

(UNHCR, 2000). One major point in Nigeria's diversity is the high number of ethnic groups and the population for a country as big as Texas in the USA, which by comparison has approximately 26.5 Million inhabitants (United States Census Bureau, 2013). The entire United States of America has an estimated population of about 316 Million people (*Ibid*). Sometimes, it makes one wonder if the high population of Nigeria has been one of the key reasons for the setbacks encountered in the past because Nigeria has been faced with alarming setbacks in terms of government ever since they gained independence from the British Empire.

3.7 Impact of Terrorism on Nigeria

From the attacks by the Militants of the Niger-Delta to the sectarian violence taking place in the Northern part of Nigeria, the impact of terrorism has been seen in various forms, mainly affecting income generating mechanisms of Nigeria.

3.7.1 Kidnapping

Due to the militant activities in the Niger Delta, some top multi-national Companies have shut down their flow stations and operation outlets in the past because of incessant attacks from the Niger-Delta militants. If their equipment, facilities and base are not directly targeted, their workers are being kidnapped. Recently, some pirates attacked a vessel at the Nigerian Port of Onne and held the 2 crewmen hostage (Intermanager, 2013). In April 2013, 5 Russian and Polish sailors were taken as hostages by Niger-Delta militants off the coast of Nigeria and they were released sometime in May; however it is believed that the company which owns the vessel paid a ransom for the crewmen's release. (Africa Eagle, 2013). The rate of piracy and kidnapping by the Niger-Delta militants is on the increase.

On the other hand, it is believed Boko Haram turned to kidnapping for the purpose of raising funds for its radical activities. Boko Haram has also carried out psychological attacks in the form of threats to politicians, wealthy Nigerians and their family members with the aim of extorting money by instilling fear in (All Africa, 2013). In addition, there has been a sharp rise in general kidnapping all over the country, but this is more common in the South-South and South-East regions of Nigeria (The Telegraph, 2013). The family members of politicians are also kidnapped and held hostage for the purpose of ransom. People are now being kidnapped for very low ransom (The Street Journal, 2013). It is believed that armed robbers and other petty criminals are now abandoning their trade and turning to kidnapping because it is much easier and requires less resources as opposed to other types of crime (*Ibid*).

Therefore, people will be scared to come to Nigeria and this is not only affecting the tourism sector but also potential investors will be dissuaded from coming to invest in a country that does not promise proper security. At the beginning of 2013, the Canadian, USA, UK and German embassies issued warnings to their citizens to stay away from Nigeria because of the fear of reprisal attacks from Islamic insurgents (Punch, 2013).

3.7.2 Oil Theft

The oil sector has been the mainstay of the Nigerian economy for years and it is currently the main source of income for Nigeria (Achberger & Falola, 2013: 47). There is a great demand for oil worldwide and Nigeria has an expected output which it supplies to other nations. Since the inception of the militant attacks in the Niger Delta, there has been a significant decrease in the quota output from Nigeria. This also culminated in Nigeria falling down the international ranking in terms of the largest oil producing countries. In addition, apart from the violent activities of the militants; the illegal oil market, which is spearheaded by some militants, some politicians and poor people in the creeks has contributed towards a decrease in the output of oil (Premium Times, 2013). Illegal drilling of crude has become the norm in the riverine areas of the Niger-Delta and through this illegal activities, oil spillage and pollution have been heightened in the area.

3.7.3 Brain Drain

Many Nigerians from different parts of the country have relocated to other countries lately; migration has been happening mainly because of poverty and hardship in Nigeria, but most recently militant activities and sectarian violence have increased the rate of relocation. Since the Boko Haram started carrying out its attacks in Northern Nigeria, many lives have been lost and this has caused Nigeria to lose a lot of both skilled and unskilled people who decided to relocate to other countries in the interest of their family's safety (This Day Live, 2012). This is happening every day as people continue to emigrate in large numbers from Nigeria to other parts of the world. "The UN refugee agency said on Tuesday that the crisis in north-eastern Nigeria has forced more than 6,000 mainly women, children and older people to seek safety in neighbouring Niger (UNHCR, 2013)." Most neighbouring countries such as Chad, Niger, Mali and Cameroon have been largely affected by the influx of refugees from Nigeria. The Sun (2013) explains that no fewer than 36000 people have fled their homes in the North-Eastern Nigeria states which comprises of Yobe, Borno and Adamawa for countries such as Cameroon, Chad and Niger.

3.7.4 Societal Divide

Due to the sectarian violence in Northern Nigeria, various ethnic groups have been coming up with different strategies and plans which are not in favour of a united Nigeria. Various groups are now emerging to act as a voice, or as an attention seeker, for their own ethnic group or region. Groups are now demanding their own identity and sovereignty as in the case of the Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) (Punch, 2013).

There is a group called the Middle Belt Alliance (MBA); "the Middle Belt refuses to play second fiddle to the 'North' or to be regarded as an appendage of the North or referred to as people of the North Central, but as people of the Middle Belt of Nigeria. We seek our unique identity as a people. - - - The divide-and-rule tactic of the Hausa-Fulani and the

mental indoctrination by the Islamic Hausa-Fulani apologists, to project a façade of Muslim North” (Tribune, 2013). Nigerians in general have their own views about the country because while some people are affected by the activities of the militants and terrorists, others are affected by the socio-economic situation of the country.

3.8 Emergence of New Terrorist Groups

The insurgents have been fully active in Nigeria since the end of the 20th century and which has culminated in the formation of more groups. For instance groups such as JAMA’ATU ANSARUL MUSLIMINA FI BILADIS-SUDAN (JAMBS) have emerged over the past 3 years (Punch, 2013). Jama’atu Ansarul Muslimina fi Biladis Sudan (ANSARU) is another group which was just recently formed in Northern Nigeria (PM News, 2012). Jama’atu Ansarul Muslimina fi Biladis Sudan (JAMBS) is believed to be a splinter group of Boko Haram; this group was formed due to the leadership style and problems within Boko Haram and it is believed to be headed by Abu Usamatal Ansary (Mantzikos, 2013:63).

There have been speculation about Christian terrorist groups emerging to check the consistent attacks from the Islamic radicals on Christians in Northern Nigeria; but so far, no group has formally declared itself as a Christian terrorist group.

3.9 Causes of Terrorism in Nigeria

The internal conflicts which have erupted in Nigeria since the country gained its independence have been triggered by numerous reasons which are yet to be addressed:

3.9.1 Poverty

Poverty remains one of the greatest issues concerning the rate of criminal activities in Nigeria because over 70% of the Nigerian population lives below the poverty line (Rantimi, 2011). People who participate in terrorism of different kinds do so mainly because of the lure of making money at the end of the day. Poverty has been fueled in Nigeria because of underdevelopment, inequality, a high rate of unemployment, internal conflicts, political marginalisation and lack of growth (Ibid). “Combating poverty cannot be achieved while the greatest resource of all - people themselves - remains underutilised. Poor access to education and health services, perpetuate poverty and generate ever

greater demands on state resources.”(Oxford Business Group, 2010: 49). Consequently, militant groups emerged because of idleness and the high rate of poverty in the Nigerian society.

3.9.2 Corruption

The Nigerian government has been inept and one of its major problems has been corruption. Indeed, corruption is a major problem which Nigeria has been faced with for so many years; government officials have access to money which is supposed to be used for the betterment of the state and they end up using government funds and money meant for the public for their own personal interests. A few attempts have been made by past governments to try and curb the corruption in Nigeria, but little has been done to bring about this change. The Nigerian government lacks the experience and expertise to carry out the required changes. Old politicians (military and democratic) who looted the state treasury in the past are defiant and parade themselves as political godfathers (Okafor, 2008: 4). In other words, some of the new politicians are extensions of the old politicians because they keep them going and their connections are also vital to both the old and the new generation of politicians.

It is believed that some of the politicians who illegally accumulated wealth are behind the emergence of militants, Boko Haram, and other militant groups in Nigeria.

3.9.3 Porous Borders

Nigeria borders are highly porous and this is one reason why many groups are emerging because they have easy access to bring in weapons and ammunitions. Furthermore, Nwosu (2012:46) explains that the porous borders have been a big issue because some Northern states are easily infiltrated by citizens of Chad and the Niger Republic who claim to be Nigerians from these northern states because they speak the same languages or because of a similarity in their religion. Hence, most Islamic terrorists regroup and train in neighbouring countries with the intention of waging attacks from those countries on Nigeria. The Nigerian waterway is porous and very unsafe because the militants of

the Niger-Delta get their ammunition from traders who sell those weapons and ammunitions for crude or cash in the deep waters (Galletti, 2012:172). Pirates can easily carry out attacks on oil vessels and merchant ships in the Nigerian waterways because security is slack.

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CHAPTER FOUR

Role of the state and regional institutions; conclusions and recommendations

4.1 The role of state and regional institutions in tackling terrorism

So far, the Nigerian Police Force and the military have been heavily involved in fighting militants in various parts of Nigeria. The Joint Task Force (JTF) which is also known as “Operation Restore Hope” was launched for the sole purpose of combating militants in the Niger-Delta region; but JTF is now been used nationwide to combat attacks from potential militant groups and Boko Haram in the Northern part of Nigeria (Chiluwa, 2011).

4.1.1 General policing

The police force and other Law Enforcement agencies are inexperienced and lack the required equipment and facilities to tackle modern day criminal activities. The law enforcement agents are underpaid and have to turn to bribery and corruption to sustain themselves and their families (Bingman, 2006: 171). The policing system is structured in a way that the police give more credence and priority to the rich in Nigerian society because the common or average man is not taken seriously when it comes to police response (Hagher, 2011: 64). The law enforcement agents have united with politicians to rig elections and rob the people of their votes in the past (Siollun, 2009:19).

Even the judicial and legislative arms of government have been largely affected by bribery and corruption and it sometimes takes a long time for the justice system of Nigeria to carry out its work (Okoro, 2009:273). The issue concerning Nigeria is more about good governance and implementation. Good laws which are not biased in favour of individuals or a particular ethnic group should be passed for the benefit of the masses. If the laws are not enforced properly, this comes back to haunt society because those are the potential weaknesses that criminals take advantage of to carry out their attacks. In the past, people with good intention have assumed certain positions of authority with the intention to be effective and make the right decisions. But they later get frustrated because of the unwillingness of other people or departments to assist them in making the

right decisions and implementing them. Furthermore, Militants have been made to look like legitimate role players by the federal government who now works with them and empowers them financially (Niger Delta Amnesty, n.d). Ex-militants such as Alhaji Mujahid Dokubo-Asari, Ateke Tom, and Tompolo continue living extravagantly due to the deals and money that they have received from the government. Most of the followers of these ex-militants were assimilated into the amnesty program.

4.1.2 Amnesty Program

The amnesty program which was initially introduced by the late President Musa Yar-Adua's regime was designed so that the Federal government could broker a deal with the Niger-Delta people; the amnesty program was designed for the sole purpose of giving the militants a state pardon and helping them in rehabilitation so that they can become better people (Kalu & Kalu, 2013: 49). However, there have been a few shortfalls in the program, especially after the death of the late President Yar-Adua. The amnesty program seemed to have worked very well initially but after a period of time, some militants who qualified for amnesty sold this right, so it became unclear who were genuine recipients of amnesty. Furthermore, the amnesty program was focused only on reaction to a situation without looking at the preventative aspect of militancy. In other words, young people have been excluded from the amnesty program because the focus of the government is to tackle the militants who have been involved in militant activities in the Niger-Delta.

According to This Day Live (2013), the Federal government recently proposed a special amnesty program for Boko Haram with the aim of using a similar method of approach as the one used towards the Niger-Delta Militants. But, Boko Haram declined to join.

On the regional level, there is currently an alliance between the militaries of Nigeria, Chad and Niger which is aimed at tackling the threats and attacks from Boko Haram. Recently, there was a fierce combat between the Multi-National joint task force and militants in Baga, and almost 200 people lost their lives in that conflict (Vanguard, 2013). It is believed that over 2400 houses were destroyed by the Multi-National joint task force,

while 183 civilians lost their lives in the Baga combat; the news of civilians being killed sparked international interest and there was speculation about the United States withdrawing its military aid to Nigeria ([Tribune, 2013](#)).

4.2 Conclusion

Since the aftermath of the September 11 attack on the United States of America, terrorism has taken a global stance and presence which is now geared towards new terrorism in the sense that terrorism has evolved to become an exterritorial phenomenon. People who were not aware of terrorism before 9/11 have now become more conscious about terrorism and what danger it holds. Old terrorism is seen as the terrorism that existed before 2001 and it is believed to have happened within an area, region or state. Old terrorism had a deadly side to it but it was mainly about lawless violence, political struggles or religion based. Hence, religious terrorist attacks which were carried out prior to 2001 are considered to be old terrorism, despite the fact that they still occur in this present time. New terrorism has been explained as the current trend of terrorism which is exterritorial and fashioned to cause more damage than old terrorism. New terrorism has no regards for boundaries and it relies heavily on technology and cell networks for it to function very well.

West Africa which was not really affected by religious terrorism in the past now happens to be one of the major focus areas in the world when it comes to religious terrorism and militancy. The Nigerian society is very diverse in the sense that there are many ethnic groups and languages. There is also diversity in the religions in Nigeria. It has been elucidated that to an extent, diversity has been the reason behind the increasing rate of ethnic conflicts, militancy and terrorism in Nigeria, combined with the past political structures which also included military regimes.

The evolutions of the government structure over the past 5 decades have seen a sharp rise in negativity in Nigerian society. Issues such as poverty, corruption, underdevelopment, kidnapping, militancy and terrorism have been heightened by the maladministration and

failure of the Nigerian government to deliver true and proper governance to its citizens. This has led to the emergence of groups such as the Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF), Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) and the Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV) amongst others. These groups started off as solidarity groups who wanted the underdevelopment and degradation of their region to be addressed by the federal government. No sooner had they started than their activities changed towards kidnapping, extortion, oil bunkering and the acquisition of arms for the purpose of sustaining these groups. Most of the leaders of these militant groups soon started having problems amongst themselves and these culminated in the formation of other groups which were even more deadly in the way they carried out their activities by kidnapping of foreign workers, seizing vessels and blowing up oil pipelines. To a large extent, the activities of the militants affected and are still affecting the oil output and income generation for Nigeria. Rapidly, many people within Nigerian society have decided to opt for oil theft and kidnapping as they see it as a new way of making quick money.

Due to the political structures and various religious groups, militant organisations such as Al-Qaeda have been able to extend their network to other parts of the world which includes Africa. As a matter of fact, Al-Qaeda is becoming more active in Africa and this has culminated in the alleged alliance between Al-Qaeda and Jamā'a Ahl al-sunnah li-da'wa wa al-jihād (aka Boko Haram), the Islamic radical group of Nigeria. Boko Haram has been involved in fierce fighting in Northern Nigeria and their targets are mainly Christians, civilians and politicians. Akpeninor (2013:243) explains that the initial attacks staged by Boko Haram were believed to have a political undertone, but, over the years, the attacks have diverged to affect a significant percentage of civilians. Foreign nationals have not been spared as Boko Haram has worked towards carrying out successful bomb attacks at the United Nations (UN) office in Abuja, Police stations and churches. The name Boko Haram means 'Western education is sin'. Most recently, their attacks now seem to be more political and staged towards the South-Southerners and Christians in general. Boko Haram has been demanding for Nigeria to become an Islamic state.

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The terrorism in Nigeria is caused by a combination of several factors which has seen the emergence of new types of terrorism which the world has not experienced before; these mixed terrorisms are a combination of political, religious, geographical, financial and domestic related terrorisms. There are several causal factors behind terrorism. For instance, poverty happens to be one of the major reasons behind terrorism; about 70% of the Nigerian population lives below the poverty line and it is very difficult for them to fend for their families. Hence, people have turned to stealing, kidnapping and terrorism to make money. Kidnappers believe in kidnapping civilians as hostages and demanding ransom; it is alarming that ransom negotiations can get to the point where any amount can be accepted for the hostage, if the families do not have much money. In addition, underdevelopment, corruption and unemployment have heavily contributed to the increase of terrorism in Nigeria.

Nigeria has strong similarities with the defunct Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) in terms of the multi-ethnicity and the differences in languages and religion. This was portrayed in the conflicts that ensued before the division of the country. The political system was a type that united several republics, coupled with the rate of underdevelopment and unemployment which resulted in poverty. Thus, the SFRY became divided and separated into smaller countries such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia. Conclusively, Nigeria can possibly be another SFRY in terms of breakup and the division of the nation due to the ongoing threats and attacks from terrorists if terrorism is not tackled properly. Various government departments and law enforcement agencies have to step up their training on how to handle the various types of terrorism that have emerged and which are currently forming in Nigeria.

4.3 Recommendations

- ✓ The Nigerian government has to work towards eradicating poverty and underdevelopment in the West African country. This can be done by the introduction of sustainable government schemes aimed at poverty alleviation. If the rate of poverty can be successfully reduced, the rate of criminal activities will decrease significantly.
- ✓ Criminals and aspiring criminals get away with their crimes because of bribery and corruption and they end up becoming more of a nuisance to the society. Basically, the rate of corruption in Nigeria is still high and the government has to implement stricter laws to match the crimes of corruption.
- ✓ The Nigerian military and Police Force have to be provided with the right equipment; and they have to step up their training so that they can successfully match the threats and attacks carried out by militants in various parts of Nigeria.
- ✓ The amnesty program should be redefined and well implemented to reach out to those targeted for the program. Furthermore, most of the programs under the amnesty phase should be conducted locally to avoid a fresh outbreak of militancy from the young people in the Niger Delta region.
- ✓ The young people in the Niger Delta should have special programs aimed at empowering them and preventing them from taking part in militancy and other criminal activities such as kidnapping and crude oil theft.
- ✓ The federal government should work towards detribalization in its political system. Rather, the government should focus on a new political structure that will be for the masses and positively affect every person.

- ✓ New terrorism has to be matched with new techniques and skills, and because terrorism has become exterritorial. It will be in the interest of the Nigerian government to start taking steps towards increasing the security networks in areas that are yet to be affected by terrorism in Nigeria.
- ✓ There has to be a heightened cooperation amongst the West Africa and Central African countries because terrorism is unpredictable and it can extend to other countries which do not have the power or resources to tackle it. And due to the permeable borders in West and Central Africa, it is important that border patrol and security are improved to tackle terrorism related issues.
- ✓ A special multi-task naval force has to be set up to protect the West African coast from sea pirates, oil thieves, militants and weapon traders who hang around to carry out transactions in the coastal areas of the Niger-Delta of Nigeria.
- ✓ Conflict resolution programs should be encouraged by the government to deter ethnic conflicts, Islamophobia and potential religious hate crimes.
- ✓ The legislative arm of the government should pass credible laws that will empower and protect the masses, while the judicial arm has to be transparent and not be biased towards anyone or group of people. Overall, implementation of laws and the effectiveness of all tiers of government are vital in aiding Nigeria to be free of terrorism.
- ✓ Lastly, the threat of cyber-terrorism is currently looming in the international community and it is something that Nigeria has to prepare for before it starts happening.

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