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THE INCREASING THREAT OF TERRORISM TO WEST AND CENTRAL AFRICA: THE CASE OF BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY IN NIGERIA

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DECLARATION

I, Paula Akosua Duah, hereby declare that this dissertation is an original research conducted by me under the supervision of Dr. Ken Ahorsu and that no part of it has been submitted elsewhere for any other purpose. All references to the work of other persons have been duly acknowledged.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my family, especially Miss Rosemary Owusu- Nti, Miss Angelina Owusu- Nti, Madam Gifty Owusu-Nti, Esther Appiah Korang and Madam Mercy Okyere.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACLED	-	Armed Conflict Location & Event Data
AQIM	-	Al-Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb
FAO	-	Food and Agricultural Organization
GSIM	-	Group to Support Islam and Muslims
IDPS	-	Internally Displaced Persons
ISGS	-	Islamic State in the Greater Sahara
IS	-	Islamic State
ISWAP	-	Islamic State in West African Province
JTF	-	Joint Task Force
MASSOB	-	Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra
MEND	-	Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta
MJTF	-	Multinational Joint Task Force
MNLA	-	National Liberation Movement of Azawad
MUJAO	-	Movement for Oneness and Jihad
SDGT	-	Specially Designated Global Terrorists
STEM	-	Science Technology Engineering Mathemics
UNICEP	-	United Nations Children's Fund
UNOCHA	-	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
USA	-	United States of America

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ABSTRACT

Terrorism has gained ground in international discourse of issues currently impeding the progress and development of states. Although not a recent phenomenon, terrorism is a growing menace which cannot be ignored. The environmental, socio-economic, psychological and physical impacts of terrorism on people and governments are highly significant and there is therefore the need to understand and address this phenomenon. This research focuses the increasing threat of terrorism to West and Central Africa using Boko Harm in Nigeria for analysis. The study conducted is based on information collected from both primary and secondary sources. The research methodology employed in analysing data is the qualitative method. Interviews were conducted to gauge stakeholders' opinion of this phenomenon and its associated threats. Findings from the study indicates that terrorism in West and Central Africa is due to the growing influence Salafist ideology as well as structural weaknesses such as corruption, high concentration of youth unemployment, porous borders, ethnic and religious divisions that are prevalent in West and Central Africa. The research also examined the factors that have created an enabling environment in Nigeria for Boko Haram to thrive and commit mass atrocities against the Nigerian citizenry, government forces and spread their influences to neighbouring countries such as Niger, Cameroon and Chad. The Boko Haram threat remains a major blight on the progress and growth of the Nigerian society. High rates of poverty is very prevalent in the Nigerian society particularly the Northern section of Nigeria. This has made recruitment of persons caught in the vicious cycle of poverty by Boko Haram very easy. The study recommends that the Nigerian government implements schemes geared towards poverty alleviation. These includes creating employment opportunities with better pay systems, building the capacity of entrepreneurs through funding, and a revitalization of the educational system to incorporate STEM fields which will enable the youth gain employable skills thereby bridging the unemployment gap in the Nigerian society. There is also the need for sensitivity when it comes to cultural differences and values. Government institutions and the media must respect and acknowledge the plurality of the cultural environment in Nigeria and the entire Sahel Region.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Contemporarily, terrorism has gained immense ground in international affairs. States can no longer perceive itself as invulnerable to terrorist attacks. Terrorism precedes the modern state as various acts of violence was directed towards various religious and ethnic groups before the evolution of the modern state.[1] The Jewish zealots waged an insurgency against the Roman-Empire during its occupancy of Palestine.[2] During the crusades of the middle ages, the warring factions made use of terror to instil fear into the hearts of its opponents.[3] Terrorism became a common feature during the "regime de la terreur" orchestrated by sparked by the events of the French revolution.[4]

Modern terrorism has gained ground in international relations especially since the Cold War era till date. State actors and non-state actors have often used terror tactics in the pursuit of their goals. Modern examples of state terrorism preceding the end of the Cold War include Nazi Germany, Joseph Stalin's brutal use of force and terror against citizens of the Soviet Union, fascist Italy, China under Mao Zedong, oppressive Khmer Rouge regime in Cambodia.[5] Some States have also participated in international terrorism by proxy. These include Iran's support for Hezbollah and the United States of America's sponsorship of Nicaraguan contras in the 1980's.[6] Other forms of terrorism are mostly due to religious affiliation, ideological beliefs, and nationalist sentimentalities, among others.

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In international relations, terrorism has become a widely discussed topic due to its impact on global peace and security. Terrorists are seen as non-state actors who have influenced foreign policies of states circa former President George Bush declaration of "War on Terror" post 9/11 attacks. This culminated into the United States military invasion in Afghanistan in 2000 and Iraq in 2003, to overthrow governments alleged to be state sponsors or supportive of terrorist organizations.

In spite of the growing attention given to terrorism, the concept itself has been difficult to define. This can be attributed to debates as to what acts can be termed as terrorism. This debate is further influenced by the fact that terrorists do not see themselves as such, but often consider themselves as freedom fighters, martyrs or jihadist who are fighting against an oppressive regime or system. The aphorism that "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter" shows the difficulty in reaching a consensus as to who is a terrorist or not.

The events of the September 11 attacks by Al-Qaeda shuttered the existing sense of security in world. The new wave of terrorism after 9/11 has been characterized by the desire to kill as many people as possible.[7] This differs from terrorism prior to 9/11, where the primary purpose was mainly to public attention and sympathy for the terrorist cause.[8] This new terrorism is typified by the quest to spread a particular religious dogma and influence the political arena of states. Al-Qaeda, Islamic State, Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, Boko Haram among others fall within this category. What these groups espouse is Islamic Fundamentalism and believe that the code of conduct should be based on the strict interpretation of the Sharia Law. This differs from the more traditional kinds of terrorism because of its "amorphous aims, disparate organization and capacity to strike across different continents".[9] Crenshaw notes that "Whereas the "old" terrorists sought short-term political power through revolution, national liberation, or

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secession, the "new" terrorists seek to transform the world. Motivated by religious imperatives, they are thought to lack an earthly constituency and thus to feel accountable only to a deity or to some transcendental or mystical idea."[10]

Terrorism in the African sub-region cannot be described as a new phenomenon. Various acts of terror has been directed against vulnerable groups in the quest for power and the need to effect various policy changes. Terrorism which has largely been employed by militant groups in the Middle East, Europe and Asia is gradually establishing a strong foothold in West and Central Africa.

AQIM, Boko Haram, the Islamic State in the Greater Sahara and a host of other terrorist sects operating in West and Central African regions have espoused Islamic Fundamentalism and anti-Western rhetoric. The aspiration to establish an Islamic Caliphate adhering to a stricter version of the Sharia law has become the goal of Islamist militant groups operating in West and Central Africa. The de facto leader of Boko Haram, Abubakar Shekau made known of the groups intention to create an Islamic Caliphate in 2014. He issued a pledge of fidelity to Islamic State's leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi in March, 2015. Boko Haram became Islamic State's West Africa Province.[11] The Global Terrorist Index ranked Boko Haram as the world's most deadly terrorist group in 2014, outranking Al-Qaeda, Islamic State and the Taliban.[12]

Terrorism is in a transformative process in West and Central Africa. Alliances are being formed by terrorist groups in order to entrench their positions and spread their agenda in the region. These include Ansar al-Dine, the Macina Liberation Front, Al-Murabitoun and the Saharan branch of AQIM which merged in 2017 to form Jama'a Nusrat ul-islam wa al Muslimin translated as "Group to Support Islam and Muslims."[13] JNIM serves as the official

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branch of Al-Qaeda in the Maghreb region. [14]The creation of JNIM is particularly dangerous, given that the Sahelian region is composed of relatively weak states unable to quell the Jihadi threat.[15] Geographically, JNIM is linked to Libya, a collapsed state as a result of the civil war and relatively considered a safe haven for Jihadi organizations.[16]

The Libyan crisis also strengthened the presence of Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State in West and Central Africa.[17] The state of lawlessness that occurred enabled the trafficking of Small Arms and Light Weapons and several sophisticated weapons to militant groups in the region.[18] The availability of these weapons has made the militant groups a force to reckon with. Modern Technology such as advanced weaponry capable of causing mass destruction and improved communication used by terrorist groups in West and Central Africa have made the region very vulnerable to attacks.

Terrorism has taken on a transnational dimension in West and Central Africa, thus becoming a major security threat. The activities of these extremism such as AQIM, Boko Haram etc. transcend beyond the immediate need to effect policy changes or overthrow governments or even spread of a particular religious or ideological dogma. AQIM, Boko Haram among others have embarked on activities such as drug trafficking, kidnapping, human trafficking, arms smuggling, all of which are a great threat to human security.[19]

The global expansion of Islamic Fundamentalism coupled with the structural weaknesses of West and Central African states have made the region very vulnerable to the incidence of terrorism. The heterogeneity of West and Central African states, unequal development, rampant poverty, local and political grievances, and the ungovernable spaces in the Sahel region has made it susceptible for exploitation by militant group to entrench their growing

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presence in the region. These structural weaknesses have enabled West and Central Africa to become easy targets of the global expansion of Salafist jihad in the region. Al-Qaeda, Taliban and the Islamic State have all been sources of inspiration for the current trends of terrorist networks found in West and Central Africa. West and Central Africa's terrorists' affiliation to these wider networks has enabled them to not only receive ideological support but combat and weapons training. Nigeria, Mali, Burkina Faso, Chad, Cameroon, Niger all of which are located within West and Central Africa continually face attacks from terrorist groups operating in these areas.

Islamist terrorist groups such as AQIM, Ansar ul Islam, Boko Haram have gained worldwide infamy for their gruesome beheadings, kidnappings of both foreign and local nationals for ransom and mass coordinated suicide bombings. Boko Haram have adopted the use of child soldiers to carry out suicide attacks.[20] Boko Haram's activities transcends beyond the borders of Nigeria into other states such as Cameroon, Chad and Niger.[21] The negative impact of Boko Haram's actions has been the rise in numbers of casualties, disfigurements of individuals and the destruction of properties. Boko Haram's assaults are not limited to members of other religious sects or government forces only, but have also persistently attacked Muslims.

Boko Haram's has also triggered a rise in the numbers of Internally Displaced Persons in areas where they wield power, and sparked the mass exodus of refugees into neighbouring countries.[22] Boko Haram's targeted use of vulnerable individuals such as women and children as suicide bombers, has made them easy targets of harassment and stigmatization in affected communities and arbitrary arrest by security forces. Reprisal attacks between security forces and terrorist groups pose a great threat to peace, stability, as well as the development and progress of West and Central Africa.[23]The Boko Haram insurgency has been marked by a series

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of disagreement over leadership. This has created a divide in the group, with Shekau leading one section and Abu Musab al-Barnawi (officially recognized as the spokesperson for Islamic State West African Province by Islamic State) leading the other side since 2016.[24]

The protracted warfare has made the management of the terrorism very difficult to resolve in Nigeria and is a constant threat to the peace and security of Nigeria, and the African sub region. The porous borders and similar structural weaknesses of the neighbouring countries to Nigeria, including Niger, Chad, and Cameroon has created the enabling environment for Boko Haram to exert their influence.[25]

Given this assessment, the research seeks to examine the dynamics of terrorism in West and Central Africa. It will also examine the structural weaknesses that makes West and Central Africa particularly Nigeria very susceptible for the emergence of militant terrorist groups. The research will also examine the challenges in containing threat posed by Boko Haram in Nigeria.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH

The increasing rise of terrorism worldwide poses a major threat to global peace and security. The events of 9/11 have helped shaped the current terrorist landscape. The erstwhile sense of personal, national, and international security has been replaced by a sense of insecurity.[26] The global expansion of Salafist-Jihadi ideology as well as the structural weakness found in the region, has made West and Central Africa a hotbed of violent extremism. A multitude of dangerous terrorist groups operate in a complex and fragmented landscape, of which the Jihadist-Salafist groups continue to plan and coordinate attacks against government forces as well as civilian targets in West and Central Africa.[27]

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Terrorism in West and Central Africa cannot be categorized as a new phenomenon. In their efforts to entrench their ideology and position, terrorists groups such as AQIM and Boko Haram have adopted extreme tactics such as suicide bombings that cause mass casualties at very little cost. Refugees, Internally Displaced Persons, child soldiers, death, and destruction of property are some of the negatives outcomes due to increased terrorist activities in the region. Boko Haram's sphere of influence transcends beyond the borders of Nigeria into other areas such as Cameroon, Chad and Niger showing their extensive reach.

In the extant literature, two schools of thought can be used to explain the meteoric rise of terrorism in Africa. Some analysts including Martha Crenshaw is of the view that terrorism is a global issue extending from the Middle East across the Maghreb, Sahel, the West African region, and the Central states of Africa. Martha Crenshaw argues that Terrorism is not an "isolated phenomenon" and can occur in any part of the world, Africa included.[28] It is a global phenomenon spreading its growing tentacles in the African region.[29] The region has experienced the meteoric rise of terrorist groups affiliated to Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State, both of Middle Eastern origins.[30]

Another school of thought states that terrorism in Africa is due to local factors. Robert Kaplan in his work "The coming anarchy" paints a gloomy picture of the West African society. The structural weaknesses of African states such as ethnic and religious divisions, political instability, porous borders, ungoverned spaces, poverty, colonial inheritance has made it a breeding ground for terrorism. Terrorists are often able to draw membership from the most frustrated members of the lumpen class in the society. [31]

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The increasing threat of terrorism in West and Central Africa is becoming a major issue that governments are grappling with. A wave of panic and fear has spread in areas where terrorist groups have gained control. Violent extremism and groups espousing it, continue to reverse the development of West and Central Africa as their actions have long term effects.

Given this background, the research seeks to examine the dynamics of terrorism in West and Central Africa. It examines the structural weaknesses that makes West and Central Africa particularly Nigeria very susceptible to the emergence of militant terrorist groups. The research particularly examines the challenges in containing Boko Haram in Nigeria.

1.3 Research Questions

- What are the dynamics of terrorism in West and Central Africa?
- What are the structural weaknesses that make West Africa and for that matter Nigeria susceptible to the emergence of militant groups?
- What has been the challenges in containing Boko Haram in Nigeria?

1.4 Research Objectives

The main aim of the study is to examine the increasing threat of terrorism in West and Central Africa using Nigeria's Boko Haram for analysis. The study seeks to examine the following objectives.

- To examine the dynamics of terrorism in West and Central Africa.
- To examine the structural weaknesses (if any) that makes Nigeria amenable to the emergence of militant groups.
- To examine the challenges in containing the threat posed by Boko Haram.

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1.5 Scope of Study

The research looks at the increasing threat of terrorism to West and Central Africa. It examines the permissive conditions that has created the grounds for terrorism in West Africa and Central Africa. It also looks at the growing international influence of Salafist jihadist ideology and examines Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria.

1.6 Rationale of Study

Terrorism has become a formidable threat in the quest for global peace and security. Wherever it spreads to, it is very difficult to eradicate. Even the developed countries in northern America and Europe are still grappling with how best to manage and prevent the spread of terrorism. West and Central Africa have become a haven for terrorist groups particularly domestic terrorist groups, with the support of well- established international terrorist wreaking havoc in the Sahelian regions. It is therefore hoped that the findings of this research will help both West and Central African policy makers to make informed decisions in preventing the growing spread of terrorism in the region.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The research is situated within the framework of constructivist theory. Constructivism although a sociological theory was introduced into international relations by Nicholas Onuf. According to Onuf "by our social relations we construct ourselves into the persons we are, and " we make the world what it is, from the materials that nature provides, by doing what we do with each other and saying what we say to each other".[32] What can be inferred from this statement is a "two way process" in which "people make society" and "society makes people".[33]This signifies that society and people are constantly evolving and persistently changing and challenging the status quo.

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Constructivism emphasizes the importance of identity, culture, religion and ideas in explaining social and political phenomenon. People and groups become influential when their efforts to preach succeed in winning converts to those philosophies and customs they promote, and a culture of empathetic feelings emerge.[34]

The constructivist theory can be used to analyse the concept of terrorism. Terrorism is not "given" in the real world; it is instead an interpretation of events and their presumed causes".[35] The statement "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter" is a clear indication of how arriving at the idea of who a terrorist is can be a tedious process. Given the stance of terrorist groups, their claim is compelling in a world where inflamed passions lead to bloodshed in the name of neither conquest nor class, but simply who the enemy is perceived to be.[36]

The metamorphosis of terrorism from the past to the present shows how identities and interests can change over time. The changing dynamics of terrorism from early anarchist cells, nationalist terrorist groups, left and right wing terrorism etc. to the current trend of religious motivated terrorism shows how terrorists consistently adopt new forms of identity be it political, economic, social or even parading as religious groups to pursue their goals.

Alexander Wendt, a proponent of the constructivist perspective uses it to analyse anarchy and the state. According to Wendt's "anarchy is what states make of it".[37] Wendt believes that anarchy is socially constructed by individuals and the state based on their identity needs. This similarly applies to the issue of security dilemma arises through perceived threat of the individual "self" versus the "other".[38] While this perspective looks at inter-state relations in International Relations, it can be used to analyse the interaction between states and non-state

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actors.[39] Thus the interpretation of the state versus terrorist groups show how enemy images and differences in identity backgrounds culminates into a battle between government and terrorist groups. A look into Nigeria's Boko Haram shows how identity played a role in their current state as a religious militant group. From their formative years as a vigilante group to the recent evolution into a religious militant group whose activities transcends beyond the borders of Nigeria into other African states such as Chad, Niger and Cameroon.

The relevance of constructivism to this research shows how the formation of identity and interest can influence the rise and growth of terrorism. Groups with similar identities and goals often form in-groups bounded by mutual interest and goals. An example can be seen from Islamic militant African terrorist groups receiving support from Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State as a result of their shared identity of Salafist Islamic fundamentalist ideals and anti-western rhetoric.

As the world is divided into multiple ethnicities, different religious backgrounds, different ideological backgrounds, there is bound to be conflicting interests. The situation is not farfetched from the West and Central African sub region. Although constructivists attempt to explain the concept of terrorism and why it exists, a number of criticisms have been put forward against the constructivist perspective.

One of the many critiques against constructivism is that sometimes values and identity are imposed upon groups and individual by others perception or identification and are not always consciously developed by individuals or groups. Also, there are many groups with social grievances yet they have not resorted to violence but rather pacific means of resolving conflicts.

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Critics of constructivism argue that constructivists remain unclear about what factors cause particular ideas to become dominant whereas others fall by the wayside.[40]

1.8 Literature Review

A multitude of literary works have been written on terrorism as a result of its far reaching impact on global peace and security. These works have been on international, regional and national terrorism. The following books and articles have been selected for review to aid in the research.

According to Bruce Hoffman (2006), terrorist groups believe they have been mandated by a higher power (spiritual in nature) to carry out attacks for the greater glory of their faith. They see it as a defence of their faith against a secular world. Dying for their faith through suicide attacks has become a hallmark for some religious terrorist groups. Islamist terrorist groups such as Al-Qaeda and American White Christian Supremacist groups such as the Aryan Nation were analysed.[41]

Matthew J. Morgan (2004) identifies several causative factors of the new terrorism. He examines the new terrorism from a cultural perspective. Modern terrorism in the 21st century have been fairly driven by Islamic fundamentalism. He noted that in some religious terrorist groups, the personality of the leader determines the direction of terrorists group circa Aum Shinrikyo. Again, he further alludes to the political and organizational factors as a causal agent of terrorism. The impact of globalization has led to interconnectedness amongst states which terrorist groups view as a means by which states spread their ideals and beliefs, thereby eroding traditional beliefs. Terrorist groups have become more organized. Technology has also aided terrorist groups in carrying out attacks.[42]

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Brinkley Joel's "ISLAMIC TERROR: Decentralized, Franchised, Global." explores the growing spread and reach of terrorism. Terrorism is not an identity block restricted to any area of the world, but rather fragmented into pockets of insurgency spread all over the globe. The importance of this revelation is that it corrects the errors in perceiving terrorism as a Middle Eastern or a North African problem. The fact is terrorism's reach and terrible consequences are worldwide. Terrorist groups also claim ownership of the territories they control and will oppose attempts by other groups to lay claim to them.[43]

Azeez Olaniyan examines the rising role of female suicide bombers in "Boko Haram and the spectre of female suicide bombers in Nigeria". Noted in the article is the emerging role of females through indoctrination, intimidation and the exploitation of young impressionable young females as suicide bombers. This serves as a paradigm shift in the traditional role of females recruited into terror groups such as Boko Haram, where they serve as spouses and child bearers. Boko Haram has adopted suicide terrorism as one of its strategies due to it being less costly and efficient in causing mass casualties.[44] The article further alludes to the fact that there have been young people with exceptional background who have engaged in suicide terrorism.[45] The article achieves its purpose of identifying the new role of women engaged in terrorism as opposed to the traditional role of women involved with terrorist groups as homemakers or sex slaves. The article provides further details of the growing threat of terrorism.

Ousman Abdelkérim's "The Potential of Islamist Terrorism in Sub-Saharan Africa" examines the growing incidence of terrorism in African Islamic movements and militancy. The author makes reference to the impact of Western colonization and globalization and its influence on global resurgence of modern Islamic militant groups. Abdelkerim claims that the policies of global monetary and trade institutions have created vicious cycles of poverty in many Muslim

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countries further creating mass dissatisfaction. Also highlighted in the article is the role of the media. Western media view of Islam has always been distorted. Western media often associates Islam with violence, antagonistic doctrine women, backwardness, terrorism, threat to liberty and advancement and a menacing threat to world peace and security. This description by media analysts have created a deep sense of Islam being falsely identified as the banal cause for terrorism.[46]

The paper tries to distinguish between the concepts of Islamism and Fundamentalism. There is an erroneous conception that both concepts are virtually the same. Most Western analysts and moderate Muslims misinterpret the concept of Islamism as fundamentalism in disguise and they are of the view that its main purpose is to bring down democratic governments and cause harm to their allies. Further noted by the author is how military dictatorship, economic disparities, lawlessness, poverty, political suppression, high concentration of unemployed youth and corruption have paved the way for groups such as Boko Haram to wage jihad against the central government.

Karmon Ely's "Boko Haram's International Reach: Perspectives on Terrorism." focuses on the global reach of Boko Haram and its threat to the international community.[47] Some scholars are of the opinion that Boko Haram is a Nigerian issue at the moment and the risk of the group attacking a western country is relatively low. However, this opinion changed when Boko Haram attacked an Intergovernmental Organization which was the United Nation's building in Abuja in 2013.[48] The paper also concerns itself with how Boko Haram is receiving military training of its members as well as arms from Al-Shabab and AQIM which have all pledged allegiance to Al-Qaeda.[49]

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Looking at all these linkages and the formation of alliances with other groups, the world is now faced with the problem of a group whose interests is not based on the propagation of the ideals of democracy but are seeking political power in a form of religious disguise. Ely Karmon noted various terrorist groups have become transnational and are adopting various policies of mutual cooperation, interdependence for the perpetuation of their existence.

Adesoji Abimbola in his work "The Boko Haram Uprising and Islamic Revivalism" examines the impact of religion as a contributory cause in the rise of Boko Haram. He further explains how the desire to establish an Islamic State in Northern Nigeria is the focal point behind the groups' activities.[50] While the paper mentions religion as a mitigating factor, it also mentions how the sect's growth was also aided by the economic disparities in Nigeria, the desire of leaders to wield political power by any means possible and other structural weaknesses.[51] These internal factors coupled with the growing spread of Islamic Fundamentalism around the world make an already divisive Nigerian susceptible to violence as evidenced by the Boko Haram uprising.[52]

Although the paper addresses the issue of religion as a basis of justification for the existence of Boko Haram, it also fails to seriously address how certain conditions in the Nigerian society fuels its activities and also how the activities of the group is contrary to the dictates of the Islamic religion. The politicization of religion should have been the focus of the paper rather than putting the blame solely on one particular religion.

Zenn, J and Pearson, E in their article "Women, gender and the evolving tactics of Boko Haram**"** examines the issue of gender based violence perpetuated by members of Boko Haram against vulnerable groups in the society i.e. Women, children and other members whose

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behaviour do not conform to the accepted standards set by group. The continued victimization of women is not a new phenomenon and is a strategic tool often employed in warfare. Boko Haram's desire to rule by Sharia law helps in the perpetuation of gender based violence due to the fact that gender roles for men and women are narrowed down. These include guidelines on how women dress. Members of the Boko Haram sect are often prejudiced and have used abusive methods against women.[53] Gendered standards have been adopted by Boko Haram's leaders, who detest any issue on the rights and privileges of Women and other non-conformist practices such as homosexuality, lesbianism etc.[54] The use of women and children as suicide bombers shows the extent to which the group that expansively preach about morality is willing to go in the advancement of their agenda.In short, the paper provides a new dimension in the study of gender roles in Boko Haram, a subject which have been neglected by most research scholars. However, there is a need to come up with measures to reintegrate women who have been victims through rape or forced marriages back into their communities since most of these women are often discriminated against by society.

Seth G. Jones and Martin C. Libicki in their book "How Terrorist Groups End: Lessons for Countering Al Qa'ida" explores the various methods for demobilizing terrorist groups through both diplomatic and military means. The article uses United States counter-terrorist measures towards Al Qaeda as a comparison for how terrorist groups can be eradicated. The authors contend that ending terrorism requires a multiplicity of tools including sanctions against state sponsors of terrorism, using military means where necessary, countering terrorist ideology, and addressing the legitimate problems of Muslims in the society.[55] The article begins by proposing that phrases like "war on terror" (which overestimate the need for a military solution) be replaced with terms like" counterterrorism" which emphasize the use of diverse strategies. The authors contend that military strategies are unsuccessful if used by themselves but tend to be

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more effective when combined with intelligence and policing or some form of diplomacy, like addressing the fundamental grievances of the terrorist groups. The authors also discuss the various ways in which terrorist groups have been successfully disbanded indicating that 42% of terrorist groups studied ended following a transition to the political process while 40% were eradicated through effective use of the police and intelligence services. They assert that because of the dense interconnectivity in terrorist groups like Al Qaeda, simply eliminating the leadership will not cause the organization to disband or collapse. Rather, it will require intelligence gathering, and the simultaneous destruction of their network hubs around the globe. Military force is advised only where terrorists can be clearly identified and their location defined as in the target drone strikes used in eliminating top Al Qaeda leaders in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

The use of local security personnel and the knowledge of residents are also highlighted as very useful in areas where partners are unfamiliar. The article concludes that US strategies against Al-Qaeda has been unsuccessful because it overlooks the above stated factors and is too dependent on a military solution. Although focused a different terrorist group in a different part of the world, the key points of this article can be extrapolated to the cases of all other terrorist groups because the solutions to terrorism are quite similar around the world. The article does a good job establishing the success rates of various strategies for eliminating terrorist groups and provided useful information that can be applied to terrorism everywhere in the world.

1.9 Sources of Data

The study uses both primary and secondary source of data. Primary sources of data include interviews with experts in the field of terrorism such as Ghana Police Service (Counter Terrorism Unit), cultural attaches from the Nigerian and Malian embassies and General

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Emmanuel Kotia of the Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College. Secondary sources of data includes books, articles, websites, journals, documents, and media reports.

1.10 Research Methodology

A qualitative research method is used in the study. The qualitative method allows for a detailed explanation and examination of a research subject, without restricting the scope of the research and the nature of participant's responses. Information and data for the research includes existing literature on the history of terrorism in West Africa and Nigeria as well as theories and scholarly research on the dynamics of terrorism and security in the region. Additional information comes from interviews with experts knowledgeable in the field of terrorism. Key experts in the field of academia such as Brig. (Dr) General Emmanuel Kotia of the Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College was approached based on their extensive literature and expertise on the subject of terrorism. Members of the Counterterrorism Unit of the Ghana Police Service. The type of sampling being used is the purposive sampling. The topic requires input from professionals and specialists in the fields of governance and global security. The subjective nature of the purposive sampling method allows the researcher to source information and opinions directly from scholars and professionals specializing in those fields.

1.11 Arrangement of Chapters

Chapter One constitutes the research design.

Chapter Two consists of a general overview of terrorism in West and Central Africa.

Chapter Three examines the increasing threat of Boko Haram's insurgency in Nigeria.

Chapter Four consists of research findings, limitations, conclusions and recommendations.

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CHAPTER TWO

OVERVIEW OF TERRORISM IN WEST AND CENTRAL AFRICA

2.0 Introduction

This chapter gives a general overview of terrorism in West and Central Africa. In order to understand and investigate the increasing threat of terrorism to West and Central Africa, it is important to establish the underlying concepts on which this research is situated. This chapter identifies, investigates and critically analyses relevant existing literature on the subject matter. It seeks to provide a foundation upon which a working hypothesis is developed for the conducting of primary research. This chapter focuses on key concepts such as the history and purpose of terrorism, present day terrorism, its effectiveness and its emergence in West and Central Africa.

2.1 Defining Terrorism

History is replete with information on societies being ruled through terror. The use of terror to govern has been evident even in organised societies, typically as a means of punishment or dissuasion. Terror is derived from the Latin word “terrere”, which means “to make tremble”.[1] There exists multiple divergent views on the definition of terrorism. Globally, different countries define terrorism differently, researchers also express opposing views on whether or not there can be a universal definition for terrorism. Various researchers are also of the belief that terrorism is unique in every situation, hence should be defined accordingly based on the specific case. As there are diverging views on what constitutes terrorism, it is therefore difficult to establish a universal definition for the word. It is therefore unsurprising that there exists over a 100 different definitions for terrorism.[2] In essence, terrorism generally means different things to different people. Although finding a definition for terrorism has appeared to be complicated

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and divided, it is essential. This is to develop a comprehensive understanding of the term and to deal with it efficiently.[3]

The growing difficulty in defining terrorism, lends itself to the fact that there is no established common denominator in the goals or the wide-variety of actors involved in perpetuating of violent acts considered to be terrorist acts. Various acts of violence have been undertaken by individuals, religious sects, tribes, countries, etc. with varying goals and motivations for their activities. It is therefore difficult to obtain a comprehensive definition for the word without making broad generalisations and thereby rendering the word meaningless or unsuitable to a specific scenario. Irrespective of this, the commonality in the various definitions is that violence or the intent to cause violence is involved and is considered different to mundane criminal violence.

In the consideration of some of the existing definitions, it is easy to identify aspects of the said definitions that render it incomprehensive enough to be globally accepted. However, one can also argue that, each definition serves a specified case or aspect of terrorism. A widely accepted academic definition is:

> "Terrorism is an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by semi-clandestine individual, group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons, whereby – in contrast to assassination – the direct targets of violence are not the main targets. The immediate human victims of violence are generally chosen randomly or selectively from a target population, and serve as message generators. Threat and violence-based communication processes between terrorist, victims, and main targets are used to manipulate the main target, turning it into a target of terror, a target of demands, or a target of attention, depending on whether intimidation, coercion, or propaganda is primarily sought".[4]

This definition, however, does not offer a distinction between the actions of terrorists and the legitimate struggle of people under domination. The United States government have also

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encountered similar challenges in defining terrorism in an all-encompassing manner. The US Department of Defence, defines terrorism as:

> The calculated use of unlawful violence or the threat of violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological."[5]

A general concern with this definition is the lack of clear distinction from other forms of violence. One may argue that this definition can be applied to the United States dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki during the Second World War Despite knowing the high casualty rates and its after effects, the USA use of atomic bombs on the two Japanese cities was mainly to induce fear in the pursuit of a political goal. Two Dutch researchers, Alex Schmid and Albert Jongman, gathered 109 official and academic definitions of terrorism to identify its main components.[6] Below are the findings from their research;

- 83.5% of definitions included an element of violence
- 65% included political goals
- 51% highlighted the elements of inflicting terror and fear
- 21% emphasised randomness and indiscriminate targeting
- 17.5% mentioned the victimization of civilians, outsiders and non-combatants.

The main disagreements with this approach is the fact that, the data sources for this research are Western sources. What is perceived by Western officials and academics to be the main components of terrorism is not necessarily perceived as so by the rest of the world. And these definitions can also be applied to various examples of the use of violence by some of these Western officials and governments. However, amidst the multitudes of varying definitions, one can opine that motivations for which terrorist acts are carried out varies. Also, the target groups and the desired outcomes are also varied. Therefore there is no all-encompassing definition for

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terrorism. Countries and organisations can however define it as it pertains to their unique circumstances.

2.2 History of Terrorism

Under this section, the past and present day terrorism will be examined. This will enable inferences to be drawn on similarities and differences in these eras and also ascertain the changes that have occurred in the execution of terrorist acts.

2.2.1 Terrorism in the Past

Historic documented use of the word terrorism dates back to 1793 during the "Reign of Terror" in France.[7] However, the use of fear and terror by states are well documented and goes back ages before 1793. The use of fear as a weapon has been used for ages by state and non-state bodies. Historical examples of these are, as far back as the first century include the Sicarii, a murderous sect of Jewish Zealots who aided in the uprising against the Romans. Between 1090 and 1272, an Ismaili sect arose. This sect known as the Assassins, became infamous for their use of the blade in killing Muslim dignitaries.[8] Many acts of terror implemented in the early days were founded on theological and political issues. From Stalinist and Nazism terror, the Rwandan genocide, the Gypsies and Jews and to that of the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire remain stark reminders of periods of terror in the twentieth century.[9]

2.2.2 Contemporary Terrorism

Today's terrorism is what specialists refer to as group or bottom-up terrorism, but top-down or state terrorism has been far more prevalent throughout history.[10] At its peak in the twentieth century various totalitarian government adopted terror tactics as highlighted above in the Stalinist and Nazi Germany eras.[11]The victim count of top-down or state terrorism is far higher

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than its group or bottom-up counterpart. Today's terrorism has been largely influenced by Salafist Jihadist ideology espoused by terrorist groups such as Al-Qaeda, Islamic State, the Taliban, Hezbollah, AQIM, Boko Haram, ISGS etc. The happenings of the September 11, 2011 attacks in the USA brought the issue of terrorism onto a prominent global stage, leading nations and the public to fully appreciate its growing threat as evidenced by the level of international response it garnered. The non-distinction of nationalities of the victims of the September 11 attacks showed a new face of terrorism. Increased suicide bombings, kidnappings, gruesome beheadings etc. have become characteristics of today's terrorism.

2.2.3 Waves of Terrorism

There are myriad of reasons for which insurgencies arise and why people tend to perpetuate terrorist acts. A common historical phenomenon is terror in the name of religion. This remains one of the most common reasons for these acts. Past and present day terrorism highlighted above have been characterised by different waves of terrorism. David Rapoport, in his writings on the history of international terrorism, highlighted four major waves of terrorism:[12]

- *Anarchist wave* – Stemming from growing dissatisfaction of slow reforms, this wave started in Russia in the 1880's and ended in the 1920's. Termed as the Golden Age of Assassinations, this era saw the assassinations of various heads of states across Europe.[13]One of the major groups to emerge from this era was Narodnaya Volya.
- *Anticolonial wave* –The timelines for this type of terrorism started from the 1920's and ended in the 1960's. This wave received a lot of support from the diaspora abroad with terrorists fighting against colonial powers commonly referred to as freedom fighters.[14]This included groups such as the National Liberation Front of Algeria, Muslim Brotherhood, Palestinian Liberation Organization etc.

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- *New left wave* – Stimulated by the Vietnam War, this wave proved the vulnerability of modern states to relatively unsophisticated tactics and weapons. This wave is considered similar to the first wave, as it was characterised by the deep dissatisfaction of young people with the existing systems.[15]Identifiable groups under this category includes Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia, Japanese Red Army, Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam etc.
- *Religious wave* – At the heart of this wave is Islam. The Soviet incursion of Afghanistan and the Iranian Revolution marked the beginning of this wave. This wave also gave prominence to suicide terrorism.[16] This wave emerged in 1979 and continues till today. Groups under this category includes Hezbollah, Hamas, Al-Qaeda, Boko Haram etc.

Other researchers such as Wilkinson have categorised the forms of terrorism with similar ideological underpinnings.[17]

2.3 Origins/Determinants of Terrorism

Two main areas of research in the understanding of terrorism are: "What breeds terrorism?" and "Where do terrorists strike?"[18] Most researchers focus on determinants such as political stability, GDP, infrastructure, educational levels, economic conditions, civil liberties and political liberties, among others to indicate the likelihood of the emergence of terrorism. In spite of the growing body of research work in the area, there has been no general consensus on the determinants of terrorism, hence the inability to place how terrorism originates. One school of thought indicates that democracies breed more terrorists than autocracies.[19] Another body of research found that civil and political liberties had no effect on the origin of terrorism.[20] The relationship between GDP and terrorism has also been a subject of contention with some researchers finding a positive impact of GDP on terrorism,[21] some researchers finding none,[22] and others finding a negative impact.[23] Statistics on the occurrence of domestic and

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international terrorism are vital data points for the determination of the origins of terrorism. Although domestic terrorism occurs more frequently than international terrorism, the lack of access to data renders it impossible to draw meaningful conclusions from these cases. Another possible area of contention in the determinants of terrorism are the classification of data sets into the origin of the terror or the target of the terror as the origins of the terrorists are not always the target of the terrorist acts.[24]

In the 2011 research by Kis-Katos, Liebert & Schulze on "The origin of domestic and international terrorism" cited as the first to analyse domestic terrorism with the widest data set and time span, they concluded that;

- Contrary to existing theories, poor states do not breed the most terrorists. Terrorism increases with increase in GDP per capita.
- History of conflict plays a key role. Strong transitions towards democracy increased terrorism.
- Repressive states are best in repressing terrorism.
- The more stable the regime, the less terror. Domestic conflicts are hotbeds for terrorism both internationally and domestically.[25]

What these conclusions mean for counter-terrorism efforts are that measures need to be put in place to stabilise regimes as a preventative measure to terrorism. Similar conclusions were made in other bodies of research on the need to stabilise regimes through accelerated development efforts to counter the impact of terrorism.[26]

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2.4 Does Terrorism Work

As established, there are various reasons for which terrorism occurs, and in order to deem one successful or to ascertain whether it fulfils its intended purpose, it is necessary to understand the objective of the particular act and the definition of success. For some insurgencies, the goal is to seize power and overthrow an existing government, whilst others seek to change socio-political ideologies. There has been evidence in recent history of the use of terror as a weapon by ruthless dictators to achieve their strategic goals.[27] Some examples include Hitler and the Nazi Germany era, Stalin and the Soviet Union.[28] Terror tactics was adopted by the Serbs in their ethnic cleansing campaign in Bosnia.[29] Same could have been said from the Rwandan Genocide if the Tutsi's had not overcome the Hutu's ethnic cleansing campaign. Non-state terrorist groups however have not been as successful in the achievement of their goals as they typically lack the resources available to states and totalitarian regimes.[30] The only exception to this being the anti-colonial wave where with the support of the international community, non-state "freedom fighters" were able to fight for the liberation of their states from under colonial rule. There is no research to support a clear case record of a non-state group overthrowing a democratic government using terrorism. Majority of citizens consider their democratic governments to be legitimate and are willing to rally behind them in their counter-terrorism efforts.[31]

2.5 Impact of Terrorism

In the past decade, terrorist activities have increased by more than 450% globally.[32] Although this steep rise is mainly linked to activities in the Middle East and Asia, the sudden waves of attacks recorded in Central and West Africa has made the region, an emerging hotspot for terrorism. The consequences can be grave as there are significant impacts associated with terrorism and for developing countries particularly many African states. The loss of life,

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destruction of property and equipment, breakdown of governments, are but a few of the costs associated with terrorist acts. The cost of terrorism can be divided into two categories, direct costs and indirect costs.[33] The direct costs are visible as listed above and is felt immediately by a section of the population around the target area. The indirect costs may take a while to be felt and tend to be felt across the entire economy. Both forms identified can be classified in various ways and it is important to assess some of these classifications to obtain a more comprehensive view on the nature of the impacts terrorism can have on a country, organisations or a society.

2.5.1 Economic Impact

Research has shown evidence of the short-term and long-term impact of terrorism on stock markets, capital markets and some specific macroeconomic indicators. Examples of these are impacts on local tourism, a decline in the demand for buyers,[34] port delays leading to a breakdown in the international supply chain, increased risk of investing in affected country and likely changes in government regulations and laws.[35]

According to the Global Terrorism Index, 2017, the countries that suffer the most economic impact from terrorism are those embroiled in conflict.[36] Mostly situated in the Middle East, Asia, sub-Saharan Africa and North Africa, losses as high as 24% of GDP were recorded.[37]

2.5.2 Psychological Impact

The main objective is not to ascertain whether there are psychological impacts associated with terrorism, as many researchers have proven there is. The goal is to identify the level of psychological impact and possible ways of addressing the situation. Statistically, countries that are hardest hit by acts of terrorism are those that lack basic healthcare systems to handle individual and mass traumatic casualties.[38] Trauma management systems are often absent in these countries hence casualties are unable to access the required help. Research indicates that

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trauma remains mostly neglected especially in Africa and contributes to an average of 10 million disability-adjusted life years.[39] Higher income countries have recorded improved outcomes for terrorism related trauma patients due to the provision of on-scene stabilization, quality pre-hospital care and the quality of transportation of patients. There is the need for low income countries to develop structures to provide adequate care for trauma patients.

2.5.3 Social Impact

Although terrorism can be observed easily, measuring its impact is difficult, especially the aspects of terrorism that are not as quantifiable as the number of casualties or properties.[40] According to Greisman , terrorism can result in changes in the way people live, changes such as housing patterns, shopping habits, mental health problems, etc.[41] The occurrence of acts of terrorism in public places continues to erode public confidence in open spaces and public areas. Social scientists continue to argue on whether terrorism is having its intended effect – 'to create fear', countries are seeking tighter border controls and restricting access into their countries for certain ethnicities and religions. Anxieties about future occurrences are continually being fuelled by ongoing attacks.[42] These social impacts continue to have a rippling effect on societies as anticipatory anxiety leads governments, organisations and individuals to take somewhat drastic measures in the hopes of preventing future occurrences however nebulous these threats are.

2.5.4 Governance Impact

Another area of growing concern in the wake of terrorism is its impact on a nation's governance and politics. Key areas of impact include the election and replacement of government officials, the development and administration of new policies, and the respect of the state and citizens for the institutions that govern their interactions.[43] Other researchers are also of the opinion

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that terrorism can affect governance in the areas of societal change,[44] and improvements in the standard of living.[45] These finding are in contrast to school of thoughts that support the reverse as true, that governance impacts terrorism. Researchers opine that terrorism is likely to occur in areas of government instability.[46] However in recent times where even seemingly stable governments have experienced waves of terrorism, this argument becomes weakened.

2.6 Response to Terrorism

As a result of present day terrorist activities, countries and individuals are taking measures to protect themselves and also respond adequately to growing threats. The US government has instituted several offensive and defensive counter-terrorism measures to insure and prevent similar future attacks.[47] However one major concern is the unpredictability of terrorist attacks, there is no way of knowing when or where another is likely to occur, hence making it difficult to focus attention and resources on a particular area, and thereby putting governments under significant amounts of financial and resource pressure.[48]

Researchers have espoused greatly on responses to terrorism, with documentation of governments responses to terrorism and its associated threats but a less researched area are the factors that influence the public's response to terrorism.[49] As stated earlier, terrorism changes the way people live, with individuals changing social habits and living arrangements in direct response to terrorism, hence the need to understand the underlying factors.

2.6.1 Religion

Several bodies of research argue for and against linkages between religiosity and reactions to terrorism. Past studies on the relationship between religiosity and crime-related views before the surge in domestic and international terrorism showed no significant linkages[50] with only

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few researchers reporting otherwise.[51] Subsequent research in the area shows the reverse to be true, rendering the subject on the relationship between religion and response to crime rather complex with various influences informing the various arguments. In the current wave of terrorism, research conducted by Adamczyk & LaFree (2015), indicated a diversion from earlier held conceptions about the roles religiosity plays in the response to terrorism.[52] They hypothesized that a stronger relationship can be found between religion and terrorist acts as compared to common crimes with religious people being more likely to be concerned about the impact of terrorism and more likely to have a changed behaviour because of terrorism.[53] This hypothesis proved to be valid as evidence showed that religious people are more likely to show concern about terrorism and more willing to work with authorities to prevent them. The implications of this study for most countries in West and Central African states, with majority of their populations belonging to one religion or the other are significant and positive as governments can harness this relationship in the war against terrorism on the continent.

2.6.2 Reason and Emotions

In the continuous quest for understanding the public's reaction and responses to terrorism, another significant factor that comes to play is the reasoning and emotions of the populace. According to research in the fields of psychology and behavioural economics, emotions are known to play a role in decision-making.[54] Emotions are likely to remain a key factor in people's response to terrorism. Two widely known routes by which risk is perceived and acted upon are:

Managing risk through analysis by the use of reason.[55]

The use of emotions to react to danger through our feelings.[56]

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In Jubo, et al's (2019) research on "The roles of reason and emotion in private and public responses to terrorism", conclusions drawn from the research indicated that emotions played a role in the public's response to terrorism and that the type of emotion, (e.g. fear or anger) played a role in their willingness to support counter-terrorism measures.

2.7 Emergence of Terrorism in West and Central Africa (Sahel Region)

The Sahel region is situated between latitude 10° and 20° north.[57] It covers an area of about 3 million square km and is made up of northern Senegal in the west, through Southern Mauritania, Central Mali, Northern Burkina Faso, South-western Niger, Northern Nigeria, Central Chad, north of Cameroon, central African Republic, central Sudan and Southern Sudan, northern Eritrea, extreme north of Ethiopia, to Somalia in the east and to the south east of the Sahel into Kenya (see Figure 1).[58] An estimated 60 million people live in the area.[59] The region is found between the shores of the Atlantic Ocean and the Red Sea, earning it its name 'Sahel', an Arabic word meaning the 'Shore'.[60] Historically, the region is known for containing the centres of civilization (Timbuktu, Gao and Djenne), it saw the rise of powerful empires such as the Songhai and the Sokoto caliphate and was crisscrossed by the Trans-Sahara trade routes.[61] The region is characterised by a mixture of desert, grassland and semi-arid climate. It is mostly inhibited by pastoralists and nomads. In terms of rainfall, the Sahel experiences declines with increase in latitude.

The Sahel states are among the poorest in the world. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) reported that most of the Sahel states ranked low in all their development indicators. Development indicators such as infrastructure, healthcare, quality of education, GDP are necessary in the determination of a country's human development. Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso, Chad and Niger ranked 157, 175, 185, 186, and 187 respectively on the UNDP's

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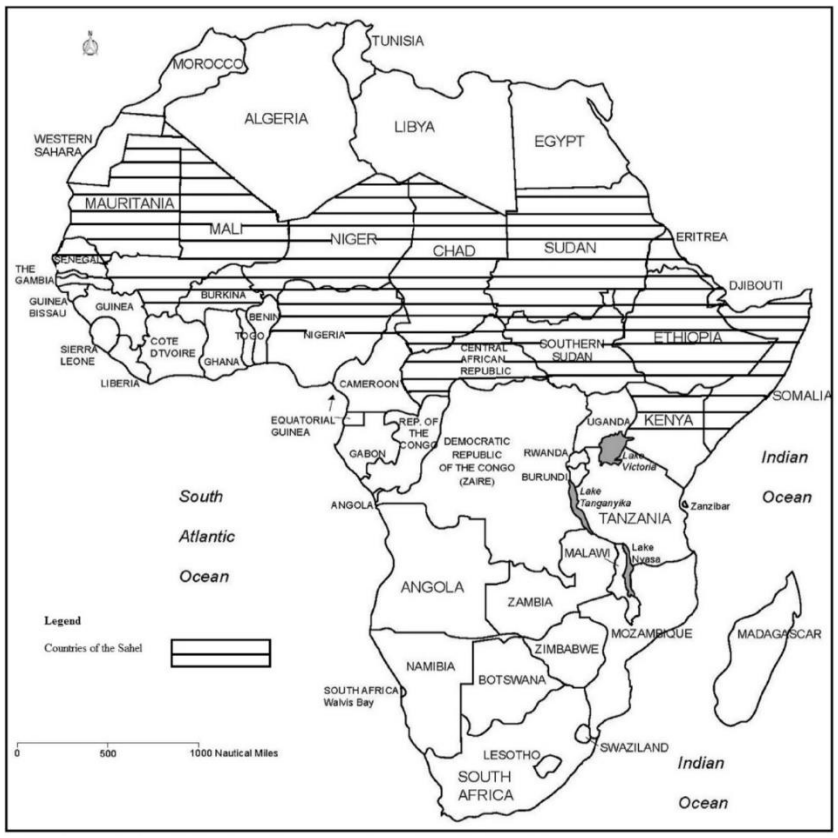
human development scale.[62] The poverty and grim socio-economic indicators have made the region susceptible to human and drug trafficking, conflicts and a hotspot for terrorism. This has also led to the lack of direct foreign investments due to the instability and in the unattractiveness of the region for doing business. The Sahel region has also experienced high population growth. This has resulted in a large young population who regard their governments as corrupt. They do not have access to education, employment and adequate healthcare. As indicated in earlier research, these are breeding grounds for insurrections and terrorism.

Figure 2. 1: Location of the countries of the Sahel Region



Source: T.E. Epule et al. (2017)

The emergence of terrorism in West and Central Africa (referred to as the Sahel region, see figure 1) has mainly been perpetuated by Boko Haram of Nigeria. The group has been extending its sphere of terrorism to neighbouring countries. The violence that originated in

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Nigeria has spilled over into the neighbouring countries of Cameroon, Chad, and Niger. The targeted groups of Boko Haram's violent campaign has been both government and civilian targets. These and the widely publicised kidnapping of the Chibok girls in Nigeria are contemporary examples of the growing threat the emergence of terrorism is posing to development and stability in the region.

As established through research highlighted in earlier sections, instability and political strife are regarded as some of the determinants for the emergence of terrorism, both of which some parts of the West and Central Africa region is characterised by. Some contemporary cases to further buttress this point include: Burundi, South Sudan and the Central African Republic.[63] The political crisis and civil war in South Sudan that began in December 2013 has resulted in thousands of deaths and the displacement of hundreds of thousands of citizens. The Central African Republic's current situation can be likened to past experiences of socio-political unrests. The coup d'états recorded from 1996-2003 and the 2004-2007 Bush War are examples of these political unrest.[64] Pierre Nkurunziza decision to run for a third term in office has cast a shadow of political violence/instability across the country.

2.7.1 Extremism and Terrorism in the Sahel

A continued state of political unrest and prevailing low socio-economic conditions in most of the Sahel region continues to fuel the activities of extremist and terrorists in the region. Violent Extremist Organisations (VEO) have typically found safe havens in areas in the region that remain ungoverned due to the incapacity of some of the weak Sahel states to control parts of their territories.[65] These VEO's assumed governing power in some of these territories and sometimes provide service and basic amenities to people in the area. Evidence of these are reported in north-east Niger and northern Mali, where VEO's have established their own form

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of governance.[66] The poor conditions in some of these states present a good opportunity for the youth to join VEO's and terrorist organisations as a means of survival. According to the International Crisis Group (2015), lack of jobs and education can lead to radicalization that could be channelled by violent jihadi groups.[67]

The Sahel is home to a very complicated network of VEO's. The regular changes of alliances makes it difficult to precisely understand the individual groups, their functions and who they are aligned with.[68] A case in point is the notorious Emir Mokhtar Belmokhtar (MBM), who broke away from AQIM in 2012, and merged his own organization with MUJAO , giving birth to the powerful Salafi Jihadist Murabitun (Almoravides) organization.[69] The primary objective of this new alliance is to revive the unity and lost supremacy of the Almoravides dynasty, which had ruled for centuries over the area.[70] In December 2015, the organization reunited with AQIM. The Sahel continues to be a home to a myriad group of independent terrorist sects, most of which have ties to AQIM. A key ally of AQIM is the Tuareg group Ansar Dine, whose troops had begun marching toward Bamako in 2013 before being stopped thanks to the French intervention.[71] Warner (2017) posits that an AQIM/Al-Murabitun defector group pledged allegiance to IS to become, in 2016, the Islamic State of the Greater Sahara (ISGS) under Adnan Abu Walid Sahraoui.[72]

These groups, irrespective of their religious or ideological leanings, operate in a complex environment. IS affiliates and AQIM have been known to carry out attacks against UN personnel, innocent civilians, and French-Malian troops and in various areas in Burkina Faso, Niger, etc.[73] Although France's intervention in Mali helped in weakening the groups, it did not eradicate them. While the intervention has led to the demise of several of their leaders, the root causes that generate such groups are still present.

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Existing research supports the emergence of terrorism in this region due to the political climate in some of the countries in the region. However, there are some countries in West and Central Africa that have remained relatively untouched by the growing insurgency. There is therefore the need to investigate the growing threat in the region and recommend measures to help mitigate its impacts.

2.7.2 Terrorism in West Africa

The availability of vast resources should have made West Africa a haven of development, prosperity and progress. However, West Africa's history has been blighted by associated vices of corruption, high concentration of unemployed youth, ethnic and religious marginalization, intra state conflict etc. Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote D'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo make up West Africa. The region consists of multiple persons with ethnicities, religious backgrounds etc. All but Mauritania are members of ECOWAS. West Africa consists of multiple persons with different ethnicities, cultural and religious backgrounds.

The early history of West Africa was marked with the mass enslavement of West Africans during Transatlantic slave trade era. Violent tactics was adopted by the colonial rulers against the oppressed West African's during the struggle for independence. Despite West Africa being a pacesetter in the attainment of independence, the region has witnessed a series of violent civil wars, intrastate conflicts, political instability, military coup d'état, deliberate ethnic cleansing etc. In the era of the West Africa became a pawn in fight for supremacy between the Soviet Union and the United States. A lasting legacy of the Cold War that continue to plague many states in West Africa is the continued circulation of Small Arms and Light Weapons that was giving to government and rebel groups that were supportive of either the east or the west.

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Coupled with the numerous civil wars that have transpired in the region, vast numbers of weaponry are still in circulation in the region.

2.7.3 Terrorism in Post-Colonial West Africa.

One of the major crisis facing West Africa currently is the increasing threat of terrorism. Although, terrorism is generally considered as a recent development, the use of terror as a strategy is not new. A notable event in Ghana's history was the assassination attempt of Dr Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's foremost President in 1964 by Police Constable Ametewee.[74]

The 21st Century have seen a rise in terrorist activities particularly Islamist militant groups espousing Salafist ideology and it is establishing a strong foothold in West Africa. The World Trade attacks on September 11, 2001 exposed the vulnerability in global security as a non-state actor such as Al-Qaeda was able to plan and execute a deadly attack against a powerful state such as the United States.

Debates as at 2006, centered on whether terrorism was existent, evolving or an illusionary threat in West Africa.[75]However, looking at the current trends of terrorism, the threat can be said to be very real. The increasing spate of attacks, the ever increasing numbers of terrorist sects and coalitions been formed between and among these groups have transformed terrorism from an illusionary threat or evolving threat to a real security threat in West Africa.[76]

The Organization of African Unity, now African Union's Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism, Article 1(3) (a), defines terrorism as "any act which is a violation of the criminal laws of states party and which may endanger the life, physical integrity or freedom of, or cause serious injury or death to any person, any number or group of persons or may cause

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damage to public or private property ,natural resources, environment or cultural heritage and is calculated or intended to:

- Intimidate, put fear, force, coerce or induce any Government body, institution, the general public or any segment thereof, to do or abstain from doing any act or adopt or abandon a particular standpoint, or to act according to certain principles: or
- Disrupt any public service, the delivery of any essential service to the public or create a public emergency or
- Create a general insurrection in the state.

Article 3 of the same Convention provides that notwithstanding the provision of article 1, the struggle waged by people in accordance with the principles of International law of their liberation or self-determination, including armed struggle against colonialism, occupation, aggression and domination by foreign forces shall not be considered as terrorist act".[77]

The differing definitions creates difficulty, particularly in distinguishing between terrorist groups or freedom fighters with genuine grievance against what they perceive as the oppressors.

West Africa is currently plagued by an increased threat posed by a myriad association of terrorist groups made up of both domestic and transnational terrorist organizations. Terrorist groups operating in the region includes AQIM, Boko Haram, Ansar Dine, MUJAO, ISGS etc. The recent terrorist groups have largely been influenced by Salafist ideology permeating from the Middle East. Al-Qaeda, Islamic State and the Taliban remain some of the terrorist group which AQIM, Boko Haram etc. draw their inspiration from. Their main objective is to do away with Western civilization and restore the traditional Islam which had existed in the region since the 10th century.[78]

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2.7.4 Terrorism and Transnational Organized Crime in West Africa

Terrorism in 21st Century West Africa has become a transnational security threat due to groups involved in terrorism using various nefarious means to fund their activities. These activities includes drug trafficking, human trafficking, piracy, child soldiers etc. Terrorist groups involved in these practices include both AQIM and Boko Haram who profess morality but act contradictory to the moral practices they seek to enforce.

The wide array of Small and Arms Light Weapons circulating in the region has given terrorist groups an upper hand over the unarmed populace. Small Arms and Light Weapon trafficking is increasingly threatening the already fragile peace and security in West Africa. Approximately, there are about 640 million illicit weapons in circulation worldwide. Out of this figure about 100 million are in Sub-Saharan Africa with eight (8) to ten (10) million concentrated in the West African sub-region.[79]

Also, given the structural weaknesses in many West African states, the region has emerged to be a source and transit point for drugs coming from Latin America to Europe and America. Terrorist organizations such as AQIM, MUJAO have been involved in drug smuggling to fund their activities.[80]

2.7.5 The Arab Spring and the Rise of Terrorism in West Africa

Terrorism has had far reaching consequences in Africa. One key event that sparked an influx of terrorist activities was the Arab Spring. The 'Arab Spring' was a major revolutionary movement sparked by decades of dictatorships by long serving rulers in North Africa and the Middle East.[81] The rippling effects of the Arab Spring is the ongoing civil war in Libya and the rise of terrorist cells of both Middle Eastern and African origins on the continent. This has

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already worsened security conditions in the whole of West Africa. These armed militant groups have formed associations with other groups operating in the region. The scattered armed militants have been recruited by AQIM and other West African terrorist groups[82].The multiplying number of fighters in northern Mali together with other insurgents operating in Northern Nigeria has resulted in high numbers of weapons circulating in the region[83] The crisis sparked by the Tuareg revolt in Mali, Ansar Dine, MUJAO and the National Liberation Movement of Azawad has resulted in ECOWAS intervention due to the threat these groups pose in the region.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE INCREASING THREAT OF BOKO HARAM'S INSURGENCY IN NIGERIA

3.1 Introduction

This Chapter critically examines the increasing threat of terrorism in West and Central Africa, mainly using the Boko Haram insurgency as a focal point of study. This chapter examines the complexity of the Nigerian society and the factors that have necessitated the continued growth of the Boko Haram sect. The chapter further looks at the impacts of Boko Haram's activities in Nigeria and its growing influence outside the borders of Nigeria to countries such as Niger, Cameroon and Chad. This chapter further highlights the current linkages being established between Boko Haram and other well established terrorist networks operating in both the African region and the Middle East.

3.2 Country Overview

Many developing states in Africa have experienced diverse forms of security threats and instability with periods marked by moments of peace to total chaos. Nigeria is no exception. Since its attainment of independence in 1960, Nigeria has experienced a wave of varied forms of security challenges and insurgencies.[1] Nigeria has alternated between periods of military and civilian governments. Nigeria's current political arena is the democratic system of governance. With Nigeria being under the umbrella of democratic governance, the expected dream is that it will be a peaceful and prosperous state. However, the stark reality is that Nigeria is plagued by myriad issues including high levels of poverty, corruption, high concentration of unemployed youth and the rise of militant groups. Currently, Nigeria is facing a wave of incessant security threats due to the activities of militant groups operating in

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the region. Notable among these groups is the Boko Haram sect which began its operations in the North Eastern part of Nigeria.

Boko Haram, a Nigerian jihadist sect, have become a major threat not only to Nigeria but to West and Central Africa. Countries that have been affected by Boko Haram's insurgency includes Cameroon, Chad and Niger. Although, Boko Haram predates 2002, it publicly commenced its operations in 2002.Boko Haram's attacks has not been limited to attacks and killings of government forces only. They have also targeted civilians as well. Boko Haram's modus operandi ranges from suicide bombings, kidnappings, arson and other violent attacks.[2] In 2014, Boko Haram dominated world news when it kidnapped 250 high school female students at Chibok Girls High School in Borno state.[3] Despite the security measures deployed by the Nigerian state and its surrounding countries to respond to Boko Haram insurgencies, the sect remains capable of initiating significant attacks. Despite extreme security measures the sect remains a formidable foe for the Nigerian government. Several factors abound in Nigeria that makes it a conducive environment for groups such as Boko Haram to emerge. These include the widening gap between the rich and poor, poverty, unemployment, corruption, corruption, north and south Nigeria divide. These and many others have played a key role in the emergence of Boko Haram.[4]

The Federal Republic of Nigeria (Figure 1) is a country situated on the west coast of Africa, bordering the Gulf of Guinea, and lying between 9.0820^{O}N, 8.6753^{O}E. Nigeria has a land area of approximately 924,000 km^2 and shares land borders with Benin, Niger, Chad and east, and Cameroon.[5] The World Bank, estimated Nigeria's total population at 197 million.[6] Nigeria is the most populous country on the continent, accounting also for the larger part of the population (approximately 47%) of the West African sub region. Nigeria's population consist of diverse ethnic and religious groups. Some of these ethnic groups includes the Kanuris, Igbos,Yoruba

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Nigeria became a British protectorate from 1901 till it gained independence in 1960. The state of affairs remained until 1914 when the protectorate transformed to a bi-status entity; the colony and protectorate of Nigeria, comprising northern and southern provinces, and the Lagos colony.[7] After gaining independence, Nigeria became a Federal State in 1963. The Federation currently consists of 36 independent states.[8]

Figure 3. 1: Map of Nigeria

Source: www.preventiongenocide.org/arc

Economically, Nigeria remains a continental and international powerhouse, having the credentials of being the largest producer of oil and gas on the continent. [9] Nigeria ranks second

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in terms of largest proven oil reserves after Libya.[10] Additionally, Nigeria is the largest producer of crude oil in Africa, a position seriously undermined by the current fluxes in international oil values, and the influence of the refractoriness of the nonaligned countries to OPEC- determined oil production quotas, coupled with other factors, including international brigandage, illegal oil transfers, and sales on international waters.[11]

3.3 Vulnerability Profile of Nigeria

Historically, Nigeria has been plagued by violent conflicts. Some of these conflicts are as a result of differences in ethnicity, religion, cultural factors as well as fights over resources. Nigeria's heterogeneous population and other structural weaknesses have made it susceptible to conflicts and a hotbed of violent extremism to emerge. The colonial legacy of indirect rule by the British created unequal development between the Northern and Southern sections of the country.[12] Nigeria has experienced a wave of military rule since independence before successfully transitioning to civilian rule in 1999.Since then elections have been held five consecutive times.[13]

Violence in Nigeria has taken various forms. This ranges from ethnic and religious violence in the North, to the indigenous insurrections that metamorphosed into criminal acts and piracy in the Niger Delta district.[14]

Violent extremist groups have emerged and violent clashes between farmers and herders in the Middle Belt region have become a common feature. About 15 million persons have suffered due to the violence perpetuated by Boko Haram members as well as the military operations in North-eastern Nigeria since 2009.[15] ACLED data accumulated for the North-East zone spanning 2003–2016 revealed that the year 2009 changed the landscape for violence in the region. Boko Haram's campaign has led to gross acts against humanity and have also sparked

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humanitarian and forced displacement crisis. The impacts have been devastating further deepening underdevelopment and regional disparities. The ongoing battle has become particularly intense after 2013, and this has resulted in the estimated deaths of about 20,000 persons and the displacement of about 2.1 million people internally and externally in 2015.[16] States such as north-eastern states of Borno, Adamawa and Yobe have gravelly been affected. Women, children, and the youth, account for nearly 80% of the affected populations.[17] According to UNOCHA (2015), girls and women have become targeted groups of sexual assaults and gender-based violence.[18] Some of these women and children have been coerced or indoctrinated to become suicide bombers. Men and boys have not been left out from violent attacks. They have been confronted with a wide range of threats including violence, kidnappings, forced recruitment by Boko Haram and vigilante groups, and have been detained on suspicion of having military sympathies.[19]

Several factors exists that make Nigeria vulnerable and susceptible to the rise of terrorism and religious extremism. These are highlighted below:

3.3.1 Governance

A system of bad governance and weakened political systems in Nigeria has impoverished the masses and created an avenue for easy formation of criminal groups who are searching for means of livelihood. The continual increase in the lack of jobs for majority of Nigerian youths remains a strong factor for Boko Haram crisis in northern part of the country. According to Karl Marx, he predicted an era where machines will replace men in the workplace and the resulting joblessness will lead to revolutions.[20] Similar instances currently exist in Nigeria. According to Idowu (2008), government's failure to provide basic needs for its populace have enabled new conflicts to emerge. Exploitation of the poor by political opportunists, have propelled a number of frustrated groups who think they have been cut off from the society

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frustrated groups who think they have been cut off from society to make their intention known to the government through insurgencies and violent extremism. [21]

3.3.2 Education

The education set up in many African societies fall below world standards

According to the World Development Indicators, Nigeria accounts for the 10% of the world's out-of-school children, and access to education is also very low with 52% of children being out of school.[22] Disparities in educational achievements exist between the North and the South of the country. More than two-thirds of students in the North remain illiterate even after completing primary school, as compared to students in the South. Moreover, students in the North East have the lowest literacy outcomes from schooling.[23] The socio-economic climate in the country makes it difficult for the youth who are unable to acquire higher education to find employment. This contributes to their susceptibility to being recruited by militant groups based on promises of survival and financial security.

3.3.3 Border Porosity

Nigeria is surrounded by porous borders which make it easy for the influx of foreigners from neighbouring countries. Due to this, numerous interlopers have found it easy to move in and out of the country. In an interview session with Mr Prince Eyra Tsikata of the Counter Terrorism Unit (Ghana Police Service), he indicated that the porosity of the Sahelian borders and the fragile state of the Sahelian regions have allowed militant groups such as AQIM to connect with other militant operatives in the region. He also indicated that ineffective manning of the borders and the existence of illegal routes have enabled Boko Haram to transit from Nigeria to other regions with similar border issues, thereby ensuring their continued growth. He further lamented on the absence of logistics such as advanced weaponry, ineffective man-

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power as some of the pending issues that impede the fight against terrorism in West and Central Africa. This has exacerbated the threat rather than cause a decrease in terrorism despite government efforts in combating terrorism. The porosity of Nigerian border have created an opportunity for insurgents to come into the country. The failure of security agencies to protect the country's borders and critically control conflicts and the movement of people at entry and exit points from the country is one of the reasons for the rise of insurgency in the country.[24] To support these assertions, a study by Freedom (2013), disclosed that effective border supervision is a very important strategy for the protection of state security.[25] To further buttress the point, he opined that, "the border is the first line of defence against terrorism and the last line of a nation's territorial integrity".[26] According to Nigeria's tourism ministry, there is believed to be more than 1,499 illegal entry roads into Nigeria, thereby confirming the porosity of the nation's borders and thus allowing for illegal international arms trading, among other activities.[27] A case in point, is the discovery of over 25 illegal routes into Nigeria by immediate nations through Adamawa State.[28] Terrorist groups and smugglers therefore capitalise on this to further their activities in the country.

3.4 History of Terrorism in Nigeria

West and Central Africa security landscape has been in a transformative since the end of colonialism in the region. The region has been home to both interstate and intrastate conflicts which have left a lasting legacy of underdevelopment and hindered the progress of the region. Since the dawn of the new millennium in 2000, the region has been faced with a host of threats that threatens the very existence of the region. These includes piracy, money laundering, human trafficking, drug trafficking, violent extremism and the increasing threat of terrorism in the region which is the centre for discussion in this study.

The scope of terrorism is broadening as well as complicated. This stems from the myriad of opinions existing in academia on what terrorism actually is and the classification of who a

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terrorist is. Early terrorists and terrorist movements were independent organizations and were driven by political, religious and ideological goals. Mainly, terrorist networks sought to influence the political arena of states rather than push a particular religious agenda. This pattern is however changing as terrorists have gradually used religion as a justification for perpetuating violence. Terrorism can be said to be on the rise in West and Central due to the global influence of Salafist ideology and the structural weaknesses existent in the region. Terrorist operatives have gradually become co-dependent on one another for the realization of their goals. Linked with the current terrorism trend is organized crimes such as arms trafficking, human trafficking, slavery, drug trafficking and money laundering.

Brig. General (Dr) Emmanuel Kotia of Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College indicated that in analyzing terrorism, there is a need to establish a correlation between violent extremism and terrorism. The drivers of violent extremism are those that actually feeds into terrorism. In looking at the Boko Haram situation, he indicated that both religious and the structural weaknesses of West and Central Africa have created the permissive environment for the continued growth of Boko Haram despite both local and international efforts to combat terrorism in Nigeria. He stated that it is whiles it possible for individuals involved in terrorism to be aligned to a particular religion, the grievances are much wider than religious issues. Some of the drivers he mentioned as embodiments of terrorism includes poverty, poor economy, lack of infrastructural development and unemployment. These are the some of the drivers of violent extremism which leads to terrorism. He further stated that not all terrorists fall within the poverty margin and indicated some individuals with exceptional backgrounds that known to be to be involved in terrorist activities. He stressed on individuals such as Osama Bin Laden and Umar Farouk who have exceptional family background, yet they are known terrorists. However he made it clear that, many of the recruits are from poor

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backgrounds and given their poor circumstances, they are enticed by the promise of earning monies that is not even being offered by the government to them. At the background of these terrorist groups are the topmost leaders who often have a source of income and supply of weaponry from outside elements.

The key duties of every state, including Nigeria is to ensure the safety of its citizenry, protect the properties of its citizens, ensure that its territories are protected, maintain its sovereignty, and guarantee socio-economic and political stability.[29] Currently, these immutable rights offered to the citizenry by the State are being threatened by a host of local terrorist activities in Northern Nigeria and militant groups in the Southern sections of the country. This is exacerbated by the agitations of freedom fighters like the Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) in the South East part of the country.[30] Due to this, the security apparatus is threatened and this poses a major security threat. Comolli (2015) posited that Nigerian security has worsened since 2009, with series of kidnapping and terrorist attacks by Boko Haram and militants.[31] Most of the violent attacks in the Northern Nigeria, destruction of lives and property, are launched by Boko Haram. Some of the militant groups are the Movement for Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP), the Egbesu Boys, and the Niger Delta Vigilante.[32] With the threats of Boko Haram in Borno, Kaduna, Yobe, Niger, Adamawa, Bauchi, Abuja, Zaria, Katsina, Plateau, Kano and Kogi States, it highlights how unsecured Nigeria is. The present unstable national policies and economy, religious differences, poverty, frustration and anger, corruption, instability, and "humanitarian crisis" [33] have heightened the insecurity situation in the country.

Terrorists and militants, by the nature of their political demeanours involve the acquisition and use of threats for the purpose of compelling the government and its citizens to submit to their

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terroristic, aggressive demands. Nigeria, being historically relatively new to this emerging trend in forceful demands, has ignored the threats and dangers associated with terrorism and militancy and thereby opening ways for series of attacks. [34]

There has been an existing dichotomy over the quest for national prominence and resources by the Northern and Southern states in Nigeria. For fear of imprisonment or the use of force to suppress any form of rebellion, sediments shared by both states over the quest for free and fair distribution of nation wealth were suppressed. [35] However, the establishment of democratic rule in 1999 headed by the retired army general Olusegun Obasanjo, a southern Christian saw his election as the nation's civilian president in 1999. He was instrumental to the handing over power to a civilian authority in 1979 to a northern president elect, Alhaji Shehu Shagari. Obasanjo's ascension to the presidency was considered a threat to the existing oligarchy of the Northern state and was considered a threat to their continual influence. True to their concerns, Obasanjo greatly reduced the political, military and financial influence of the Northern states by instituting sweeping reforms to embrace the minorities and other sectional views in accordance to the Nigerian constitution [36]. A shift in the allocation and distribution of revenue and resources to favour one side of the nation and the perceived image of Obasanjo as a friend of the West started an era of conflict and division in the country along ethnic and religious lines.[37]

3.5 Emergence of Boko Haram

The Boko Haram movement began in the 1990s in Northeast Nigeria by an Islamist cleric, Mohammed Yusuf, under the name Jamaal Ahl as-Sunnah lid-Dawah wal-Jihad, meaning People of the Ways of the Prophet for Proselytisation and Jihad.[38] It was nicknamed Boko Haram in 2002 in Maiduguri [39], due to the nature of the teaching of their leader, Mohammed

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Yusuf, who emphasized on the rejection of Western education and influences. The two words, Boko Haram, are derived from Hausa (in Nigeria) and Arabic languages. Boko in Hausa means book (used for secular education) while Haram in Arabic means something that is religiously forbidden. Generally, it means that book in "Western education is forbidden" [40]. The founder of Jamaal Ahl as-Sunnah lid-Dawah wal-Jihad now known as Boko Haram settled with his group in Maiduguri, the capital of Borno State. Mohammed Yusuf was a charismatic Islamic teacher who advocated for Islamic purity. His ideological motive was to isolate Muslim from the secular world. He was concerned about secularism and its impacts on the teaching of Islam. Therefore, Yusuf intended to purify Islam of Western influences by instituting Sharia law in Nigeria, beginning with the Northern States. Yusuf and his followers believed that Sharia law would eradicate corruption, social injustice and inequalities in the country.[41]

Yusuf erected a building complex that housed a mosque and Islamic school where most disadvantaged members of the community enrolled their children. Unknown to most unsuspecting parents, the complex was a recruiting ground for future 'Jihadist' to fight in the state[42]. This goal was later extended after Yusuf's death in police custody in 2009, to the Islamization of all of Nigeria despite the fact that the state is constitutionally secular. With the death of Yusuf, Abubakar Shekau took over the leadership of Boko Haram and his leadership employed lethal approach of achieving their objectives including suicide bombings.[43] The activities of Boko Haram in Nigeria have become a great concern, particularly in the North-eastern part of Nigeria. Studies have attested that Boko Haram used both conventional and unconventional weapons to terrorise, maim and kill vulnerable citizens in the Northern part Nigeria. [44]

The issue of Boko Haram loosing territories which they wielded was discussed and although they have lost a major portion of their territories, it does not mean they have been defeated

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since they still organize attacks against civilians and government forces despite international assistance.

General Kotia explained that the absence of preventive measures has made tackling terrorism very difficult. There is a need for governments to address those grievances. Security agents should be well equipped to enable them fight terrorism. The key to addressing terrorism is prevention.

3.6 Activities of Boko Haram

Boko Haram has been responsible for several coordinated attacks on various groups in Nigeria. Attacks have focused largely on state security forces, police, soldiers, civil defence, and prison wardens, worship centres, community and religious leaders, politicians and other civilians who they consider as "enemies". [45] After the death of its founder Yusuf, the group has continued its attacks; assuming a critical and a more dangerous dimension.

The group has carried out lots of "successful" attacks from its inception to present day, mainly consisting of bomb blasts that has led to multiple deaths and destruction of property. On the 26th of August 2011, the group drew global attention by attacking the United Nations Building in Abuja. This attack was considered as a departure from the group's traditional target and a signal of the possibility of a change in target for the group.

There has been evidence linking Boko Haram to foreign militant groups, including North Africa based AQIM. However, Boko Haram remains firmly focused on domestic Nigerian issues. Whenever its spokesman claims responsibility for an attack, he points at national grievances which are not similar to the ideology of Al-Qaeda.[46] Its anger is not directed at America or Europe but at the Nigerian government. The sect has always claimed that its focus

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is on targeting officials of the government who have misused state funds hence, there are numerous cases of attacks in different parts of the country, which have wreaked much havoc.

3.6.1 Use of Women and Children

The use of women and children in suicide bombings is a common feature of terrorist groups. Women and Children do not usually draw suspicion to themselves to their classification as vulnerable groups in the society and have become viable assets to terrorist groups. The use of women and children as weapons of destruction tend to be less costly and have the potential of causing high casualties. These categories of people have and are still playing prominent roles in a number of terror campaigns the world over. Research shows that, for instance, women were active and even ferocious members of such terrorist organisations as the Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA, Basque Homeland and Unity), the Irish Republican Army, the Italian Red Brigades, and the Tamil Tigers.[47] It's been further argued that women featured in the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, the Red Army Faction in Germany, and the Chechen Separatist group. They also played various roles in the Palestinian struggle for liberation[48]. Some Palestinian women were also reported to have either participated or sent their children to participate in terrorist acts.[49] Research further indicates that, during the Iranian Revolution of 1979, children were employed as human bombs.[50] As many as one million children in Iran were indoctrinated with the concept of martyrdom as 'children of Imam' and used as human shields. [51]

In Nigeria, this problem appears to have exacerbated in recent times with the ongoing insurgency of Boko Haram. Particularly, in Northern Nigeria where majority of the insurgencies occur, the group continue to feature vulnerable groups, mainly women and children, in the execution of their heinous crimes. This constitutes a major challenge to human

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and national security. The use of women and children by Boko Haram to attack the homes of local officials, police formations, churches, local residents, and road users is further heightening the escalating tensions in Nigeria.[52] The United Nations Children's Emergency Funds (UNICEF) reports have condemned the act of using children in conflicts and wars, and turning them against their own community by strapping bombs around their bodies.[53]

Female suicide bombers have caused a large number of fatalities and property damage, mostly in the north-eastern portion of Nigeria, with a subsequent spill-over effect of violence and damage into neighbouring Chad and Cameroon. Numerous attacks have also been carried out on Internally Displaced Persons Camps, where there are a high number of civilians and lack of resources[54]. Consequently, female suicide bombers are capable of being successful instruments in Boko Haram's violent campaign and strategic arsenal, though this alone does not make Boko Haram's use of female bombers unique compared to other terrorist organizations.[55] However, the group is reported to have used more women as suicide bombers than any other group in history.[56]

3.7 Impacts of Boko Haram

It goes without saying that insurgencies of any kind have dire impacts on societies and nations. There has been great research interest in the empirical analysis of the socio-economic effects of armed conflicts and terrorism, both at macro and micro levels. Macro-level studies indicate that in the long-run, countries adjust well to the negative economic shocks from conflict and will eventually return to their pre-conflict growth trajectory.[57] However in the short-term, armed conflicts and terrorism are found to have negative impacts on overall economic growth,[58] especially in sectors such as tourism,[59] and foreign direct investment.[60]

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3.7.1 Agriculture

Agriculture is considered a major industry and a primary provider of resources in most developing countries as well conflict affected areas. Hence, its vulnerability to insurgent activities. Conflict results in deaths and large population displacements, causing a shortage of labour supply. This will adversely affect farming in developing countries where agriculture is a dominant industry and is largely labour intensive.[61] The security risks due to frequent episodes of violent conflicts could prevent farmers from leaving their villages and work in remote farm fields. This will impact timely planting and harvesting activities and could lead to low productivity and output.[62]

Even though Boko Haram's stated objective does not include the destruction of the agricultural sector, their actions do, as attacks directly and indirectly affect rural households and their livelihood activities. An estimated 80–90 percent of the population in the Lake Chad area, which constitutes most of northeast Nigeria, depends on agriculture, fisheries and livestock for their livelihoods and food security.[63] Therefore, the disruption of agriculture through conflict will significantly affect the area and result in famine for many households and could potentially lead to further unrest and conflict. In the three most affected states of Borno, Adamawa and Yobe, about 9.1million people were affected by Boko Haram through food insecurity resulting from missed harvest seasons and increased food prices.[64] In northeast Nigeria alone, the impact of the conflict on agriculture is estimated to be around USD 3.7 billion.[65]

Evidence from conflict areas in Nigeria suggests the negative impacts on agricultural production. The disruption of the rural agricultural value chain is another important feature of the Boko Haram insurgency. During 2014 – 16 period, the region experienced 38 recorded

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terrorist attack incidents at or near markets. The commercial city of Maiduguri was the most affected, with 6 attacks taking 193 lives.[66]

3.7.2 Education

Another area that can be significantly impacted by terrorism and insurgencies is the education sector. The Boko Haram conflict, mainly in Northern Nigeria, has had a particularly high impact on the education system, disrupting access to education and social services, especially for young people. Teachers have been threatened and in some cases killed. Schools have been damaged and destroyed, and often transformed into shelters for Internally Displaced People.[67] Schools in operation across the Borno, Adamawa and Yobe states are overcrowded and largely unable to meet the needs of the host population and the IDPs.[68] The estimated total impact of the conflict on the education sector of the North East is around US$ 273 million, 53% of which is accounted for by the State of Borno.[69]

3.7.3 Socio-Economic Impact

The activities of Boko Haram have had far reaching implications on the social and economic situation of the communities and even to a national level. Locals and visitors to regions heavily affected by violence and insurgencies are migrating for fear of falling victim to the on-going attacks. The northern states in Nigeria and its surrounding communities have been crippled economically due to the activities of Boko Haram.[70] The area has been rendered unconducive for investors and businesses to thrive.

Further research has shown the impact activities of Boko Haram has had on banking operations. Banks have had to revise working hours to safeguard their operations and more so, customers are unable to come to the banks to perform transactions.[71] Another major socio-economic

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impact is the social issues related to Internally Displaced Persons (IDP). Monies that could be channelled to the development of Nigeria, are being channelled to the provision of the basic needs of IDP's.[72] All these continue to have negative impacts on the economic development of the affected states, Nigeria and its neighbouring countries.

3.8 Internationalism of Boko Haram

Since 2015, the Nigerian military have managed to mostly contain the activities of Boko Haram within the country. However, the groups association with global terrorist organizations such as the Islamic State (ISIS), al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and al-Shabaab as well as its capacity to carry out terror activities beyond Nigeria represents a threat not only to its country of origin or the neighbouring countries, but across the African continent and beyond.[73] The group has expressed aspirations of expanding beyond Nigeria. Abubakar Shakau, pledging allegiance to ISIS in March 2015 is further proof of this.[74] Despite the group's continual commitment to its local agenda, this association highlights its embracing of international jihad.

Presently, the transnational attacks of Boko Haram have been focused regionally on Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad and Niger. This presents growing threats of their infiltration into more countries in West and Central Africa. The group has already been found responsible for attacks on countries neighbouring Nigeria. Significant among these is the assassination of a Cameroonian mayor, the kidnapping of seven Europeans in February 2013 and the kidnapping of the wife of Cameroon's Vice Prime Minister along with some other foreigners in July 2014.[75] Chad and Niger have also been victims to Boko Haram's attacks in their attempt to join the fight in stopping the activities of the group. A series of attacks on the capital city of Chad, N'Djamena, and on Chadian security forces left about 93 people dead and over a 100 more wounded.[76]

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The group's activities across the Nigerian borders indicates its capability of presenting significant threat to the entire region. Their successes have been attributed to their impressive transnational network for recruiting, radicalizing and training of its members.[77] Intelligence reports have indicated that Boko Haram runs advanced training bases in Mali, Niger, Cameroon, Chad, Sudan and other areas in Central African Republic.[78] The group is also known to receive international support through the provision of funding, foreign fighters and weapons. Pledging allegiance to ISIS has further strengthened the group with ISIS encouraging its foreign fighters to support Boko Haram, thereby earning the group more manpower.

3.9 Interventions in Resolving Boko-Haram Insurgency

3.9.1 The Role of Government

There has been some effort by the Nigerian government to address the growing concerns of the Boko Haram insurgency in the country. In June 2011, the Nigerian government created a Joint Task Force (JTF) as a counter-terrorism measure to the attacks of Boko Haram. The aim of this JTF is to restore order in the northern region of Nigeria, the epicentre of Boko Haram[79]. The JTF, since its emergence, has been successful in killing and arresting a significant number of Boko Haram members as well as some of its leaders. Although the government has failed to eradicate the menace that Boko Haram is, its efforts through the JTF managed to cause some damage to the group's operations.

As highlighted earlier, economic instability, massive youth employment, corruption, ethnic and religious inequalities have been some of the main drivers of these insurgencies and played a role in the rapid radicalization and recruitment of members in fighting this jihad, the government has a role to play in improving the economic situation in Nigeria to minimise these

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factors. Improved economic conditions, transparency in the allocation of the nation's resources, increased employment opportunities for the youth are some of the many areas, the government can work on. This is likely to reduce the appeal terrorism and radicalisation holds to the youth.

3.9.2 The Role of the International Community

The international community and scholars have refused to classify Boko Haram as an international radicalized movement and only considers it to be a Nigerian based group with a local agenda. Irrespective of the kidnappings of foreign nationals and the attack on the UN headquarters. However, the continued attacks have compelled the four major countries (Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad and Niger) most directly affected by the group's activities to take unilateral and regional actions against the insurgency. A multilateral joint task force (MJTF) has been set up, with the support of Benin, to share intelligence and cooperate on military operations to bring an end to the ongoing cross-border attacks by the group.[80]

The kidnappings of some foreign nationals and their subsequent killings among others, finally drew the attention of the international community to finally act in support of eradicating Boko Haram. In view of this, the French government also organised a security summit in 2014 comprising the Presidents' of Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad and Niger, as well as representatives from the United States, United Kingdom, the European Union and others to discuss strategies to adopt in containing the security threats presented by Boko Haram.[81]

Furthermore, in 2012, the US announced Shekau, along with two others, Abubakar Adam Kambar, and Khalid al Barnawi, as Specially Designated Global Terrorist (SDGT).[82] The US government has also placed a seven million dollar bounty on Shekau's capture, the highest of

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all African terror leaders. Additionally, it supported the MJTF with funding of $5billion to aid the MJTF military operation against Boko Haram insurgency.[83]

3.9.3 The Role of the media

The media whether traditional or modern have over the years been seen as agents of change. Howbeit, not always positive or always negative but alternate from one to the other. In essence, the mass media can both generate and solve conflicts; the former through inciting coverage, inadequate reporting, non-reporting at all etc., the latter can be through objective and balanced reportage, adequate and non-sensational reportage as well as surveillance reportage.[84] In the case of current security challenges orchestrated by the Boko Haram sect, the mass media can play an effective role in resolving crises through adequate coverage. The surveillance function of the media must be effectively played to warn people on an impending danger.[85] Thus, through effective reportage, those perpetuating the crises can have their perception changed, and Nigerians can equally have their security consciousness. Over the years, journalism such as newspaper and other forms of media practice has succeeded in making itself indispensable to modern society.[86] Boko Haram in its goal against westernization, has however often made use of the media to gain popularity for its attacks and to recruit and radicalise new members. This further highlights the power the media possess in being used as a tool for good or bad.

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3.10 Emergence of Ansaru – Evolution of Boko Haram

In recent times, Boko Haram has demonstrated aspirations of broadening its Islamist agenda beyond Nigerian borders onto a more international stage. The emergence of Ansaru, a splinter group of Boko Haram appears to prove this goal[87]. However, researchers remain divided on Ansaru's existence as an offshoot of Boko Haram or a separate sect with opposing views to that of Boko Haram.

The full name of the organisation is 'Ansarul Muslimina Fi Biladis Sudan', meaning 'Vanguards for the Protection of Muslims in Black Africa' and is believed to have first surfaced in January 2012.[88] Led by Abu Usmatul Al-Ansari, the sect vows to "restore the dignity of Muslims in black Africa."[89] The group condemns the killings of Muslims and innocent security operatives by Boko Haram and aim to establish its community all over Africa and not regionally based as Boko Haram is.[90] This is in conflict to views of Ansari being the new and international version of Boko Haram.

Some schools of thought believe that the main reason for the emergence of Ansaru as an offshoot of Boko Haram is based on divisions along ethnic lines. The Fulani's and Kanuri's that can be found in the northern part of Nigeria. Most analysis concludes that the majority of Boko Haram's members are Kanuris. Therefore, inferring that the emergence of Ansaru was due to its rejection of this Kanuri leadership by a cell within the organisation.[91]

The Ansaru have since its emergence, launched a series of attacks and kidnappings mainly in retaliation to "European transgressions". Similarities in attacks have been established between Ansari and AQIM, suggesting a likely affiliation with the latter. The historical, rebellious caliphates of Usmandan Fodio and the Maitatsine riots of the 1980s are considered the

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rhetorical and conceptual root of both Boko Haram and Ansaru.[92] Both events were uprisings against the perceived corrupt local order as well as the imposition of Western habits and non-Muslim traditions from the south of the country. This sense of inequality and anger continues to this present day through central-government neglect and a desperate economic situation in the northern part of the Nigeria.[93] Although there is a lack of sufficient reliable information about Boko Haram and Ansaru to prove the emergence of the latter as an international version of the former, the ideological differences and ethnic disputes in the group are significantly substantial.

3.11 Boko Haram Split (Islamic State West African Province)

As established in preceding chapters, the global expansion of Salafist jihadist ideology have gained strong footing on the African continent. Several terrorists groups operating the region have pledged allegiance to foreign terrorist organizations such as Islamic State and Al-Qaeda. Boko Haram has undergone several changes since its inception. From being regarded as a non-threatening group, to its current status as one of the most dangerous terrorist group in existence. Boko Haram pledged allegiance to the leader of the Islamic State, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi in March 2015 sparking a great concern in both Africa and the international arena. No longer was the group a domestic problem of Nigeria. However, recent reports as early as 2016 indicate a split in Boko Haram. One faction officially recognised as ISWAP is headed by Abu Musab al-Barwani, which operates in the Lake Chad region, while the other group which is Boko Haram is headed by Shekau which still operates from the Sambisa forest. This split emerged as a result of difference in ideology with Abu Musab's group opposed to the killing of Muslims which has been one of the modus operandi of Boko Haram. This split poses a major challenge since the Nigerian government is still battling Boko Haram.

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3.12 Conclusion

This chapter examined the increasing threat of terrorism in Nigeria using the terrorist group Boko Haram for analysis. The chapter emphasizes that both religion and the structural weaknesses prevalent in the Nigerian society has enabled Boko Haram to continue to thrive despite international and local efforts to combat terrorism in Nigeria. Interviews were conducted with the key experts knowledgeable in the field of terrorism to provide a detailed analysis of the Boko Haram insurgency and the continued threats it poses to not only Nigeria but the entire West and Central African region.

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CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the findings of the study and draws conclusions on the increasing threat of terrorism to West and Central Africa using Boko Haram as a focal point of the study. The chapter outlines some recommendations regarding the threat of terrorism in Nigeria.

4.1 Summary of Findings

This research has studied the concept of terrorism, its emergence and specifically it dynamics in West and Central Africa with a focus on Boko Haram in Nigeria. Highlighted in this work is the vulnerabilities of certain states and hence their susceptibility to terrorism and insurgencies. Key among these in the case of Nigeria are the significant ethnic and religious divisions, coupled with economic agitations such as high youth unemployment and underdevelopment, porous borders and the inability of its government to establish measures to help change the rhetoric. In summarizing the major findings, there is a need to look at the questions that served as guidelines to the study:

- What are the dynamics of Terrorism in West and Central Africa?
- What are the structural weaknesses that make West Africa and for that matter Nigeria susceptible to the emergence of Militant groups?
- What has been the challenges in containing Boko Haram in Nigeria?

The study identified that seeking to establish a universal definition of terrorism is problematic due to the complications in designating organizations as terrorist groups. This is due to the fact that terrorist groups do not see themselves as such but rather groups that seeks to change the existing status quo. In view of the myriad of existence of various definitions and the adaptation

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of varying definitions by different organisations to suit their specific views on terrorism, establishing a universal definition for terrorism is not practical and seemingly unachievable. This makes it very difficult to identify questionable groups and control their activities before they advance to dangerous terrorist organizations as was the case of Boko Haram in its early beginnings. Also, these varying opinions may hinder a country's or an organisation's ability to gain support from key players in the international community if its views on terrorism are dissimilar to that of theirs. Evidence of this is in the relative dis-involvement of major players in the international community in the fight against Boko Haram in Nigeria until a series of attacks and kidnappings of targeted foreign nationals.

Secondly, the Sahelian region, comprising of West and Central Africa was found to possess unique markers that makes it a hotspot for the emergence of insurgencies and conflict. According to research conducted, low socio-economic conditions, ungoverned states and political unrest were found to be some of the factors that makes the Sahel region a very conducive environment for terrorism. The dynamics of terrorism in West and Central Africa was found to be mostly situated in religious and ethnic divisions and an opposition to societal injustices. Persistent corruption, the abuse and misuse of the vast natural resources available in the region and the failure of governments to secure borders and invest in the development of their nations has further legitimized the anger and dissatisfaction of terrorist sects at the conditions in the region. Arms dealing, supplies and the monetary support of other international groups and individuals has aided in the establishment of deeper terrorist roots in the region.

Furthermore, the research identified key structural weaknesses in the makeup of Nigeria and the Sahel states making them amenable to the emergence of militant groups. Although, some research showed no correlation between low economic factors and the emergence of terrorism

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and indicated that in fact, the reverse is true, Nigeria and the Sahel regions do not conform to this opinion. Key vulnerabilities such as poor socio-economic state of the countries in this region, as a result of high unemployment, inflation, under-development, poor healthcare, etc. as well as societal inequalities and ethnic divisions among states are some of key factors that make Nigeria and the Sahel states susceptible to the emergence of terrorism. Terrorist groups prey on these vulnerabilities to recruit and radicalize the youth with promises of better conditions to further their jihadist agenda.

The study also identified the challenges in containing the threat of terrorism in the region. While current studies show a major role played by religion in terms of the expansion of terrorism, it can be stated that the issue of terrorism goes beyond religion. It is possible for individuals involved to be aligned to a particular religion but the grievances are much wider than religious issues. Some of these drivers include poverty, poor economy, lack of infrastructural development, unemployment. While it is completely impossible to eradicate poverty, addressing the immediate grievances is a key to containing the spread of terrorism.

Also, Africa's weak security apparatus has played a major role in the rising threat of terrorism. In terms of surveillance techniques, most security agencies are lacking, making it exceptionally difficult to map out terrorist hideouts. Security agencies in West and Central Africa are ill-equipped and often lack the requisite training needed to fight against terrorism. On the subject of counterterrorism, key findings revealed that counterterrorism has had a domino effect. Security agencies has been found culpable of using extreme methods such as extra-judicial killings, human rights abuse against suspected insurgents etc. Counterterrorism efforts is meant to contain the threat posed by terrorist organizations not to exacerbate terrorism.

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The nature of many West and Central Africa's porous borders makes it easy for terrorist group to move in and out of borders without detection and sometimes use unapproved routes to carry out their operations.

Noted in the study is that the fact when legitimate security forces believe that they are a step ahead of terrorist groups, they realize that the terrorists groups are adapting different methods in the modus operandi and in some cases have the support of locals in some areas making combating terrorism in West and Central Africa very difficult.

The study also established the fact that terrorism is on an increasing rise in West and Central Africa. By analysing the Boko Haram insurgency, the research established that domestic terror groups can become a threatening force to contain and their activities can spill over borders.

4.2 Conclusions

This study discovered that terrorism is a complicated phenomenon and there are various motivations for the existence of a particular terrorist group. The Sahel region is characterised by keys security, religious and economic issues that make it conducive for the emergence and continued rise in terrorism. The issue of Boko Haram in Nigeria is seen to be a consequence of a myriad of domestic problems and externally motivated diverging views of the people on certain religious and ethnic feelings which are inimical to Nigeria. The current rise in internet and social media networking has further aided and widened the access of terrorist groups in the propagation of their beliefs, and the recruitment and radicalisation of victims. Although the situation appears dire and not enough has been done by the government of Nigeria to eradicate Boko Haram, counterterrorism measures coupled with a commitment to develop the nation are viable ways of combatting the situation.

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4.3 Recommendations

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

- The threat of terrorism continues to be a significant issue in Nigeria. Therefore, the government needs to critically look into the reasons for the emergence of Boko haram and close such gaps. Socio-economic, political and religious issues such as poverty, unemployment, ethnic and religious discrimination are drivers and indicators for the rise in terrorism. Creating more jobs with a better pay system for sectors of the population of Nigeria will help curb the high level of poverty prevalent in the Nigerian society. As poverty is one of the main reasons people join Boko Haram, there's a need for government to come up with schemes to alleviate poverty in Nigeria particularly Northern Nigeria. Building the capacity of entrepreneurs through the provision of funds and a revitalisation of the educational system to incorporate the STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) fields. This will enable the up and coming youth to gain employable skills thereby bridging the unemployment gap in the Nigerian society and reducing poverty. A system of checks and balances should take precedence in the political arena of the Nigerian society. This is to ensure that no institution becomes too powerful to abuse its power thereby gaining the trust of the Nigerian populace and thereby limiting the influence of Boko Haram. Ethnic and racial discrimination is very prevalent in the Nigerian society. One of the ways to ensure that racial and ethnic discrimination becomes a thing of the past is through the various leaders of communities and religious bodies coming together to show a unified front and take a stand against discrimination of any kind.
- There is the need for the government to reassure citizens, especially children, women and the elderly of their safety and security. The government must affirm its commitment to protecting the fundamental human rights of its citizens. In their efforts to fight against

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Boko Haram, government forces have often adopted brutal tactics against suspected Boko Haram members and this have proven counterproductive. This has made Boko Haram preyed on the fears of those caught up in the abuses by government forces and enabled them to recruit more personnel into their organization. The government must review and explore new ways of addressing the issue. Security authorities found abusing their power in the fight against Boko Haram members should be punished according to law, to serve as a deterrent for others.

- There is need for a clear and coherent national policy on terrorism. Akin to this, a well-trained antiterrorism squad must be created from the Nigerian Army, Air Force, Navy, Police and State Security Service. The role of these security organizations must be clearly stated in order to prevent duplicity and conflict of functions. This is necessary and critical to Nigeria's preparedness to contain the development and spread of terror acts to other zones.

- There is also the need for sensitivity when it comes to cultural differences and values. Government institutions and the media must respect and acknowledge the plurality of the cultural environment in Nigeria and the entire Sahel Region.

- Countries in the Sahel region need to collaborate in their efforts to combat the threats of terrorism and reinforce border security measures to better prepare them for insurgencies. It is also vital that they do not underestimate the ability of terrorist groups to regenerate and reinvent themselves and must therefore maintain high level border security at all times

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APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE

The interview conducted to gain information from experts in the security field as well as academicians on the subject of terrorism will assist me in the completion of my thesis on "The increasing threat of terrorism to West and Central Africa at the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD). The respondent is guaranteed that code of ethics including confidentiality on any information given. Counting on your cooperation.

Name of Respondent……..

Institution of Respondent……

Title of Respondent…….

Date of Interview…….....

What is terrorism?

What is the dynamics of terrorism in West and Central Africa?

Is the current trend of modern terrorism in West and Central Africa influenced by religion or there are other underlying factors that makes the Sahel region particularly Nigeria a hotbed for terrorism?

Current Boko Haram crisis is not only a Nigerian problem but an African problem. Do you agree or disagree?

Terrorism is an export of Western and Middle Eastern influence in Africa. How true is this assessment?

What are some of the measures the Nigerian government need to adopt in order to combat terrorism?

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What are the challenges encountered by the government in containing the threat posed by Boko Haram?

Has Counterterrorism had a domino effect in the fight against terrorism?