Terrorism and the Socio-Economic Development of Nigeria.

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ABSTRACT

This study examines how terrorism has created an atmosphere of fear through the various attacks on people, and infrastructure such as airport; seaport, railway etc. which had stunted the development of the nations' economy. However, the study adopted the survey research design method with the use of a simple random sampling technique to select respondents. The instrument for data collection was a structured questionnaire on a five (5) point scale of strongly agreed, agreed, strongly disagreed, disagreed and undecided; one hundred and fifty (150) questionnaires were administered to the respondents. The descriptive statistics such as frequency counts and percentages were used for the analysis. The findings revealed that terrorist activities had stunted the socio-economic development of the country to the extent that investors have relocated to other parts of the countries for fear of being kidnapped, destruction of their investments and other valuable assets. Hence, the study recommends that the government should engage the teeming population with jobs as this would reduce the level of poverty and unemployment that is occasioned by terrorist groups. Also, the government should put in place adequate measures to protect and safeguard the territorial integrity of the State as this will bring about a secured environment, and security of the people. Lastly, government should create an avenue for transparent discussions and negotiations with the terrorists to embrace an alternative dispute resolution and accept amnesty offered by the government.

Introduction

Nigeria has been besieged with myriads of security challenges threatening its existence and integration. In the past years, Nigeria has been grappling with terrorism and other violent crimes that have threatened the security of people. Araziua, (2023) hold that Nigeria is grappling with unprecedented wave of criminality and insecurity especially those being perpetrated by terrorist groups operating in the northern part of Nigeria. Since the advent of terrorism, the security and territorial integrity of Nigeria has been consistently threatened. Araziua, (2023) further hold that terrorism in its present form is a relatively new phenomenon, even though sporadic terrorist acts have been witnessed in some regions of the country in the past and amongst the various ethno-religious groups claiming to be fighting for the socio-economic development of their people. Ojewale, (2021), observed that apart from the frequent attacks on strategic towns and military bases, they have graduated to targeting and attacking airports and railway lines; thus, creating a general atmosphere of insecurity in Nigeria. The International Crisis Group (2016) noted that hardly will a day pass

by in Nigeria without fresh incidents of violent killings, kidnapping, banditry, rape or arson being reported in various news media. According to Amnesty International (2021), the last decade witnessed scores of thousands of persons been killed and over two million families being displaced from their homes, farmlands and communities as a result of terrorist attacks. However, the Human Rights Groups emphatically blamed these catastrophic human and socio-economic losses on weak governance, systemic failure and gross incompetence on the part of the ruling elite and the security agencies in Nigeria. In the last few years, Nigeria became a breathing place for terrorism due to the activities of boko haram, and other religious groups in different parts of the country. Aliyu, (2021) asserts that since the early 2000s, terrorist groups have not only created ungovernable territories within the north-east region, but have instigated a climate of insecurity in Nigeria. Aliyu, (2021) further hold that, though the Nigerian security forces have been fighting relentlessly, but the facts lie on the political leadership to adopt appropriate measures to checkmate the activities of these terrorists.

Conceptual Framework
Concept of Terrorism
Terrorism refers to acts of violence that target civilians in pursuit of political or ideological aims. Terrorism includes criminal acts to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purpose and that such acts are in circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the consideration of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or other nature that may be used to justify them". In addition, the United Nations Security Council Resolution (2004) defined terrorism as "criminal acts against civilians committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury or taking of hostages with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or international organisation to do or to abstain from doing any act". Madubuegwu, et al (2021) conceptualized terrorism as certain criminal offences, set out in a list comprised largely of serious offenses against persons and properties which given their nature may seriously damage a country or an international organisation committed with the aim of intimidating a population or unduly compelling a Government or International organisation to perform or abstain from performing any act or seriously destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic and social structures of Government or International organisation. However, terrorism is "any act that violate the criminal laws of a State and which may endanger the life, physical integrity, freedom of, or cause serious injury or death to any person, any number or group of persons or cause or may cause damage to public or private property, natural resources, environmental or cultural heritage and is calculated or intended to: intimidate, put in fear, force or coerce or induce any government body or institution, the general body or institution, the general public or any segment therefore to do or abstain from doing any act or to adopt or abandon a particular standing point or act according to certain principles. In explicit sense, terrorism may be appropriately defined as acts or actions aimed to challenge the sovereignty of the state with the intent of compelling or ensuring a new order; or to intimidate and suppress liberty driven process such as agitations or protest with the intent to create fear of terror among the population. Hence, terrorism is planned and carried out by non-state actors to challenge the government or by the state to coerce its citizens to allegiance (Madubuegwu, et al, 2021). Also, Aliyu, (2012) asserts that it is a value associated with confidence in physical safety and other most cherished values. In another perspective, national security is seen in terms of a nation's military capabilities or the struggle to overcome internal and external aggression. Buzan, (2003) noted that a nation is secured once it is free from military threats or political coercion. Aliyu, (2012) holds that the major security threat to some powerful nations and its allies may be how to defeat international terrorists and to promote their economic interest and democratic values. However, nations like Nigeria have its own peculiar security threat determined by socio-economic and political circumstance.

Onimisi, (2014) holds that national security is beyond the safety of the nation-state, the protection of sovereignty and territorial integrity by military defence and capabilities to the perseveration of cherished values of the citizen

concerned which means in addition to physical survival of the state and citizens, national security includes broad entitlement such as access to basic needs and social services like food, education, health, shelter and employment whose absence are the basic cause of insecurity in Nigeria state. Otinche (2018) revealed that the tide of terrorist activities in the world implicitly reinforced the boko-haram uprising in Nigeria. The hegemony of imperialism, neo-colonialism, arms production and arms sale has implicit relationship with terrorism, militancy and insurgency given the dialectics of the world defence and deterrence system. Also, Otinche (2018) stated that nations are shy to engage each other in war, arms producing nations have taken war to other countries through the back door, a strategy that has produced boko haram and other low profile militant groups like the cattle rustlers and the Niger Delta militancy in Nigeria. Otinche (2018) further observed that the cattle rustlers in north central appears to be the auxiliary force to boko haram seemingly on a mission to continue with the insurgency operation at the decimation of the boko-haram sect.

Empirical Review
Modus Operandi of the Terrorists Groups
Terrorism is an asymmetric form of warfare, and it is more common or applicable where and when conventional warfare is ineffective because its opposing forces vary greatly in power, capability and terrain. The people, places and institutions terrorist usually target for attack or the techniques they employed is dependent on the political or religious agenda of the terrorists. More often than not, terrorist attacks are often targeted towards a particular or multiple object or subject in order to maximize fear and publicity. In Nigeria, their strategies and tactics have varied from place to place and from situation to situation. Corrado & Evans (1998) opined that terrorists have used a combination of targeted assassination, kidnapping, suicide-bombing, gang-raping and other violent acts to terrorize the people and the governments of many states in northern Nigeria and beyond. Tella & Akintola (2013) noted that at the beginning, it started with the indiscriminate killings of Christians and other non-Muslims in Northern Nigeria over minor religious or communal matters. Later, the physical killings by gunshot or decapitation spread to neighbouring countries within the Lake Chad region and the middle belt area in North-Central Nigeria, until it was successfully repelled by the Military Joint Task Force and other stakeholders in the region.

Also, Oviasogie (2013) opined that the military suffered heavy losses in the hands of the combined security forces which led to the tactical retreats of the insurgents into the Sambisa Forest and other mountainous areas within the Lake Chad Basin region. From this strategic position, other terrorists' groups have adopted the guerrilla warfare tactics of ''hit and run'' against the security forces and sometimes other soft targets within their immediate reach. But, in recent times, the most frequent and horrifying tactics that terrorists have devised in the prosecution of their cause is kidnapping of innocent people. Due to the heavy ransom they collect from their victims and the government, the group has become emboldened to carry out other kidnap attacks against innocent civilians and some few high-profile politicians and businessmen. Premium Times, (2018) observed that other guerrilla warfare tactics that the terrorists have been using against the security forces is ambushing and bombing of military formations and checkpoints. Unfortunately, the group seems to be winning in this aspect of the war, as the morale of our military forces is abysmally low as a result of the incalculable losses they have suffered lately from this terrorists' attacks due to lack of aerial coverage and support from the government.

Terrorism and the Socio-Economy of Nigeria
Since the emergence of terrorist groups, the security and territorial integrity of Nigeria has been seriously threatened and undermined. Ogundiya & Amzat, (2006) noted that the impact of terrorism in Nigeria, especially in the northern parts of the country cannot be over-emphasized as hundreds of thousands of innocent lives, properties and farmlands have either been lost or destroyed as a result of incessant terrorist attacks. Isyaku (2013), asserts that the activities of the various terrorist groups operating in Nigeria since 2009 have demoralized and deflated the morale of our military

forces, especially the Infantry Brigade of the Nigerian Army that used to be taunted as one of the best in Sub-Sahara Africa, going by their past exploits in Liberia and Sierra Leone in the 1990s. Isyaku (2013) further states that in the last few years, terrorism has greatly exposed the administrative decay, monumental corruption, and physical inadequacy of our military forces in terms of combat readiness. UNDP (2019) assert that the impact of terrorism in Nigeria could be felt in the drastic reduction in the economic and industrial activities in the northern part of the country. UNDP (2019) further opined that many of the firms and industries that used to operate in the north have either relocated to other parts of the country or have completely shut-down businesses because of the high level of insecurity in Nigeria. Also, the agricultural and food security sub-sector is not left out as Adesoji, (2010) noted that the last couple of years had witnessed security challenges occasioned by terrorist attacks, as there have been little or no farming activities in most villages, towns and communities in the middle belt, north west and the north eastern regions that used to be the food basket zone of Nigeria. Majority of the farming communities in this part of the country have either been driven out of their ancestral homes; or are currently hibernating at the various refugee and internally displaced people's camps across the federation. Adesoji, (2010) further notes that in Nigeria, terrorism has also impinged terribly on the fundamental human rights of the populace. Since their incursion into our political space, these terrorist groups have introduced extremist religious ideologies into our society which have little or no respect for the rule of law, fundamental human rights and constituted authority. Gadzama (2022) noted that these terrorists groups believe in the use of jihad to forcefully convert people to the Islamic faith and to create on Islamic Caliphate or State, thereby arrogantly and flagrantly desecrating the Nigerian Constitution in the area of religious liberty. Adeyemo (2014) asserts that Boko Haram stated like the action of a pouting child, merely seeking attention. Also, Adeyemo (2014) holds that the attack on the United Nations building in Abuja, claimed 23 lives after the devastating attack on the Headquarter of the Nigeria Police, where eight people were killed.

Theoretical Framework
Sub-Culture Theory
Deviant behaviour is often attributed to the failure of social institutions, both formal and informal, to protect against anomie. Messner & Rosenfeld, (2006) opined that weak institutions erode the dominant norms that allow society to operate most efficiently, which gives way to the formation of subcultures that compete with, and in many cases directly oppose, the dominant social order. Such subcultural formation provides a social atmosphere suitable for the transmission of deviant motivations and techniques, which is generally understood as the social learning of deviant behaviour. Shaw & McKay, (1969) opined that when institutional failure is the primary focus, it brings about social disorganization that leads to terrorism in general and terrorist groups in particular, because institutional breakdown produces strain. This strain accumulates to the most socially disadvantaged groups within a nation-state, providing an impetus for deviant responses. Also, social disorganization theory allows for an ecological understanding of the social atmosphere where deviant subcultures form and where deviant actors are able to organize. In most cases, the individual terrorist is pinpointed as the primary focus of attention, the real concern is over the organization of terrorists.

Also, the success of terrorist actors and the politico-military strategy of terrorism require coordination of a wide range of actors who are not terrorists. Terrorist groups function in accordance to the subculture of violence, where a handful of deviant actors commit the criminal actions that the strategy of terrorism entails, a large portion of society participates in the culture that enables a terrorist group to operate. Such participation stems largely from dissatisfaction with failing social institutions. The functioning of these social institutions is often interrupted by poverty, ethnic conflict, population turnover, or urbanization (Shaw & McKay, 1969; Sampson & Groves 1989). Thus, the failing of these institutions produces objective strain that is felt by almost every member of the given society. That is, the social institutions fail to provide the means or opportunity for individuals particularly the most socially disadvantaged to meet the dominant goals of society. Merton opined that strain produced by the particular alignment of the social structure exert(s) pressure upon certain persons in society to engage in non-conformist rather than conformist conduct.

This understanding of strain does not only help to explain why some people chooses to become terrorists but combined with social disorganization theory to explain why certain societies are more tolerant of terrorists and terrorist groups.

Social Disorganization Theory

Social disorganization theory states that whenever and wherever there is social disorganization, there is always an increase in crime and other deviant behaviours. In response to the strain produced by the failure of social institutions, societies search for institutional alternatives that allow them to meet their goals. Legitimate social institutions are undoubtedly preferred by the vast majority of society, while illegitimate alternatives, such as terrorists' groups are tolerated in their absence. Abadie (2006) and de Soto (2002) opined that there is a strong reason to believe that the proper functioning of social institutions, particularly in nation-states known to host a disproportionate concentration of terrorist groups, is inhibited by weak political institutions. For instance, authoritarian governments or ineffective property rights make it difficult for social institutions, such as the family, educational or legal system to meet the needs of the society. Since society is dominated by competition to accumulate wealth, terrorist groups are more likely to form in nation-states where weak social, political, and economic institutions exist, and a substantial proportion of the society is aggrieved as the environment provides an opportunity for illegitimate institutional alternatives.

Terrorists, who maintain particular political goals, are able to take advantage of this atmosphere and enlist the efforts of non-terrorist actors by emphasizing common grievances, while non-terrorist actors are likely to reject the means through which terrorists accomplish their political goals, they are able to relate to the ultimate political goals that terrorists frame as the source of their common grievances. In sum, a terrorist group consists of a core of terrorist actors that possess an ultimate political goal, as well as a wide array of non-terrorist actors providing various services, which are often not criminal in-and-of themselves, that possess reformatory goals for social, political, and economic institutions, which the terrorists frame as part of their own ultimate political goals. Thus, the weak or failed institutions in Nigeria provide the common grievances that enable terrorists to carry out the strategy of terrorism to meet their ultimate political goals and economic. Therefore, institutional reform would likely deteriorate social support for, or apathy towards terrorist groups by providing legitimate alternatives that more efficiently meet the needs and eliminate the grievances of the individuals living in the country.

Method

The survey design method was applied with the use of the probability and non-probability sampling techniques. The purposive sampling technique was used to select three (3) States out of the seven (7) States in the north–central region of Nigeria that were adversely affected by terrorists. The States selected includes- Benue, Plateau, and Niger State, while the simple random sampling technique was used to select victims of terrorists' attacks in communities mostly affected by the terrorist groups for the study. After identifying the first victim, other victims were selected using the snowball sampling technique. The questionnaire was administered to both literate and non-literate male and female respondents, the questionnaire was given to the literate respondents to fill personally and was retrieved after they have completed it, while respondents who could not read or write (non-literate), the questions in the order in which they appear in the questionnaire were read out to them, and their responses recorded in the appropriate spaces provided in the questionnaire. The validity of the instruments was ascertained through the use of content validity while the reliability of the instrument was obtained through a pilot survey with a reliability scale of 9.49 using Cronbach's Alpha. The instrument for data collection was a structured questionnaire on a five (5) point scale of strongly agreed, agree. strongly disagree, disagree and undecided. One hundred and fifty (150) questionnaires were administered to the respondents by the researcher and a research assistant. Quantitative data obtained were sorted, coded and entered into the computer through the use of statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) version 20. After entering the data, results were analysed and presented in tables through the use of descriptive statistics such as frequency counts and percentages.

Data Analysis and Results

Table 1.1: Respondent Responses on Modus Operandi of the Terrorists Groups in Nigeria

Responses	15-25	26-35	Total	Percentage
SA	20(23.93)	17(13.07)	37	24 %
SD	5 (7.11)	6 (3.89)	11	7.3 %
A	26(30.39)	21(16.61)	47	31.3 %
D	27(18.75)	2 (10.25)	29	19.3 %
U	19(16.81)	7 (9.19)	26	17.3 %
TOTAL	97	53	150	100 %

SA (strongly agree) SD (strongly disagree) A (agree) D (disagree) U (undecided)

The table above shows the mode of operations carried out by the terrorist groups. Out of 150 questionnaires administered to respondents, 84 (55.3%) of the respondents affirmed that terrorist groups carefully choses their target population mostly the vulnerable people.

Table 1.1: Respondent Responses on Terrorist Activities and Socio-Economic Development of Nigeria

Responses	15-25	26-35	Total	Percentage
SA	22(30.82)	45(36.18)	67	44.7 %
SD	8 (5.06)	3 (5.94)	11	7.3 %
A	20(21.16)	26(24.48)	46	30..7 %
D	13 (8.28)	5 (9.72)	18	12 %
U	6 (3.68)	2 (4.32)	8	5.3 %
TOTAL	69	81	150	100 %

SA (strongly agree) SD (strongly disagree) A (agree) D (disagree) U (undecided)

The tables above show the relationship between terrorist activities and the Socio-Economic Development of Nigeria. Out of 150 questionnaires administered to respondents, 113 (75.4%) affirmed that terrorist activities have disrupted the socio-economic development of Nigeria to the extent that most investors have relocated to other countries for fear of being kidnapped, destroying of their investments and other valuable assets.

Discussion of Findings

The findings revealed that the terrorist groups carefully choose their target population mostly the vulnerable people. This is in corroboration with Corrado & Evans (1998) who hold that terrorists have a combination of targeted assassination, kidnapping, suicide-bombing, gang-raping and other violence acts to terrorize the people and the governments. Also, Tella & Akintola (2013) noted that at the beginning, it started with the indiscriminate killings of Christians and other non-Muslims in northern Nigeria over religious or communal matters, but later on, the physical killings by gunshot spread to neighboring countries within the Lake Chad region and the middle belt area in north-central Nigeria. Oviasogie (2013) opined that the terrorists' groups have adopted the guerrilla warfare tactics of ''hit and run'' against the security forces and sometimes other soft targets within their immediate reach. But, the most frequent and horrifying tactics these terrorists have devised in the prosecution of their cause is kidnapping of innocent people. More so, the study revealed that these terrorist activities have disrupted the socio-economic development of the country to the extent that investors have relocated to other countries for fear of being kidnapped, destruction of

their investments and other valuable assets. This finding is in tandem with the UNDP (2019) reports that terrorists' activities in Nigeria are felt on the drastic reduction in the economic and industrial activities mostly in the northern part of the country. UNDP (2019) further opined that many of the firms and industries that used to operate in the north have either relocated to other parts of the countries or have completely shut-down businesses because of the high level of insecurity in Nigeria.

Conclusion/ Recommendations

The increased cooperation among States have resulted in the myriads of security challenges we find in Nigeria. Terrorism in Nigeria is a new phenomenon, even though there have been some sporadic terrorist acts witnessed in some parts of the country amongst the various ethno-religious groups claiming to be fighting for the socio-economic and political emancipation of its people, none of the earlier terrorist groups that operated in Nigeria is compared to these present groups of blood-thirsty actors, in terms of their violence, savagery, impunity and notoriety around the world. However, terrorism has affected the socio-economic development of the Nigeria people to the extent that the people are no longer secured in their homeland and have become so emboldened that they operate almost freely in the north-central part of Nigeria. They have created an atmosphere of insecurity, causing security damage to the socio-political and economic development of the country. However, in view of the damages caused by these terrorist groups on the economy of Nigeria, the following recommendations were made:

i)   The government should provide employment opportunities to the teeming youths in the country as this will help to reduce the level of poverty and unemployment that is occasioned by these terrorist groups.

ii)   The government should put in place measures to protect and safeguard the territorial integrity of the state as this will bring about a secured environment, peace, and security of the people.

iii)   The government should create an avenue for open, transparent discussions and negotiations on both sides as this will make the terrorists and insurgents drop their weapons and embrace an alternative dispute resolution offered by the government.

iv)   Lastly, the government should beef up security and deploy strong political and military will for its armed forces to tactically engage and neutralize all forms of terrorist resistance within the state as this will send warning signal to other terrorists about the government's zero tolerance to all forms of criminality.

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