

Multi-Sectoral Approach in The War Against Global Terrorism: Panacea for Sociopolitical and Economic Development of Nigeria

Ishaku Hamidu, Ph.D

Department of Political Science, Federal University of Kashere, Gombe State, Nigeria.

Corresponding author: ishakuhamidu1041@fukashere.edu.ng

Abstract

Global terrorism seems to be affecting sociopolitical and economic activities, threatening national sovereignty and international relations. Consequently, nation-states' responses at all levels has been the military option. This has not brought permanent solution; instead, the cycle of death, casualties, destructions and dimensions of terrorism keeps changing. This paper used secondary data and frustration aggression theory to examine terrorism in Nigeria, its effects on the state and national economy. Objective of this study is for authorities to know and adopt a multi-sectoral approach in the fight against terrorism. Nigeria and other actors are recommended to unite and ensure social justice, support positive education, boost microeconomic and agricultural development, create employment for the numerous unemployed youths, among other international interventions to end terrorism.

Keywords: Terrorism, Ethnic Militia, IPOB, Boko Haram/ISWAP, Herdsmen, Bandits, Multi-Sectoral Approach.

Introduction

In the war against global terrorism, states use the conventional means, mostly the para-military and military agencies to quell terrorism of whatever kinds. For instance, when Al-Qaeda attacked America in 2011, US military deployed its arsenal to search, apprehend and crush any recognized members of the terrorist groups globally. In Africa, the Malian armed forces are battling with the M-23 rebels in Mali, and other likeminded groups. Like other states facing insecurity orchestrated by internal and external terrorists' groups, Nigeria is also confronted with internal terrorists' groups as well as transnational terrorists' groups that have links with global terrorists' groups like Al-Qaeda, among others. Authorities used the military approach which had both capital, economic and human costs implications but without immediate positive resolutions. Instead, the state suffers many socioeconomic and human loses for several years. Till today, terrorists' groups and their activities are threatening the cooperate existence of the Nigerian state, as well as its sociopolitical and economic viabilities. The study therefore advocated for a paradigm shift, from the traditional military approach alone to a multi-sectoral approach so as to tame terrorism in Nigeria and by extension at global levels.

To this effect, this paper examined the concept of terrorism, types of terrorism, and Nigeria's responses to the challenges of terrorism, highlighted some of the issues serving as impediments and proffer some recommendations, which if included in the fight against terrorism, better results will be achieved.

Statement of the Problem

It seems Nigeria is confronted with numerous terrorists' activities for several decades. This made her to mobilize, equip and deploy its military and para-military forces to quell terrorism but to no avail. Instead, terrorists and other criminal activities in the country keep increasing. Consequently, the state is losing its citizens, sociopolitical and economic activities, image and foreign earnings of Nigeria are negatively affected. Why has terrorism continued unabated in Nigeria? Are there no other options than the use of military? These were some issues that prompted this study.

Objectives of the Study

Objectives of this study are to:

1. Identify various forms of terrorism in Nigeria,
2. Outline how terrorism affects the Nigerian state and its economy,
3. Examine government responses to terrorism and challenges encountered, and,
4. Provide options in halting/ taming terrorism in Nigeria.

Conceptual Clarification

Terrorism is a concept that is and can be viewed differently from one quarter to another, depending on one's level of understanding, ethno-religious interest, and continent. This was why Maiangwa, (2014:24) stated that: "Although there are several views around the world today concerning the meaning of terrorism, this is conceivably so because different regions of the world have different classification and perception, they also have differences in how they view terrorism-threat and method of combating it. Note that this peculiarity of environment has serious impacts on definition of certain concepts in life and not only terrorism". This implies that there are different perceptions, interpretations and determination of what constitutes and connotes terrorism in one state from another. Corroborating with the above, Hudson, (1999:18) opines in his definition that:

Definition of terrorism varies widely and is usually inadequate. Researchers on terrorism often prefer to define the term other than by citing the basic U.S Department of State (1998) definition. Although an act of violence that is generally regarded in the United States as an act of terrorism; it may not be viewed so in another country. The type of violence that distinguished terrorism from other types of violence, such as ordinary crime, or wartime military action, can still be defined in terms of that, might qualify as reasonably objective.

Fundamentally, terrorism is from the Latin verb 'Terrere' which means "to frighten". That was where the English word "terror" and 'terrorism' derived its origin and bearing from (Nwogwugwu, Alao and Ekpendu, 2018:325). Some people on a general term see terrorism as 'the unlawful or threatened use of violence by non-state actors against individuals or property'. Schmid and Jongman, (1988:28) also gave another elaborate and all-encompassing definition thus:

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 generally chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from a target population, and serve as message generators. The threat and violence based communication process between target (organization), (imperiled) victims and main target (audience), turning into a target of terror, a target of demands, or a target of attention, depending on whether intimidation, coercion or propaganda is primarily sought.

Deducing from the above, one can understand that terrorism is a violent tactics by state or non-state actors for political rationale against non-combatants, principally to instill fear in order to generate or send a message.

Terrorism or terrorist act according to Hudson, (1999:18) is "the calculated use of unexpected, shocking and unlawful violence against non combatants (including, in addition to civilian, off-duty military and security personnel in peace situation) and other symbolic targets perpetrated by a clandestine members of a sub-national group or a clandestine agent(s) for psychological purpose of publicizing a political or religious cause and/ or intimidating or coercing government(s) or civilian populations into accepting demands on behalf of the case". Further still, Stern, (2002) sees terrorism as 'an act or threat or violence against non-combatants with the objective of exacting revenge, intimidating, or otherwise influencing an audience'. Most or all the definitions above were from European perspectives and value judgement.

Describing terrorism from African perspective, Maiangwa, (2014:28) states that: 'Terrorism in the African context implies the application of intensive pressure by individuals or groups on governments by the use of force (which may include the use of arms) especially when all openings for democratic expressions and legitimate agitation and ways of seeking redress are blocked. Those regarded as terrorists use excessive force though not legitimate means to attract government attention to the need of the populace'.

Terrorism here is also viewed as an avenue by aggrieved person(s) or groups to get attention or recognition by the state on their demands. To an *outsider*, or non-members, the attitude of this group is terrorism but those inside it only see it as the best way to express their grievances and demand reform or call for dialogue. Each of these groups therefore sees terrorism from different perspectives. Terrorism in this context serves as the voice of the oppressed being communicated to the rulers and perceived oppressors of the people's ideological and religious belief system. There is the tendency of calling liberation strugglers as terrorists and terrorists as liberation strugglers since they use threat, intimidation and violence to achieve their goal.

African Union (the rebranded Organization of African Unity, OAU) described terrorist act as:

- (a) Any act which is a violation of criminal laws of a state party 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 damage to public or private property, natural resources, environmental or cultural heritage and is calculated or intended to: (i) intimidate, put in 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 to act according to certain principles; or (ii) disrupt any public service, the delivery of any essential service to the public or to create public emergency; or (iii) create general insurrection in a state.
- (b) Any promotion, sponsoring, contribution to, command, aid, incitement, encouragement, attempt, threat, conspiracy, organizing, or procurement of any person, with the intent to commit any act referred to in paragraph (a) (i) to (iii) (A.U Algiers Convention in 1999, Article 1).

The above broad definitions are what constitutes terrorist act according to African Union article. If this is then applied into Nigeria, it clearly shows that the activities of Boko Haram, Islamic State in West African Province (ISWAP), Herders carrying and using guns and other fire arms against armed less farmers/communities; ethnic militia like Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) and its allies either within or outside the shores of Nigeria or in connection/ collaboration with Al-Qaeda, Al-Shaabab, etc are all terrorists' groups. United Kingdom Terrorism Act (2000), stated that terrorism include:

- (i) Any act causing death or grievous bodily harm or loss of liberty to Head of State, persons exercising the prerogative of the state, their hereditary or designated successor, the scope of such person, or persons charged with public functions or holding public capacity;
- (ii) Acts calculated to destroy or damage public properties devoted to public purposes;
- (iii) Any act likely to imperil human lives through the creation of public danger, in particular the seizure of aircraft, the taking of hostages and any form of violence directed against persons who enjoy international protection or diplomatic immunity;
- (iv) The manufacture, obtaining, possession or supplying of arms, ammunitions, explosive or harmful substances with a view to commit terrorist act (Iwegbulam, 2013:225- 226).

The above definitions of what constitute terrorism and terrorists' activities clearly revealed or showcased that the activities of Boko Haram/ISWAP, IPOB, Killer-Herdsman, Ethnic Militia, Kidnappers, Bandits, etc in Nigeria as terrorists' groups. Beside their operations in Nigeria, most of the afore-mentioned groups have nexus with other terrorists' or family/clan relations groups in sub-Saharan Africa. One can therefore conceive terrorism as 'any planned or supporting the use of force, threat and intimidations on armed less persons or communities in their habitat, economic and social premises against conventional rules and regulation'.

Categories of Terrorism

There are two major classifications or categories of terrorism: (a) Domestic terrorism, and (b) International/Transnational terrorism.

a. Domestic Terrorism

Domestic terrorism is a broad concept that is generally shallowly understood. From a family perspective, the mal-handling and using of force at home by either of the partners in marriage or in the family against the others is termed as domestic violence/terrorism. Domestic terrorism is an "attack by citizens against their own country" (Wilcox, Ozer, Gunbeyi, and Gundogdu, 2009:345). Going by this definition, several variables are embedded in the concept, ranging from family, sociological, economic, political, occupational, etc. Any threat, attack and intimidation on persons or group of person(s) by their own people, kinsmen and women, indigenes, etc; can be labeled as domestic terrorism.

Domestic terrorism manifests and can be sub-categorized as economic crime, violent activity or far-right extremists, and hate crimes. Elaborating on the components of domestic terrorism; Economic Crime (EC) is when people of, or within the country agree or connive to siphon local resources either to hide or store abroad for personal use. This could be one of the rationales for the establishment of Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) in Nigeria. Secondly, Far-Right Extremist (FRE) is the domestic terrorism that is exhibited by religious extremists in any nation-state. The incessant attacks by Boko Haram/ISWAP sect in Nigeria is a typical example of Far-right extreme domestic terrorism. Thirdly, Hate Crimes (HC) terrorism is when people are targeted, assaulted and even killed by other people of their own country due to gender, religious, regional, sectional and other primordial differences. Fourthly, Home/Family terrorism is the frequent assault/beating of wife by husband or vice versa. These have, and are still happening in several states in Nigeria. This study is more concern with the first three components.

Domestic terrorism is a home-grown terrorist activity in which the venue, target, and perpetrators are all or significantly from the same country. Thus, domestic terrorism has direct consequences for largely the venue country, its institutions, citizens, property, and policies. If a domestic commercial flight with only nationals aboard is hijacked to another city in the same country for sociopolitical purposes, then the hijacking is a domestic terrorist act. Most terrorists' acts, staged in a struggle for ethnic, economic, regional and political independence, are domestic terrorism. In Nigeria, IPOB, Boko Haram/ISWAP, some herders, kidnappers, armed bandits etc are seriously unleashing havoc on armed less Nigerians in and across almost the thirty-six states in the federation.

b. International/ Transnational Terrorism

International or transnational terrorism emerged from domestic terrorism. For instance, most of the severe threats to sociopolitical stability in Egypt came from the home grown radical Gama'at of the 1970s, later from the Egyptian Islamic Jihad (E.I.J or Jihad Islami) and the Jama'at Islamiyya (or Gma'at). The aims of these groups were to establish an Islamic government based on Islamic law, which has not materialized for several years. Perhaps in order to get more weapons, wider membership and be stronger, it aligned itself with the Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan and gained ground to embark on global jihad against Egypt and western government as they maintain their radicalism on government (Maianguwa, 2014:194). Through such international interactions and collaborations, a local terrorist group can become international and transnational.

Terrorists' organizations have adherents and sub-groups across the continents of the world for similar and other related purposes. Sometimes, there are rival groups operating, who may later join their forces to carry out their operations against their perceived enemies and targets smoothly, in what could be described as "cross-sectional dependence" between and among the groups' with vested interest (Gaibulloev, Sandler and Sul, 2013:2& 3). In Africa for instance, there is the Al-Qaeda network in the African Maghreb that have served as sources of propaganda and recruit for the known Al-Qaeda operating elsewhere and Al-Shabab. Johari, (2012:432), noted that international interaction "is the movement of tangible or intangible items across state boundaries with at least one actor who is not an agent of a state government or an international organization". This description focuses and involves non-governmental organizations, private individuals and their groups involved in the transfer of goods, money, credit, information, etc from one country to another. Both state and non-state actors can and are involved in such international interactions.

'Transnationalism' therefore includes non-state transnational actors that are concerned with any form of military activities. Transnational terrorists' activities involve the organization and execution of attacks by terrorists' groups, both within their own states on foreign nationalities. Also, they can cross their immediate neighbours' border to carry out attacks or collaborate with other sister organizations to carry out attacks on their perceived common enemies. And, in some cases, they can or do facilitate the process of weapon acquisition, training of personnel and other logistics. Boko Haram attack on the United Nations building in Abuja on 26th August, 2011, abducting foreign nationalities working in Nigeria; sometimes crossing over to Chad, Cameroon and Niger to carry out attacks, establishing training camps outside the shores of Nigeria. These acts make the Nigerian breed Boko Haram/ISWAP to become national and transnational terrorists' groups. The period of 1990s and beyond also, witnessed several cases of non-state terrorist attacks across the globe. The recent popular one for instance, was when some terrorist groups carried out the bombing in New York City's World Trade Centre (WTC) in 2001. This and others proved that terrorists' organizations

have perfected their strategies to wreak havoc on their perceived enemies at both state and non-state levels.

Theoretical Framework

Frustration-Aggression Theory (FAT) was developed by John Dollard, Neal Miller, Leonard Doob, Orval Mowrer and Robert Sear in 1939, among other associates. Other scholars like Yates (1962) and Berowitz (1962) modified or gave this theory more variation (Mbaegbu, 2018:236). Frustration-Aggression Theory (FAT) states that aggression is always a consequence of frustration. Dollard posits that frustration causes aggression and when the source of the frustration cannot be challenged, the aggression gets displayed unto an innocent target. The main thrust of this theory states that the occurrence of aggressive behaviour always presuppose the existence of frustration and contrariwise, that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression.

This theory specified that motivational strength towards aggression is a function of the reinforcement value of the frustrated goal response; the degree of frustration of this goal response; and, the number of frustrated response sequence. Aggression is the function or result of frustration. Aggressive behaviour such as violent protest results from frustration individuals feel when they are restrained from achieving valued goals (Mbaegbu, 2018:236).

Explaining the above more clearly, frustration in this context, was specified as the thwarting of a goal response, and a goal response, in turn, was taken to mean the reinforcing final operation in an ongoing behaviour sequence Dennen (1999). Frustration is used to refer not only to the process of blocking a person's attainment of a re-inforcer but also to the reaction to such blocking. Consequently, being frustrated means both that one's access to re-inforcers is being thwarted by another party and that one's reaction to this thwarting is one of annoyance.

Aggression on the other hand, is defined as an action with the intent to harm, and can be physical and non-physical. There are many areas where aggression manifests in societies like domestic violence, abuse, school bullying and war. Frustration is the condition which exists when a goal-response suffers interference. The failure to obtain a desired expected goal leads to aggressive behaviour. However, aggression is not always the response to frustration.

This theory is used in sociology to explain criminality. In political science, the frustration-aggression theory has been used to explain violence and conflicts especially wars (Mbah, 2014:128). Four factors that influence frustration-aggression theory include: magnitude of frustration; aggression cues; arbitrariness of frustration; and, cognitive and emotional processes. These are explained thus:

- a. Magnitude of frustrations implies the gravity or intensity of blocking goal-directed behaviour. Dollard's frustration-aggression theory explains how intense the situation can be, for it becomes the antecedent to an aggressive act. In other words, being so close to one's goal and being neglected may be one act in an aggressive manner, due to the excitement and expectation of receiving one's goal.
- b. Aggressive Cues indentify the aggressive reaction resulting from a barrier to goal attainment. The aggressive cues verse the neutral cues tend to enhance frustration which leads to aggression. Consequently, frustration facilitates aggression in the presence of aggressive cues.
- c. Arbitrariness of frustration connotes that unexpected blocking of goals can lead to frustration and aggression. In other words, expecting a goal however ultimately being

prevented from it all of a sudden explains the arbitrariness of frustration and frustration-aggression behaviour.

- d. Cognitive and emotional process implies that frustration is likely to lead to aggression when an individual's emotional experiences conflict in their environments. This therefore tends to explain the causes of frustration to some of emotional and cognitive experiences.

Paradoxically however, Frustration Aggression Theory (FAT) is criticized for being too rigid and over generation on its philosophy. For instance, some of the critique is that not all frustration leads to aggression. For frustrations do not cause aggression outburst by necessity; potential outbursts may be effectively inhibited or may result in alternative actions. Nevertheless, frustrations produce instigations to a number of different types of responses, one of which is instigation to some form of aggression. In other words, frustration actuates motivational forces that diffuse rather than being specific to aggression (Miller, 1941:336-337).

It is also argued by some scholars that arbitrariness of situation and differences in human temperaments can affect the level of aggression or responses to goal directed obstacles when in group or while alone. This is a critical factor the theorists did not take into cognizance. The revised frustration-aggression theory firstly maintains that, frustration instigates behaviour that may or may not be hostile or aggressive; and, secondly, any hostile or aggressive behaviour that occurs is caused by frustration. This implies that frustration is not a sufficient or the only reason, but it is a necessary condition for hostility or aggressive behaviours (Mbah, 2014:128).

This theory seems to be appropriate in explaining what triggered state and global terrorists' activities, especially in Nigeria. For instance, the Boko Haram/ISWAP's goal was to get and train people base on their perceived knowledge of how Islam is to be taught and practiced as well as to establish their caliphate in northeast Nigeria. This was resisted by the state and their initial leaders were killed and some members arrested. This pushed the group to frustration which ignited aggressions, thereby directing their aggressive behaviours at what it perceived to be responsible for thwarting their desires (Mbaegbu, 2018:237). Similarly, the economic interests of herders and farmers are halted by each other and both got frustrated by each other; hence they resort to terrorism. The interest of IPOB to get sociopolitical and economic freedom from Nigeria was also halted and thwarted, hence they resort to carrying of arms and ammunition against their perceived enemies or those who refused to abide by their commands in southeast Nigeria. Most of those groups causing insecurity in several parts of Nigeria have one form of complain or the other against the state government, apparatus of the states and other oppressive rule and regulations which made them frustrated, a justification for their terrorism.

Research Methodology

The research used qualitative research methodology where secondary data from newspapers, magazines, journals, conference papers and books were explored. The contents of those materials were reviewed before arriving at conclusion or drawing inferences.

Some Effects of Terrorism on Sociopolitical and Economic activities in Nigeria

Sociopolitical instability is common in Nigeria due to aggrieved terrorists' activities. IPOB, political thugs, Boko Haram/ISWAP's activities have affected credible elections in Nigeria. For instance, there was the 2011 post-election violence in Nigeria which claimed lives and properties (Hamidu & Yusuf, 2014); the 2015 presidential elections were sifted due to insecurity in several parts of Nigeria as noted by Emmanuel, (2015). In the 2019 general elections, many people lose their lives and electoral

materials were affected. Similar incidences were recorded in the 2023 elections. Terrorism from which ever sects or groups is detrimental to peaceful coexistence and smooth electioneering in Nigeria.

The aggressive activities of Boko Haram, ISWAP, IPOB, Ethnic Militias, Fulani herdsmen, Kidnappers, armed bandits, among others, led to insecurity in several or almost all parts of Nigeria (Noah, Abubakar, & Ikwuba, 2017). This has affected the security dynamics in Nigeria by some of their activities to include but not limited to: abduction of both local and foreign nationals, breaking of prisons to either free their members or collect arms and ammunitions of the security operatives, attacking/ambushing of security operatives to kill and collect their arms, ransacking villages to get food stuff and women; making and detonating of explosives; radicalizing innocent young boys and girls they caught (Davieson, 2014). These are also the activities of some of the international terrorists' groups like ISIL that Boko Haram is linked with (Buba, 2017: 325 & 326).

Consequent upon the activities of the terrorists, there were displacements of persons within and across the Nigerian states that made some Nigerians to become either local or international refugees. Terrorism and insecurity led or made many Nigerians to become refugees and internally displaced persons in Zamfara, Niger, Kaduna, Benue, Borno, Yobe, Adamawa, Abuja, Gombe, etc. Across the Nigerian borders, also, there are international refugees in Chad, Niger and Cameroon republics from Nigeria, due to terrorists' activities in their communities.

Loss of lives and property in almost all states in Nigeria are common occurrences. Ethnic militia attacks or reprisal attacks by or from the herders and vice versa have often caused the death of many people and destruction of property in Kaduna, Benue, Taraba States, etc. IPOB, Boko Haram/ISWAP attacks, and armed bandits attacking villages for ransom money also caused loss of lives and property in Zamfara, Katsina, Niger States, among others.

Several micro-states in Nigeria experienced or tasted humanitarian crisis, due to displacement, destruction of homes, farm lands and crops, etc. Consequently, the urgent needs for food, clothes, shelter, medication, etc are increasing geometrically in Nigeria. This was why the United Nations, through its Humanitarian Coordinator in Nigeria, Mr Edward Kallon says Boko Haram insurgency killed 27,000 civilians in ten years (Ajayi, 2019:8). Validating the above, Mohammed and Ibrahim (2019:83) states:

It has been taken into consideration that the phenomena of insurgence we have been experiencing in Nigeria since independent in 1960 such as the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), 'Maitasine' (which was organized and operated as the present Boko Haram), the Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND). But the destruction of lives and properties in the present insurgency (Boko Haram) is more than that of the previous ones which also include killing and kidnapping of students' especially female students, school's destruction, killing of teachers, etc.

One can be tempted to describe Boko Haram/ISWAP, IPOB, herders, bandits' activities as a well as other forms of terrorism as a serious destructive element of Nigeria's sociopolitical and economic developments in all ramifications. Terrorists' activities rendered the Nigerian states and people to be vulnerable to all forms of insecurity and socioeconomic backwardness in spite of numerous mineral deposit and economic potential in sub-Saharan Africa.

Nigeria's Responses to Terrorism in the Country

One of the cardinal reasons for government is to ensure security of lives and properties on and around its territory. Government has the instruments of coercion and security operatives for that purposes (Okoli E.F & Okoli, F.C, 2003) and Dibie, (1999). Like other sovereign nation-state, Nigeria has both military and para-military operatives. In Nigeria there is the military, a compound word for all the military or preferably members of the Armed Forces (AF) and Para-Military Organizations (PMO). The Armed Forces include, The Nigeria Army (NA); The Nigeria Navy (NV); The Nigeria Air Force (NAF). The Para-Military Organizations on the other hand include The Nigeria Police Force (NPF), Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corp (NSCDC); The Department of State Security (DSS), Nigeria Custom Service (NCS), Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS); Nigeria Correctional Service (NCS); National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) and Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC). Each of the afore-mentioned security operatives have their specific constitutional duties and they play particular roles in making the polity secured (Hamidu, 2017:169-205). The Armed Forces for instance are basically for the defence of the state from external aggression and internal insurrections (when the situation demands as in the case of the transnational terrorism). The weapons of the military are heavier than those of Para-Military Organizations. The Para-Military Organizations on its parts watch against influx of aliens, contraband goods and other dangerous substances, protect government and civilian properties, settle civil cases, maintain law and order and implement the decisions of government. They use light weapons when the occasion demands. Faced with numerous forms of terrorism, Government of Nigeria responded thus

1. Deployment of Security Personnel: Authorities in Nigeria normally deployed members of the Para-military organizations as a first antidote to civil unrest. Nigerian government deployed the conventional police as the initial crisis of Boko Haram for instance was seen as civil unrest or minor religious and political issues. The conventional and police mobile force tried their best to quell various ethno-religious, insurgency, banditry, herders'/farmers crisis. But in some occasions, they could not calm the situation; hence the armed forces were deployed (Hamidu, 2017).
2. Establishment of more Divisions and Operative Strategies: Consequent upon terrorism in Nigeria, the authorities created more military divisions like 7 Division (7 Div) with its headquarters in Maiduguri and other operational offices and units in the country like the Navy surveillance outpost in Lake Chad Basin, Army training ground in part of Sambisa forest, Army Barracks in Damaturu and Southern Kaduna among many others. Besides, the military authorities embarked on numerous operations to confront terrorists' advances like Operation Restore Order (ORO); Operation Lafiya Dole (OLD); Operation Zaman Lafiya (OZL); Operation Hadin Kai (OHK); Operation Safe Corridor (OSC), among others. All of these were to facilitate the halting of the excesses of national and international/transnational terrorism.
3. Purchases of Military Equipment's and Huge Budgetary Allocations: Terrorism and other forms of insecurities have forced the authorities to expend more security equipment and personnel to the detriments of other sectors of the Nigerian economy. Observers argued that security issues and military needs gulp the nation's finances. For instance, in the 2012 budget, security was allocated the sum of N921.91 billion at the expense of other vital sectors like health, education, agriculture (El-rufai, 2012). The Ministry of Defence expended 396.5b (US \$2.56bn) in 2012. In the 2014 budget presented to the National

Assembly on 19th December, 2013, security still retained top most, with the allocation of the sum of one trillion Naira, as noted by Turaki and Ibrahim, (2013). As if the afore-mentioned were child's play, there were more elaborate budgetary allocation under Muhammadu Buhari thus: In 2016, security got #1.04 trillion. In 2017, #1.053 trillion was appropriated for defence. In 2018, #1.05 trillion. Still in that same year, \$1 billion from the excess crude oil account, where \$496 million was used to buy/order for the 12 Tucano fighter jets. In 2019, #1.76 trillion, ministry of interior got #617.9; defence was #589.9 million; police were #366 and office of the national security adviser, got #120 billion. In 2020, security got #1.78 trillion. In 2021, it was initially #1.97; but there were order for the implementation of police Trust Fund which got #11 billion in March and another #74 billion in June 2021. In the 2021 supplementary budget, a total of #802 billion was allocated to security agencies to shore up their revenue. In 2022, #2.41 trillion was on security and defence; that is, 15% of the budget. In 2023 budget, #2.98 trillion goes to defence sector (Saye, 2021). These implied that halting terrorism and providing security is actually capital intensive.

4. The Recognition and Use of Civilian Joint Tasks Force (CJTF): Conventional security forces like the armed forces and paramilitary organizations did their best in forestalling terrorism especially in northeast Nigeria. However, the coming of a group of untrained but zealous and pragmatic young men, who were later known as Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF), purposely to fight against the terrorist's groups, changed the narrative (Maiangwa & Hassan, 2018:205). Their weapons were crude and antiquated; which include clubs, knife(s), Dane guns, etc (Sawab, 2015). They rely heavily on the prayers and blessings of their elders/leaders and the good people of their communities (Maiangwa, 2014). These young men have demonstrated gallantry, wisdom and zeal to end terrorism in their restive states, particularly in northeast axis. Also, there were other groups like the vigilante, hunter associations, serving as community police, who also go out against the terrorists both within and outside their immediate environment. The major prowess of these groups was not the weapons, but their personal determination; zeal; commitment; selfless service and sacrifices to defend their father's land. Their effort has halted some terrorists' activities in their respective communities.
5. Establishment of Ministry: Another response to terrorists' activities in Nigeria was the establishment of the North East Development Commission (NEDC) in 2017, after the Bill establishing the Commission was passed by the two legislative chambers. Then, on October 25th 2017, President Muhammadu Buhari assented to the Bill, signing it into an Act.
6. Formation of Multi-National Forces: Beside the internal sociopolitical and military effort to end terrorism, Nigerian authorities visited other countries and sought their cooperation to form Multinational Joint Tasks Force to keep surveillance on their common- borders; sought the support of other countries and donor agencies. This led to the formation of Multinational Military Alliance (MMA) to watch over their respective territory; share credible intelligent report and fight the transnational terrorists' groups (Fabiya and Olorok, 2015). Western countries and the auspices of African Union assisted the joint military operations of the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) especially in northeast (Mefor & Ejike, 2015).

Accessing Nigerian Responses to Terrorism

From the afore-mentioned governmental responses, one can say Nigerian state responded constitutionally to the intimidations of terrorism and recorded some levels of success thus:

- (i) Nigeria was able to get the support and cooperation of its neighbours to form strong military alliance with foreign supports against terrorists' groups in the country.
- (ii) Secondly, the military has foiled several attempts of the terrorists not only in the northeast, but in other parts of the country from wreaking havoc on citizen and other nationalities.
- (iii) Thirdly, Operation Safe Corridor (OSC) is unique in its approach. It is the operation that made or qualified the military operations in the northeast to be described as dual approach/method. That is, "the carrot and stick approach". Apart from the offensive strategy, Operation Safe Corridor (OSC) boosted Nigeria's National Rehabilitation and Reintegration Programme for members of the Boko Haram/ISWAP. The use of de-radicalization or re-orientation of, or for the repentant Boko Haram is another confirmation that the sects have serious impact on the mental faculty of its adherents. Operation Safe Corridor (OSC) with its training camp in Gombe state, northeast Nigeria, encourages surrendered, defected or repentant members of terrorist's groups to be accepted and re-integrated into the society. This programme remains among the most mature and large-scale disengagement programme to de-radicalize before integrating the repentant terrorists into the society. Through this, many terrorists have been de-radicalized and integrated into the society since 2016.
- (iv) Fourthly, there were procurements of military equipments for the nation's security operatives. Consequent upon the procurement/ provisions of some of such military gadgets, the rate of Nigerian army fleeing on sighting terrorists have reduced and the military are now proactive (Musa and Sule, 2014).
- (v) Fifthly, some farmers and other agricultural businesses are booming in several parts of the state's due to the reinvigoration of the military and the activities of the CJTF or hunter's associations/vigilante etc.

These achievements however were with numerous costs implications like high expenditure on military as against other sectors of the economy, losses of lives and properties, corruptions, human rights abuses by the security operatives, destruction of the ecology and other businesses, etc. One can say that Nigeria has paid or suffered sociopolitical and economic setback due to all the forms of terrorisms in the land.

Multi-Sectoral Approach (MSA)

In spite of the afore-mentioned governmental responses and successes recorded, the military approach as used in Nigeria have not yielded the desired results as Nigeria and Nigerians are still under the siege of terrorists' groups. This is a confirmation that using gun alone is not the ultimate in the fight against global terrorism; hence the need for integrated, holistic and multi-sectoral approaches from and by the State. Multi-Sectoral Approach (MSA) embraces multi-dimensional or integrated approaches in pursuing and attaining one's aspirations. It encourages the use of conventional and non-conventional means or avenues to provide solutions to pressing problem/challenges in any given situation, in this case, terrorism in Nigeria.

Multi-Sectoral Approach (MSA) is a methodology or means to solve pressing issues, not using only one method, but numerous methods/avenues. It is the use and employing of different strategies or

combinations of strategies to solve issues or quell terrorism and other challenges. In this context, it is the use of both military, other social and governmental legalistic and micro-economic policies and programmes to tame frustrations that resulted into terrorism. Some of such MSA should include:

1. The use of educational sector/institutions. Authorities in Nigeria should provide positive socio-political and relational education for its citizens in all parts of the country. Both the micro and macro-states are to register and boost its formal and informal educational systems to inculcate morale values for lives and property, respect for different faiths/believe system in the states, make the students/youths more responsible to learn both technical and vocational trainings, etc. This will make them have respect and value for human lives and self-employed. Positive and functional education will make its citizens to eschew all forms of suspicions and enmities, against each other and to demonstrate love and care for each other, irrespective one's social, ethno-religious and political background, since all citizens are victims of both domestic and transnational terrorism. Respect for each other's vocation, ethno-religious belief, political views, boosting of technical education for self-reliance is a vital key to fight youth restfulness and other forms of criminalities and terrorism in the country.
2. Creating of more employment /job opportunities. Government at all levels in Nigeria should create more job or employment opportunities for the teaming youths and the unemployed graduates in the country. This can also be achieved by boosting agriculture in the all states and geopolitical zones. Making all forms of agriculture viable and functional will facilitate food security, provide employment opportunities for the teaming youth, generate revenue for the individual and the state at large, as well as reduce the temptation of being vulnerable prey for the terrorists. Unemployed and none positively engaged young men and women are potential threat to national security and socio-political and economic development of Nigeria and the global system at large. To this end, government should stop adding service years to it workers. Besides boosting the agricultural sectors, authorities in Nigeria should recruit or employ more young men and women into the armed forces to re-enforce the existing ones. This is because Nigeria has lost several military and Para-military personnel, and some have retired. There is therefore the need for fresh blood and more combatant military personnel.
3. Establishing of more micro-economic institutions/outlets. Government should boost the already established socioeconomic and recuperating programmes institutions like the Niger Delta (NDDC) and North-East Development Commission (NEDC). These and similar agencies should be properly funded and the leaders should eschew corruption and nepotism in the discharge of their duties for the recuperation of life and institutions in all geopolitical zones. They are to ensure the socio-political and economic needs of the citizens are adequately met and provide the platform for structural development and economic growth both at personal and community levels. They could include the building of ranches, dams, fishing pounds, etc to cater for the socioeconomic needs of the citizens' crafts. There should be careful orientation and education for the farmers and herders, as well as individuals. When they understand the concept of mutual coexistence, respect for each other's crafts better and embrace same, their personal productivity and quality of income will be enhanced.

4. Arresting and prosecuting offenders. Apprehending and promptly prosecuting offenders or the guilt persons justly without regard to ethno-religious background/affiliations will restore the confidence of the people on the country's judicial system. This prompt action will also discourage lawlessness and serve as deterrence to others in the future. Delay in justice delivery and implementation should be the thing of the past in the new fight against terrorism and criminality in Nigeria.
5. Supporting Amnesty Programme. The amnesty programme of the military under Operation Safe Corridor (OSC) should be sustained and vigorously empowered to get more terrorists renouncing their anti-social and irrational activities or war against their states and innocent civilian populations in the country. The psychology of the citizens should also be boosted to accommodate and accept the repentant ex-terrorists among them for positive socio-political, economic growth and developments of Nigeria. Such amnesty programme could be introduced in all geopolitical zones in the country for maximum productivity.
6. Boosting of international relations against Terrorism. Authorities in Nigeria should respect its neighbours' sovereignty and seek their cooperation for a robust synergy against any kinds of terrorists' groups penetrating the continent and the sub-region in particular. They are to urgently reinvigorates their border surveillances, obtain more technological gadgets to track terrorism. Providing security is capital intensive, national and international government should arise to their obligations to the state and citizens as well. Further still, since the war against terrorism is global issue, there is need for more pragmatic collaboration and synergy from and by all quotas, involving international organizations like Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), African Union (AU) and United Nations Organization (UNO) to track down and end terrorism in Nigeria and even across the continent. These bodies must put all hands-on deck to ensure whatever material and non-material equipments needed are provided. They should also ensure global and continental respect for human rights, good governance, democracy and financial prudence in respective members' states.

Conclusions

Terrorism as a global issue is not only affecting state actors but every individual's sociopolitical and economic rights and freedom. Terrorism in Nigeria this paper argued are orchestrated by aggrieved personalities with vested interests. Nigeria like other countries has used the military approach in its fight against terrorism but to no avail for over two decades now. Several lives, property, sociopolitical and economic activities in the country are negatively affected. This study concludes that military approach alone has not ended terrorism and sustain the much-needed peace and security in the country; hence the advocacy for Multi-Sectoral Approaches (MSA).

Recommendations

The under listed recommendations are imperative:

- Authorities in Nigeria should be versatile and dynamic to embrace Multi-Sectoral Approaches in its fight against terrorism;
- Nigeria should and must expend more on agriculture and its allied industries to get the youth engaged and employed which will facilitate food security;
- The recent action of adding five years to employees in some offices/organizations even when some of those employees are physically and mentally weak and non-productive

should be revisited. If such continue, what becomes the fate of the numerous younger and unemployed graduates in the country? Authorities are to note that a hungry and angry man' is and can be dangerous to himself and everyone around; and,

- There should be modern security equipment's for the security operatives and the welfare of the personnel to be adequately taken care of by both political leaders and military authorities. Doing so will make them to be patriotic and then discharge their duties as at when due professionally and efficiently.

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