

## TERRORISM IN NIGERIA: A SEARCH FOR SOLUTIONS

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### Abstract

*This work examines the root causes of terrorism in Nigeria as it is on the increase in the country today. The study employed the descriptive survey design and was carried out in Cross River State. The population of the study is made up of 291 Police officers in the 16 police stations in the five local government areas in Ogoja zone of Cross River State. The sample of this study consisted of 47 (33 males and 14 females) Police Officers. The instrument for data collection was a self-structured questionnaire titled: "Terrorism in Nigeria Questionnaire" (TNQ) and consisted of a twenty item of five clusters according to the research questions. The internal consistency of the instrument was established using Cronbach Alpha reliability method and reliability coefficient of 0.86 was obtained. The data generated were analysed using mean and standard deviation to answer research question. While independent sample t-test was used to test the null hypothesis at 0.05 level of significance. The result of the study revealed that violence, unemployment, corruption, insecurity and religious motivation are the major causes of terrorism in Nigeria; while the t-test analysis revealed no significant difference in the mean responses of male and female officers on the root causes of terrorism in Nigeria. It was therefore recommended among others that: the culture of peace should be imbibed, gainful employment should be made, religious organizations should sensitize their youths against terrorism among others.*

**Keywords:** Terrorism. Tolerance. Peace. Violence. Governance.

### Introduction

In recent times, terrorist activities had spread to new areas, particularly to those parts of Africa that were hitherto regarded as relatively safe of which Nigeria is not an exception. The Boko Haram's terrorist group attacks and currently the Fulani herdsmen terroristic menace in Nigeria are quintessence of this observation. Hitherto, terrorism is an act that is not visibly externalized in Nigeria. However, since the inception of military rule in Nigeria, most socio-

political activities in Nigeria feature acts of terrorism. Citizens of Nigeria more often than not employ terroristic modes in actualizing their goals and perceived denied rights. Almost all the ethnic groups in Nigeria have splinter groups that purposes to be agitating for their peculiar ethnic rights through terroristic means.

The government and the security force fighting terrorism in the country often gets disappointed, worked up, frustrated and confused as terrorism is ever on the increase irrespective of the efforts made in fighting it. The Nigerian government authority had equally realised that terrorists in the country are not just operating within the domestic or local level, but had equally gone viral when Dukor (2010), delineated a vertical interpretation of the Nigerian al-Qaida, Umaru Farouk Abdul Mutallab, who on Christmas day, 2009 put Nigeria on the global map of terrorism, when he attempted to blow up a North-West airlines, flight 253 carrying 278 passengers and 11 crew members from Amsterdam, as it prepared to land in Detroit. The fact that this Nigerian beat all the security check points at the Nigerian airport is a significant pointer to the lack of rule of law and of security of life and property in the country.

Keeping the aforementioned in view, there remains the need to seek more solutions to terrorism in Nigeria for in fighting terrorism, the so called counter-terrorists groups end up becoming terrorists themselves. Wiping out the Boko Haram insurgents at random in the Sambisa forest for instance, resulted in the loss of lives of some innocent babies, mothers and even those held captive by these terrorists. The Boko Haram terrorist group at the end of the day had not been completely over powered. The Fulani Herdsmen killing spree, which they embark on with all impunity, is another big challenge. The worst stance is that it is as if the federal government is backing them up. It appears as if an ethnic cleansing is being embarked on. A move towards the total annihilation of other ethnic groups in Nigeria by the Fulani Ethnic group with the federal government singing welcome and triumphant songs for them.

### **The Historical Background to Terrorism in Nigeria**

In general human life experience, every problem has a cause. The violence which grew to terrorism endemic in Nigeria today did not evolve from the blues. Abinitio, there reigned peaceful state of affairs in Nigeria, hence Madubuko (2008), rightly observed:

The history of pre-colonial Nigeria indicates that the independent entities of Nigerian nation lived in peace and harmony. There was socio-political and

economic stability in these various entities. Leaders proved to be leaders in matters affecting their various ethnic populations. The society was organized in such a way that each person was his brother's keeper. This was the situation until the advent of the British Colonial mongers. Since then, Nigeria has lost its innocence and the values of a just and egalitarian society, (p. 106).

The statement above portrayed a pointer to that which brought chaos and violence to the Nigeria shores. In the same vein, Olagunju (2019), stated that on November 2, 1970, ten months after the civil war in Nigeria, the United States Central Intelligence (CIA) in a report, summed up Nigeria as "... still very much a tribal society, in which clan, tribal and regional jealousies, hostilities and interests count far more than national attachment", (p.1.). The afore-stated lays bare the bed rock of terrorism in Nigeria. The British once they landed on the Nigerian shores wasted no time in usurping control of the affairs of the independent native kingdoms and empires of the local communities and shattered their sovereignty through fraudulent treaties of protection and politics of divide and rule. Religion was equally manipulated to foster political crises in the pre-colonial and colonial era in Nigeria.

Boer (1984) and Tasié (2003), respectively, are both of the view that the missionary enterprise of the Europeans to Nigeria during the pre-colonial era is characterized by falsehood and is more of an irony. The motive behind the so called missionary outreach is nothing but to empower the economy of that nation while gaining dominance of Nigerian economy and her government. Little wonder some religious extremists and the militant's sects like Boko-Haram detests, abhors, and loathes everything Western and European. M. Asan and Y. Usman (personal communication, December 15th, 2014), both well-grounded Islamic adherents, concluded that the western missionaries simply came to intimidate African states with their culture and this was the bedrock of disintegrations and hatred that is being bred amongst African states and within local tribes as visualized in Nigeria.

The missionaries came with bible on the right hand and weapons to plunder on the other hand and foolishly, Nigerian local chiefs embraced their extension of so called love and favour through which they permeated and destroyed the local system of government in existence and indirect rule policy set in. Madubuko (2008), recorded that during the reign of slave trading, Britain took the lead in the trade thoroughly depleting and exploiting the human resources of Africans including Nigeria. But when the industrial revolution started in

Britain as a result of discoveries of new uses of the steam engine, the services of slaves were no longer needed in Europe; there arose the need at that time to find alternative trade against slavery. This on the other hand led to a more compelling need for Britain to gain access to the interior of Nigeria for raw materials needed to feed the British industrial machines for the mass production of goods. It was not surprising therefore that Britain which championed the cause of slave trade over three decades became repentant over-night and with the same old tool of "the missionaries", fought for the stopping of slave trade. The truth was that slave trade was no longer serving the interest of Britain, hence the need for its abolition.

Throughout the period the slave trade favoured and promoted the British interest, it was legitimate: the discovery of the steam engines and the attendant industrial revolution opened a new course in labour in Britain and the legitimate slave trade overnight became illegitimate. Sequel to this, the British government moved in their Christian missionaries who prepared the ground for the final colonization of Nigeria. These missionaries in any event of trouble calls for the assistance of the home government who always rose to the occasion. In this way, the British government rounded up Nigeria communities, Dukedoms, pocket empires and kingdoms: Balkanizing them through divide and rule politics.

The divide and rule politics entails the breaking up of Nigeria into different segments comprising of people with different cultural and religious backgrounds. Finally, through divide and rule politics, the last straw that broke the camel's back in the journey into the endemic culture of chaos, and violence which has metamorphosed into terrorism in the recent times in Nigeria was set in: Nigeria was forged into one entity; the different nationalities that never wished to be one, and imposed a colonial constitution and rule on them. Thus the amalgamation of the Southern and Northern parts of Nigeria was realized in 1st January, 1914.

An eye opener to the reality of the amalgamation of the Southern and Northern parts of Nigeria in relation to terrorism in Nigeria today is the statement that Lord Lugard made in the face of the 1914 amalgamation; Afigbo (cited in Okoye, 2007), posited it thus:

It is only the accident of British sovereignty which has made Nigeria one country. Socially and politically there are deep differences between the major tribal groups. They do not speak the same language and they have highly divergent customs and ways of life and they represent different stages of culture. (p. 143).

Although terrorists are stereotypically male, “there is no evidence that male and female terrorists are fundamentally different in terms of their recruitment, motivation, ideological fervor, and brutality” (Nacos, 2005, p.436). One of the principal difference between males and females who engage in acts of terrorism is that some women engage in terrorism “for the sake of love – not for deeply held political reasons” (Nacos, 2005, p.441) and some engage to prove a point, for instance, to perpetuate feminist ideology (Hudson, 1999). However, more males engage in terrorism. In fact, some authors have seen terrorism as almost exclusively preserved for men (Omale, 2013). These stereotypical difference presupposes that such beliefs are held based on the fact that women manifest traumatic stress and show a lesser amount of resiliency when exposed to incidences of terrorism (Bleich, Gelkopf, Melamed & Solomon, 2006).

Verger et al, (2004) reported in their study of psychological impact of terrorism that women who were exposed to the 1995-1996 bombings in France manifested PTSD after that exposure to terrorism. It is important to note that consistent exposure to acts of terrorism tend to make adolescents manifest PTSD and be functionally impaired with females manifesting more PTSD and males being more functionally impaired socially and in their family (PatHorenczyk, 2007). Not many studies have focused on gender differences in terrorism or terrorism inclination. However, authors are of the opinion that terrorists are more like to be males with a ratio of about 80:20 with females relegated more to intelligence gathering than the actual act of terrorism ((Hudson, 2009). However, the spate of female terrorism especially in Nigeria seems to be on the increase of late. This rising trend by the Boko Haram sect was referred to as the “feminisation of terror” by Onuoha and George (2015). The reason for this use of females is not far reached because of the characteristics of female terrorists which are practicality, coolness, dedication, inner strength, ruthlessness, and singlemindedness ((Hudson, 1999). Hence, terrorist are probably considering changing their tactics to using females majorly instead of all males possibly because of the perceived ‘success’ of 15 detonations out of 17 female suicide attempts from June 2014 to January 2015 (Onuoha & George, 2015). With this rising rate of young people especially females being used in acts of terrorism, it is important to ascertain whether secondary school students in Nigeria have any inclination toward terrorism

### **Previous Solutions to Terrorism in Nigeria**

Some of the previous solutions to terrorism presented by various individual persons and authors via the media and some literary works are posited here with their weaknesses addressed where discovered and deemed necessary.

#### **Amnesty Programme, military force and an economic approach**

Governor Kashim Shettima of Borno state (cited by Omipidan, 2015), had always advocated a combination of three approaches to the solution of terrorism in Nigeria with special regards to the Boko Haram saga. These approaches are; military which is what the nation have in force, an economic approach to provide jobs for people and discourage citizens that Boko Haram terrorists are recruiting by paying them as little as N5,000 to set schools ablaze or spy on soldiers as well as paying women to smuggle arms from one point to the other and an Amnesty programme targeted at creating exit window for forcefully conscripted members of the Boko Haram group.

While these approaches are quite laudable, it is pertinent to note that increased military force on the Boko Haram terrorists had not made any head way as using force alone on terrorists had been discovered in this research work to make martyrs of terrorists and equally has an alchemic form of inducing terrorists: It equally makes the military involved in such counter-terrorism measures to end up becoming terrorists themselves; for in view of their fighting terrorists, terroristic means are employed, whereas at times it leads to killing of innocent lives and captives held by those terrorists. Again, Amnesty programme can be acceptable to an extent as it can disintegrate Boko Haram members and bring confusion in their cells; however, a situation where terrorists are offered amnesty and put on bumper payroll will not only undermine state security, but also will encourage more people to forge in into terrorism with the expectation of amnesty and consequent monthly salary from the government, just for being repentant criminals. If Amnesty is granted, those that responded to it should be encouraged to be resourceful and not just paying them for free. Nigeria is an African nation and has its peculiar world view; paying terrorists that are not being resourceful will tantamount to rewarding laziness and calling it welfare, charity and good will. This work suggests getting them involved in social and welfare services before any payment ensues. It will all form part of the integral plan for capacity building, youth empowerment programmes and poverty alleviation schemes.

### **Foreign and External Aids**

The incumbent Nigerian President, Gen. Muhammadu Buhari's manifesto includes seeking foreign assistance in fighting terrorism in Nigeria. The social cum political problems that brought about terrorism in Nigeria and its corollary negative impacts is all too domestic to require foreign assistance. Obalonye (2015), reported that the United States President, Barack Obama in 2015, commended Nigerian's for free and fair outcome of that year's elections that effected the emergence of the incumbent President, this equally averted the apprehended shedding of innocent blood that would have ensued if Buhari had lost the election. One now wonders how sincere his statements are. Why would blood flow; was he part of the arrangement; when did democratic election in states become "a do or die affair"? If the United States of America could commend and rate an all too obviously rigged election in Nigeria as free and fair, how can they be sincere in lending helping hand to Nigeria?

Nigeria has all it takes to tackle terrorism destabilizing her state. All that is needed is sincerity on the parts of her citizens and those at the helm of affairs. The problems in Nigeria is man-made and never a curse nor that beyond human resolve.

### **Regional system of government with regional constitution**

Udebunu (2010), on his part suggested that where all endeavours towards eradicating terrorism in Nigeria fails, it might not be a foolish idea to return to the 1960s regional system of government with regional constitution: In other words, as he noted, making the regions stronger which helps to avoid loopholes and feelings of injustice, and then the federal government weaker and unattractive, but resolving amicably the derivation formula of contributing to the central government.

Nigeria has actually come of age and the world is getting more civilized and enlightened; besides, people are now making post modernistic projections. The regional system of government with regional constitution cannot solve the problem of terrorism in the 21st century Nigeria, rather it will even breed the sheer sentiments and unrealistic ideals of secession. Unless, one suggests secession proper, regional system of government will make the President weak, flaccid and incapacitated, thus the center can never hold and things will continue to flounder. Except that Nigerians through an objective National conference deliberation with ample representatives from all the geopolitical

zones in Nigeria agrees unanimously, and equally decides to take steps towards secession; then and only then will the first effort towards secession require regional system of government to aid each geo-political region man their sources of income as to be able to cope and sustain themselves economically and otherwise in the event of the actual secession proper. Regional system of government with regional constitution can never be effective in the face of the contemporary stance of Nigeria as a Nation. It even kicks against the basic principles of Nationhood.

### **Relocation of the military base**

The incumbent president of Nigeria Gen. Muhammadu Buhari, came up with this idea at the very first few days of his inception into the office of the presidency in Nigeria. It entails moving the command and control of the Nigerian military to Borno state, the area of Boko Harams terrorist's activities high concentration. The president later implemented this in 2016. As it is, in this age of internet, fiber optics and broadband, advanced, telecommunications, satellites and drones highly improved; the military command does not have to be moved to an area of operation. After all, an aircraft carrier or sub-marine (as formidable as an entire army battalion), can anchor in the Atlantic Ocean and lay siege to a country. The United States did not move its Pentagon command and control to Iraq or Afghanistan in order to counter the Al-Qaeda terrorism. The move is totally unnecessary and will expose weakness on the part of the government and the Nation's military stance.

It is however unfortunate that despite these opinions by experts and effort to combat terrorism, the problem still persists. Hence this study tends to investigate further on the root causes of terrorism in Nigeria and possible solutions to curb the ugly trend.

### **Literature Review**

Terrorism is defined as the systematic use of violence and intimidation to coerce a government or community into acceding to specific political demands (Pearsall & Trumble, 2006). Article 2 of the draft comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism defined terrorism as: any person who commits an offence within the meaning of this Convention if that person, by any means, unlawfully and intentionally, causes: death or serious bodily injury to any person; or serious damage to public or private property, including a place of public use, a state or government facility, a public transportation system, an infrastructure facility or the environment; or damage to property, places,



facilities, or systems. (b) of this article, resulting or likely to result in major economic loss, when the purpose of the conduct, by its nature or context, is to intimidate a population, or to compel a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act (Schmid & Graaf, 1980).

A survey conducted by Adedire, Ake and Olowojolu (2016) on Combating Terrorism and Insurgency in Nigeria: An International Collaborations Against Boko Haram revealed that poverty, unemployment, weak institutional structure, corruption, proliferation of weapons of war and religious factor are the major causes of terrorism and insurgency. The study adopted the survey research design and was carried out in Kwara State.

### **Research Questions**

1. To what extent has violence led to terrorism?
2. To what extent has unemployment encouraged terrorism?
3. To what extent has corruption been a cause of terrorism?
4. To what extent has insecurity brought about terrorism?
5. To what extent has religious motivation been a source of religious motivation?

### **Hypothesis**

1. There is no significant difference in the mean response of male and female police officers on the root causes of terrorism in Nigeria.

### **Materials and Methods**

The study employed the descriptive survey design. The study was carried out in Cross River State. The population of the study is made up of 291 Police officers in the 16 police stations in the five local government areas in Ogoja zone of Cross River State. The sample of this study consisted of 47(33 males and 14 females) Police Officers. This number was drawn using multi stage sampling procedure. In the first stage, the simple random sampling technique was used to draw one police station from the police stations in each of the local government areas in the zone, making a total of five police stations. In the second stage, the proportionate stratified random sampling was used to draw out 47 police officers used for the study.

The instrument for data collection was a structured questionnaire titled: "Terrorism in Nigeria Questionnaire" (TNQ). The responses were Strongly Agreed (SA), Agreed (A), Disagreed (D) and Strongly Disagreed (SD) weighted 4,

3, 2, and 1 respectively. It consisted of a twenty item questionnaire made up of five clusters according to the research questions.

The internal consistency of the instrument was established using Cronbach Alpha reliability method and reliability coefficient of 0.86 was obtained. Cronbach alpha was considered appropriate because the items are polytomously scored. The questionnaires were distributed and 100% retrieved by the researcher.

The data generated were analysed using the descriptive statistical tools. Mean and standard deviation were used to answer research question. A mean value of 2.50 was used as a criterion mean for taking decision. While independent sample t-test was used to test the null hypothesis at 0.05 level of significance.

## Results

This section presents the results of data analysis based on the research questions and the null hypothesis that guided the study.

### Research Question One:

**Table 1: Mean Ratings and Standard Deviation of Respondents on the extent to which violence has led to terrorism in Nigeria**

SN	Item Statement	$\bar{x}$	SD	Dec
1	Children from broken homes have high tendencies to be violent	3.00	0.75	HE
2	Communal clashes are sources of terrorist attacks	2.87	0.51	HE
3	Most terrorists are cultists	2.80	0.57	HE
4	Injustice is a contributing factor to terrorism	2.79	0.56	HE
	<b>Cluster Mean</b>	<b>2.87</b>	<b>0.60</b>	<b>HE</b>

The finding of the study as presented in Table 1 shows the mean and standard deviation of respondents on the extent to which violence has led to terrorism in Nigeria. Result shows that the overall mean ratings for items 1-4 are within the range of 2.50 and above set as criterion for high extent. This implies that to a high extent children from broken homes have high tendencies to be violent ( $\bar{x} = 3.00$ ,  $SD = 0.75$ ), communal clashes are sources of terrorist attacks ( $\bar{x} = 2.87$ ,  $SD = 0.51$ ), most terrorists are cultists ( $\bar{x} = 2.80$ ,  $SD = 0.57$ ) and injustice is a contributing factor to terrorism ( $\bar{x} = 2.79$ ,  $SD = 0.56$ ). The overall cluster mean of 2.87 with a

standard deviation of 0.60 shows that to a high extent violence has led to terrorism in Nigeria.

**Research Question Two:**

**Table 2: Mean Ratings and Standard Deviation of Respondents on the extent to which unemployment has encouraged terrorism in Nigeria**

SN	Item Statement	$\bar{x}$	SD	Dec
5	There is high rate of unemployment in Nigeria	3.18	0.73	HE
6	Most culprits are unemployed youths	3.19	0.90	HE
7	When youths are idle, there will be high rate of terrorism inclination	2.94	0.76	HE
8	The government is not doing enough to curb the problem of unemployment	2.65	0.79	HE
	<b>Cluster Mean</b>	<b>2.99</b>	<b>0.80</b>	<b>HE</b>

The finding of the study as presented in Table 2 shows the mean and standard deviation of respondents on the extent to which unemployment has encouraged terrorism in Nigeria. Result shows that the overall mean ratings for items 5-8 are within the range of 2.50 and above set as criterion for high extent. This implies that to a high extent, there is high rate of unemployment in Nigeria ( $\bar{x} = 3.18$ , SD = 0.73), most culprits are unemployed youths ( $\bar{x} = 3.19$ , SD = 0.90), when youths are idle, there will be high rate of terrorism inclination ( $\bar{x} = 2.94$ , SD = 0.76) and the government is not doing enough to curb the problem of unemployment ( $\bar{x} = 2.65$ , SD = 0.79). The overall cluster mean of 2.99 with a standard deviation of 0.80 shows that to a high extent unemployment has encouraged terrorism in Nigeria.

**Research Question Three:**

**Table 3: Mean Ratings and Standard Deviation of Respondents on the extent to which corruption has caused terrorism in Nigeria**

SN	Item Statement	$\bar{x}$	SD	Dec
9	The society is corrupt	2.93	0.92	HE
10	Youths learn corruption from the leaders	3.00	0.92	HE
11	There is high rate of embezzlement of public	3.24	0.87	HE

	fund			
12	High rate of greed in Nigeria brings about corrupt practices	3.31	0.62	HE
	<b>Cluster Mean</b>	<b>3.12</b>	<b>0.83</b>	<b>HE</b>

The finding of the study as presented in Table 3 shows the mean and standard deviation of respondents on the extent to which corruption has caused terrorism in Nigeria. Result shows that the overall mean ratings for items 9-12 are within the range of 2.50 and above set as criterion for high extent. This implies that to a high extent, the society is corrupt ( $\bar{x} = 2.93$ ,  $SD = 0.92$ ), youths learn corruption from the leaders ( $\bar{x} = 3.00$ ,  $SD = 0.92$ ), there is high rate of embezzlement of public fund ( $\bar{x} = 3.24$ ,  $SD = 0.87$ ) and high rate of greed in Nigeria brings about corrupt practices ( $\bar{x} = 3.31$ ,  $SD = 0.62$ ). The overall cluster mean of 3.12 with a standard deviation of 0.83 shows that to a high extent, corruption has caused terrorism in Nigeria.

#### Research Question Four:

**Table 4: Mean Ratings and Standard Deviation of Respondents on the extent to which Insecurity has brought about terrorism in Nigeria**

SN	Item Statement	$\bar{x}$	SD	Dec
13	There is high rate of insecurity in the society	2.59	0.89	HE
14	Insecurity increases the rate of terrorism	2.61	0.79	HE
15	Even the security agencies are not safe	3.23	0.71	HE
16	The government has contributed to the rate of insecurity in the society	2.99	0.79	HE
	<b>Cluster Mean</b>	<b>2.86</b>	<b>0.80</b>	<b>HE</b>

The finding of the study as presented in Table 4 shows the mean and standard deviation of respondents on the extent to which insecurity has brought about terrorism in Nigeria. Result shows that the overall mean ratings for items 13-16 are within the range of 2.50 and above set as criterion for high extent. This implies that to a high extent, there is high rate of insecurity in the society ( $\bar{x} = 2.59$ ,  $SD = 0.89$ ), insecurity increases the rate of terrorism ( $\bar{x} = 2.61$ ,  $SD = 0.79$ ), even the security

agencies are not safe ( $\bar{x} = 3.23$ ,  $SD = 0.71$ ) and the government has contributed to the rate of insecurity in the society ( $\bar{x} = 2.99$ ,  $SD = 0.79$ ). The overall cluster mean of 2.86 with a standard deviation of 0.80 shows that to a high extent, insecurity has brought about terrorism in Nigeria.

#### Research Question Five:

**Table 5: Mean Ratings and Standard Deviation of Respondents on the extent to which religious motivation has been a sources of terrorism in Nigeria**

SN	Item Statement	$\bar{x}$	SD	Dec
17	Some religious groups and clergy instigate violence	2.77	0.97	HE
18	Religious groups are not doing enough to fight terrorism	2.61	0.79	HE
19	Some religious leaders sponsor terrorists both from within and outside the country	2.92	0.89	HE
20	Terrorism in most cases begins from our religious organization	2.87	0.84	HE
	<b>Cluster Mean</b>	<b>2.79</b>	<b>0.87</b>	<b>HE</b>

The finding of the study as presented in Table 5 shows the mean and standard deviation of respondents on the extent to which religious motivation has been a sources of terrorism in Nigeria. Result shows that the overall mean ratings for items 17-20 are within the range of 2.50 and above set as criterion for high extent. This implies that to a high extent, some religious groups and clergy instigate violence ( $\bar{x} = 2.77$ ,  $SD = 0.97$ ), religious groups are not doing enough to fight terrorism ( $\bar{x} = 2.61$ ,  $SD = 0.79$ ), some religious leaders sponsor terrorists both from within and outside the country ( $\bar{x} = 2.92$ ,  $SD = 0.89$ ) and terrorism in most cases begins from our religious organization ( $\bar{x} = 2.87$ ,  $SD = 0.84$ ). The overall cluster mean of 2.79 with a standard deviation of 0.87 shows that to a high extent, religious motivation has been a sources of terrorism in Nigeria.

#### Hypothesis one

**Table 6: t-test Analysis of the Significant Difference between the Mean Ratings of male and female respondents on the root causes of terrorism in Nigeria**

Location	Mean	SD	N	t-value	df	t-crit	Dec.
Male	3.15	0.37	33	1.79	45	2.01	NS
Female	2.98	0.27	14				

Note:  $\alpha = 0.05$ , NS = Not Significant

The result of the study as presented in Table 6 shows the t-test Analysis of the significant difference between the mean scores of male and female respondents on the extent of terrorism in Nigeria. Result shows that a t-value of 1.79 was obtained while t-critical or table value at 0.05 level of significance and 45 degree of freedom was 2.01. The decision rule was to reject hypothesis if the calculated t-value is greater than the critical or table value of t, otherwise do not reject. Thus, since the calculated value of t (1.79) was less than the t-critical or table value (2.01), the null hypothesis which stated that there is no significant difference between the mean scores of male and female respondents on the extent of terrorism in Nigeria is not rejected. Inference drawn is that there is no significant difference between the mean scores of male and female respondents on the extent of terrorism in Nigeria.

## Discussions

Table 1 to table 5 shows the mean rating and standard deviation of responses from the various research questions. The grand means in each of the table fell above the 2.50 benchmark. This means that the respondents agreed to a high extent that: violence has led to terrorism, unemployment has encouraged terrorism, corruption has caused terrorism, insecurity has brought about terrorism and religious motivation has been a sources of terrorism in Nigeria. This finding is in agreement with the findings of the study conducted by Adedire, Ake and Olowojolu (2016) on Combating Terrorism and Insurgency in Nigeria. The study revealed that poverty, unemployment, weak institutional structure, corruption, proliferation of weapons of war and religious factor are the major causes of terrorism in Kwara State.

## Conclusion

This present study sought to find out the root causes of terrorism in Nigeria and proffer possible means of combating the ugly trend. The study was carried out in Ogoja zone and was conducted on Police Officers in the area. Five research questions guided the study while one hypothesis was tested at 0.05 level of significance. The mean and standard deviation used in answering the research

questions revealed that: violence, unemployment, corruption, insecurity and religious motivation are the major causes of terrorism in Nigeria.

### **Recommendations**

The following solutions to terrorism in Nigeria are hereby submitted by this study:

#### **1. Imbibing the Culture of Peace**

Imbibing the culture of peace will discipline the Nigerian security operatives which includes the secret security officers, the police, the military and so on; on employing principles that de-emphasize on the use of lethal force. Such is a necessary stance for a prompt and durable peace building. Security achieved by the use of force or the readiness to use force against others more often than not generates unintended negative consequences. Dissuasion may turn into provocation, the defense of basic human rights into partiality and self-defense into brutality. All these may engender more terrorism. The American experience in Iraq is a typical example. Besides, imbibing peace via this means will equally discipline the Nigerian security operatives the more as this will reduce their criminal mode of shooting at civilians on several occasions under the guise of accidental discharges whereas these are mostly prompted by their indiscipline and inability to be on their guard and pull themselves together. Thus through this mode, the terrorism they perpetrate amongst the civilian populace especially at check points (which thankfully had been minimized as most unnecessary police check points had been removed in Nigeria), will be tackled permanently.

**2. Religious motivation:** Hoffman (2006) observed that religion has become the key motivator for several terrorist organizations in Africa. Among the organizations and individuals who have been religiously inspired to adopt terrorist violence, those who espouse a radical interpretation of Islam are predominantly singled out. However, the relevance of extreme-right Christian groups is also underscored. According to Gurr and Cole (2005), the proliferation and significance of religiously motivated terrorist groups is notable in the period of time commonly assigned to the emergence of the new terrorism. Evidence of this claim is supported by trends that refer to the percentage of religiously inspired groups in relation to the total number of terrorist organizations. This literature indicates that numbers grew from less than 4% in 1980 to 42% by the mid-1990s (Lesser; Arquilla; Ronfeldt; Hoffman; Zanini & Jenkins, 1999).

Substantiating this, Zalman (2014) opined that religion fanaticism creates conditions that are formidable for terrorism.

### **3. Gainful Employment**

The Federal Government of Nigeria needs to put efforts in place towards rapid agricultural, industrial and technological development in order to enhance a self-reliant economy. Long before the discovering of oil in 1957 in Nigeria, agriculture is the main source of Nigeria's economy. Nigerians should therefore re-embark on massive, mechanized agricultural production. The federal and state governments of Nigeria should as a matter of urgency lunch into mechanized farming instead of the fraudulent electronic voting systems, the already bridged permanent voting cards and also the likes of electronic pay as you use card for electric power systems. This would ensure adequate food production for Nigerians and for exports. This endeavour will settle the problem of unemployment and hunger which are one of the reasons for terrorism in Nigeria. Again, it will reduce the tensions in the Niger Delta regions over their feeling of being used, marginalised and not benefitting from the oil being mined from their lands.

### **4. Effective Anti-Corrupt Campaign**

The president of Nigeria as the commander-in-chief of the armed forces must muster the political will to identify the masterminds of terrorism in Nigeria and put them forward for prosecution no matter how powerful they think they are or might be. He must be ready to step on the mightiest of toes and crush them because the buck stops at his table. Apprehended terrorists should be tried at courts immediately and prosecuted. They should not be placed on awaiting trials, nor flooding them to various Nigerian prisons all over the states as is being done recently. Corruption at all levels is a major problem in Nigeria. The chief products of corruption are greed, aggrandizement, mismanagement and embezzlement of public funds. At present, the federal government seems to be fighting corruption but it lacks sincerity and fairness as it is waged in a selective and vindictive fashion. It is more of a means of fighting perceived enemies and opposition to government. A true anti-corruption campaign will not recognize sacred cows but would treat all equally. This will introduce discipline and decency in the Nigerian environment. Corruption leads to terrorism as already seen in the Queen Ladder Theory. The case of those who do not value other people's live should not be taken for granted nor with sentiments and levity.



## **5. Security measures as collective responsibility**

The critical issue of guaranteeing security of the citizenry, should be seen as the collective responsibility of all. Although section 14 subsection 2(b) of the 2011 constitution of Nigeria (as amended) places that sacred mandate, squarely at the doorsteps of the political leadership of the country; however, the citizens of Nigeria should see themselves as part and parcel of the democratically elected government. The erroneous concept of viewing the people in government as "they" and the led majority as "we" should be flushed from the minds of the average Nigerian, as F. Adesanya and R. Akinsanya (personal communication, November 16th 2014), exposed.

Every citizen of Nigeria should find peculiar means of enforcing concretised security measures in their various domains - local vigilante security services should be promoted by state and local government executives. Nigerians should be basically patriotic in this sphere; ensuring that each and every one sees oneself as the master and lord in one's vicinity vis a vis maintaining proper security measures against terrorists. All efforts geared towards maintaining peace, unity and progress in Nigeria should be facilitated by every individual in the country.

### **Further Recommendation**

The following recommendations are further proffered by this work as they will be relevant in creating a peaceful Nigeria void of acts of aggressions that lead to terrorism. Terrorism being perpetrated by the Fulani tribe in Nigeria appears to be sponsored by the federal government since they condone it and only seeks clumsy ways to defend and encourage it. The current decision to create Ruga settlements for the Fulani cattle herdsman in all states should be suspended totally. Even though the rumour of its being suspended by the federal government is in the air. It should be totally suspended and its suspension made official, and put into law that such a project should never be raised as a proposed project to be discussed by the law making body of Nigeria. The federal government of Nigeria should retrace their steps and eschew from all forms of tribalism. The demonic and inhuman quest of the Fulani tribe to wipe off other ethnic groups in Nigeria should not be encourage at all. "Ethnic cleansing" is not of human but diabolic and leads to genocide.

Citizens of Nigeria should learn to put in their best wherever they find themselves in Nigeria. They should learn from the biblical standpoint that declared in Jeremiah 29:7, "Also, seek the peace and prosperity of the city to which I have carried you into exile. Pray to the Lord for it, because if it prospers, you too

will prosper"; as well as Psalm 122:6, "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem: May those who love you be secure". Citizens of Nigeria should do away with the base sentiments of ethnic, religious and political differences. It is most unfortunate that some unpatriotic Nigerians take obscene interest in vilifying those in power all because they do not share the same places of origin. The sensitive issue of insecurity must never be trivialized on the altar of ethnicity or be policised to score cheap popularity. Unguarded, uncouth and potentially volatile vituperations should have no place in the 21st century Nigeria. M. Abu (personal communication, February 8th, 2015), on this insists on strict discipline in respect of one's utterances in order not to hurt other tribes' beliefs, observances and persons in power; this promotes tolerance.

The government of Nigeria should try to make education free at least from nursery to secondary school level. This will proffer the average Nigerian the opportunity of having basic education without much qualms, thereby reducing the illiteracy levels as no one will blame not getting educated at the basic level on lack of financial sponsorship. The truth still remains that a learned man cannot just be easily deceived by religion or any other means to resort quickly to acts of terrorism.

Communities that are involved in tribal and inter-tribal conflicts and crises should learn to embrace dialogue as the first and as well, the last resort. The state and government should completely withdraw from active involvement in religious matters. On no account should any state in Nigeria be declared a particular religious state as one often hears of "sharia laws" for a particular state or an "Islamic state" and so on. Each religion should impose their laws within their various peculiar enclaves and not to make it a state affair using adherent of the peculiar religion on the gubernatorial seat to perpetrate such dastardly oriented policy.

All the religious groups in Nigeria should always promote their religious value since all hinges on love, peace, unity, and so on as the major tool to uphold and sustain democratic principles in Nigeria as Ezenweke and Ajakor (2009), pointed out. Terrorists with high profile records of killing, destruction of goods and carrying out acts of massive destruction should be sentenced to death once found guilty after trials. They should not just be sent to prison in order to avoid flooding the Nigerian Prisons with terrorists. A.I. Mahud (personal communication, November 20th, 2014) declared that terrorists can go to any extent to cause havoc as they are widely desperate. They should never on no account be confined in a less secured prison. Prisoner Radicalization theory

elucidated by Hamm (2014), exposed that the worst terrorists are recruited in prisons. The government of Nigeria should equally improve on the prisons security facilities to meet up with the challenges of terrorism in the contemporary epoch. This work strictly condemns the federal governments moving of high profile terrorists to Ekwulobia Prison in Anambra state in 2015. High profile terrorists should not be moved at random and for a long distance at that. It creates room for suspicion. Besides the prisoners in question are still awaiting trials. Why should they not be tried at once without dilly-dallying over such criminal cases which are equally treasonable felony. Transferring them to Ekwulobia prison poses high security risk. The federal government should never embark on such plans in future. Applause should be rendered to the incumbent Anambra state government as they strived to see to their relocation. Uzor and Ekpunobi (2015), recorded that Governor Willie Obiano later confirmed the relocation of the 47 Boko Haram suspects detained in the Ekwulobia prison out of the South-East.

Finally, all religious leaders in Nigeria should always engage their members in fervent prayers for Nigeria, her leaders, citizens and the current trend of terrorism in the country. What good policies, engaging of well scientific, technological and all round advanced technocrats, and military action cannot do, prayers can do better. There is still God who holds the hearts of kings and men in his hands; He as well can change the situation of things in Nigeria as the citizens call on him in all sincerity. He can equally effect change in the hearts of terrorists and those that perpetrate it in Nigeria.

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