

IMPLICATIONS OF TERRORISM ON INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA: A CRITICAL REVIEW

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Abstract

This paper investigated the impact of terrorism on industrial development in Nigeria. This is based on the fact that terrorism has not only undermined national security but has inexorably hindered meaningful development in Nigeria by violating human rights, discouraging trade and investment(local and foreign), threatening livelihood, and displacing residents. The paper asserts that terrorism is a global phenomenon from which Africa is not immune and Nigeria not insusceptible. The paper investigated the causes of terrorism in Nigeria and identified the factors as ethnic and religious identity, poverty and unemployment, and lack of political will among others, which have fueled protraction of the insidious trend. The paper adopted qualitative and exploratory approach and relied on descriptive analysis of secondary sources. The paper thus advocates for a strong commitment to counter-terrorism strategies such as effective network for intelligence gathering and analysis, youth empowerment, provision of social amenities to improve the quality of life of people as the way forward.

Keywords: Terrorism, Insecurity, Implication, Challenge, Industrial Development.

Introduction

Nigeria is a complex society with about two hundred and fifty diverse ethnic groups, five hundred different languages and a rapid growing population of over 160 million people. Fusing these diverse groups into one unified entity since the amalgamation of 1914 has been a herculean task. The British colonial masters used force to unite the various ethnic nations

together. However, after independence in 1960, Nigeria has continued to experience persistent violent conflicts that has threatened its foundation and culminated into the first civil war fought from 1967-1970.

Although the characteristics of terrorism have been changing in recent times, the primary objective of terrorism is still to impose sufficient political and economic pressure on a government so that it concedes to the demands of the terrorist (Enders & Sandler, 2002). In recent times, terrorism has become a harsh reality in today's Nigeria society; it has come in different forms of manifestations of kidnapping, suicide bombings, assassinations (Enders, 2002; Lake, 2000). The Nigeria government has tried using a counter terrorism force with the imposition of sanctions to reduce the menace of terrorism in the country. Aluforo (2011) is of the view that the efforts of government have not yielded enough positive result. The level of insecurity in the country is still high, this has made Nigeria to consistently rank low in the Global peace index (GPI, 2016), signifying a worsened state of insecurity in the country.

Terrorism has created widespread insecurity across regions in Nigeria with increased tensions between various ethnic communities, inflamed religious conflicts, interrupted development activities, frightened off investors, and upset the nation's social cohesion (Eme & Ibietan, 2012). Nigeria has witnessed unprecedented security challenges. These challenges range from kidnapping, suicide attacks/ bombings, ritual killings, assassinations, armed robbery, and this has led to the destruction of lives and properties, hindered business activities, discouraged local and foreign investors, increased government expenditure on security, all of these retard Nigeria's economic development (Ewetan and Urhie, 2014).

There might be so many factors that can have a negative effect on the level of investment, but it is clear that no foreign investor would want to invest capital in an environment of fear, anarchy, and insecurity. It is on this basis that this paper intends to assess the implications of terrorism on industrial development in Nigeria.

Objectives of the Study

This study intends to achieve the following;

- i) To evaluate the major causes of terrorism in Nigeria.
- ii) To highlight the challenges of terrorism in Nigeria.
- iii) To highlight the implications of terrorism on industrial development.

Literature Review

Conceptual Clarification

The term terrorism does not have a single definition and thus, becomes one of the most contested concepts in the world. Just as there is no universally accepted *modus operandi* of terrorists, there is no universally accepted definition of terrorism. In fact it has been said that "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter." Terrorism has been defined as the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives (Trosper, 2009). Bockstette (2008) views terrorism as political violence in an irregular conflict designed to stimulate terror and fear through the violent victimization and destruction of the target population, involving acts meant to send a message from an illicit clandestine organization. According to Sampson and Onuoha (2011) terrorism is the

premeditated use or threat of use of violence by an individual or group to cause fear, destruction of property or infrastructure in a state and death, especially against unarmed targets, intended to compel those in authority to respond to the demands and expectations of the individual or group behind such violent acts.

According to Barga (2012), terrorism is an anxiety inspiring method of repeated violent actions, employed by semi clandestine individuals, groups or state actors for criminal and political reasons. Barga (2012) further opines that terrorism is also about the acquisition of power and the use of power to achieve political change at all cost. Terrorism is thus the actual or threatened use of violence in an attempt to advance a politically motivated goal.

Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) (cited by Majekodunmi, 2015) highlights four major elements of terrorism: It is premeditated: planned in advance, rather than a hasty act of rage; it is political: it is not criminal, like the violence that groups such as the mafia use to get money, but designed to change the existing political order; it is aimed at civilians: not aimed at military targets or combat-ready troops and it is carried out by sub-national groups: not by the army of a country.

Terrorism includes these manifestations: violent acts of assassinations, suicide bombings, hostage taking (kidnapping), use of improvised explosives, arson, media propaganda and plane hijacks.

Types of Terrorism

According to Misiroglu (2003) terrorism is categorized into two; domestic and international terrorism. Domestic terrorism involves groups or individuals whose terrorist activities are directed at elements of a government or population without foreign direction. International terrorism involves groups or individuals whose terrorist activities are foreign based and transcend national boundaries. Shultz (cited by Majekodunmi, 2015) categorized terrorism into three: Revolutionary Terrorism, Sub-revolutionary Terrorism and Repressive Terrorism. Revolutionary Terrorism is aimed at bringing about political revolution; Sub-revolutionary Terrorism is employed basically for political motives other than revolution; while Repressive Terrorism is government directed terror aimed at restraining certain groups, individuals, or forms of behaviours deemed to be undesirable.

In the same vein, Okolu and Iortyer (2014) categorized terrorism into five: Rebel/Militia Groups (The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA); Niger Delta Militants in Nigeria); Islamist Insurgents (Al Qaeda; Al Shabaab (Somalia); Boko Haram (Nigeria); Political Movements (Taliban in Afghanistan and; Hamas in Palestine); Government Agents (Janjaweed of Sudan) and Clandestine Organizations (Violent cults and underworld organizations).

Theoretical Framework

This work is anchored on Frustration-Aggression Theory. The concept of Frustration-Aggression brings to mind that frustration and aggression are vice versa. According to this theory the common people not only are deprived of their right to strengthening in the society but the means of the strengthening are also blocked for them, hence they are unable to react to those blocks. This blocking occurs by the mighty party of the society or by the established

system which dominates the entire circumstances. In this case, the deprived, marginalized and frustrated individuals or groups attempt to express their frustration and annoyance. This frustration produces a variety of retaliatory actions such as aggression, violence and terrorism (Berkowitz, 1988). Thus, when the frustrated people are unable to fight against the mighty powers they react violently against state's writ or external occupation. Insurgency, revolutionary and sub-revolutionary terrorism and international terrorism are examples of this reaction. Applying this to the paper, terrorism in the country results from issues such as poverty, unemployment, environmental degradation, ethnic conflicts and injustice, among others.

Nature of Terrorism in Nigeria

In recent times, Nigeria has witnessed an unprecedented level of insecurity and terrorism since the advent of the present democratic dispensation. The pattern of terrorism has been regionalized: militia groups in the south, insurgency in the north, kidnapping in the east and south, ritual killings in the east and west, political and nonpolitical calculated assassinations across the nation. The regional pattern of terrorism has given rise to regional security formation in the country in a bid to curb the alarming rate of insecurity.

There have been conflicts and tensions between foreign oil companies operating in the Niger Delta region and the indigenous local communities of the Ogonis and Ijaws from the time oil was discovered in 1956. The Niger Delta militants carried out series of terrorist attacks against the government and multinational companies in reaction to the environmental degradation, pollution of their waters and destruction of aquatic lives caused by oil exploration, thereby denying them their major source of livelihood. Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF) an armed militia agitates for greater Niger Delta autonomy, resource control and self-determination for the inhabitants of the Niger Delta (Okafor, 2011).

According to Ogbodo (2010) competition for oil wealth and environmental degradation in the region gave rise to agitations, violence and the subsequent extra-judicial killings of Ken Saro Wiwa and nine others by the Sani Abacha regime. Since the execution of these prominent people who fought for the liberation of the region by the state and the multinational companies, the face of the struggle changed and became fiercer. The Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) a Nigerian rebel group based in the oil rich Niger Delta gained popularity for their kidnapping of foreign oil workers and bombing of pipelines. Their activities resulted in Nigeria losing out one third of its oil exports (Anton, 2011). Some scholars have argued that the Niger Delta militants employed terrorist strategies in the pursuit of their grievances which constituted a serious threat to the economy, human and national security and pitched the country in the league of terrorist trouble spots around the world (Ogundiya, 2009; Okafor, 2011).

The O'odua People's Congress (OPC) is a militant socio-cultural Yoruba nationalist organization established in the Yoruba-speaking southwest in 1994 largely to protest the annulment of the 1993 elections in which Moshood Abiola, a Yoruba Muslim, had seemingly won the presidency.

The southern Nigeria-based group opposed the late dictator Sani Abacha, and along with other pro-democracy groups was at the forefront of the political struggle to restore democracy. It has supported Yoruba nationalism and a strong federal system in Nigeria.

The Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) is a secessionist movement in Nigeria, associated with Igbo nationalism, which claimed that the Nigerian state and its functionaries had systematically oppressed the Igbo since the end of the civil war and sought the creation of Republic of Biafra. It is led by an Indian-trained lawyer Ralph Uwazuruike, with headquarters in Okwe, in Okigwe local government area of Imo State.

On May 31, 2013, President Goodluck Jonathan branded MASSOB to be one of three extremist groups threatening the security of Nigeria. Jonathan declared that the Nigerian state faces three fundamental security challenges posed by extremist groups like Boko Haram in the North; the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra in the South-East; and the O'odua People's Congress in the South-West

Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) is a separatist organization led by Nnamdi Kanu (Dixon, 2016). The group wants a number of states in south-east Nigeria, made up mainly of people from the Igbo ethnic group, to break away from Nigeria and form the independent nation of Biafra (Hegarty, 2017). To achieve this, the group is calling for a referendum stating that they will continue to agitate until the Nigerian government fixes a date for the referendum (to settle the issue of Biafra in a civilized and democratic manner). According to Adonu (2017) on 20 September 2017, a Federal High Court in Abuja granted the Nigerian Federal Government an interim injunction proscribing the activities of the Indigenous People of Biafra

The Arewa People's Congress (APC) is a group in Northern Nigeria established to protect the interests of the Muslim Hausa and Fulani of the area. It has been described as a militant wing of the Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF) (Agbu, 2004). The group was formally launched on 13th December 1999. It was chaired by a retired army officer, Captain Sagir Muhammed, who had been an operative in the Directorate of Military Intelligence. The APC has a motto "to preserve the indivisibility of the country" (Agbu, 2004). The group emerged as a reaction to the killing of northerners resident in Lagos and other Yoruba cities and towns by OPC group. The APC claimed that the harassment of northerners in the southwest was part of a Yoruba plan to secede and establish an "O'odua Republic" and President Obasanjo's regime was viewed as a Yoruba Regime. The group threatened to go to war if necessary to prevent national disintegration. These and other ethnic militias heated up the polity by seeking to protect the interests of their ethnic constituencies, employed jungle justice to fight their real and perceived enemies and played sectional roles in the political life of the nation as party thugs and enforcers of local interests.

The Boko Haram Sect is a radical Islamic fundamentalist organization that has been described as the Nigerian Taliban. It emerged as a radical fundamentalist Islamic sect, formed by Ustaz Mohammed Yusuf, in 2002 in Maiduguri, Borno state. Boko Haram translates to "western education is a sin" and its members follow a strict compliance of the Koran. Boko Haram is built on an Islamic faith that its members consider as the panacea for the country's endemic moral, social, political, and economic problems; hence, their resolution to fight for the establishment of an Islamic state to be ruled on the basis of the "Sharia" (Eme & Ibietan, 2012).

In 2004, it moved to Kanamma, Yobe state, where it set up a base called Afghanistan (Ikenga & Efebeh, 2013). This doctrinal foundation makes the Boko Haram similar to other terrorist groups such as the Al Qaeda, Al Shabaab, Ansauru, Hezbollah, the Islamic State, and others, whose cause is matted in and driven by Islamic fundamentalism.

Boko Haram has wreaked immeasurable havoc on the country, particularly, in the northeast where the sect is based. The main targets of the terrorists include government buildings and infrastructures, police stations, military barracks, Churches, Schools and Banks (Onuoha, 2012).

In August 2011, the sect effectively used suicide bombing on the United Nations headquarters in Abuja, Nigeria, killing 23 persons. In addition, an atrocious Boko Haram killing spree occurred between January 20 and January 22, 2012 when the group massacred 300 people in Kano through suicide bombings and vehicle-borne improvised explosive devices (IEDs).

In March 2012, Boko Haram attacked a Catholic Church in Jos and killed 6 people who were worshipping (Al Jazeera, 2013). The orgy of violence against Christians in the north continued in 2013 in Kogi State when Boko Haram raided a church and killed worshipers. The situation alarmed the Christian Elders Forum of Northern States (NOSCEF), compelling them to raise their voices against the atrocities of the sect. The Forum revealed that between January 2014 and February 9, 2014, 367 persons had been killed in Adamawa, Benue, Borno, Kaduna, Katsina and Plateau States (NOSCEF, 2014).

In September, 2013, the sect attacked students' dormitories in Momudo village, Yobe State, killing about 39 students. In February 2014, 59 children of the Federal Government College, Buni Yadi, Yobe State were killed (Udumebraye, 2014). In April 14, 2014, Boko Haram Islamic sect carried out the worst dastardly act of terrorism when they abducted 276 female students at Government Girls' Secondary School, Chibok, Borno State. On February 19, 2018, one hundred and ten (110) schoolgirls aged 11–19 years old were kidnapped by the Boko Haram terrorist group from the Government Girls' Science and Technical College (GGSTC), Dapchi, located in Bulabulin, Yunusari Local Government area of Yobe State.

The Boko Haram onslaught in the Northern part of the country employs the use of suicide bombing, outright shooting and abduction in its activities. This has led to loss of many lives and property.

Causes of Terrorism in Nigeria

Many factors have been postulated as the root causes of terrorism in Nigeria. The following factors are responsible for terrorism in Nigeria, namely: Bad governance; unemployment; lack of quality education or training; inadequate basic infrastructures; corruption and corrupt practices of government officials; perceived victimization; poverty in the midst of affluence; ethnic/religious superiority; domination and exploitation; materialism and the display of it with impunity among others. The identified root causes can be classified as follow: economic, social, religious, ethnic and political.

Socio -Economic Causes

Poverty and unemployment have been identified by some studies as common causes of terrorism (Ayegba, 2015). However, several studies have found no link between poverty, unemployment and terrorism (Alan & Jitka, 2003). The general belief is that people who are economically deprived are more likely to resort to violence as a way to express their grievances. The frustration and desperation that daily torment the unemployed create a fertile ground for crime to thrive.

In northern Nigeria, there is a general opinion that violent fanaticism is entrenched in the socio-economic problems of the country (Ayeba, 2015). Poverty and unemployment are the driving forces behind terrorism in Nigeria and that the high rate of youth unemployment has resulted in poverty and insecurity in the country (Ayeba, 2015).

Religious and Ethnic Causes of Terrorism

Religion plays a major role in the lives of its adherents all over the world. Religion indoctrination and its manipulation have played massive role in conflicts in Nigeria. According to Umuerrri and Galadima (2012) over the years, Nigeria has produced leaders who have brought about policies to shift the nation away from its secular status to that of religious. The scholars emphasized that Christians have been under severe attack by the Muslims and witnesses are the cases of burning of churches in the northern part of Nigeria and the maiming and killing of southerners who are Christians. This has often tended to create fears in the minds of many Nigerians that the issue of religion would necessitate division of the country (Umuerrri & Galadima, 2012). Some studies have found a positive relationship between religious and ethnic tensions and terrorism (Atin, 2010).

Political Causes of Terrorism

Several studies have indicated that the lack of civil liberties, corruption, weak political institutions, political instability, weak government, high level of repression, civil wars can fuel the incidence of terrorism (Ajufo, 2013). According to Ibegbu (2009), poor governance, corruption, lack of social and basic amenities, and lack of security could lead to the rise of terrorist organizations as it is being witnessed in Nigeria. In the same vein Trosper (2009) affirmed that poor governance is the primary cause of terrorism in West Africa. Weakness in democratic governance inhibits social development and economic growth, and this situation could cause civil unrest and provide fertile ground for the rise of extremist ideologies (United Nations (UN), 2009; The United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 2008). Akanji (2007) argues that it is corrupt and ineffectual political leadership that often stimulates poverty and consequently, violent activities. The implication is that government inactions precipitate violent acts.

In addition to the root causes of terrorism enumerated, other propelling factors according to Bloom (2007) include:

- Lack of rule of law.
- Failed or weak states that provide havens for terrorists.
- Depression
- Discrimination
- Ignorance
- Social injustice

- Globalization and Poor Security Networks

Challenges and Implications of Terrorism on Industrial Development

Generally, industrial development only flourishes in an environment of security, socio economic and political stability and peace. With the creation of an environment of violence, fear, terror, persistent and unpredictable killings, kidnappings, hostage-taking, harassment, threats and bombings, violence has inadvertently affected industrial development and progress with adverse effects on the immediate affected states in Nigeria and on the country as a whole. Terrorism will limit the quest of the country to achieve its industrialization agenda if not checked.

- ❖ Nigerians are no longer able to meet their social obligations where terrorist activities are endemic because of the obvious fear of being killed or injured which could bring about permanent disability. Ali Mongono was quoted speaking to Sun Newspaper that people no longer go out for their normal business in daytime and they cannot also sleep in the night. Yet people are hungry but they are afraid of going out to look for survival (Sun Newspaper, July 2, 2011). It is common knowledge that so many business deals are done in informal settings such as eateries, on golf courses, on lawn tennis courts and during social functions. People are forced to limit their social engagements which have the potential of facilitating commercial activities and they become excessively wary of outdoor activities which could expose them to terror attacks. Going by the logic that no economic development could take place in an atmosphere of fear, anarchy and insecurity. It therefore implies that terrorism is a bane to industrial development.
- ❖ There is mass movement of skilled and unskilled workers from troubled areas to other parts of the country or to their states of origin for safety. The emigration of these workers to other parts of Nigeria will definitely starve the industries that remain in the terror zones of the needed manpower to run their business. This eventually could lead to more costs in terms of hiring workers and sometimes when some skilled workers are hard to get could cause closure of the business or an entire industry.
- ❖ The transport system to the north that facilitates the conveyance of goods and human beings is also adversely affected by terrorism. Some companies in the southern part of Nigeria dependent on agricultural supplies from the north have also lost countless businesses and customers as a result of the inability of suppliers from that region to meet their targets.
- ❖ There is mass movement of companies and small medium enterprises (SMEs) to commercial centers outside terror hot spots to preserve their investments and business. Incessant bombings in the North have forced many large and small business establishments to move out of the region. This is because the owners of such businesses are not willing to risk their investments and capital.

- ❖ In many of the attack-ridden areas, economic activities have come to a halt and this traumatic episode has affected mostly the petty traders who earn their income on daily routine.
- ❖ Banks have equally suffered setback as some commercial banks were closed in some of these areas. More so, money meant for development and provision of infrastructure; good roads, electricity and other vital amenities, have been diverted to security issues. Thus, while the country is striving towards capacity building, the Boko Haram/Niger Delta militants' peril (and recently the Fulani Herdsmen) is crumbling such efforts.
- ❖ Terrorism in some parts of the country has led to the disruption of academic calendar of secondary and tertiary institutions. Affected schools are shut down and affected students stay back at home for fear of being killed, or injured by the terrorists. This situation throws these students into the streets and even makes the situation worse as some of them could become targets or recruits for the terror groups. Also, the industrial sector suffers because the products of these institutions that upon graduation could help to provide the needed manpower to run the industrial processes in place are forced to remain at home or leave the troubled spots.
- ❖ Terrorism in different parts of Nigeria has limited the tourism and hospitality potentials of the affected states. For instance, Bauchi State with its Yankari Game Reserve, Sokoto with its Argungu Festival and Jos in Plateau State with its temperate climate have experienced low or non-existing patronage as many citizens and foreign tourists no longer visit such places for fear of becoming targets to the terrorists.

The following are the challenges of terrorism as summarized by Ewetan and Urhie (2014): migration of people from area or region where there is prevalence of insecurity; dislocation and disruption of family and communal life; general atmosphere of mistrust, fear and anxiety. Deepening of hunger and poverty in the polity and it discourages local and foreign investment as it makes investment unattractive to business people.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Terrorism is a major challenge to the Nigerian government in recent times. This study investigated the implications of terrorism on industrial development in Nigeria, evaluated the major causes of terrorism in Nigeria and of course highlighted the implications of terrorism on industrial development. Based on this premise, the study reviewed available literature and concluded that terrorism impacts negatively on industrial development in Nigeria. It is therefore recommended that:

- Government should embark on veritable poverty alleviation programmes that will impact positively on the lives of the people.
- Government at all levels should create employment opportunities for the teeming population.
- Government must discourage the attractiveness of public offices by running a low cost government and invest more in public goods for the benefit of her citizenry.
- Strategic surveillance aimed at dictating membership, motivation, and operational modalities of the terror groups.
- Proactive engagement of civil society stakeholders in the fight against the terrorism

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