

State, Governance, and Insecurity in Nigeria: Issues, Perspectives and Challenges

Edited by

Hassan A. Saliu, Ph.D.

Fatai A. Aremu, Ph.D.

Abdulrasheed A. Muhammad, Ph.D.

Joshua O. Durojaiye

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PREFACE

This book is the output of our 2nd National Conference held on the 23rd November 2016. Deeply concerned about happenings in our society and in fulfilment of our role as academics, the Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Nigeria, organized a National Conference on the theme 'State, Governance, and Insecurity in Nigeria' in order to brain-storm on the challenges confronting the Nigerian state with regard to governance and insecurity. We believe, in not just identifying the source(s) of challenges but proffering solutions as a step in moving our country forward because the issues that were engaged with at the conference are germane to the corporate survival of the Nigerian state. The conference, which were held on November 23rd, 2016, was declared open by the Vice-Chancellor of University of Ilorin, Professor Abdulganiyu Ambali, OON. He was represented by the Deputy Vice-chancellor (Academic), Professor (Mrs) N. Y. S. Ijaiya who gave the opening remarks. A keynote address was given by the President of Nigerian Political Science Association, NPSA, Professor Shuaibu Ibrahim while the Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, Professor B. Salawu, represented by Professor G. T. Arosanyin, gave the welcome address.

In his welcome address, the Acting Head of Department of Political Science, Dr. A. A. Muhammad, noted that the conference was timely considering the series of complexities in Nigeria's governance environment that require attention from both the state and the citizens. The conference thus, drew participants from across the entire nation comprising academics and policy practitioners. Students were not left out and as such, the conference was all-inclusive. The lead paper was delivered by Professor E. Ezeani while keynote papers were delivered by Professors R. Ayo Dunmoye and H. A. Saliu and they all engaged the theme of the conference from different perspectives. Thereafter, the conference broke into panels to discuss different sub themes. The conference came to a close with a communique calling on all stakeholders to be alive to their responsibility.

Several papers were delivered at the conference. However, a few of the papers are published in this edited volume. This is because the papers at the conference went through a phased review process to arrive at the ones

that are published now. First, paper presenters were asked to incorporate observations and comments they received during the presentation of their papers and re-submit them to the organizers. Not all paper presenters re submitted their papers. Thereafter, the papers that were re submitted were sent out for anonymous review by two reviewers for each paper. Those adjudged publishable after the review were sent back to the author(s) to effect corrections. The papers in this book are the ones that were returned by the authors. It is after this that the editors did the editorial work before bringing out this publication.

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Abadulrasheed A. Muhammad, Ph.D.

Joshua O. Durojaiye

Department of Political Science

University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria.

2nd February, 2017.

DEDICATION

To all staff and students of the Department of Political Science,
University of Ilorin and to all individuals that are committed to the
attainment of good governance and security in Nigeria

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the process of bringing this project to fruition, God has been wonderful to us as a department. But there are also individuals whose efforts should be acknowledged because without their inputs in one way or the other, this project may not have seen the light of the day. We are grateful to the University administration for their moral and financial support right from the planning stage to the point of execution. These include the Vice-chancellor, Deputy Vice-chancellors, Registrar and other principal officers of the University. We thank the Dean of our faculty, Faculty of Social Sciences, Professor B. Salawu, and other Professors in the faculty for their commitment to the success of this project. Academic and non-academic staff of the Department of Political Science, particularly, Prof. H. A. Saliu and Mr. J. O. Durojaiye who demonstrated uncommon commitment to this project. are also appreciated. We are grateful to other departments in the Faculty of Social Sciences most especially, the Acting Head of Department of Sociology, Dr. (Mrs) D. S. Adekeye. We are also grateful to other departments and units outside our Faculty; Dr. I. A. Jawondo of the Department of History and International studies, Mr. U. A. Saliu of the University Library and Mr. Mohammed of Educational Technology Department, we thank you all for your various roles.

Professors E. Ezeani, R. A. Dunmoye and H. A. Saliu, we shall remain grateful to you for finding time to write your papers and present them as lead and keynote papers respectively. We must thank the President of the Nigerian Political Science Association, NPSA, Professor Shuaib Ibrahim, who gave a keynote address and all other members of the NPSA executive, particularly, the Director of Research, Professor A. M. Okolie, who encouraged and stood by us throughout the conference. To all paper presenters and those who were unable to present papers but attended the conference and made invaluable contributions, we thank you all. We cannot forget our donors – Professor H. A. Saliu; The Chief of Staff to the Kwara State Government, Alhaji Wahab; Permanent Secretary in the Kwara State Ministry of Energy, Alhaji Muhammed Katsina; a Director in the Government House, Ilorin, Alhaji Yusuf Garba; Mr Lateef Ishowo Isiaka and our ex postgraduate student who is now Personal Assistant to Kwara State Governor, Alhaji Rafiu Aliu. One again, we give kudos to all paper

presenters. Your various presentations led to this output. We thank our audience at the conference especially our students for being good listeners and asking thought provoking questions. The assistance of Members of the Press (print and electronic) is well noted. We thank you all.

Lastly, reviewers of the papers and editors of the book must be appreciated for their efforts in reading and proof-reading the manuscripts in order to ensure a qualitative output.

Abdulrasheed Alada Muhammad, Ph.D.

Acting Head, Department, 2016 - 2018

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Professor H. A. Saliu is a scholar of international repute whose articles have appeared in several local and international outlets. He is a Professor of Political Science of many years standing, with a bias for Foreign Policy. He has been teaching in the department of Political Science, University of Ilorin for decades and has taught several undergraduate and postgraduate students. For several years, he has been teaching courses in the field of International Relations and Research Methodology. His students, among whom are Professors, are making waves in their various fields of endeavour. Professor Saliu has served as Dean of Faculty of Business and Social Sciences and as consultant to many national and international organizations. He is the current Vice-President of Nigerian Political Science Association (NPSA).

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Welcome Address by the Acting Head, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ilorin, Nigeria, on the occasion of its Second National Conference Held at the Business Lecture Theatre, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ilorin, Nigeria on the 23rd November, 2016 with the theme: State, Governance and Insecurity in Nigeria.

On behalf of the Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, I welcome all participants to this conference. This is the Second in the series of our National Conferences. The first, which was held in 2003 was titled 'Nigeria under Democratic Rule'. This Second Conference with the theme of '**State, Governance, and Insecurity in Nigeria**' examines, in a broader context, what democracy has done to Nigeria and vice versa after many years of its practice. No doubt, there are series of complexities in Nigeria's governance environment that require attention both the state and the citizens. This is the vacuum which this conference hopes to fill. By addressing various issues confronting the Nigerian state in their specifics under the broad theme of '**State, Governance, and Insecurity in Nigeria**', scholars and policy makers present at this conference have succeeded in extending the discussion on how to solve the multifarious challenges confronting the Nigerian state. I, therefore, urge us all, to see the opportunity provided by this conference as a way of making our own valuable contributions towards making Nigeria a better state.

At this point, let me thank individuals who have made this day a reality through their assistance and support to us. First is our Vice Chancellor, Professor Abdulganiyu Ambali, OON, who graciously agreed to declare this conference open and give opening remarks. He also sponsored both lunch and cocktail for conference participants, among other assistance he gave to us. The Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, Professor Bashiru Salawu has really been supportive. All staff of the Faculty and sister departments in the Faculty of Social Sciences also contributed in no small measure to the realization of this day. More importantly, efforts and cooperation of all staff and students of our Department cannot be underestimated, especially members of the organizing committee and those among us whom we have christened 'the young shall grow'. It shows that where there is cooperation, the sky is the limit.

We also thank the Chief of Staff to the Governor of Kwara State, Alhaji Abdulwahab Babatunde; Clerk of the Kwara State House of Assembly, Alhaji Muhammad Katsina; the Personal Assistant to the Kwara State Governor, Alhaji Rafiu Olanshile Aliu; a Director in the Government House, Ilorin, Alhaji Garuba Yusuf; our alumni in the Department and a host of others who have provided assistance in one way or the other, we are indeed grateful.

Lastly, I must thank our lead paper presenter, Professor Emmanuel Ezeani and our Keynote Speakers, Professors R. Ayo 'Dunmoye and H. A. Saliu who were all my teachers. I also thank the President of the Nigerian Political Science Association (NPSA), Professor Shaibu Ibrahim and other members of the NPSA executive for conceding that we should tap from their wealth of experience by being part of this conference. I also thank all Professors and senior colleagues here present for giving our junior colleagues the opportunity to learn from them

I thank every participant at this conference and wish you all a successful deliberation. Thank you

Abdulrasheed Alada Muhammad, Ph.D.

Acting Head of Department

23 November, 2016

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

TERRORISM AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIO-POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

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Introduction

Terrorism is a global phenomenon which usually affects the economic and socio-political development of countries in the world at large. It was in view of this that, after the September 11th, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon, President George Bush, the then President of the United States of America promised to lead a crusade to rid the world of evil doers (Bovard, 2003:1). Within the African continent, terrorism has become malaise, which is adversely affecting many countries, especially Nigeria, Kenya, Egypt and Algeria.

In Africa, the two prominent terrorist groups are the *Boko Haram* and the *Al-Shabaab*. *Boko Haram's* nefarious activities since 2009 are mainly in the North Eastern part of Nigeria while *Al-Shabaab's* attacks are mainly carried out in the Southern and Central Somalia (National Counter Terrorism Centre, 2016).

Terrorism in the North-East of Nigeria is one of the internal security challenges that the country is grappling with (Nwolise, 2017). Some others are militancy in the South-South, separatist agitation in the South-East, ethno-religious conflicts and kidnapping (Nwolise, 2017). The activities of terrorists have become problematic because of the destruction of lives and property, in the countries concerned. For instance, on the 20th April 2015, seven people including four UNICEF employees were killed after an *Al-Shabbab* bomb attack on their car in Crowe Puntland in Somalia North (Australian National Security, 2016).

It is also on record that over 600,000 people were killed in Mozambique between 1975 and 1992 by the Marxist government and a rebel group during a long running Civil War (Bovard, 2003). In the 1990s, Rwanda-Burundi recorded over one million deaths due to assaults by government forces and rampaging para-military, carrying out ethnic

cleansing campaign (Bovard, 2003).

Terrorist activities have also negatively impacted social interaction in Africa generally and Nigeria and Somalia in particular. Scores of people have been displaced as a result of violent attacks by terrorists. Citizens from other countries are also scared of insurgent-prone areas. This has invariably affected revenue generation in these places. Governance has also become an arduous task due to insurgency in the states concerned. Therefore, the core objective of the study is an overview of terrorism as it impacts on social and political development in Africa, with Nigeria and Somalia as case studies. The specific objectives are to: examine the nature, trend, and dynamics of terrorism and terror group activities; examine the causes of terrorism as it relates to Africa, and also examine the facets of terrorism in Africa and assess the ways by which terrorism has impacted on the socio-political development of sub-Saharan Africa.

The study utilizes qualitative method of study. Descriptive method of analysis was also employed. This involved the use of secondary sources of data like textbooks, bulletin and magazines that dwell on the problem of terrorism in Africa.

For a proper overview of terrorism as it affects socio-political development of African states, the paper is divided into different sections. These are conceptual clarification; theoretical framework; and, the trend, nature and dynamics of terrorism. Other areas discussed are the causes of terrorism, facets of terrorism in Africa, and the impact of terrorism on socio-political development of Africa.

Conceptual Clarification

The concepts that need clarification are terrorism, political development and social development.

Terrorism

In conceptualizing terrorism, there is the need to realize that terrorism has different meanings to different people depending on the perspective from which it is viewed. For sometime now, terrorism has dominated the discourse of academics, politicians, activists, and opinion leaders. The concept, terrorism, first appeared in English in 1795, referring to the Reign of Terror during the French revolution (Spector, 2015).

Chitkara and Girdhari (2002:253), perceived terrorism as “a

deliberate, indiscriminate and brutal use of violence or threat of violence, against a non-combatant target and mostly innocent civilians”. Chitkara and Girdhari (2002:253) further clarified that violence is directed mainly against civilian targets who may be oblivious of what is happening. The motives are also political in nature. The actions are carried out in a way that will attract attention and achieve maximum publicity. The perpetrators are usually members of an organized group such as *Al-Qaeda*, and like other criminal groups, they often claim responsibility for the act. They want their act to manifest consequence beyond immediate political damage. This is an indication that terrorism is intended to cause severe damage to people.

In his own view, Grothaus (2011) posited that “terrorism is the use of violence to physically and psychologically terrorize a population by an individual or a group in order to draw attention to a cause, enact political change or gain political power”. Similarly, the United Nations General Assembly perceived terrorism as “a scourge that takes innocent lives, threatens values of humanity, human rights and freedoms and impedes development and world progress”.

Viewing terrorism from a social perspective, White (2014:29), opined that “terrorism is a social process. It involves groups of people forming associations, defining social realities and taking actions based on the meanings given to those realities. Unlike many other social processes, terrorism is violent, and it is conducted in situations where violence is not expected”.

Perhaps, a sentimental view of terrorism is that given by terrorists, who preferred the use of terms like 'freedom fighter', 'guerrilla', 'insurgent' and 'revolutionary' (Bruce, n.d). Osama Bin Laden believed that terrorism is “good and bad terrorism”. That is, it can be commendable and reprehensible. According to him, this kind of terrorism is commendable, because it is directed at tyrants and enemies of Allah (Bruce, n.d). However, a body of literature on terrorism have perceived it as an eliciting form of violence; manifestation of dissatisfaction with the status-quo, and the desire for change.

Political Development

Political development like the concept of terrorism and any other concept in politics is not amenable to a single definition or explanation. The indices of political development are accountability, existence of democratic

values, a free press, rule of law, highly developed political institutions like political parties and interest groups. Political development can be described in the words of Almond as “the acquisition of new capability, in the sense of a specialized role, structure and differentiated orientation which together give a political system the range of problems” (Agarwal, 2011:452). These four problems, according to Almond and Powell (Agarwal, 2011:452) are (1) state building; (2) nation building; (3) political participation; and (4) distribution and welfare. The implication of this is that measuring up with these four problems is important for a country to be seen as having political development.

Similarly, Lucian Pye enumerated three levels of political development. The first stage of political development, according to Pye (cited in Mbah, 2003:333), is the stage at which a mass of the people become active participants and will in turn be involved in political decision-making instead of passively receiving orders from higher authorities. The second stage of political development has to do with greater capacity in the political system to manage public affairs, control controversy or cope with people's demands. The third and the last stage of political development involves greater structural differentiation, functional specialty and integration of the participating institutions. Low level of political development which manifests in the form of exclusion from policy making in most African states accentuates terrorism in these states.

Social Development

Social development as a concept has been explained in various ways by scholars, activists and the likes. The International Institute of Social Studies (2017) viewed it as focusing on the need to put people first in the process of development. That is to say, it is people centered. There is the belief that people notwithstanding their low status in society should be given priority in development. The Institute asserted that the indices of social development are civic activism, clubs and association, inter-group cohesion, trust and gender equality.

Similarly, the World Bank (2017) asserted that social development has to do with putting people first in the process of development. There would be social inclusion of the poor and the vulnerable members of the society. Where there is social development as observed by the bank, the institutions of the state are made accountable. Social development promotes interaction and good relationship among the people.

Theoretical Framework

The theory on which this paper is premised is the theory of anarchy. According to Mahajan (2011:721), “the word anarchism is taken from the Greek word Anarchia which means no rule”. Florence Elliot (cited in Mahajan, 2011:721) viewed anarchism as “a political doctrine advocating the abolition of organized authority. It is the belief of anarchists that every form of government is evil and tyranny”. They clamor for free association of the citizenry, devoid of interference from state institutions like the armed forces, courts, and written law (Mahajan, 2011:721). The theory of anarchy is thus a theory that is against the existence of the state and its institutions. This can be seen further in the writing of Kropotkin, a leading theorists who “criticized the state and said that it had no natural or historical justification. It is against the cooperative feeling of human beings and it is based on the theory that the nature of man is not social and there is always a competition among them”. It can neither protect the poor nor create jobs for them (Agarwal, 2011:506).

However, the theory has been criticized in the following ways. In the first place, “critics point out that anarchism is a philosophy of destruction. It relies upon brute force for the realization of its goals” (Mahajan, 2011:732). Mahajan, (2011:732) further pointed out that “By resorting to violence, destruction and murder, the anarchists want to establish a society based on love, persuasion and cooperation. This is a human impossibility, love cannot come out of murder, destruction or violence”. Anarchy is a behavior that is not acceptable in society. It connotes lawlessness and at the extreme, results in general breakdown of law and order.

Another criticism is that though anarchism considers the state as an unnecessary evil, implying that it is of no use, the perception is wrong because today, the state has become a welfare institution (Agarwal, 2011). The state provides infrastructural facilities for the people like electricity, pipe borne water, roads, and health services.

This theory is related to terrorism because terrorists are often antagonistic of the state where they operate. Terrorists unleash attacks on the citizenry. They often make unreasonable demands on the state and destroy both private and public property because of their self interest, which they want to achieve at all costs.

Nature, Trend and Dynamics of Terrorism and Terror Groups

In terms of its nature, terrorism occurs in a political context. That is to say, armed groups are politically motivated or their actions have political undertones (Reveron & Murer, 2003). In corroborating this view, Osama bin Laden affirmed that every state and every civilization and culture has to resort to terrorism under certain circumstances for the purpose of abolishing tyranny and corruption (Reveron & Murer, 2003:311).

Similarly, Ben Barber (in Reveron & Murer, 2003:312) posited that the only way to have a proper perspective of violent political Islamist groups is to see their activities as a reaction to global system disorder, and not fundamentalist zealotry. A substantial number of terrorist groups condemn neo-colonization, exploitation, and injustice in their respective societies. The *Boko Haram* group, in Nigeria, for instance, became violent as a result of the extra-judicial killing of its former leader, Ustaz Yusuf, by some police officers and the refusal of the government to compensate them for the killing. It follows, therefore, that state terrorism can induce domestic terrorism. In spite of this assertion, aggrieved groups can still employ peaceful means of resolving issues with the government instead of resorting to violence.

The trend in terrorism these days is to secure enough funding for its activities. For effective prosecution of its course, a terror group needs money to feed and clothe its followers and captors and also to procure sophisticated arms and ammunition for the group. As White (2004:70) posited, the need for funds has led terrorists to raise money by a variety of means which can be legal and illegal. White (2004) identified the illegal means as engaging in illicit drug trade, illegal transferring of money, extortion, and smuggling of money. The legal ones as White (2004) further asserted include running of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), creating charities, and operating legitimate business activities. There is also external funding of terrorism in African states which, no doubt, enhanced their activities.

With the advent of globalization and development in Information and Communication Technology (ICT), terrorists usually operate in the form of networks, most times linking up with other groups like Al-Qaeda. As Reuter's news agency (in Newswatch, June 2014) observed, the United Nations Organization classified Boko Haram as an affiliate of Al-Qaeda. It has also been asserted that a lot of Boko Haram fighters were trained

alongside the al-Qaeda affiliated group in Mali in 2012 and 2013 respectively, which enhanced their knowledge in the construction of improvised explosive devices (Newswatch June 2014: 29). This trend no doubt promotes sophistication among terror groups and the ability to engage the government of the day for a long period of time.

Terror groups are constantly changing in terms of their structure and dynamics. As terrorism developed over the years, the use of dynamite becomes a very important part of its evolution (White, 2014). Apart from the use of dynamite, terror groups in recent times have resorted to the use of sophisticated guns like AK 47 rifles, rocket launchers, Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs), kidnapping and even the call for swapping of arrested terrorists with those kidnapped as part of negotiations. These changes in the face of terrorism have posed challenges to counter terrorism. This is because counter terrorism actions are rendered ineffective. The government of the United States of America and some other governments, in recent times, are conscious of the dangers posed by chemical and biological terrorism. It has been realized that chemical weapons could prove attractive to terrorists because they were cheap, accessible, and could instill fear in the citizenry (Burns in Spiers, 2007).

In order to be effective in their operations and maintain a high level of secrecy, terrorists operate in hierarchical form as a pyramid organization (White, 2007). The command exists as the highest level of the hierarchy followed by the active cadre, next to the active cadre is active supporters. Below the active supporters, there are the passive supporters (White, 2014). The active cadre comprise people that carry out the organization's mission or assignment while the active supporters provide logistics for them (White, 2014). The smallest unit of the organization is the cell, made up of four to six people, serving as either a tactical unit or an intelligence unit (White, 2014:13). It is imperative to mention that terrorist groups in recent times have added umbrella organization to the pyramid. The umbrella serves as shield for the pyramids provides support, and inspires smaller terrorist group (White, 2014:64). The nature, trend and dynamics of terror groups have enhanced their sustenance and consolidation over a long period of time.

Causes of Terrorism in Africa

As can be observed, "terrorism is not new in Africa however,

countries such as Algiers, Burundi, Congo, Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Nigeria, Rwanda and others have seen an increase in terrorist acts in recent years" (Elu and Price, 2011). This is a situation that calls for concern and action from the African Union which is the regional organization for most of the member states. Terrorism in Africa can be attributed to different causes. They are as follows:

Poor economic situation due to corruption in many African states has led to the belief that some people take to terrorism because they are poor and feel deprived of the basic necessities of life. For instance, in the opinion of some Nigerians, the Boko-Haram sect has been able to co-opt many young northerners into its fold because of the poverty in the North coupled with the poor economic situation in Nigeria which has compounded the unemployment problem. It also has to be noted that Sub-Sahara Africa is the poorest region in the world, as it has thirty three(33) of the forty eight (48) least developed countries (LDCS) with average per capital income in 1999 less than the level in 1969 (Soludo, 2003). This no doubt makes it a fertile ground for terrorism.

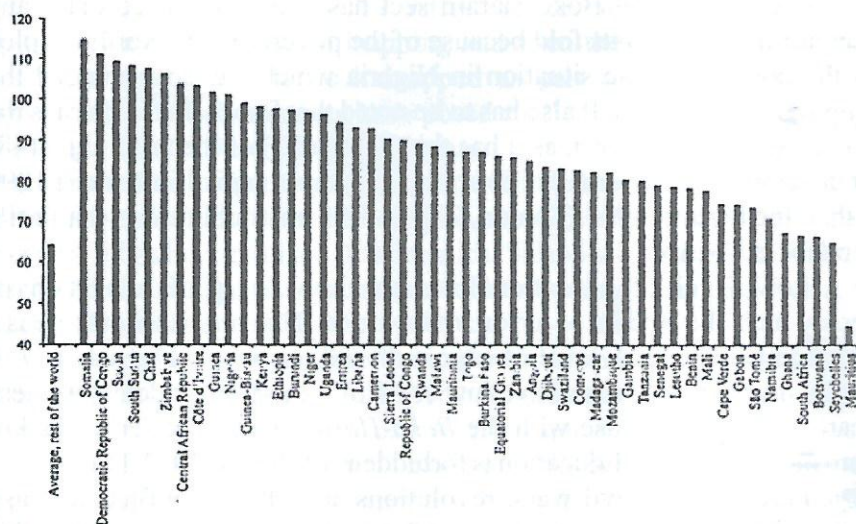
Low level of education/illiteracy: Low level of education or illiteracy fuels the embers of terrorism in Africa. This implies that there is a correlation between low level of education and terrorism. The majority of those involved in terrorism have low level of education or detest western education as it is the case with the *Boko-Haram* sect in Nigeria. "Boko-Haram means, Western Education is forbidden" (Tell July, 2012:15).

Furthermore, civil wars, revolutions and ethnic conflicts are also part of the causes of terrorism in some African states. (Abolurin, 2011). This was corroborated by Elu and Price (2011), who opined that, civil wars and ethnic conflicts are the greatest killers of people in Africa. Right from the 1960s, there have been major civil wars in African countries like Nigeria and Democratic Republic of Congo. This suggests that acrimonious relationships can induce conflicts manifesting as terrorism.

Lastly, the nature of the African State which lacks cohesion also influences terrorism in Africa. As observed by Ikelegbe (2010:125), "African states have abundant legal and juridical forms but are weak and failing with regard to the character, substance, content and empirical existence of statehood. There is more external recognition than internal support or any deep sense of political community and national identity". This implies that the African state cannot promote integration among its

people because of its weak condition. Absence of cohesion thus promotes terrorism. Africa exhibits a high degree of failure than other continents. The indices for determining state failure capture twelve measures of social, economic and political performance (Englebert & Dunn 2013:47-48). From the diagram below, it would be seen that Somalia has the least score of 114.9 in Africa, while the average score of failure for Africa is 88 and for the rest of the world it is 64, Mauritius is the only African country that performs better than the average for the rest of the world (Englebert & Dunn 2013).

Figure 2.3 Index of State Failure in Africa, 2012



Source: Fund for Peace 2012

Note: Higher numbers indicate greater failure.

Source: Inside African politics 2013: pg 49

Facets of Terrorism in Africa

In talking about terrorism in Africa, the two main terrorist groups worth of discussing are the Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab. There exist remarkable differences and similarities between the two insurgent groups.

Boko-Haram

A group called Jamaa'tu Ahlis Sunna Lidda' wati Waljihad, meaning "people committed to the propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad" but also known as Boko Haram (Western or non-Islamic education is prohibited)" (Newswatch June 2014:17), is a terrorist organization whose

activities were initially peaceful in North-eastern Nigeria but spread to neighboring countries of Niger, Cameroon, and Chad upon becoming violent.

The militant group was founded in 2002 in Maiduguri by Ustaz Muhammed Yusuf (Afinotan, 2010). Yusuf was eventually arrested and kept in police custody where he died in 2009 under controversial circumstances (Newswatch June, 2014). His death provided the avenue for him to be succeeded by a radical deputy known as Abubakar Shekau. However, there is controversy over the death of Abubakar Shekau. The military had claimed on several occasions that it had killed Shekau in the battlefield. The sect on the other hand denied these claims.

In terms of objectives, the sect aims at establishing a “pure” Islamic state under the administration of Sharia. The sect condemns anything that is Western or has to do with the western world. It believes that people should abhor things that are Western, especially western education.

The group has established itself as a brutal organization. Over the years, it has attacked schools, banks, Muslim clerics, Christians, and even military formations. It is therefore not surprising that the former President Goodluck Jonathan perceived the group as an enemy of democracy (Newswatch June 2014). Well meaning Nigerians had called on the government to negotiate with the militant group. Government refused on the grounds that it is a faceless group.

As a result of activities of the group, a lot of people have been killed in the northeastern part of Nigeria and property worth of billions of naira have been destroyed. “Amnesty International estimates that at least 17,000 people have been killed since Boko Haram escalated its insurgency in Northern Nigeria in 2009” (Okereke 2015:1). Considering the spate of attacks, the number of victims would be well over 20,000 in the early part of 2016. What started as pockets of attacks with the use of Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) snowballed into a full-blown violence involving the use of sophisticated weapons.

Boko Haram insurgency attracted international attention and sympathy in 2014 when it was glaring that the government could not contain the sect. At Parish Regional Summit on Security in Nigeria on May 17th, 2014, it was made clear that the foreign countries that proposed to assist Nigeria would assist in the area of planning, coordination, and advice to Nigerian security personnel while Nigeria would be in the forefront of the

struggle against the menace (Newswatch, June 2014). This move, which seems to impinge on the sovereignty of Nigeria could be accepted at any point in time based on the need of the country.

Al-Shabaab

“Al-Shabaab, meaning “The Youth” in Arabic, is the largest militant organization fighting to oust the Somali government” (Stanford, 2016). Its objective is to introduce Sharia law in governing territories and to also eliminate infidels' influence within Somalia (Australian National Security, 2016). Possibly as a result of disagreement, the group emerged as an independent organization around December 2006. This happened when it broke away from the Islamic Courts Union (ICU), for which it had served as the military wing (Stanford, 2016). The group, initially before its defeat, controlled most of southern Somalia in the second half of 2006, and after its defeat the group continued its violent insurgency in southern and central Somalia (National Counter Terrorism Center, 2016).

Interestingly, the membership of Al-Shabaab comprises foreigners with a large number of them occupying leadership positions. It is alleged that most of its foreign members are from Yemen, Malaysia, Pakistan, Bangladesh and even initially United States of America. “Al-Shabaab has allegedly received support from several African and Middle Eastern countries” (Stanford, 2016). In addition, United Nations has claimed that countries like Djibouti, Iran, Syria, Libya, Hezbollah in Lebanon and Egypt are among the countries providing the Al-Shabaab with machineguns, missiles, and training (Stanford, 2016). Al-Shabaab no doubt has disdain for the West and western interests. This has been influenced significantly by *Al-Qaeda* and it must have obviously led to the shut down of the British Broadcasting Corporation and the ban on its broadcasting in 2010 (Australian National Security, 2016, Stanford, 2016).

Unlike the Boko Haram group the Al-Shabaab used guerilla warfare in addition to terrorist tactics to fight the Somalia Federal Government (SFG) (National Counter Terrorism Centre, 2016). The Al-Shabaab operates as a well established organization with its own hierarchical structure. “Al-Shabaab has a central command and control structure, which has thus far allowed the group to effectively utilize its attack capabilities” (Australian National Security, 2016). The current leader of the group is Sheikh Ahmed (also known as Ahmed Diriye Umar who succeeded the former leader, Abdi Aw Muhammed Godane following the death of Godane (Australian

National Security, 2016)

Like its Nigerian counterpart, Al-Shabaab had claimed responsibility for many killings and kidnappings in Somalia, including abduction of foreigners. Worthy of mention is the attack on a mall in Kenya that led to the death of many foreigners and the attack in Mogadishu on a United Nations Compound (National Counter Terrorism Centre, 2016).

As a sort of propaganda, its leaders are also fond of posting their pictures like Boko Haram leaders. The group is also affiliated to Al-Qaeda, (BBC News, 2016). Just like the case of Boko Haram, activities of the dreaded sect, Al-Shabaab, are being contained to a large extent in recent times. Mogadishu and other towns have come under government control and many Somalis have returned from exile (BBC News, 2016).

Al-Shabaab gained more attention when Al-Qaeda formally announced a merger between the two organizations. Although Al-Shabaab had pledged allegiance to Al-Qaeda before, Al-Qaeda only explicitly accepted Al-Shabaab in 2012. The move was labeled a “merger” in many media reports, but Al-Shabaab and Al-Qaeda continue to identify as separate organizations” (Stanford, 2016). The collaboration of the two groups, no doubt, promotes terror in the area.

The activities of Al-Shabaab are trans-national in nature. Apart from having a recruiting centre in Kenya, it has staged numerous attacks in Kenya, with the massacre at Garissa University on the 2nd April 2015 as the worst and the bloodiest so far with 147 people killed (BBC News, 2016). Al-Shabaab's grudge against Kenya might have emanated from Kenya's decision to send its troops to Somali territory to assist the African Union Force battling the militants (BBC News, 2016).

Impact of Terrorism on Socio-Political Development of Africa

Terrorism as a destructive activity leads to destruction of lives and property. As a result of the activities of the Boko-Haram group in Nigeria, many lives and property have been destroyed by the dreaded sect. Of the 2,596 Nigerians killed within the first four months of 2014, based on record, 2,242 deaths were due to the activities of terrorists and Fulani herdsmen (Sunday Punch April 19/2/2014:47).

Furthermore, terrorism also affects tourism adversely in Africa. Scores of tourists from Europe have halted their annual tour of some African countries as a result of the activities of terrorists. The implication of this is

that there is no opportunity for these tourists to relate with one another as tourism promotes cross-cultural relationship and economic prosperity. African countries find it difficult to realize high revenue from tourism as a result of terrorism. "The US leads the top 10 tourism earners for 2014, by grossing a whopping \$177.2bn, representing both domestic and international tourism earnings. Others are Spain, \$65.2bn, China \$56.9bn, France \$55.4bn" etc (The Punch, January 26, 2016:48).

There is also the effect of terrorism on Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). Terrorism has led many people to flee their homes and become what is popularly called Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). This is especially noticeable in Sudan and Nigeria. In Sudan, "many people flee armed conflict and become internally displaced persons (IDPs) around garrison towns or become refugees in neighboring countries. According to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre there are about 2.7 million IDPs within Dafur and nearly 250,000 refugees from Dafur in eastern Chad" (Wassara 2010:281). In the case of Nigeria, over 3 million people have been displaced by conflict. These figures no doubt are on the high side. It is possibly a demonstration of the fact that Nigeria is a weak or fragile state on the verge of becoming a failed state.

Terrorism has taken its toll on the IDPs. There is the psychological effect of living outside their homes. Some internally displaced persons have lost contact with their relatives and friends who possibly have been killed.

As Senator Ndume observed on the floor of the Nigerian Senate, the IDPs "ran away from their various homes leaving everything they owned behind with the hope of returning within the shortest possible time but ended up losing everything to the Boko-Haram insurgents" (Daniel, 2016). This is an indication that many towns and villages were sacked by the insurgents leading to the loss of farmland and agricultural products. In fact, sequel to intermittent Boko-Haram attacks on Borno towns and villages (Gwoza, Danboa, AskiraUba and Chibok), Adamawa (Madagali, Mubi, Gulak, Basa, Shua and Michika), and Yobe and pockets of communal violence in parts of Taraba and Plateau States, millions of Nigerians have fled their homes and manage to eke out a living in IDP Camps" (Okereke 2015:1). This diminishes socio-political development.

The decision to eke out a living in IDPs camps does not however imply that the camps are devoid of challenges. Among the challenges being faced by the camps are food shortage, scarcity of water and diversion of food

items meant for the IDPs. These in turn has aggravated the problems of diseases and malnutrition within the camps.

The economic activities of African states have suffered severely because of terrorist attacks. In Nigerian for instance, as at 2012, "A world Investment Report of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development estimated that domestic economy has so far lost a whopping N1.33million on Foreign Direct Investment to the activities of Boko Haram" (Tell May 14, 2012:46)

Terrorism can influence the choice of candidates in elections. Powell (cited in Abolurin, 2001:121) while examining the political consequences after the attacks in Madrid noted that "The unexpected loss by incumbent Prime Minister Aznar has been widely attributed to the attacks and their aftermath".

In Nigeria, some Federal Ministries, Departments and Agencies which had their offices in the North Eastern zone had to relocate to relatively peaceful areas because of the insurgency. The administrative machinery of the government is thus affected, leading to poor implementation of government policies in the area.

Conclusion and Recommendations

It could be seen from the above discussions that terrorism varies in nature, trend and dynamics across African states. It could also be seen that terrorism can be attributed to different causes like poor economic situation arising from corruption in many African states, and revolution and conflicts in different forms in some of the African states. The paper also established *Boko Haram* and *Al-Shabaab* as the two main facets of terrorism in Africa. As part of the implications for socio-political development, it is observable that terrorism in African states has led to destruction of lives and property. This could be seen in the *Boko Haram* attacks. A lot of persons have also been displaced by insurgency in some African states, with Nigeria having a large number of internally displaced persons as a result of *Boko Haram* insurgency.

The paper hereby recommends that the government of African states should try to promote economic development of their countries in such a way that citizens get gainful employments. It is noteworthy that employment opportunities free the masses from the shackles of poverty. Also with economic development, infrastructural facilities like good roads,

electricity and pipe-bone water would be assured. There will also be increase in per capital income. Political leaders should also reduce inequality in their communities by being fair and just in administering the affairs of their people. That is to say, they should uphold the principle of rule of law. This no doubt will go a long way in preventing dissatisfaction with the existing system.

Government should pursue the skill acquisition schemes vigorously through institutions like the National Directorate of Employment (NDE) and the National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP). These institutions can provide training, workshops, and equipment like sewing machines, tricycles, and milling machines for the people. This will enable those that have low level of education to acquire skills and function productively in the society. Public-Private Partnership will also help in this area as the NDE and NAPEP can partner individuals in the private sector for the training of those they have scheduled for training. Technical colleges should be established where they do not exist, and in countries where they exist, they should be made to function well in order to provide the citizens with technical education which will help in the area of self-empowerment. Those that acquire technical education can function as artisans.

There should be a restructuring of the federal system within the Nigerian state. This would make it possible for those who are actually marginalized or those who only feel so to be taken care of. This is especially true of the ethnic minorities. The restructuring should accommodate differences among the people. As part of restructuring, a country like Nigeria should ensure devolution of power in such a way that the central government exercises less power and authority within the federal system. This would enhance effective functioning of the sub-national units, that is, the states and local governments.

There should be some re-engineering instead of rebranding. Re-engineering will promote technological development and economic growth in the African continent. Re-engineering implies proper civic education and conscious effort aimed at technological development on the part of the government.

Pseudo operations can be employed by Nigeria and Somalia as a counter insurgency action. As pointed out by Gatchel (2009: 73-77), this has been used in the Philippines, Kenya, and Rhodesia to combat insurgency. He posited that “the pseudo forces employed a mix of individuals loyal to the

government and former insurgents who agreed to change sides after being captured". Pseudo operations allow for the infiltration of the terrorist camps by loyalists who will disguise as part of the group. It must however be pointed out that pseudo operation is a dangerous mission which if not carefully handled can prove disastrous.

Lastly, the African Union as a body should forestall trans-border movement of insurgents among the member states and provide a multinational force where and when necessary. The joint military action involving the Cameroonian, Chadian, and Nigerian forces has helped to curtail the activities of the Boko Haram insurgents in Nigeria. A global approach is in fact necessary for an all-out routing of terrorism in the global village.

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