TERRORISM AND POLITICS IN NIGERIA: A Search for Sustainable Peace and Security

MUHAMMED GADDAFI YUSUF
INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, ABUJA.NIGERIA.
emgeeyusuf@gmail.com

KEYWORDS
Terrorism, Political violence, Political greed, Proliferation of small arms and light weapons, Sustainable peace

ABSTRACT
Terrorism in Nigeria has cast a long and dark shadow over the nation's quest for political stability, social harmony, and economic development. This abstract offers a comprehensive overview of the intricate and complex relationship between terrorism and politics in Nigeria, emphasizing the pressing need to establish a state of sustainable peace and security. The historical backdrop reveals the emergence of groups like Boko Haram and militant factions in the Niger Delta, underscoring the importance of understanding the roots of this enduring crisis. While Nigeria has employed various counterterrorism strategies, their effectiveness and broader political ramifications demand careful analysis to guide the pursuit of sustainable peace. These dynamics require a holistic approach to addressing the menace. The impact of terrorism on Nigerian politics, from influencing electoral processes to shaping governance and policy decisions, is a central concern, the theoretical frame work that anchored the study is the Greed and Grievances theory. The findings of the study highlight the intricate relationship between terrorism and politics in Nigeria, underlining the complex interplay between these two forces. Lastly, the research investigates the cultural and socioeconomic factors that contribute to the persistence of terrorism, going beyond religious or ideological motivations. It concludes by highlighting the imperative for a multidimensional approach to address these complexities and collaboratively work towards a more secure and peaceful Nigeria.

Introduction

Terrorism has plagued Nigeria for decades, posing a grave threat to its political stability, societal harmony, and economic progress. This concise article delves into the intricate relationship between terrorism and politics in Nigeria, emphasizing the need for sustainable peace and security. Terrorism in Nigeria has roots deeply entwined with political, religious, and socioeconomic factors. To achieve sustainable peace and security, it is crucial to comprehend this complex nexus. Going by the overview, it is evident that terrorism has cast a long shadow over Nigeria, posing a significant threat to the nation's political stability, social harmony, and economic growth. This article explores the complex interplay between terrorism and politics in Nigeria and underscores the urgent need for lasting peace and security. Terrorism and politics in Nigeria are intricately intertwined, posing significant challenges to the country's quest for sustainable peace. Nigeria, the most populous nation in Africa, grapples with

a complex web of socio-economic disparities, ethnopolitical tensions, and the presence of extremist groups such as Boko Haram. Addressing these issues is crucial for achieving long-lasting peace in the country. While there is substantial literature on terrorism in Nigeria, there is a gap in understanding the nexus between terrorism and politics in Nigeria. The study aims to fill this gap in literature, by further expanding on this intersection in order to develop effective strategies for achieving lasting peace in the country.

Statement of the Problem

The problem at hand is the entwined nexus between terrorism and politics in Nigeria, where the activities of extremist groups, such as Boko Haram, Niger Delta Militants, Indigenous People of Biafra and herdsmen, impact negatively on the nation's political landscape, governance, and the security of its citizens. This intertwining poses a formidable challenge, and understanding its complexities is crucial for devising effective counterterrorism and political stability strategies in Nigeria.

Conceptual Clarification

Terrorism

While the official definition of terrorism adopted by many countries today limits the term's application to non-state actors, terrorism is not strictly a phenomenon committed by individuals or groups. Terrorism is a political term derived from state terror. In his study, Combs (2017) viewed terrorism as a phenomenon that is becoming a pervasive, often dominant, influence in our lives. It affects how governments conduct foreign policy and the way corporations transact business. It causes alterations in the role and even the structure of our security forces. It forces us to spend vast amounts of time and money to protect public figures, vital installations, citizens, and even government systems. It influences the way we travel and the places we travel to see. It even affects how we live our daily lives. According to the most often used definition of the term in modern times, terrorism is essentially political. It is also, of course, inevitably, about power—pursuing, obtaining, and using power to effect political change. Terrorism is defined as the use of violence, or more significantly, the threat of violence, for the purpose of achieving a political goal.

The French Revolution is credited with popularizing the term "terrorism" throughout history. At the time, terrorism was associated with something beneficial, in contrast to how it is used now. In order to maintain order during the brief anarchic era of unrest and instability that followed the revolutions of 1793–1794, the regime de la terreur, from which the English word originated. As such, it differs from modern definitions of terrorism, which associate it with revolutionary or anti-government actions carried out by non-state or sub-national organizations. The freshly formed revolutionary state employed the régime de la terreur as one of its tools of governing. By scaring counterrevolutionaries, subversives, and other dissidents who the dictatorship viewed as "enemies of the people," it was intended to solidify the power of the new administration (Hoffman, 2006:3). The precise meaning of terrorism is up for debate. Many people view terrorism as a type of political violence that resembles insurrection and revolt that results in chaos and political protest (Ukaogo, 2004:96).

Others see terrorism as nothing more than a multi-phase process and plan. It may be interpreted as a revolution as well (Lodge, 1988:1). The difficulty of defining and classifying terrorism is more intricate and multifaceted than one man's terrorism when seen as a moral dilemma. The challenge here is the disparate intellectual and ideological foundations from which the idea is evaluated. A country may see a terrorist attack as "legal" or "an end justifying a means," whereas another country may view the same activity as illegal (Ukaogo, 2004:97). This adds to the complexity of the problem overall. The dispute between the Israelis and the Arabs, which gets more intense every day, is a stark illustration of the problem with the terrorist argument. No matter how justified the deed may be, every suicide bomber is considered a terrorist by the Israelis. Thus, those who support Palestine, such as Hezbollah and Hamas, which specialize in grenade lobbing and bomb hurling, are terrorists. Conversely, the Arabs consider the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 and the ongoing denial of the Palestinians a separate state to be acts of terrorism. Indeed, they believe that the invasion of 1982 is still the worst act of terrorism in the Middle East and that it has to be avenged (Oricha, 2003:12). Therefore, all of these opposing viewpoints and points of view thwart any attempt at a shared understanding and appreciation of terrorism. Thus, terrorism can be said to be the intentional and organized killing, maiming, and threatening of innocent

people in order to sow fear for political purposes is known as terrorism. The phenomena gained popularity as one of the characteristics of global politics and conflict in the latter half of the 20th century. Until now, terrorism has been used by individuals, small, ideologically focused groups, state operatives, and large insurgent movements to pursue military and political objectives that may have seemed hard or impossible to accomplish in the traditional political arena or in a combat zone against an army (Harmon, 2000:32). Terrorism is not limited to unusual situations or foreign regimes. It has the ability to occur in both common and uncommon settings, including regular institutions. It has been called a criminal and a holy thing, a technique and a plan, among other things. If reigns of terror are only thought of as transient states of crisis brought on by daring events or as foreign forms of rule, then they are not fully comprehended. Under specific stress situations, "normal" political processes might give rise to terror networks that are often classified as "abnormal" according to Western social and political thought standards (Ojukwu, 2011:16). There is a distinct character to terrorism in Nigeria as opposed to other regions of the world. This is the case because to the fact that Nigerian terrorists typically lack recognizable and charismatic leaders but instead have goals they feel can only be attained via clandestine and covert guerrilla war on the Nigerian state.

Where by attacks are carried out on churches and other places of worship, buildings belonging to foreign organizations like the UN office in Abuja, state institutions like the Police Headquarters in Abuja, certain schools, and rest areas, among other targets, in order to wage a clandestine guerrilla war against the Nigerian State. Actually, it appears that acts of religious terrorism represent the peak of terrorist activity in the nation. These acts can take many different forms, such as suicide bombing, hostage-taking, bomb-throwing, assassinations, and periodic shootings into public gatherings that result in many casualties. The most prominent is the Boko Haram group, which has severely damaged Nigerians' mental health as well as the state's security system in the wake of attempts to crack down on them. Their actions are anti-democratic, hostile to the nation's general progress, and have a significant impact on the nation's foreign policy (Onuoha, 2010:36).

Political Violence in Nigeria

Nigeria's business survival has faced significant hurdles due to the twin threats of terrorism and political violence. Election-related violence and political violence are causally related because one causes the other. The nation's political class, which is manifested in its "rent-seeking" and "rent-collecting" behaviors, is the only plausible explanation for the high degree of violence before and after elections. The political elites have actually transformed Nigeria into a quick source of primitive wealth accumulation, which is why they are in a desperate attempt to gain political power. According to policy documents and decision-makers, Nigeria, like the majority of other African states, has been characterized as "weak," "fragile," and/or "failing" in recent scholarship. Disparate political violence, such as that of Boko Haram, the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), which has its roots in the state's history, has also come to be understood as "terrorism" (Agbiboa 2009; 2011; Solomon 2015). According Adebayo et al. (2012) religion" and "ethnic" cleavages have become so politicized that violent groups like Boko Haram were organized for political ends like winning elections because of the political elites' pervasive corruption, which has existed since the country's independence and stands in stark contrast to the spirit of democracy. "Nigeria typifies a good example of a failing or weak state that is fast gravitating towards a failed or collapsed state like Somalia and others," claim Onapajo and Uzodike (2012:31). They argue that the "four waves" of terrorism identified by David Rapport help to explain how the organization came to be. Similar to a lot of other academics from this school of thinking, the question of why the rhetoric around failed/fragile regimes and terrorism is now seen helpful in comprehending the Nigerian state is never posed, despite the fact that political violence has been a persistent issue since the nation's inception. Furthermore, the concept of Islamic revivalism, as put out by David Rapoport, fails to recognize that Islam, like many other major global faiths, is not a monolithic faith and is open to many different interpretations. Finding the underlying reasons of the atrocities committed by Boko Haram and other organizations has taken precedence above any attempt to comprehend the framework that permitted such behaviors as "corruption," "weakness," and/or "terrorism.

Political Greed

Politics and politicians sometimes responsible for inciting acts of terrorism in the Nation. For instance, certain politicians do adopt a covert religious persona, aligning themselves with terrorist organizations as Islamists and asserting that they are fighting with these groups. They wind up funding terrorist actions in Nigeria because they want to topple the opposition government. Also, during elections, politicians arm political thugs with guns so they can tamper with the voting process. The majority of the time, these criminals keep the guns because they use them to terrorize the public once elections are over. The majority of these criminals who possess such weapons ultimately turn themselves in to terrorist groups in order to support acts of terror in northeastern Nigeria.

Another contributing cause is that Nigerian politicians, while in positions of authority, neglect to provide the necessities of life for their constituents, which would improve their standard of living and ensure a high standard of living. When people are unemployed and idle, their only choice is to simply succumb to the terror group's demands that they fight as their own. Wisdom (2018) stated that "Most analyses of Nigerian politics as the cause of insurgency have focused on how corrupt politicians have exacerbated economic inequality and poverty, which has led to grievances in Northern Nigeria."

Proliferation of small arms and Light Weapons

Another factor contributing to terrorism in Nigeria is the rise in the manufacture and distribution of weapons, it is important to note that without the ability to get and use weapons, no terrorist act could be readily supported. It is well known that Boko Haram in Nigeria uses weapons such as bombs, A.K.47 riffles, knives, cutlasses, rocket-propelled grenades (RPG), submachine guns (SMG), and heavy firearms like General purpose machine guns (GPMG), and armored tanks. The Easy access and availability of all these weapons make terror attacks simple and easy to carry out.

The number of small arms and light weapons in Nigeria has dramatically increased due to the country's uncontrolled borders and the availability of illegal routes for the importation of illegal weapons. These weapons are ultimately used by the Islamic sect Boko Haram to carry out their unjust course of action and to terrorize the populace. According to the 2017 Punch newspaper, there are just 84 authorized border control posts in Nigeria, while 1,400 unmanned and illegal routes are used by terrorists, traffickers, and arms dealers. In an atmosphere where there is neither arms proliferation nor arms control, the terrorist fails. These groups receive weaponry support from allies abroad, and the weapons are transported into Nigeria through dubious means including unmanned, unauthorized conduits in the bush of particular concern are the increasingly sophisticated weapons and weapons used by Boko Haram militants in recent attacks in Northern Nigeria, as well as evidence in seizures made by security forces in Northern Nigeria (Freedom, 2013). One of the reasons for terrorism in Nigeria is, in fact, the widespread usage of light and small weaponry.

Theoretical Frame Work

Greed and Grievances theory

This paper adopted the Greed and Grievances theory by Collier Paul and Hoeffler Anke, (2000). The theory was developed to prove the causes and motivation of the outbreak of violent rebellion, which led to the upspring of civil wars.

They argued that ‘’their statistical data pointed towards economic incentives as being the main causes of the outbreak of violent rebellion. Collier and Hoeffler contended that the main driver of violent uprisings and civil wars is an economic motivation. This fact is never minimized when discussing Nigeria, where the main causes of terrorism are the government's inability to provide for the basic needs of its people and the political class's greed in accumulating wealth for themselves at the expense of the impoverished and the privileged. The impoverisher’s incapacity to survive has now made them ideal targets for the terrorist group's incentives, as they are being bought over at a low cost to serve as fighters for the lethal gangs operating in Nigeria.

The fundamental features of governments that are prone to civil wars are their significant reliance on the export of primary commodities, a high proportion of young men who lack education and are unemployed, and their abrupt and sharp economic downfall. This is precisely the situation in Nigeria, which has a high unemployment rate and a significant percentage

of young people without formal education who become tools for the terrorist organizations like Boko Haram.

Greed as a Driver of Terrorism:

Resource-Driven Terrorism:

The "Greed" component of the theory suggests that the pursuit of economic gain can motivate individuals or groups to engage in violence. In the context of Nigeria, this is exemplified by the Niger Delta militants who have resorted to acts of terrorism to secure a greater share of the country's oil wealth. Their attacks on oil facilities and kidnappings are driven by a desire for economic concessions and control over lucrative resources.

The "greed and grievance theory" is a framework commonly used to analyze the causes of conflicts, including terrorist activities like Boko Haram in Nigeria. This theory suggests that conflicts, including acts of terrorism, can be fueled by a combination of factors related to "greed" (economic or resource-related motivations) and "grievance" (perceived injustices or grievances). In the case of Boko Haram in Nigeria, we can apply this theory as follows:

Grievance:

Historical Marginalization: Many regions in Nigeria, particularly the northern states, have experienced historical socio-economic and political marginalization, leading to widespread grievances among the population.

Religious and Ethnic Tensions: Nigeria is ethnically and religiously diverse, and inter-communal tensions, particularly between Muslims in the north and Christians in the south, have exacerbated grievances.

Corruption and Injustice: Rampant corruption, perceived electoral fraud, and lack of social justice have fueled the sense of grievance among the population.

Criminal Networks and Profit: Terrorism in Nigeria is not limited to ideological or political objectives. Criminal networks often exploit the security vacuum created by terrorism for financial gain. Kidnappings for ransom and illicit trade in arms and drugs provide substantial profits, thereby incentivizing acts of terrorism driven by greed.

Economic Reforms and Development: Implement economic reforms that promote equitable resource distribution, reduce corruption, and provide economic opportunities to marginalized regions. By addressing economic greed, the government can reduce the incentives for resource-driven terrorism.

Political Inclusivity and Reconciliation: Promote political inclusivity, address ethnic and religious tensions, and engage in reconciliation efforts. These steps can help address political and ideological grievances that fuel terrorism and contribute to a sustainable peace process.

Greed and Grievances" theory by Collier and Hoeffler provides a valuable

framework for understanding the multifaceted dynamics of terrorism in Nigeria. By addressing both the economic and political motivations and grievances, Nigeria can work toward sustainable peace and security.

Methodology

The research used a qualitative methodology. Secondary sources provided the data that was gathered for the research. The study made use of carefully selected, pertinent publications that were found on the Internet. The study's analysis utilized data that was meticulously taken from logical chains of evidence found in edited books, conference proceedings, journal articles, periodicals, and documentary sources.

The Nexus Between Terrorism and Politics in Nigeria

In their attempt to secure political supremacy over other ethnic groups, the political elites have effectively fostered terrorism by inciting hatred, dividing people along ethnic lines, and creating divisions. We may now pose the question: What drives people to commit acts of terrorism against their fellow citizens, including the government? Examining the drives and incentives that give rise to terrorism may will help us better understand the connections between terrorism and Politics:

1. Political Agitation.

This is one of the major causes of terrorism mostly in developing countries like Nigeria. It is evident that terrorists frequently call for political change when not satisfied with the style of government in power, since there is no silver bullet for political change, terrorists turn to armed resistance against established power in an attempt to subvert the current quo. Furthermore, the political elites are unable to dissolve the monster gang of terrorists because they are using them to further their own political agenda at the expense of their rivals. Boko Haram's situation is really relevant. It is thought to have originated from to have originated from the political elites in Borno State at the time, who were initially using them to gain political victory at the time.

2. Ideological Differences from that of the Government

Robert Merton (1968) asserted that people in society adapt in different ways to accomplish goals and means. Nonetheless, some people in the community could object to both the means and the goals that are sanctioned by the community. This group might be classified as "militants" or "rebels." This group of people calls for drastic and revolutionary change in the socio-political and economic system because they reject both the institutionalized ways of gaining success in society and the aims of success itself. You may refer to them as terrorists or rebels since they have their own ideas and frequently try to force them on others in order to further their own objectives. The Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) group fall in this category, whereby their fight for an independent state is through various means of violence and violation of government laws. This can be seen in their most recent seat at home orders which almost crippled economic activities of the south east. Believing they have been marginalized and therefore see their actions as justifiable.

3. Regional and National Demands

This desire for self-determination is shared by the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) and the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB). In actuality, MASSOB printed its own flag, money, and other identities in an attempt to secede before the government cracked down on them, despite having just engaged in violent acts of terrorism. Boko Haram's primary goal in killing innocent civilians has not been stated since, as far as is known, the group has made a number of demands.

4. Religious Beliefs

Like Boko Haram, al-Qaida, Hamas, and Islamic fundamentalists, the Taliban conceals its political motivations behind religious presence's in order to achieve their objectives. Their goals are to eradicate people they view as "unbelievers" or "infidels," as demonstrated by Boko Haram's ideology that "western education is sin" and the establishment of a Sharia state.

5. Shift in Original Goals

Control over resources was MEND and the militants in the Niger Delta's first goal. However, when criminals grew ingrained in the organization, they found great success in kidnapping and holding hostages for ransom. Put another way, terrorists may change their original motivation to pursue financial or material gain. The root cause of terrorism may be found within these many drives and incentives. But the intentions are not mutually exclusive. The basic causes of terrorism are the reasons and motives. Terrorism's latent motivations are rooted in political, economic, religious, and psychological factors, these form the fundamental underlying causes of terrorism in Nigeria.

A Search for Sustainable Peace and Security

The most essential and fundamental way to stop the nation's security crisis is for our leaders to adopt the values of practical democracy, which are ingrained in the

concepts of good governance, by ensuring citizens are provided with basic shelter, job opportunities readily available for the hordes of unemployed youth in Nigeria who make up the majority of those who are readily recruited for terrorist activities and other acts of violence good governance will enable the provision of the real and unimagined dividends of democracy. This is required since it is known that the "idle mind is a devil's workshop" and that when young people are involved in creative and worthwhile endeavor's, there is less chance that they will be recruited as thugs and suicide bombers will be

drastically reduced. The provision of good governance will also address the alarmingly high rate of poverty in the nation, which is indicated by the rising number of youths without jobs, the dearth of high-quality educational and healthcare facilities, the low quality of life, and the absence of fundamental social infrastructures that give life meaning.

These problems have all been implicated as some of the causes of insecurity in Nigeria. There would have been a potential of reducing political violence and terrorism in the nation if there had been hospitals and other health facilities, power, good roads, affordable housing schemes, and security in addition to schools for the people's basic education. The provision of good governance will also address the alarmingly high rate of poverty in the nation, which is indicated by the rising number of youths without jobs, the dearth of high-quality educational and healthcare facilities, the low quality of life, and the absence of fundamental social infrastructures that give life meaning. These problems have all been implicated as some of the causes of insecurity in Nigeria.

There would have been a potential of reducing political violence and terrorism in the nation if there had been hospitals and other health facilities, power, good roads, affordable housing schemes, and security in addition to schools for the people's basic education. Religious intolerance, a lack of patriotism, and violent agitations have all been linked to terrorism in Nigeria. Nigeria must take more action to repair the damage to its reputation; the government must fight terrorism with the greatest sincerity and determination. It is necessary to confront the politics of exclusion, which have plagued political interaction since independence, in order to prevent minority groups from being marginalized. Numerous analysts of Nigeria's previous terrorist situation have contended that in order to make progress in the war against terrorism and chat a course of sustainable peace. The government of Nigeria must address the fundamental problems of poverty, marginalization, underdevelopment, neglect, and youth unemployment in order to lessen the suffering of Nigerians. In a same vein, religious leaders must demonstrate a greater dedication to instilling religious tolerance and peaceful coexistence in their followers. Security needs to be everyone's concern, and this message of tolerance shouldn't be placed in the hands of religious authorities alone. This is where Nigerians can expect the National Orientation Agency (NOA) to fulfil its duty to spread the message of religious tolerance throughout the nation. They may even work in tandem with the Ministry of Education to incorporate this message into the social studies curriculum in our secondary schools. It is worth nothing that terrorism being an international issue, it is instructive that governments take a global approach to combating the threat. The need to effective cooperation in the battle against terrorism between Nigeria and other more developed nations who have managed to contain the threat of terrorism, as well as coopting nearby nations that many Nigerians see to be safe havens for terrorists cannot be over emphasized.

In order to combat the insurgency threat, Nigeria must have a strong foreign policy framework. This can be achieved by military collaboration with developed nations that possess greater technological capacity. The idea that terrorism and other violent crimes are exclusively the domestic problems of particular nations has been shown to be illogical, and as such, there should be no space for it. In other to achieve sustainable peace in the country, the government must be honest in its battle against terrorism, the leadership must learn to respect the rule of law, be open to constructive criticism, and tolerate opposing viewpoints in other to achieve sustainable peace in the nation.

Conclusion

It is established in this study that terrorist activities in Nigeria have wreaked much

havoc on the social and economic activities of the country. Affecting the developmental changes meant to bring about sustainable Peace. Nigeria's significant causes of violence and death are mainly political, economic, and social

grievances. Development cannot take place in an atmosphere of insecurity.

The country's inflation rate of goods and services has skyrocketed, occasioning

hardship for the citizens. The gap between the rich and the poor has widened

because most of those in positions of authority engaged themselves in the amassing of

public funds. Some people experiencing poverty who do not have legitimate means of livelihood engage in nefarious activities to survive.

It is also clear from the discussions in the research paper that political violence and terrorism are bad for a nation's growth. The impact of terrorism and political violence on Nigeria's foreign policy has been effectively captured in this research, along with the different peculiarities connected to the nexus between terrorism and politics in Nigeria. It also covered the different causes of the current wave of violence and insurgency in the nation. Given these factors, which include poverty, a high rate of unemployment, particularly for young people, a lack of good governance, issues of neglect, ad some factors that need to be adequately addressed in order for the country to attain sustainable peace and development. It is expected that the government, in particular, will rise to the occasion and fulfil its constitutional obligations by evaluating the recommendations made in this study critically.

Recommendations

1) The Nigerian government must find job opportunities for the unemployed youth in the nation.

2) The government ought to develop initiatives that offer real women's empowerment along with infrastructure.

3) Corrupt politicians ought to face consequences in order to deter future robbers of the country's riches.

4) Corruption must be shunned by all tiers of government in the struggle against crime, terrorism, and instability.

5) The democratic system in place has to start providing the social goods that are required in order to raise the standard of living for Nigerians and lift a large number of people from the extreme poverty to which they have been condemned for an extended period of time in the South of the country.

In order to chart a course of sustainable peace and development the government must have the political resolve to fight terrorism of all kinds devoid of ethnic sentiments. This means that everyone should be treated equally under the law, regardless of their political, religious, or ethnic affiliation, and that there shouldn't be any holy cows or goats.

References

Abbasi, I., & Khatwani, M. (2014). An Overview of the Political Theories of Terrorism. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, *19*, 103–107. https://doi.org/10.9790/0837-1985103107

Adebajo, A. (2002). *Building Peace in West Africa: Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea-Bissau*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Agagu, A., Omotoso, F., & Abegunde, O. (2007). *Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies: The Nigerian Perspective*. University of Ado-Ekiti Press.

Agbiboa, D. E. (2012). Serving the few, starving the many: How corruption underdevelops Nigeria and how there is an alternative perspective to corruption cleanups. *Africa Today*, *58*(4), 111–132.

Aja, A.-A. (2007). Basic concepts, issues and strategies of peace and conflict resolution: Nigeria-African conflict case studies. *Enugu: Keny and Brothers Ent.(Nig)*.

Akinleye, M. I. (n.d.). *Title: Boko Haram and the Discourse of Terrorism in Nigeria: Discourse, Politics and Hegemony*.

Akwara, A. F., & Akpan, N. E. (2019). The Impacts of Political Violence and Terrorism on Socio-Economic Processes, Good Governance and on Nigeria's Foreign Policy. *International Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies*, *6*(1), 1–18.

Azeez, A. S., Bakare, T. O., & Balogun, S. O. (2023). Terrorism and Incursion Into Homes: A Study of Selected Poems In Razaq Malik's No Home In This Land. *Journal of College of Languages and Communication Arts Education*, *2*(1), 141–147.

Cerutti, F. (2017). *Conceptualizing Politics: An introduction to political philosophy*. Taylor & Francis.

Chinwokwu, E. (2012). *History and Dynamics of Terrorism in Nigeria: Socio-Political Dimension*. *1*, 419–446.

Chukwurah, D. C., Okechukwu, E., & Ogbeje, E. N. (2015). Implication of Boko Haram terrorism on northern Nigeria. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, *6*(3), 371.

Collier, P., & Hoeffler, A. (2000). *Greed and Grievance in Civil War* (SSRN Scholarly Paper 630727). https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=630727

Combs, C. C. (2022). *Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century*. Taylor & Francis.

Dibia, I. I. (2021). THE EFFECTS OF TERRORISM ON PEACE AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA. *Journal of Public Administration, Finance and Law*, *22*. https://doi.org/10.47743/jopafl-2021-22-22

Franks, J. (2016). Orthodox Accounts of Terrorism1. In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Political Violence* (pp. 33–46). Routledge.

Harmon, C. C. (2001). Five strategies of terrorism. *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, *12*(3), 39–66.

Hoffman, B. (2017). *Inside terrorism*. Columbia university press.

Igbuzor, O. (2011). Peace and security education: A critical factor for sustainable peace and national development. *International Journal of Peace and Development Studies*, *2*(1), 1–7.

Langer, A., Langer, A., & Brown, G. K. (2016). *Building sustainable peace: Timing and sequencing of post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding*. Oxford University Press.

Lodge, J. (1989). Terrorism and the European community: Towards 1992. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *1*(1), 28–47.

Mantzikos, I., Adibe, J., Onuoha, F., Solomon, H., Baken, D. N., Salaam, A., Onapajo, H., Oarhe, O., Poling, C. C., & Siegle, J. (n.d.). *Boko Haram: Anatomy of a Crisis*.

Ojukwu, C. C. (2011). Terrorism, foreign policy and human rights concerns in Nigeria. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, *13*(4), 371.

Olaniyan, A., & Yahaya, A. (2016). Cows, bandits, and violent conflicts: Understanding cattle rustling in Northern Nigeria. *Africa Spectrum*, *51*(3), 93–105.

Olowu, D. (2019). Governance and policy relevance of the Nigerian 40-year grassroots revolution: 1976–2016. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, *85*(4), 726–742.

Omale, D. J. O. (2013). *Terrorism and Counter Terrorism in Nigeria: Theoretical Paradigms and Lessons for Public Policy*.

Omede, A. J. (2011). Nigeria: Analysing the security challenges of the Goodluck Jonathan administration. *Canadian Social Science*, *7*(5), 90–102.

Onuoha, F. C. (2010). The islamist challenge: Nigeria's Boko Haram crisis explained. *African Security Review*, *19*(2), 54–67.

Solomon, H. (2015a). Critical terrorism studies and its implications for Africa. *Politikon*, *42*(2), 219–234.

Solomon, H. (2015b). *Terrorism and Counter-terrorism in Africa: Fighting Insurgency from Al Shabab, Ansar Dine and Boko Haram*. Springer.

Zartman, I. W. (2011). Greed and Grievance: Methodological and Epistemological Underpinnings of the Debate: Greed and Grievance. *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, *11*(2), 298–307. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1399-6576.2011.01120.x