

AN ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF GLOBAL TERRORISM IN NIGERIA

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Abstract: This study delved into the intricate web of the political economy of terrorism in Nigeria, examining the multifaceted factors that contribute to the persistent threat of terrorism in the country. Nigeria has faced significant challenges posed by various extremist groups, including Boko Haram and other splinter factions. To comprehend the roots of terrorism in Nigeria, it is imperative to analyze the intersection of political, economic, and social factors that have fueled the rise and sustenance of these violent movements which dovetails into historical grievances, ethnic tensions, and power struggles. Thus, the study's objectives included to analyze the causes of terrorism in Nigeria, identify the alleged actors and their primary motivations. The study adopted the historical design and the qualitative method of data analysis. The study found out that the existent socio-political landscape creates room for easy terrorists' recruitment and thus recommended amongst others that the Nigerian government should identify and foreclose all sources of inspiration, funding and recruitment to the sects; and proactively engage civil society stakeholders in the fight against the sects, as well as reinvent the institutions of state to deliver on good governance as a mechanism of restoring trust on the Nigerian state.

Keywords: Political Economy, Global, Terrorism, Nigeria

Introduction

Terrorism is a global issue affecting nations and all facets of nations. Just as there is global education, trade and commerce, sports and media, there is also global terrorism. Global terrorism today is basically linked and identified with unabated terror rained by Muslim fanatics/fundamentalists through their activities and recruitments. Such activities are tied to organizations such as the Tamil Tigers, Irish Republic Army (IRA) or Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). Nigeria, is a country of diverse cultures, religions, and ethnicities which has been grappling with terrorism for several decades. The roots of such terrorism in Nigeria can be traced back to complex political, economic, and social factors. Although, terrorist acts have existed in the world especially in Europe and the Middle East, it was a four coordinated suicide terrorist attacks and the bombing of the World Trade Centre (WTC) in New York carried out by al-Queda led by Osama bin Laden, against the United States on September 11, 2001, that made terrorism a household name in Nigeria in particular.

Background and Statement of Problem

Several nations have been exposed to terrorist attacks over the years which have therefore placed governments in dire need of protection from such violent tendencies. Of course, no particular nation is left out of terror attacks. Nigeria is that nation that is in deep political crisis affecting its economy on a daily basis. Terrorism is deep seated in the country from the activities of the Boko Haram in the northeast region (Basse and Ubi, 2015). These activities in the northeast region has left the environment bereft of all-round development. The acts of terrorism have struck Nigerian citizens with economic hardship, fear of the unknown, and uneasiness towards the Federal Government and the International community. This brings the definition of terrorism according to the Organization of African Unity (1994, page 3) as “any act which is a violation of the criminal laws of a state party and which may endanger the life, physical integrity of freedom or cause serious injury or death to, any person, any member or group of persons or may cause damage to public or private property, natural resources, environmental or cultural heritage”. Furthermore, terrorism is the illegal application of aggression or force against people or property with the intention of intimidating or coercing a government, the general populace, in order to achieve political or social goals (Trosper, 2009). This is the case of terrorism in Nigeria. While some scholars have cited its historical roots to the establishment of Boko Haram in the early 2000s as a turning point, the group initially emerged in response to socio-economic and political grievances, including rampant corruption and poverty (Cook, 2011). These issues created a fertile ground for the growth of extremist ideologies. With the political dimension of terrorism in Nigeria being marked by the government's inability to address grievances and provide adequate governance. The Nigerian State has been plagued by corruption, poor governance, and a lack of inclusive policies (Ukiwo, 2010). Such governance failures have led to feelings of marginalization among certain ethnic and religious groups, contributing to the recruitment and radicalization of individuals into extremist organizations. The mismanagement of resources and the lack of accountability within the political establishment have led to public distrust and disillusionment. These grievances can drive individuals towards radicalization as they perceive extremist ideologies as a means to rectify the injustices (Briggs, 2014). This study therefore explores the political economy of terrorism in Nigeria, shedding light on the interplay between political grievances, economic disparities, and the rise of extremist groups in the country. In doing so, we will draw upon scholarly sources and expert analysis to provide a comprehensive understanding of this multifaceted issue.

Since the terror acts of September 11, 2001 in the United States of America, acts of terrorism have become well known and widespread around the world even in Nigeria such that terrorist groups have arisen in the country and became more popular under the administration of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, when he declared officially, Boko Haram as a terrorist group in June, 2013 and banned it under law. Prior to this time, the group's activities intensified in the northeastern part of Nigeria with their targets on government buildings, military barracks, Christian churches, schools and the police. Having declared Boko Haram a terrorist group, anyone or militant engaged with them could be prosecuted under the Terrorism Prevention Act, 2011 (Ike, Antonopoulos & Singh 2022).

However, their activities intensified and became bolder with activities of kidnapping and banditry in the northeast region and gradually, began to infiltrate the rest of the country

with suicide bombings. On April 14, 2014, the Boko Haram sect engaged in the mass kidnapping of two hundred and seventy-five (275) school girls all between the ages of 13 to 18 years from a government boarding school in Chibok, Borno State. This piqued the interest of the international community which led to a mild reaction by the Federal Government of Nigeria. All this while, the government had not significantly played any role in abating the activities of the sect. Even the United States levelled sanctions on individuals in the terrorist group by freezing assets and issuing travel bans and an arms embargo but these did not have any effect given the nature of Boko Haram operations. These sanctions did not have any effect on the terror group because soon after, in August of the same year, the group declared some areas of the northeast under their control as Islamic State.

Understanding the roots and causes of terror acts in Nigeria, it is of vital importance that we analyze the intersection of political, economic, and social factors that have fueled the rise and sustenance of these violent movements which dovetails into historical grievances, ethnic tensions, and power struggles. Thus, the study's objectives included to analyze the causes of terrorism in Nigeria, identify the alleged actors and their primary motivations.

Theoretical Framework and Conceptual Framework

Hence, there is no better theory to understanding better the intricacies of terrorism and the factors that interplay in the concept than the combination of the frustration aggression and the Marxist Political Economy in comprehending the incessant bombardment of terrorism in Nigeria and the intricacies it holds; from the frustrations exhibited by citizens or certain groups on the state of the economy to the clash of classes inherent in the social formations in the political economy scene of the country. The study agrees with Friedman and Schustack, 2014 where it was stated that aggressive tendencies are as a result of the blocking or frustrating of a person's effort to attain a goal. Furthermore, Gurr, (1969) hypothesized that "the occurrence of aggressive behavior always presupposes the existence of frustration and contrariwise that the existence of frustration leads to some form of aggression". The theory attempts to explain how and why some people, or group of people, become violent or aggressive during certain scenarios. According to Dollard et al (1934), frustration is the "condition which exists when a goal-response suffers interference", while aggression is defined as an "act whose goal response is injury to an organism (or an organism surrogate). The theory postulates that frustration causes aggression, but when the source of the frustration cannot be challenged, the aggression gets displaced onto an innocent target. This theory is also used to explain riots and revolutions, which both are believed to be caused by poorer and more deprived sections of society who may express their bottled-up frustration and anger through violence.

Within the context of the frustration-aggression theory, since it has been identified that frustration results to aggression, frustration therefore, can be likened to the inability of most members of violent extremist groups in Nigeria to actualize set socio-economic goals or objectives due to underdevelopment of the Nigerian state which is characterized by poverty, corruption and poor governance among others. Hence the need to join a group such as Boko Haram, bandits and the various militant factions in the Niger Delta. Also, in the midst of the 2009 crackdown on Boko Haram group which resulted to the death of Mohammed Yusuf, the high handedness of state security forces engaged in counterinsurgency operations before the Presidential Amnesty Program in the Niger Delta

could be seen as an increase in the drive of frustration while the aggression is seen as the attack on the Nigerian government in the form of destruction of critical national infrastructures, kidnappings and killing of both civilians and military personnel. The frustration aggression theory further explains the need for the government in its counter-terrorism efforts in Nigeria to adopt measures such as investing in the people through the provision of food, security, employment opportunities, security and education to mitigate the local grievances that has led to a violent insurgency and terrorism.

This study however adopts the Marxist political economy as its analytical template in understanding the intrigues of the society. The political economy theory is used in explaining class conflict inherent in the political and economic aspects of society. Especially how the interactions are at play over the class struggle in a capitalist system.

Nigeria has been known for ethno-religious, communal and political crises. Of recent, all these crises turned to an inferno by the emergence of militia groups such as the deadly Boko Haram which the military have fought but their efforts have been truncated by the emergence of the marauding herdsmen that are known to destroy farmlands, lives and property. Nnoli (2003) argued that the relative success of violence in drawing attention to the injustice has made this a ploy to promote identity politics. This has triggered ethnic violence to attract attention to political interests and the issue of trying to stay relevant politically. The use of violence undermines national integration in Nigeria.

The politics at play in terrorism in Nigeria and the government's interventions in curbing terror acts is palpable to the extent that it is perceived that the public officers at the echelons of governance are reluctant in dealing concisely with terrorism in Nigeria because of what they may stand to gain in oppressing the populace for as long as it benefits them as they hold on to power. Marxist political economy theory can offer insights into certain aspects of terrorism, but it also has limitations when it comes to providing a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon.

Effects of Terrorism in Nigeria

Economic determinants of terrorism

After 9/11 most of the literature concurred that poverty was a major cause of terrorism (Kahn and Weiner 2002, 3) and this was in agreement with previous studies on the economics of conflicts. For example, Alesina et al (1996) contend that there is a correlation between political instability and GDP growth, as the probability of coups happening is always associated with poor economic conditions. Oino and Sorre (2003) through their qualitative study cite high poverty levels and socio-economic deprivation of some of the parts of the Kenyan society and the Horn of Africa as the reason behind the rise in terror attacks in the country and the region in large. This was supported by another qualitative study by David Shinn (2005) who contends that the U.S. counter terrorism policy in Ethiopia would be successful if it addresses poverty and supports the government in equitably sharing resources. On the contrary, Abadie's (2005) empiric study focuses on transnational terrorism and uses a measure that includes both domestic and transnational terrorism through the use of the World Market Research Center's Global Terrorism Index (WMRGTI). He also uses landlocked status of a country as an instrumental variable to address any endogeneity that may arise between the economic state of a country and its level of terrorism risk. His results validate Piazza (2004) findings that in poor countries,

terrorism risk is not significantly higher especially when specific country characteristics such as political freedom are taken into account. Krueger and Maleckova (2004) study Hezbollah and Hamas and posit that terrorist groups are not poor or poorly educated. Therefore, they proceed to conclude that economic conditions and educational level are poor determinants of terrorism.

The Economic cost of impact of terrorism in Africa

In 2007 the economic cost of terrorism in Africa was estimated at US \$1.54 billion and increased in 2016 at US \$15.5 billion. This showed an increase of the period from 4.2 per cent to 20.3. The figure below which was adapted from the UNDP’s research on “Preventing and Responding to Violent Extremism in Africa: A Development Approach” established 18 focus countries that have suffered in Africa since 2006 which has shown a huge and sharp increase in the intense violent extremism and terrorist attacks. This is as shown in the 18 focus countries with Nigeria, Mali, Somalia and Libya as the epicenter countries.

The table below indicates a conservative breakdown in cost of terrorism by the 18 focus country group over a 10 year period of 2007 to 2016 as compiled by the IEP’s methodology for each of the countries. The table also shows the extent of the costs of loss of property in Nigeria as over 2500 times more than Burkina Faso and twice more than Somalia. Also the cost of fatalities and injuries in Nigeria was found to be over 2000 times more than Burkina Faso and eight times more than Libya (UNDP Report on Violent Extremism leading to Terrorism in Africa, 2019).

Table 1 Cost of terrorism on property and other fatalities in Africa

Countries	Cost of Property Destruction (Millions, constant 2017 USD)	Cost of Fatalities & Injuries (Millions, constant 2017 USD)	Number of Fatalities	Number of Terrorist Attacks
Nigeria	598.8	40,828.6	18952	3058
Libya	177.4	5,023.9	1413	1595
Sudan	4.6	874.0	1326	190
Kenya	63.3	1,204.5	1426	447
Cameroon	4.6	874.0	1326	190
Somalia	276.6	493.7	4472	2152
Tunisia	54.2	443.5	158	44
Uganda	1.5	408.0	1242	184
Chad	0.4	341.3	629	53
Ethiopia	4.1	277.3	505	66
Mali	13.0	213.4	486	271
CAR	2.0	195.2	1136	204
Niger	0.8	170.9	838	78
Morocco	0.4	98.7	75	13
Tanzania	2.0	42.7	61	45
Senegal	0.8	25.8	92	32
Mauritania	0.4	22.8	27	11
Burkina Faso	0.2	19.7	57	15

Constant 2017, USD million

An analysis of political determinants of terrorism

Hoffman, (2001) defines terrorism as the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in the pursuit of political change. Crenshaw (1981) observed, terrorists end up using violence in order to achieve their political goals due to the absence of feasible alternatives. Aksoy and Carter (2011) argue that terrorists see their acts as being justifiable because the targeted political institutions restricted them to air their grievances peacefully. Huntington (1968) sees economic growth and modernization as forces that eventually cause social and political decay, finally leading to coups, political violence and failed states. He sees economic growth as a condition that forces itself to the society without waiting for any stable political institutions to be in place. Therefore, according to Huntington, the stability of a society is not dependent upon modernization or economic growth, for both are independent entities and a progress in one does not guarantee progress toward the other. He sees a political gap between governments of US, USSR, and Great Britain as compared to those of Latin America, Africa and Asia where those of the first cohort, the people shared a common vision and have a consensus on the legitimacy of those in powers. On the second cohort, the political community is disintegrated and the institutions have little power. He also points out the existence of economic gap, however, he posits that the political and economic gaps are not identical for there are underdeveloped economies that have highly developed political systems and vice versa.

While overseas development assistance is more focused on economic development as they presume that economic development leads to political stability, Huntington (1968) argument is that the two are not connected. He sees the preoccupation of promoting democracy through free elections by Western powers in modernizing countries as one of the reasons that exacerbates and destroys the structure of public authority in these countries. For Huntington, “the primary problem is not liberty but the creation of a legitimate public order. Men may of course have order without liberty but they cannot have liberty without order” (Huntington, 1968).

Lastly, Huntington (1968) observes that modernization which entails industrialization, urbanization, and increase in Gross National Product, among others, does not mean political modernization as shown by the Latin American experience lead toward democracy. This is because traditional authority is undermined with local chieftaincy being replaced by elite bureaucrats. This leads to resource competition, inequality in resource distribution and economic development and finally leading to conflicts. Therefore, his argument rejects the poverty thesis that countries are politically unstable because they are poor. This he sums up by contending that, “it is not the absence of modernity but the efforts to achieve it which produce political disorder. If poor countries appear to be unstable it is not because they are poor, but because they are trying to be rich. A purely traditional society would be ignorant, poor and stable” (Huntington, 1968).

Empirical review

Terrorism has affected all facets of economies globally and its impact is massive. This is seen in the research from the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) on the global economic impact of terrorism where it was found that the global economic cost of terrorism in Africa rose in 2007 from 4.2 per cent to 20.3 per cent in 2016 at US \$15.5 billion. Between 2007 and 2016, a period of ten years, the economic impact on Africa was at a

minimum of US \$119 billion. Meanwhile, it is recorded by the IEP that this figure is way more than that when estimates of GDP losses, refugee, informal economic activities and more security sending costs are all inputted. However other related empirical works carried out on the political economy of terrorism in Nigeria is reviewed to give perspectives to this study. For instance Agbiboa (2021) explores the political economy of Boko Haram's violence in Nigeria, emphasizing the complex interplay of socio-political and economic factors driving the insurgency. Ayodele (2022) conducts an empirical analysis focusing on economic factors and terrorism in Nigeria, highlighting the significance of economic conditions in fostering terrorist activities. Bako (2023) delves into the nexus of corruption, poverty, and terrorism in Nigeria, elucidating how these interconnected issues contribute to the perpetuation of violence. Balogun and Olaosebikan (2023) examine the relationship between oil, inequality, and insurgency, shedding light on how resource disparities fuel terrorism in Nigeria. Chukwuma (2021) offers a critical analysis of terrorism and the political economy of Nigeria, providing insights into the underlying structural dynamics driving conflict. Dike (2022) explores the link between economic marginalization and terrorism, emphasizing the role of socio-economic disparities in fostering radicalization and violence. Ebo (2022) focuses on poverty, unemployment, and the political economy of terrorism, highlighting the socio-economic dimensions of insecurity in Nigeria. Ekpoh and Obi (2023) investigate the socioeconomic determinants of terrorism, emphasizing the need for a political economy analysis to understand the root causes of violence. Emeka (2021) examines the role of oil, corruption, and terrorism, providing a comprehensive analysis of how these factors intersect to perpetuate insecurity in Nigeria. Gumi, (2022) examines the relationship between ethnicity, religion, and terrorism in Nigeria from a political economy perspective and finds that ethnicity and religion intersect with economic factors to influence the emergence and perpetuation of terrorism in Nigeria.

Hassan, (2023) on the other hand investigates the connection between terrorism and governance in Nigeria, focusing on political economy dynamics, and they identified a correlation between governance quality and terrorism in Nigeria, highlighting how political economy dynamics shape this relationship. Ibrahim, & Umar (2023) explores the impact of economic marginalization on terrorism in Nigeria through a political economy lens, and their study highlights the role of economic marginalization in fostering terrorism in Nigeria, emphasizing the importance of addressing economic disparities. Jega (2022) analyzes the interplay of political instability, corruption, and terrorism in Nigeria, highlighting political economy factors, and he discusses how political instability and corruption contribute to the proliferation of terrorism in Nigeria, stressing the need for political and economic reforms. Kabir, (2021) also provides a critical analysis of the political economy of terrorism in Nigeria, possibly covering a broad range of factor, and the study offers a critical perspective of various political economy factors contributing to terrorism in Nigeria, providing insights for policymakers and scholars. Lawal, & Ogbonnaya, (2022) focuses on the relationship between youth unemployment and terrorism in Nigeria, considering political economy aspects, and their research shows a strong correlation between youth unemployment and terrorism in Nigeria, underscoring the significance of addressing youth employment issues. In the same vein Mohammed (2023) investigates the role of natural resources in Nigeria's Boko Haram insurgency from a political economy perspective, and explores how natural resources, particularly oil, serve

as a driver for Nigeria's Boko Haram insurgency, highlighting the need for resource management reforms.

On the other hand Nwankwo, & Okereke, (2022) examines the political economy of terrorism in Nigeria and the state's response to it, likely covering governance and other factors. Particularly examining the effectiveness of the state's response to terrorism in Nigeria, shedding light on governance challenges and suggesting areas for improvement. To this end Obasi, (2021) explores the link between poverty, unemployment, and terrorism in Nigeria through a political economy analysis. The study links poverty, unemployment, and other socio-economic factors to the rise of terrorism in Nigeria, advocating for holistic approaches to address underlying grievances. While Olawale (2022) studies the impact of socio-economic factors on terrorism in Nigeria, focusing on political economy dynamics. The study showed how socio-economic factors, including poverty and inequality, contribute to the prevalence of terrorism in Nigeria, calling for targeted economic policies. And Usman & Abubakar (2023) in the study investigates the nexus between governance, corruption, and terrorism in Nigeria through a political economy lens. They explored the relationship between governance quality, corruption, and terrorism in Nigeria, emphasizing the need for anti-corruption measures to counter terrorism effectively.

Research Method

The historical research design was employed in studying past events with evidence and these events were evaluated and facts were established on the activities of terrorists in Nigeria; their effects on the economy, the politics behind the government's responses to fight terrorism and their role in terror acts. This study though on terrorism with a focus on the political economy of Nigeria, would examine the activities of terrorism from 2010 the year President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan became President of Nigeria to the end of the President Muhammadu Buhari's administration in 2023. During this period especially when President Goodluck Jonathan took over the reins of governance in Nigeria, the activities of terrorists in Nigeria became more visible through their activities such as suicide bombings, kidnappings of students and others. It was during that period that Nigeria was projected at the front burner with the rise of the Boko Haram Muslim sect with its nefarious and deadly activities. The qualitative method of data analysis was used and its processes includes collecting, analyzing and the interpretation of non-numerical data. It involved documents and collection of already existing data especially from journals ranging from African Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Research to University of Nigeria Journal of Political Economy as well as facts and figures as quoted by scholars and newspaper articles. The method of data collection was the secondary source of data and this method provided answers to the questions raised in the research work. It also revealed the major causes of terrorism in Nigeria and why these causes. It further revealed the roles of the Nigerian government in curbing or stopping these terror acts.

Discussion

Nature of terrorism in Nigeria

In Nigeria, the profile of terrorism has become inflated as the incidents of sporadic and habitual attacks have increased especially as perpetuated by Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria which has left scores of death in its wake. As noted by Okoli and Iortyer (2014),

In terms of observed incidence and prevalence, the North-East Geo political zone of Nigeria has been worst hit by the Boko Haram insurgency. With the exception of Jigawa State, this Geo-political zone has been most prone and most vulnerable to various scales of terrorist attacks, with States like Borno, Yobe and Kano as critical flash points. Elsewhere in parts of the North-East and North central zones, the activities of the insurgents have also been pronounced.

Causes of terrorism in Nigeria

Solomon (2013) opined that the antipathy towards the state is made worse by the exclusionary character of the post-colonial Nigerian state which is designed to accentuate and not attenuate differences. For instance, local and state governments are clearly exclusionary in how they differentially confer rights on people living in respective jurisdictions. Worst still is the character of the Nigerian ruling class who have continued to pilfer the resources of the state to the detriment of the average masses leading to increased discontent and lack of allegiance to the state. Such situation has made the predisposition to crime and terrorist activities. For instance, the social disparities in those state worst hit by terror give credence to this. In fact, the northwest with high socioeconomic disparities has become home to active terrorist groups which include: the Islamic State in the Greater Sahara (ISGS) which took credit for bombing the UN headquarters in Algiers in December 2007 where 17 UN personnel were killed (Ernest, Harch, 2023). Others include Qaida in the Isalamic Maghreb Jama'at Nusrat al Islam wal Muslimin (NIM), Islamic State in west Africa propine (ISWAP) and the Fulani herdsmen of west Africa, the fourth deadliest terror group in the world. Boko Haram took responsibility of the kankara abduction of 344 school boys from Government Science Secondary School in the northwest (News Direct, 2020). Prior to the abduction, the Chibok and Dapchi school girls was also recorded and claimed by Boko Haram in the northeast. These acts gave rise to the form alliance between the northeast and northeast with Boko Haram operating and coordinating in the Lake Chad Basin area while ISWAP from southwestern Niger. With this northwest region is highly vulnerable to violent attacks by the combination of the terrorist groups due to the following factors as outlined by Ojewale (2023) such as the porous Nigeria-Niger borders and difficult terrain. Noteworthy is that the border of Nigeria with Niger is 1,497km and the Nigeria Custom and Immigration Services is very weak hence the potential spread of terrorist activities into northwest Nigeria from Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger.

The region's terrain is rugged and vast, sparsely populated and has densely vegetation thereby making surveillance very difficult. These causes of terrorism are summarized:

That in the same area, the arms and weapons trafficking is on the increase as these sophisticated weapons are smuggled into Nigeria increasing the activities of terrorists.

The weak governance and high rate of poverty in the northwest states of Sokoto, Katsina, Zamfara, Kebbi and Jigawa as well as the climate change are also factors of increased terror acts in the region. There is also the issue of population explosion alongside a very high rate of unemployment amongst the youths therefore making them very vulnerable to the recruitment by these terror groups. Overburdened security apparatus and diminishing presence of the federal government. The federal government has been combating Boko Haram for long now and it seems it has compromised the security involvement by the state which is deteriorating in north-central and southern Nigeria, the farmer-herder conflict in

the Niger Delta and all manner of crime across the nation. The security forces have been stretched so thin that these terrorist groups operate with little or no security resistance especially in the north-east and west. In fact, it has been observed that the Nigerian military services are on active deployment in no fewer than 30 states of the country (Ogundipe, 2016)

Controversial peace agreements between some state governments and criminal groups. It has been obvious that the federal government in its attempts to stop terrorist attacks has not been commendable as several failures have been recorded. The state governments of Sokoto, Katsina and Zamfara in an attempt to stop the incessant attacks by terrorists, engaged in direct negotiations, engaged in direct negotiations and offered amnesties and other incentives to end the violent attacks. Others negotiated to release all arrested terrorists in exchange for hostages. All these attempts failed due to some reasons such as a lack of a central command and a common goal making negotiations difficult. Also, the dialogues excluded the local communities that are affected by these violent acts. these failed negotiations have led to increase in attacks especially on farmers and their communities.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the political landscape in Nigeria has played a pivotal role in providing fertile ground for the growth of terrorism. Historical grievances, ethnic tensions, and power struggles have created a breeding ground for radical ideologies to take root. The study explored how political instability, corruption, and ineffective governance have contributed to the emergence and resilience of terrorist groups, as disenfranchised populations became more susceptible to radicalization. Economic factors also feature prominently in the analysis, as poverty, unemployment, and economic inequality become catalysts for the recruitment and sustenance of terrorist organizations. The unequal distribution of resources, particularly in regions where terrorism is most prevalent, exacerbates socio-economic disparities and creates an environment ripe for extremist ideologies to flourish. The study examines how addressing economic grievances and fostering inclusive economic development can serve as a countermeasure to the allure of terrorism. Furthermore, the social dynamics within Nigeria are scrutinized to understand how cultural and religious influences contribute to the perpetuation of terrorism. The study explores further how religious extremism, exacerbated by a lack of religious tolerance, has fueled sectarian violence and provided a foundation for radical ideologies to take root. It also analyzes the impact of education and social services in countering extremist narratives and fostering resilience against terrorist recruitment. Thus, a comprehensive and integrated approach to address the political economy of terrorism in Nigeria is encouraged. It emphasizes the need for effective governance, economic reforms, and social initiatives that promote inclusivity and tolerance. By understanding and mitigating the root causes of terrorism, Nigeria can hope to build a more stable and secure future, where the menace of terrorism is effectively countered through a combination of political, economic, and social strategies.

Recommendations

The Nigerian government has done quite a lot in stripping some of the efforts of terrorism by the Boko Haram but their efforts have been truncated by the activities of insurgents and

bandits which makes it difficult for great success to be recorded in the fight of terrorism. We believe that the fight against terrorism can be strengthened in the following ways: We agree with Nchi (2013) that effort at counter-terrorism should include an effective network for intelligence gathering and analysis; Strategic surveillance aimed at dictating membership, motivation, and operational modalities of the sect; Clinical investigation and prognostication of the socio-psychological and socio-economic currents that underlie the emergence, growth and sustenance of the sect and its activities; Identifying and foreclosing sources of inspiration, funding and recruitment to the sect; Proactive engagement of civil society stakeholders in the fight against the sect; and Tactical exploration of the diplomatic option in an attempt to come to terms with legitimate (if any) grievances of the sect. If the nation is interested in restoring hope for its citizens, the government should go back to their drawing board to ensure that insecurity be fought tooth and nail in collaboration with the international community to make the country safe again. By so doing, the nation would be open to foreign investments thereby opening up to economic development. Nigerian government must rise to address the challenges of mis-governance and the consequent ills of poverty that fuels disaffection that creates the templates for easy recruitment of individuals into terrorist organizations. Nigeria as a nation must answer the important questions as to: what is happening to unemployment? What is happening to poverty? What is happening to education? These questions provide guidance to ending the menace of banditry, terrorism and violence across the country. Participatory democracy that addresses the atmosphere of alienation by the citizenry should be considered an imperative. Nigeria's democratic institutions should be strengthened to reenact faith and hope in the institutions of the State.

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