

**Analysis of the Economics of Terrorism in Nigeria:
Boko Haram and Movement for Emancipation of the
Niger Delta in Perspective**

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ABSTRACT

Nigeria has been making headlines in the last decade following the activities of Boko Haram and the Nigeria Delta militants due to their terrorist's attacks. The economic conditions of Nigeria most especially Poverty, unemployment and literacy level have not reduced commensurate with Nigeria's economic development. The rise of terrorist groups such as Boko Haram and Niger Delta militancy has been linked to the poor economic conditions of Nigeria that has persisted over the years. This research aims to find the relationship between poor economic conditions and terrorism in Nigeria. Data on terrorist activities and economic indicators of poverty, unemployment GDP per capita, inflation, and the literacy rate for the period 1970-2013 will be analysed. A multivariate co-integration analysis will be carried out to determine the relationship between economic conditions and terrorism in Nigeria.

The research is structured in five chapters; Chapter one is the introduction and set out the objectives, the research question and hypothesis for research, Chapter two reviews relevant literature in terrorism studies with a focus on the economics of terrorism. Chapter three centres on research design and methodology with particular emphasis on the methodology employed in the conduct of this research. Chapter four covers the data analysis and presentation of the result to test the hypothesis. The final and fifth chapter concludes the research with conclusion and recommendations.

Keywords: Terrorism, Economic conditions, Nigeria, Co-integration.

ÖZ

Boko Haram ve Nijerya Deltası militanlarının yaptıkları saldırılarla son on yılda, Nijerya terörist saldırılarını manşetlere taşımaktadır. Fakirlik, işsizlik ve düşük okuryazarlık düzeyi gibi önemli sorunlar Nijerya'nın ekonomik kalkınmasıyla orantılı olarak değişmemektedir. Boko Haram ve Nijerya Deltası militanları gibi terörist grupların artışı yıllardır devam eden kötü ekonomik koşullarla doğru orantılıdır. Bu tez, Nijerya'daki kötü ekonomik koşullar ile terörizm arasındaki ilişkiyi bulmayı amaçlamaktadır. Tez için 1970- 2013 yılları arasındaki terörist faaliyetler, ekonomik verilerle fakirlik, işsizlik ve enflasyon oranları ile okuma yazma oranları analiz edildi. Nijerya'daki ekonomik koşullar ile terörizm arasındaki ilişkiyi anlamak için çok değişkenli eş-bütünleşme analizi yapıldı.

Tez beş bölümden oluşmaktadır. Birinci bölüm giriş bölümüdür. Tez sorusunu, tezin amaçlarını ve hipotezi içermektedir. İkinci bölüm terör ekonomisi üzerinde durarak terörizmle ilgili literatür çalışmalarından bahsetmektedir. Üçüncü bölüm araştırmanın yürütülmesinde kullanılan araştırma tasarımı ve metodolojik bilgileri içermektedir. Dördüncü bölüm analiz bölümüdür ve hipotezi test etmek için verileri sunmaktadır. Son ve beşinci bölüm ise araştırmanın sonucunu ve önerileri içermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Terörizm, Ekonomik koşullar, Nijerya, Eş-bütünleşim

DEDICATION

Dedicated to my Daughter Safeeya Ilham and Son Muhammad Mustapha

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAPW	Academic Associates Peace Works
AQIM	Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
CBN	Central Bank of Nigeria
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GTD	Global Terrorism Database
GTI	Global Terrorism Index
FSI	Failed State Index
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INF	Inflation rate
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
ISWAP	Islamic State West Africa Province
JTF	Joint Task Force
LRA	Lords Resistance Army
LTY	Literacy rate
MUJAO	Movement for Oneness and Jihad in the West Africa
MEND	Movement for Emancipation of the Niger Delta
MOSOP	Movement for Survival of the Ogoni People
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics, Nigeria
NPA	Philippine New People's Army
PTY	Poverty rate
RAF	West German Rote Armee Fraktion
START	Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism
TI	Terrorism Incident
UNM	Unemployment Rate
WDI	World Development Index

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Africa is a region blessed and rich in human and natural resources. The region accounts largely for the least developed countries in the world. Social and economic conditions in many African countries are quite deplorable. Widespread poverty, youth restiveness and unemployment, high levels of illiteracy are some features characterising many African states. The region has been home to interstate wars, tribal and communal wars, armed insurrection and the current trend of rising terrorist groups across the region.

Highlighting the challenges facing Africa the United Nations Secretary General had this to say “Terrorism, trafficking in arms, drugs and people, and other transnational forms of organized crime are threatening security in Africa’s vast Sahel region.” (Ban Ki-Moon, 2013)

Africa is home to some of the deadliest terrorist groups, such as the Boko Haram group in Nigeria that has been terrorizing the Lake Chad region; al-Shabaab in East Africa with its terrorist attacks beyond the shores of Somalia; to AQIM and other terrorist groups in the Sahel region that pervades the land of Algeria, Mali and Mauritania.

Nigeria has been on the headlines following the activities of Boko Haram. Prior to the emergence of Boko Haram, the Nigerian state had to struggle with the activities of Nigeria Delta militants. The two groups are largely a product of Nigeria's failure in governance which has resulted in youth joblessness, rising poverty levels and widening of the gap between the rich and the poor. Boko Haram is seen as a product of large scale socio-economic and religious insecurity, its ideology perfectly fit into historical narratives and modern grievances. (Forest, 2012) Religious manipulation, manifest poverty, and political discontent are factors that breed terrorism seen as the struggle between the oppressor and the oppressed. (Ajayi, 2012) In the Southern part of Nigeria, armed militants have continued to carry out deadly attacks that often paralyze oil and gas facilities from time to time. These attacks mainly target military personnel, oil workers and sometimes engage in hostage taking/kidnapping, bombing and assassinations. (Obi, 2015) The grievances of the Niger Delta militants are economic in nature, been a predominantly agrarian community that engages in fishing and farming. The activities of oil companies have denied them the available fertile land to engage in their agricultural activities. Furthermore, nothing has been given to them in return, to alleviate their fears. The region being the life wire of the Nigerian economy is lagging behind in all human and development indices.

Terrorism as a concept has continued to generate mixed and conflicting interpretations. Efforts to discern its root causes have proved inconclusive. Terrorism can be founded on the interplay of a number of factors such as lack of economic outlook, relative deprivation, political repression and a failed state system. The most striking conclusion is that these factors alone may not necessarily lead to terrorism, but may require a unifying idea and an appropriate mechanism to channel

these into an enviable force that will unleash terror against a perceived enemy. (Mair, 2003)

The link between terrorism and economic conditions should not be underestimated. The emergence of terrorist activity cannot be solely explained by political and demographic factors, but partly explained by social and economic conditions. A causal link between economic conditions and the opportunity costs of terrorism can provide an explanation of violent activities of terrorist groups on their environment. (Freytag, Kruger, Meierrieks and Schneider 2011)

1.1 Research Problem Statement

The ambiguity surrounding the concept of terrorism has been an impediment towards conducting empirical research. There is less substantive knowledge of what the concept entails and this makes it necessary for a continuous engagement with the concept. However, this will contribute to the body of research in the field. The research problem is aimed at finding the relationship between poor economic conditions and terrorism in Nigeria with the Boko Haram and MEND as cases in point. There are many shared views and public opinion on the causes of terrorism in Nigeria. This research is part of many that aims to understand if the rise of terrorism and its sustenance can be explained by economic motives and considerations. This research is not suggesting that terrorism in Nigeria can be solely explained by economic considerations, but research aims to find out if a link exists between economic conditions and terrorism.

1.2 Research Questions

1.2.1 Which Poor Economic Conditions in Nigeria Lead to Terrorism?

The above research question aims to find out if poor economic conditions (measured by poverty, unemployment, inflation, GDP per capita, and literacy level) have any relationship with terrorism experienced in Nigeria. It seeks to find out if the lower levels of GDP per capita, poverty, unemployment, inflation, and literacy level can provide justification for terrorism perpetrated in Nigeria. It will also seek to analyze if improvement in any of these economic conditions in Nigeria can lead to lower levels of terrorism. By doing this it will determine if terrorism and economic conditions in Nigeria are closely related and more precisely if a change in one can lead to a change in another.

1.2.2 To What Extent Poor Economic Conditions Explain Terrorism in Nigeria?

This research question objective is to provide an insight of the particular relationship between economic variables and terrorism in Nigeria. It seeks to find out if a short or long run relationship exists between economic variables and terrorism in Nigeria. This will provide a broader perspective of the direction of the relationship between economic variables and terrorism.

1.3 Hypothesis

1.3.1 Hypothesis

There is a positive relationship between poverty, unemployment, inflation, GDP per capita, literacy level and terrorism in Nigeria.

1.3.2 Null Hypothesis

There is no positive relationship between poverty, unemployment, inflation, GDP per capita, literacy level and terrorism in Nigeria.

1.4 Methodology of the Study

This is a multivariate research with the use of co-integration, Boko Haram and MEND will serve as case study in explaining economic conditions and terrorism. The data for the study will cover the period from 1970-2013. Terrorist incidents as well as casualties of the time period will be analysed with the economic variables to determine their relationship. The data set of terrorism to be used will be drawn from a compilation of terrorist activities by START known as GTD. The use of co-integration is very apt in explaining relationship between stationary and non-stationary variables. A Unit root test will be used to determine if the variables are stationary or not, if they are stationary, co-integration can be done and if they are not, it means a relationship does not exist between them.

The GTD provides a comprehensive data on terrorist incidents around the world since 1970. The data set has criteria for an attack to be termed a terrorist. The incident must be carried out intentionally; it must consist of some degree of violence or threat of violence and must be carried out by non state actors. In addition to the above an incident must fulfil two additional criteria out of three. Firstly, the motive must either be economic, political, social or religious. Secondly, it needs to have corroboration of coercion or aimed at sending a message other than the immediate victims and thirdly, it has to be beyond the conventions of permissible warfare. (GTD Codebook, 2014)

The economic variables of the determinants of terrorism will be drawn from both national and international data institutions. The WDI, IMF, CBN, and NBS will guide the analysis and conduct of research.

The dataset will be analyzed using statistical econometric techniques involving co-integration and Error Correction Model in estimating the relationship between two dependent variables, the number of terrorist incidents per year (TIs) and the number of victims per incident (VI) and macroeconomic determinants of terrorism as independent variables which are GDP per capita (GDPPP), unemployment (UNM), inflation (INF), Poverty (PO) and literacy level (LIT). The use of co-integration is to enable me understand if a long-run equilibrium exists on the relationship between macroeconomic variables and the incidence of terrorism. Co-integration involves testing and estimation relationship between stationary linear relations and non stationary time series. The use of co-integration is it provides a process where non stationary data are used to avoid a spurious relationship.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

Various theories have been advanced that offer useful explanation on terrorism. These theories are not all-encompassing; they explain phenomena from a particular point of view. Robert Cox (1981) had this to say “Theory is always for someone and for some purpose.” (as cited in Devetak, 2005:141) Therefore, there is no single theory that can wholly explain Boko Haram and Niger Delta militancy in Nigeria. Some theories advanced so far include, the failed state theory, theocratic state theory, and conspiracy theory. These theories though useful, could not offer explanation on the economics of terrorism in Nigeria. A brief look at their postulations will suffice.

The weak/failed state theory argues that a weak or failed state provides an opportunity for terrorist to operate, thrive and grow. Weak or failed states are those states which lack full control over their territory. The Nigerian state has vigorously

contested the notion that it is a failed state, but indicators have shown, it is close to. Economic sabotage of the Nigerian state through oil bunkering, destruction of oil pipelines, the existence of ethnic militias, the lack of legitimacy from the Nigerian people are indicators that the Nigerian state, though not a failed state, but can be characterized as a weak state. (Alozieuwa, 2012) This theory offers some explanation, but fails to show why people join Boko Haram and Niger Delta militancy, and why there are no similar terrorist groups within other parts of Nigeria.

The theocratic state theory argument is solely related to the Boko Haram group. Its central thesis is that Boko Haram seeks the establishment of an Islamic state. The theocratic state theory of terrorism is not only shared by Boko Haram, but by other Salafi-Jihadist groups around the world, like al Qaeda, al Shabab, and recently ISIS. The rejection of the offer from the Nigerian president for dialogues by Boko Haram on the grounds that he is a *kafir* and he should convert to Islam before any dialogue points to the theocratic theory of Boko Haram. (Alozieuwa, 2012) The theory is useful to some extent, but fails to offer explanations on why other Salafi groups that have been in existence prior to Boko Haram have not threaded the same path. The criticisms of Boko Haram from these Salafi groups have been the loudest within the Islamic community and the fact that a majority of Nigerian Muslims condemn Boko Haram and its activities.

The above theories have no explanatory power in relation to the economics of terrorism in Nigeria. The theoretical framework for this thesis is anchored on an economic rational choice theory. The rational choice theory can offer useful explanations of Boko Haram and Niger Delta militancy from an economic point of view. The rational choice theory takes individuals who engage in terrorism as rational

beings, and their behaviour is motivated by the costs, benefits, and the opportunity costs of violent activities. It believes terrorists are *homo economicus* who weigh the cost and benefit before engaging in terrorist activities. They however, do not act in a vacuum. If the cost of terrorist activity is great, or if peaceful means are available which can be as effective as a terrorist activity they will not choose terrorist activity being rational actors. (Muller and Weede, 1990)

The 'rational' in the rational choice theory means a level of strategic thinking in which information is analyzed and definition of the situation arrived from a particular point of view while considering the likely opportunities and alternatives in the process of attaining maximum expected benefits. The concept of 'choice' means that criminals weigh their decisions to commit crimes they believe the benefits far exceed what to get if their actions were to be directed to other alternatives. (Perry and Hasisi, 2015)

The rational choice theory of terrorism is based on three foundations. Firstly, is the opportunity cost of terrorism in which poor economic condition lowers the opportunity cost of terrorism. Secondly, the material cost of terrorism which is premised on the operating cost of terrorism. If a terrorist group has public support and sympathy they will find a sanctuary from the population. From an economic point of view if economic conditions are poor and unfavourable, the opportunity cost of terrorism will be lower and terrorist will have more popular public support. Thirdly, the benefits of terrorism which are closely linked to the tactical and strategic goals of terrorism suggest if economic conditions are poor the likely pay-off from terrorism is attractive. (Meierrieks, 2015)

When economic conditions are poor, the opportunity cost for engaging in terrorism is low, invariably making it more attractive in order to drive mental rewards. (Freytag, et al, 2011) Terrorist being rational actors seek to use terrorism to effect a socio-political change because they are subjected to constraints of manpower and financial resources. The rational choice further believes terrorists consider the benefits of either gaining government concessions and or the costs of punishment for their actions. The Rational choice theory is criticized for its excessive generalization; it also fails to focus on the historically and geographically specific traits of socio-economic systems. (Hudsgon, 2012)

The application of the rational choice theory and its utility in explaining the two case studies is well founded. MEND as a group is aimed at fighting the government of Nigeria over the exploitation, environmental damage and marginalization of the people of the Niger Delta. (Agbedo, 2012) Land dispossession, environmental pollution, marginalization, and the inability to reap the gains of oil exploration from Nigerian government and oil companies including employment opportunities are factors that motivated the Niger Delta militancy. (Courson, 2009) The recurrent oil spills and gas flaring due to the activities of national and international oil companies have degraded the environment and driven many from their means of subsistence – farming and fishing – and plunged them into endemic poverty. (Courson, 2009) A study conducted by AAPW to ascertain the nature and character of Niger Delta militants concludes among others that the vast majority of the militants are between the ages of twenty to thirty-three, unemployed, economically powerless, and barely literate. (as cited in Asuni, 2009) The Niger Delta militancy fits into the rational theory in view of their stated objectives and the character of the groups. This is a

militancy borne out of environmental and economic underdevelopment and backwardness. In the past, civil rights activists from the region have pushed for similar demands that were unattended by the government and oil companies. The Nigerian state as a result militarised the region to deter potential activists. As rational actors, the militants having explored other means in the past, and saw it as an opportunity to make economic gains resorted to violent activities.

The Boko Haram terrorism in spite of its religious undertones has economic motivations. The sect has shown its disdain with the state of affairs in Nigeria and believed the implementation of *sharia* will curb the menace of corruption that has fostered poverty and underdevelopment in Nigeria. The obscurity surrounding Boko Haram main objective point to a clear conclusion, the desire to Islamize Nigeria and change the status quo given their dissatisfaction with the state of affairs. (David, 2013) The membership of the group comprises mainly the unemployed, illiterates, and people of poor background who have joined Boko Haram in order to benefit from the initial welfare, food and shelter provided by the group. The looting of banks and extortion of businesses by the group provided an opportunity for desperate youths to join the sect as a means of enriching themselves. A recent Boko Haram member was handed over to JTF by his father, however, confessed to have acquired two cars and buried millions of naira in the ground. (as cited in David, 2013) The rational choice theory is useful in explaining Boko Haram if looked at through the material conditions in northern Nigeria that has provided the right climate for Boko Haram to leverage on. Cronin (2002) argued that religious terrorists view their act as a historical struggle to cleanse the society of its ills. (as cited in Sedgwick, 2004) The North East of Nigeria is the least developed and lagging behind across other sections

of the country in all economic indicators, this points to the utility of the theory. The youths and the poverty-stricken that joined Boko Haram saw it as an opportunity to better their lots and possibly change the society for the better.

1.6 Justification of Research Study

The subject matter of terrorism is quite difficult discerning its underlying causes. It requires a coherent, careful and systematic inquiry. Terrorism in Nigeria has generated a greater concern for a thorough analysis than ever before, hence the motivations for this research. This research is quite different in a number of ways from previous research on the causes of terrorism in Nigeria. Firstly, most researches on the causes of terrorism are based on a global wide empirical assessment which tends to generalize the causes of terrorism. This research has however in the realization of this problem limited the scope of study to Nigeria in order to take into account national peculiarities which may account for the driving force in the emergence and sustenance of terrorist groups. By limiting the scope to only Nigerian cases it will allow for deeper analysis.

The second motivation for this research is that there is yet an empirical research on the relationship between economic variables and terrorism in Nigeria. Most research tends to focus on the terrorist organizations and their activities. The lack of quantitative research on the economic determinants of terrorism in Nigeria motivated this research. This research has taken a leap by providing first quantitative analysis on the economic determinants of terrorism in Nigeria.

Thirdly, most of the country wide empirical research on the causes of terrorism are not quite recent and may not capture current realities. This research is quite recent considering the time frame selected 1970-2013 for the conduct of research

1.6 Outline of Thesis

This thesis has been structured into five chapters. The first chapter is an introductory chapter and sets out the background information, the research problem, research questions, hypothesis, and research justification. The chapter also provides the methodology to be used in conducting research. This chapter serves as the ontological foundation for the conduct of this research.

The second chapter will focus on the relevant literature in the field of terrorism and economic determinants. The task of this chapter is to see the general trend in the conduct of research on terrorism and find a niche in which this current research can contribute to the growing body of literature on terrorism. It will also highlight the terrorist challenges facing Africa before narrowing it down to Nigeria being the scope of this study. Boko Haram terrorism and MEND will also be looked at in this chapter. This chapter literally serves as a literature review.

Third chapter of the thesis provides insight on research, methodology and design employed in the conduct of this research and its justification. The chapter will also trace the development of positivism in the social sciences and the division between qualitative and quantitative research. This chapter is basically an application of research design to the research problem.

The fourth chapter will present the descriptive and statistical results of research. This chapter will centre on the analytical work of research. The results will enable us to

accept or reject the hypothesis if a relationship exists or not, and the significance of such relationship. The Fifth and final chapter concludes the thesis and provides recommendations for policy makers.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The rise of terrorist activities across the globe cannot be solely explained by conflicts in the Middle East and South Asia, but by the recent surge in terrorist attacks such as the Boko Haram bombings in Nigeria and attacks by *al Shabab* in Kenya and Somalia. These and many other attacks highlight a growing trend of terrorist activities in Africa. (Wali, 2014)

The likelihood of an African variant of terrorism cannot be ruled out due to a number of factors which are the necessary ingredients for breeding terrorism. The lack of economic perspectives, deprivation, political repression, loss of cultural identity and dysfunctional states are what characterized most African states. All that is needed in such a gloomy picture is a unifying idea to translate these factors into direct violence. (Mair, 2003)

Terrorist violence has occurred across parts of the world and under different reasons and circumstances. Terrorist activity witnessed in the Middle East is not the only terrorist activity the world had to contend with. History is a replica of groups that have resorted to political violence in the past in an attempt to achieve their goals. (Lutz and Lutz, 2004)

Divergent accounts exist on the exact origin of terrorism with some scholars arguing it is as old as human history. The most reliable account of terrorism occurred in the first century BC. A Jewish terrorist group known as the *Zealots-Sicarii* carried out a revolt against Roman rule using daggers to murder their victims. This event later created an anxiety and led to a mass insurrection among the populace. The other earlier account of terrorism includes the Hindu thugs and the Muslim Assassins. There is however, a growing consensus that the origin of terrorism is traceable to the French revolution. (Cronin, 2003)

The origin of terrorism dating back to the French revolution occurred during the reign of Robespierre. Afterwards in the 19th century terrorist began to be viewed synonymously with an alarmist, but this later fell out of use. The characterization of terrorist as alarmist was a reflection of the violent events perpetrated during the French revolution and was used to dampen the proponents of radical reform. Later on throughout the 19th century terrorism began to be described as and seen as terrorism from below rather than from above. More specifically, was the description of the term to connote the wave of anarchist violence in some European countries in the later part of the 19th century. The event of the Second World War and its aftermath saw the application of the term to describe violent movements against colonial rule in the struggle for decolonization. The controversy surrounding colonial rule resulted in some form of reluctance to label such movements as terrorists. (Guelke, 2006)

Six years are marked out as the historical watershed in the evolution of modern day terrorism. Firstly, in 1968 two events stand out; the Latin American insurgency and Palestinian terrorism; and the Iranian Shiite revolution of 1979. Thirdly, is the suicide

bombings that happened in Beirut and finally the 9/11 attacks of 2001 set the final stage of classical terrorism. (Chaliand and Blin, 2007)

The historical chronology in the evolution of terrorism is marked with some salient features. Firstly, it has an unofficial character and its claim of representing public feelings. Secondly, the naive belief that acts of violence will re-shape the political landscape. Thirdly, terrorists have often attacked civilians in order to demonstrate the inability of the state to protect its citizenry. Lastly, terrorists underestimate the citizen's aversion to acts of political violence. (Roberts, 2014)

2.2 The Concept of Terrorism

“Terrorism is the use of violence or the threat of violence with the primary purpose of generating a psychological impact beyond the immediate victims or object of attack for a political motive” (Richards 2014: p.230).

The concept of terrorism has defied a universally acceptable definition. Scholars have preferred one definition over another which reflects the diversity of the concept. The need for an acceptable definition of terrorism will free the concept from some challenges. A universally acceptable definition will help in facilitating international cooperation against terrorism. The lack of a universally acceptable definition has made the concept face constant abuse by state and non-state actors who define the concept to suit their political and strategic interests. Similarly, a consensus on the meaning of terrorism will help scholars and policy makers to come up with methods, approaches that will guide research in the field. (Richards, 2014)

A definition of terrorism should take into account some factors. Firstly, the role of the individual, groups and state in the act. Some definitions often connote the notion that terrorism is the prerogative of non-state actors. Secondly, a definition of

terrorism should take into account the nature and type of terrorist attacks. This is in view of the fact that terrorist attacks could be selective, random, suicidal, or armed attacks among others. Finally, a definition should highlight the motive behind such attacks. Three preliminary assumptions should underlie any attempt at defining terrorism. No act of violence can be judged as inherently terrorist; and terrorism is employed by a variety of actors and any definition that is perpetrator or cause without addressing the motive is incomplete; and lastly civilians and non combatants are not the only targets of terrorist. (Richards, 2014)

Terrorism is a term so ambiguous at both political and ontological levels. Politically, it is mostly used in derogatory terms and often to debase the enemy. Ontologically, terrorism connotes different entities; an act of violence, a group of people employing violence, a strategy in the conduct of violence. Terrorism enjoys this flexibility which is not applicable to other concepts such as war, riot and genocide. Furthermore, terrorism as an “ism” is an abstract concept that can be applied in several ways. The most conceptually dominant school defines terrorism as any violence against non combatants. (Sanchez-Cuenca, 2014)

Schmid (2004) in his seminal work *framework for conceptualising terrorism* situates terrorism within five climes. Terrorism as/and crime; politics; warfare; communication; religious fundamentalism. Terrorism as a crime is not only considered illegal but illegitimate. National and international laws strongly abhors terrorism and have made it a criminal act. Terrorism is not only criminal, but politically motivated and used as an instrument of political strategy. Terrorism also involves the use of warfare, which has been evident since ancient times. The connotation of terrorism as communication involves the use of propaganda in

attempts to seek relevance and publicity. Terrorism as religious fundamentalism involves the use of religion to perpetrate violence. History is replete with religiously motivated terrorist attacks. (Schmid, 2004)

Terrorism as a word in its usage connotes evil, indiscriminate violence or brutality. To say someone has been terrorized is to imply that the actors or violence is not morally acceptable and contrary to basic ethical standards that ordinary and reasonable human being might hold. Terrorism is politically motivated and it is violent or threatens the use of violence. It aims to generate fear beyond the immediate target audience and to increase the power capability of the group undertaking it. (Lutz and Lutz, 2004)

The term terrorism should not be seen as an identifiable ideology or movement, but rather as a set of method or strategies of combat. Terrorism makes it justifiable violence directed at non combatants with the aim of achieving an impact beyond the immediate target. (Bjorgo, 2005)

Terrorism implies any threat, its conception and eventual application in the form of actual violence directed against the populace with the aim of creating any damage that disrupts the peaceful order in a society in an effort to bring about social change or to influence political decisions. (Brinkel and Aithida, 2012)

Terrorism is thus a practical response to a political problem that resorts to the use of violence instead of following normal democratic processes. Two types of terrorist can be distinguished from this definition, terrorist that operate in liberal societies and those who operate under repressive regimes. Terrorist may operate in liberal societies

and pursue goals not shared by the majority of the community. On the other hand terrorist in repressive regimes may operate in circumstances the general community shared their views and believed the goals cannot be achieved through a democratic peaceful process. (Clapman, 2003)

The objectives which terrorist are seeking are quite different ranging from a change in government policies, a change in the leadership of a government and or a change in the whole structure of government. Other can have quite more complex objective such as changing a state boundary, to seeking an autonomous region, alignment with another state or an independent state of their own. One most important feature of terrorism is that it is both a technique and a tactic used by different groups. Terrorism as a technique is used as a means to an end. The objective is what differentiates between those who are willing to resort to violence from those who are not. (Lutz and Lutz, 2006)

A careful review of some of the definitions of terrorism reveals some levels of agreement among scholars about what the concept entails. Terrorism is a calculated use of violence and intimidation; it is directed at a large section of the public; it aims to intimidate or pressure a government or community to concede some demands.

Terrorism for the purpose of this research is defined as the threat to use force to cause fear, coerce, or intimidate or the actual use of illegitimate force to commit violence for the purpose of achieving a particular goal - economic, political, social or religious.

2.3 Trends in and Causes of Terrorism

2.3.1 Trends in Modern Terrorism

A number of factors have been put forward for the resort to and rise in terrorist activities. Firstly, modern day states have a substantial arsenal of weapons which terrorist groups do not necessarily have and cannot favourably compete with states in conventional warfare. This has resulted in terrorist groups using unconventional methods such as suicide bombings, and assassinations to make their impacts known. Secondly, terrorist targets are more easily and readily available than ever before. The concentration of people in urban areas and large buildings has made such places easy targets by terrorist groups to make high maximum impact. Thirdly, the growth of mass media and televised cable news stations has enabled terrorist to reach a larger audience thus, making them more prominent. Fourthly, technological advancement has led to the manufacture of lethal weapons that terrorists can use to achieve a high maximum impact from their deadly attacks. (Adegbulu, 2013)

Schmid (2013) argues that terrorism is different from other forms of violence such as warfare in search for political ends. He further stressed that in the pursuit of their aim terrorist look out for two targets, primary and secondary; this is a distinguishing feature reminiscent for terrorists. The primary targets are what the terrorist considers political opponents which could be the state, its institutions and those in authority while secondary targets are those who usually bear the cost of terrorist violence who are mostly innocent civilians and defenceless non-combatants. They are used as a ploy to send a message to real primary targets. (as cited in Brighi, 2015)

Terrorist groups are quite adaptive and should be seen from three lenses: as an organization, as a network and or a social movement. As an organization terrorist groups can change from a formalised to organic structure, while as a network they can change from a resilient to a fragmented and as social movements they can change from an embedded to a disarticulated. (Comas, Shrivastava and Martin, 2015)

Certain identifiable features have been noticeable in the evolution of modern day terrorism. Beginnings from the late 1990's four identifiable trends were identified. The first trend was an increase in motivated terrorist attacks, followed by a reduction in the number of overall attacks with an upsurge in the number of religiously motivated attacks. Statistics from the St-Andrews University chronology of international terrorism has shown that even before 9/11, terrorist organizations that are religiously motivated were becoming prominent. The data shows of identifiable international terrorist attacks in 1968 none could be categorized religious. However, By 1980, there were two incidences which were categorized religiously motivated international terrorism. In the year 1995, the number jumped to 25 out of 58 attacks recorded. (Cronin, 2003)

Rapport (2003) believes there is a link between history and the trend in modern day terrorism. The first was the anarchist wave that began from the 1880's while the second wave was the result of the anti-colonial movements in the 1920's. The third wave began in the late 1960's and was associated with the revolutionaries of the new left. The final wave of terrorism is the religiously motivated beginning from 1979. (Lutz and Lutz, 2004) The anarchist wave owes its motivation over the failure of democratic reforms in Europe in the 19th and 20th century. The anarchists were keen on the abolition of government and resort to killing and assassinating of government

officials. The anti-colonial wave is borne out of the drive for self-determination and decolonisation that began in the 1920's. Colonial officials, notably the police and army became the targets in this wave of terrorism. The third wave is in protest to the imperialism of the West. Tactics such as hostage taking, kidnapping and assassinations characterized this wave. The last wave of religiously motivated terrorism is geared towards the entrenchment of a religious state or seeking religious self-determination. Methods employed in this period include, brutal violence, slaughter and religious fundamentalism. (Lutz and Lutz, 2004)

In a similar vein, two waves of terrorism can be distinguished in recent times. The first was experienced in the 1970's as fallout for the crisis in the Middle East. The second wave is the aftermath of the 9/11 and the rise of global Jihadist threat. (Sanchez-Cuenca, 2014) There is also a shift in attacks by terrorist groups as argued by Walter Laquer (1999) when he pointed out that old terrorism attacks are aimed at selected targets while new terrorism is indiscriminate in its attacks aimed to achieve a large number of casualties. (as cited in Alapiki, 2015)

The aftermath of September 11 attacks and the weakening of al-Qaida might lead to an end of fourth wave terrorism – religious terrorism and the birth of fifth wave terrorism associated with 'lone terrorist', 'solo terrorist' and self-radicalized individuals who will become a great danger to society. (Brighi, 2015)

2.3.2 Causes of Terrorism

The importance of understanding the root causes of terrorism cannot be underestimated. It is argued that understanding root causes of terrorism will help a long way in bringing an end to the menace. Arguments continue to linger on the exact cause of terrorism. There is however, no single cause to explain the cause of

terrorism globally. The cause of terrorist activity varies from one terrorist group to another.

The first line of argument in modern day terrorism is the use of religion to cause violence. The use of religion to justify acts of terrorism is not only ancient but as well contemporary. In the history of mankind, terrorist have often used religion as a means to perpetrate violence. Religiously motivated terrorism could be carried out by either the majority or minority religion in a country. Such groups resort to violence to assert the purity of their religion or force governments to make laws and act based on certain religious doctrines. (Lutz and Lutz, 2004)

Socio-economic variables have also been put forward to explain the causes of terrorism. The deterioration of economic conditions such as high levels of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy among others is seen as driving factors of terrorism. Higher levels of unemployment will enable terrorist groups to recruit more educated, and an experienced suicide terrorist who in turn will attack important targets. (Berrebi and F. Klor, 2012)

Williams (2008) takes a different outlook on the cause of terrorism by blaming it on the adverse effects of globalization. He stressed out that eventhough terrorism has a long historical background, an important factor in the rise of violent non-state actors is the effect of globalization. Globalization has stressed out the capacity of the state to manage economic affairs. States no longer have exclusively control of the flow of arms globally. This has made non-state actors have access to weapons more easily and to challenge governmental authority. (as cited in Adams and Ogbonnaya, 2014) Espousing similar concerns Hoffmann (2002) views globalization as a contributing

factor by creating inequalities within and among states. These inequalities have fuelled frustrations within states that often resort to violence. He further claimed the spread of market capitalism occasioned by globalization has in some instances destroyed local economic structures that later on resort to violence as a means of resisting change. (as cited in Lutz and Lutz, 2004)

Discrimination of minorities in the form of employment opportunities, access to government facilities such as health, education and other social services has helped serve as a catalyst for the development of minority group grievances directed against the state in the form of domestic terrorist activity. (Piazza, 2011) In similar vein societies that are socially fragmented will more likely provide labour force for terrorism. The lack of connections among social groups in a society with respect to culture, religion, income and status will lead to a gap which might be social and indicating poor interrelationships among each other. (Ozdogan, 2008)

Bjorgo (2005) takes a rather different view in assessing the causes of terrorism. In his widely used term 'root causes' he categorised causes of terrorism into four clusters, structural, facilitator, motivational, and triggering causes. Structural causes are those causes which have a direct effect on the lives of people in many ways that they may or may not comprehend. Issues such as globalization, relative deprivation, and class structure are all seen as a structural catalyst. Facilitator causes are those which accelerate or make terrorism attractive. They are the prime movers in the act of terrorism. Issues like easy transportation of weaponry, weak control of territory are some of the prime movers of terrorism. Motivational causes are those actual grievances which give terrorist the motivation to act. The existence of political or charismatic leaders in any terrorist group enables it to translate structural causes into

motivational causes. The last root cause is triggering which are the final actions or events that make terrorist strike. Provocative events or any outrageous act committed by an enemy most at times serve as a triggering cause. (Bjorgo, 2005)

Ethnic-nationalism has also fuelled terrorism. The desire to breakaway and form a separatist state can lead to the formation of terrorist group. This was evident in the 20th century in the struggle for independence from colonial masters where some groups resorted to violence as a means of securing their independence. (Grothaus, 2011) Cultural and identity clash famously advanced by Huntington (1996) stressed clash of civilization as factor explaining violent conflicts. (as cited in Krieger and Meirrieks, 2011)

Economic deprivation associated with poverty and inequality has featured prominently in the arguments for the causes of terrorism. Gurr (1970) came up with the relative deprivation explanation for the causes of terrorism. Relative deprivation argues when a difference exists between what an individual expects and what he gets from the economic distributive process will make them resort to violence. The significance of this postulation is that terrorist will find it easier to recruit frustrated followers. (Krieger and Meirrieks, 2011) In a related argument countries with a large IDP's are more likely to experience suicide terrorist attacks because of the problem of displacement and the human right abuses inherent in IDP's. This will create an environment where the displaced will likely carry out suicide terrorism to settle differences. (Choi and Piazza, 2014)

2.4 Terrorism and Economic Conditions

The debate about terrorism and economic conditions is an inconclusive one. Empirical research has resulted in varying results about the effect of poverty, economic growth, unemployment, and literacy level on terrorism. Two schools of thought can be distinguished from literature. On one hand, there are those who hold that economic conditions have a positive relationship with the occurrence of terrorism through feelings of deprivation, injustice and political tension. On the other sides of the spectrum are those who believe a negative relationship exists between economic conditions and terrorism and views economic policies irrelevant as a counter-terrorism initiative. (Burgoon, 2006)

History is awash with terrorist movements who attribute their struggle to socio-economic conditions of their society. For example, Vladimir I. Lenin (1906) attributed the Old Russian terrorism to economic disenfranchisement and unemployment. In the 20th century, left-wing revolutionaries such as RAF, and NPA referred to similar sentiments. The attempt to find a conclusive correlation between terrorism and economic condition has proved elusive. The heterogeneity of terrorism, differences in the causes of domestic and international terrorism and the problem of causation are factors that have made the task difficult. (Meierrieks, 2015)

Looking at the first school of the thought one can see explanations of the relationship between economic conditions and terrorism anchored on the belief man is a rational actor. If his life is uplifted, he will find no reason to partake in collective action or political violence. Economic growth inevitably leads to satisfaction of wants and will reduce the likelihood of resort to political violence. A negative growth will inevitably

lead to deprivation and will make people to rebel and torment trouble. (Muller and Weede, 1990) Bad economic times in a situation where the economy shrinks will lead to conflict. Dissidents who are short-changed in such situations will likely instigate violence in an effort to increase their share of the pie. (Blomberg, Hess and Weerapana, 2004) Poor socio-economic conditions in the form of economic discrimination, insufficient welfare policies partly determine terrorism by creating an opportunity cost of the terrorist to leverage on. (Freytag, et al, 2011) Another study found a result that varies over space and time, in the cold war period terrorism affected growth in Latin American countries at intermediate levels of development. In the cold war era, terrorism was inimical to African and Islamic countries having lower levels of political openness. (Meierreks and Gries, 2012) on the inflation terrorism nexus, Auvinen (1997) argued a positive relationship exists between the duo because a high inflation has a destabilizing effect on the economy which can precipitate social disorder. (as cited in Amjad, 2014)

Linking terrorism and educational level, the empirical research resulted in a country-specific conclusion. In a country where social, economic and political grievances are unfavourable, education may actually ease terrorist mobilization by raising feeling of frustration and deprivation. Similarly, lower levels of education in countries with poor economic conditions leads to more terrorism. (Brockhoft, Krieger, and Meierrieks, 2014) On the terrorism unemployment nexus, it was argued unemployment rate and income opportunities are complimentary and a rise in the unemployment rate, will decrease the opportunities for earning income which can instigate individuals to commit a crime. (Terande and Clement, 2014)

On the contrary, those who argued terrorism is not rooted in economic conditions based their premise on demographic, political and institutional factors. One study reveals an impartial judicial system in a society that values and respect physical integrity will be less prone to terrorism. (Gassbner, and Luechinger, 2011) Others argued societies with discrimination against minorities are more vulnerable to domestic terrorism. The status of minority groups is more important to terrorism than the overall economic status of a country. (Piazza, 2011) In another view, a society so diverse in ethnic, religious demography and a large multi-party system is more prone to experience terrorism than a homogenous one. Therefore, the social cleavage theory of party systems may be a better explanation for terrorism than the popular poverty hypothesis. (Piazza, 2006) In another study, it was discovered a negative relationship exists between terrorism and GDP. It argues terror increases with GDP per capita and rather terrorism is to be found in weak and failing states. (Kiskatos, Liebert and Schulze, 2011)

In another study, the nexus between education and terrorism is discovered to have a negative relationship. In an empirical study of terrorism among Palestinians, the study concludes higher education and a good standard of living is associated with membership of the terrorist organization and the likelihood of becoming a suicide bomber. (Barrebi, 2007) In a related study a positive correlation is found to exist between education and participation in terrorism. It was argued the highly educated tends to hold more extreme views and more willing to act on such views. A better-educated terrorist were found to be more effective in carrying out attacks. (Krueger, 2008)

2.5 Impact of Terrorism

There is no doubt terrorism has a debilitating effect on both human and material resources of a country. Terrorist attacks most of the times result in a countless number of death, injuries, psychological stress and loss of means of livelihood. The damage done to infrastructural facilities as a result of terrorist attacks leave far reaching consequences on the national economy, considering the resources needed to rebuild them.

Terrorism can negatively affect the economic growth of a country in a number of several ways. Terrorism diverts foreign direct investment by creating uncertainties in the minds of investors who prefer to invest in a climate that is favourable and safe to do business. Similarly, terrorism raises the costs associated with doing business in the forms of extra security measures and higher insurance premiums with far reaching consequences on the overall profit, growth and productivity of a company. Thirdly, terrorism dampens growth by destroying or degrading social overhead capital which is important in the day to day functioning of the state. Communication and transportation infrastructure affected by terrorist attacks will have dire economic consequences on a nation. Industries which are foreign inclined like tourism and airline industry are greatly affected by terrorist attacks. This is graver if the sector is a vital income generator for a country. Finally, a country that frequently receives foreign assistance, terrorism scare aids owing to stability concerns. (Gaibulloev and Sandler, 2011)

The US Congress Joint Economic Committee summarised four economic effects of terrorism to include damage to the human and physical stock of a country; increase

in the high levels of uncertainty in a country; an increase in government expenditure in counter-terrorism expenditures and diversion of resources from critical sectors of the economy; the negative effects on certain sectors of the economy (tourism and aviation). (Abadie and Gardeazabal, 2008)

2.6 Terrorism in Africa

Accounts of terrorism in the African continent have varied with slavery been seen as the origin of terrorism in the African continent. Slavery perpetrated violence in different forms by taking away able-bodied men and resources of the indigenous people. The Europeans disguised their missions on the pretext of commerce, Christianity and civilization. Terrorism and other forms of violence were employed in the efforts to exploit human and natural resources from the fifteenth up to the nineteenth century. Slavery has caused several deaths, blood was spilled, and mass murder committed. Families were shattered all in the name of extraction of wealth and capital. The act of enslaving Africans involved the use of warfare, banditry, kidnappings, torturing and destroying communities. All these and many other acts of violence qualify as terrorism. (Jalata, 2013)

The second wave of African experience with terrorism is colonialism. Some have argued colonialism provides a partial explanation of the history of recent African conflicts. The drawing up of boundaries that do not reflect social and ethnic dynamics fail to assist in fostering the desired unity which the political leadership can rely on. The colonial structure left by the colonialist further fostered the dependency between the colonies and their masters further alienating the people from their government. (Faria, 2004)

In the colonial period, Africans became susceptible to different forms of violence. Apart from the loss of sovereignty, resources of Africa were exploited through severe oppression. Colonialism left a legacy of dictatorship by installing cronies who owe allegiance to the former colonial masters while their citizens continued to be terrorized and live in absolute poverty and diseases. (Jalata, 2013)

In recent times, terrorism has been on the rise in Africa. In West Africa, for instance, terrorism has increased as a result of the activities of AQIM, MUJAO, Ansar dine, Boko Haram and other militant networks. (Jalata, 2013) Al Qaeda has increased its presence in Africa with zero influence in 2005 to a three established franchise in 2013. Repressive regimes in mostly Muslim populations and economic underdevelopment have provided a niche for Al Qaeda to infiltrate. (Cohen, 2013)

More specifically, the Sahel and the Maghreb in the last ten years have witnessed an increase of terrorist attacks by more than 500 percent from a low point of 204 experienced in the year 2009. (Alexander, 2012) Mali along with other countries in the Sahel region witnessed a rise in terrorist activities as a result of the fall of Ghaddafi in Libya. The subsequent collapse of Libya and the looting of arms cache provided terrorist groups in the region with arms that led to an escalation of violence. In Mali, three Islamist terrorist groups – AQIM, MUJAO and Ansar al dine became more prominent after the Libyan crisis. AQIM has its roots in the civil conflicts in Algeria of the 1990's. The group has presence for over a decade in Northern Mali. The group specializes in kidnap of Western foreigners mostly for ransom. MUJAO is a group that broke away from AQIM and has similar tactics and activities with AQIM. (Arieff, 2013) MUJAO has all the necessary features to qualify as an al-Qaida affiliate: these include unclearly defined origins, murky

leadership backstory, reliant on illicit financing, a penchant for participation in regional Jihad that draws international attention, operates and find solace in territorially ungoverned space to recruit, train and operate. (Huckabey, 2013)

In Eastern Africa, that is often described as the hotbed of the world because of the conflict in the region. The Somali-based *al-Ittihad al-Islami al Shabab* have been the most prominent and deadliest terrorist group in the region and is able to carry out attacks beyond Somalia up to Kenya, Uganda, and Ethiopia. The LRA is more of a domestic terror group that is fighting the government in Uganda. (Demeke and Gebru, 2014) *Al Shabab* has retained its capacity for terror; it carries on attacks, both within and outside Somalia. In July 2014, it detonated a car bomb at the entrance of Somali parliament. It's attacks in Kenya are a response to the country's intervention in the African Mission Forces in Somalia. (Villiers, 2014) For example, it carried out an attack in Westgate on September 2013 killing at least 59 civilians and injuring over 125 both Kenyans and foreigners. (Alexander, 2015) *Al Shabab* terrorism has largely been attributed to struggle and competition for resources and power, repressive state and a colonial legacy. Other factors that contributed are the politicised clan identity, a large number of unemployed youths and Somali culture that sanction the use of violence. (Elmi and Barise, 2006)

A clear observation shows that most of the dangerous terrorist organizations that have carried out attacks with far reaching casualties have emerged and operated in countries regarded with relatively weak capacity. Similarly, the most destructive of the terrorist organizations are based in countries based on authoritative indicators described weak or failed states. They are characterised with weak governance, failed state capacity and poor service delivery. This further reinforces the belief that these

terrorist groups leverage on the weak state to grow and nurture their activities. (Newman, 2007)

It is often argued in policy circles that poor economic conditions cannot be the only explanation of rising terrorism in Africa. Other political and demographic factors ought to be taken into consideration. It is contended terrorism is multi-faceted and diverse with differing underlying causes. This argument should, therefore, not be discarded and the weak or failed state should also be given a thorough investigation and proper research.

Two factors are seen as drivers of terrorism in Africa, firstly is the unresolved West Sahara conflict which has provided an avenue for AQIM to expand and recruit members from the refugee camps in Algeria. Secondly, the Arab spring which was quite dramatic and unprecedented has led to civil war in Libya. This has provided opportunity for terrorist groups in North, West and Central Africa to take advantage of unstable events to further destabilize the region. (Alexander, 2012)

In recent times, there is increasing concern about the links and flow of recruits of extremists within and outside the region. In the region, there is a concern of links across al-Qaeda affiliates and the threats posed by the so-called Islamic State in Syria and Iraq. The leader of AQIM in Algeria has sworn loyalty to ISIS. (Alexander, 2015) Boko Haram leader has followed a similar path and sworn loyalty to ISIS. The group has on the 26th April 2014 designated itself as Islamic State's West Africa Province.

2.7 Terrorism in Nigeria

Nigeria has been on the terrorist spotlight since 2009, following the emergence of Boko Haram. Prior to the emergence of Boko Haram, the Nigerian state had to contain the activities of Nigeria Delta militants that undermined the revenue base of the nation.

According to the Global Terrorism Index in its second edition (2000-2013), it ranked Nigeria the 4th most terrorized country in the world. The GTI provides a comprehensive summary of patterns and global trends in terrorism based on total lives lost, injuries and property damage. (GTI Index, 2014)

Table 2.1: Top five countries in the GTI index 2014. Source: GTI index 2014

<i>Country</i>	<i>GTI Scale</i>	<i>Rank</i>
Iraq	10	1st
Afghanistan	9.39	2nd
Pakistan	9.37	3rd
Nigeria	8.58	4th
Syria	8.12	5th

2.7.1 Boko Haram

Boko Haram is a group of Islamic fundamentalist with the aim of establishing an Islamic state in Nigeria. The group self acclaimed name is *Jama'at Ahl Us-Sunnah li'd-Da'awah wa'l Jihad* (group for the preaching of Sunnah and Struggle), the public and the media referred to them as Boko Haram (Murtada, 2013). The group came to

the limelight when in 2003 it attacked police and government formations in Kanamma and Geidam towns in the northeastern state of Yobe. It is a fanatical sectarian group whose views run contrary to that of the majority Nigerian Muslims. (Pham, 2012)

The group holds that democracy conflicts with Islamic injunctions; Western education as anti-Islamic and rejection of working under any government institutions. (Murtada, 2003) The group membership is largely known drawn from disillusioned youths, unemployed graduates, and former *almajiris* in northern Nigeria (Shola, 2015) The porosity of Nigeria's borders has allowed the group unfettered access to conceal and successfully traffic small and light weapons across and within Nigeria. (Onuoha, 2013) The group has successfully raided police and army formations in the past as a means of sourcing arms to carry on their activities.

Some theories have been advanced to explain the genesis of the group. These theories can be understood from internal and external perspectives. Internal theories on Boko Haram centres on socio-economic factors and differences in religious orientation across the Nigerian society, while external theories explain Boko Haram as a response to the rise of Islamic Jihadist movement across the globe occasioned by the US war on terror. (Alozieuwa, 2012) The group has grown from a largely small group of adherents to a large sophisticated group with a possible connection to the Al-Qaida networks. (Gourley 2012)

Boko Haram essentially has so far employed two tactics. The first method focused on small groups and individualized terror occasioned, drive-by shootings, local terror and assassinations. The second method is massive concerted attacks with the use of

motorcycles and trucks to attack targets population. This involves massacring the population and sometimes kidnappings of women and children. (Cook, 2014)

The group in its decisive desire to entrench an Islamic state in Northern Nigeria has carried countless attacks. In January 2015, the group carried one of its deadliest attacks in Baga killing at least 2000 civilians and burned the entire town. The attacks approximately led 20,000 people flee their homes to neighbouring countries of Niger, Chad and Cameroon. (Alexander, 2015) Boko Haram at the beginning of its violent attacks targeted mainly security forces and politicians; however, the group later on expanded its attacks to include civilian spaces such as schools, churches and markets. The group also engages in high-profile kidnappings and carried out one of their largest kidnapping – they kidnap around 270 school girls in a secondary school in Chibok on 14th April, 2014.

2.7.2 Niger Delta Militants

In the Southern part of Nigeria are militants who have carried deadly attacks that often paralyze oil and gas facilities from time to time. These groups have often carried out attacks on military personnel, oil workers and engage in hostage-taking, kidnapping, bombing and assassinations. (Obi, 2015)

Niger Delta militancy dates as far back as 1966 when Isaac Boro, a former police officer from the region led a rebellion against the Nigerian state. He formed an organization in which he trained youths in the use of firearms and explosives. The group engaged the police in February 1966 and raided the armoury. The 1966 rebellion was later on followed by a declaration of independence of the Niger Delta region from Nigeria. However, the 1966 rebellion lasted for only twelve days after it was crushed by Nigerian forces. In the 1990's a human and environmental activist

Ken Saro-Wiwa continued with the struggle for improved living conditions of the Niger Delta people and an end to the environmental damage caused by oil activities. His group MOSOP carried out protests that drew local and international attention. The group carried out a riot in 1994 in which irate youths killed four pro-government supporters. The group's leader Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight others were sentenced to death, and executed by the military regime of General Sani Abacha. (Sampson, 2009)

The Government repression slowed down the momentum of the agitators. The movement resurfaced in 1998 following the Kaiama declaration by Ijaw youths who vowed not to follow non-violent means any longer. The Kaiama declaration set the stage for the contemporary militancy in the Niger Delta. (Sampson, 2009) The Niger Delta militancy started in the late 1990's as a protest over environmental degradation. The movement soon metamorphosed into an insurgency that seeks for increased share of revenue and compensation for environmental destruction. Owing to government neglect of their grievances, the group resorted to terrorist tactics such as bombing of oil pipelines and kidnapping of oil workers. (Piombo, 2013)

Groups such as MEND were interested in a better standard of living of Niger Deltans because 43 percent of 32 million people living in the Niger Delta live in poverty and 75% regard themselves as poor. (Kimberly, 2012) MEND is the most vocal of all the other militant groups in the region in carrying out attacks against the Nigerian state and multinational corporations. (Saliu, Luqman, and Abdullahi, 2007) The group has destroyed oil installations and claimed responsibility for attacks that have killed Nigeria's security agencies and civilian contractors. Similarly, the group has claimed responsibility for most of the hostage taking in the area. (cited in Saliu, Luqman and Abdullahi)

The Niger Delta history from the past to the present has been that of misery, deprivation, and poverty. Nothing seems to change for the region that houses Nigeria's foreign exchange earnings. The future seems bleak for the region if indeed it will be a reflection of the present circumstances.

2.8 Conclusion

The chapter has succeeded in elaborating the concept of terrorism, thus providing the analytical framework for further analysis. The concept of terrorism has defied a universally acceptable definition. But despite this, some definitions were provided to give a glimpse of what the concept entails. It further analysed the trends in the evolution of the modern-day terrorism from the first wave up to the fifth wave lone wolf terrorism.

The causes of terrorism were discussed that ranges from poverty, unemployment, minority discrimination among others. It was emphasised in the chapter that most literature on terrorism that relates to economic condition often relied on the rational choice theory. Empirical researches on the economic determinants of terrorism were also analysed.

The chapter concludes with an analysis of the impact of terrorism such as destruction of lives and property, slowing down economic activity among others. The chapter closed with an overview of the origin and development of terrorism in Africa and Nigeria in particular.

Chapter 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY/DESIGN

3.1 Introduction

Research methods entails those techniques used in conducting a research whereas research methodology, refers to the logical and practical ways of tackling a research question. The gamut of research methodology is much wider and covers research methods. Research methodology underpins the logic of research methods and explains why a particular method or technique is used instead of another. The importance of research methodology is to allow for proper analysis and evaluation by the researcher and others. (Kothari, 2004)

Research methods is divided into three parts. The methods associated with a collection of data constitute the first part, while the process of establishing relationships constitute the second part. The last and final part deals with evaluation of the results obtained and their accuracy. Research methodology aimed at answering a host of questions in the conduct of a research which include; the reason for undertaking a research, the definition of the research problem, how a research hypothesis is formulated, data collection methods, and why a particular method of data analysis is employed. This and many other questions constitute the research methodology. (Kothari, 2004)

This chapter aims at elaborating on various research methods, methodologies and research design to be administered in the conduct of this research.

3.1.1 The Rise of Positivism in Social Sciences

The origin of positivism has been traced to Galileo Galilei (1564-1642) who made a systematic observation of the moon, stars, and Jupiter in his work *siderius nuncius* (the starry messenger, 1610) His methods differed with the prevailing practice of his time. Positivism was given impetus through the works of Francis Bacon, who introduced induction and experiment in the sciences. His effort to combine experience with record keeping saw him reject the use of deductive method. The naturalist tradition was later given due consideration by the likes of John Locke and David Hume, whose works made theorists, argue there is a real world independent of our senses. (Jakobsen, 2013)

Auguste Comte (1798-1857) continued with the naturalist tradition. He argued that scientific knowledge of the real world is derived through empirical observation. He disputed knowledge that is not empirical and believes it fell outside the realm of science. (Jakobsen, 2013) The argument of Comte was that positive science was useful in contrast to imaginary knowledge. Knowledge should no longer be proved through critique of sensory perception, but through methodological investigation. (Delanty, 1997) Contributing to the positivism debate in the 20th Max Weber (1949) argued we should differentiate fact-based statements from normative statements. His contention is that value judgements or ethical principles which are based on beliefs cannot be scientifically justified. (cited Kaina and Khun, 2014)

Positivism in general terms is that philosophical position that emphasizes empirical and scientific methods of research. Positivism can better be understood through five

lenses. Firstly, scientism: which believes in the unity of the scientific methods and can be applied to both the natural and social sciences. Secondly, naturalism: which believes there is unity of subject matter, because all the sciences are geared towards the study of reality. Thirdly, empiricism: which believes only that which can be observed and verified can be regarded as a positivist science. Fourthly, value freedom: This believes in a neutral activity free of social and ethical values. Fifthly, instrumental knowledge: which believes in the institution of science as a profession. In research, not all of these tenets must be embodied within. (Delanty, 1997)

The positivist approach provides the researcher with an array of methods. The first method covers experiment which has the ability to determine causal relationship. This method, however, is very difficult to employ in the social sciences because of practical and ethical limitations. The second methodology is non-experimental which is the method mostly used in the social sciences. It comprises of statistical, comparative and case study methods. The statistical method is well suited for making generalizations while comparative and case studies are useful in testing and building theories. (Jakobsen, 2013)

On the contrary, we should not believe in the supremacy of the positivist approach. Social sciences need normative ideas to judge social and political facts, but there is the need to differentiate between normative and fact-based statements, value judgements and scientific enquiry. If we don't do that, we run the possibility of inconsistency when we consider what should be from what it is and vice-versa. (Kaina and Khun, 2014)

The positivist approach has been criticized for its exclusion of the experience, perceptions, feelings and other subjective perceptions of people in social relations. There is the need to understand the subjective meanings, people attach to issues that affect them in order for the data collected to have a comprehensive meaning. Secondly, while data in the natural sciences consist of empirical observations, the data in the social sciences consist of social relations and cannot be reduced to the discovery and validation of observational data. (Keat, 1979)

3.2 Qualitative Versus Quantitative Research Debate

A quantitative research is a research that involves the collection of data in numerical forms – scores, counts of incidents, rating or scales – for quantitative analysis. The strength of this methodology is that it enables production of facts about the world and behaviour. In addition, the data can be subjected to statistical analysis that enables generalization beyond the immediate sample allowing for testing of hypotheses. (Garwood, 2006) Qualitative on the other hand, is basically based upon three pillars – interpretivism, constructivism and inductivism. It is aimed at exploring the subjective meanings and interpretation of the world and the construction of reality. (Sumner, 2006)

Social sciences has been bifurcated along quantitative generalizing and qualitative humanistic branches. Quantitative research mainly deals with a numbers and statistical methods in order to make descriptions and generalizations. Qualitative research is the use of textual evidence to reconstruct causal mechanisms. It involves methods such as case study, comparative studies, process tracing, etc. Political scientists have debated the utility of one type of research over another. For example, debates continue to linger on the advantages of statistical and case studies,

comparative over area studies. Quantitative researchers, are of the opinion systematic statistical methodology is the surest way to reality in the social sciences while those who favour qualitative methodology have disputed the claim. (King, Keohane and Verba, 1994)

The difference between the quantitative and qualitative can be attributed to epistemological and ontological presuppositions. Advocates of positivist presupposition see language as the scourge of the social sciences and therefore, words can be translated into numbers for objective analysis. While those favouring interpretive assumptions see language as a natural part of social science and advance methods of interpretive data analysis. (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow, 2002)

In practice, we do find research combining the features of both quantitative and qualitative. In research, some data may be collected that complies to statistical analysis, while certain significant information can not be subjected to statistical analysis. Certain political, economic or social issues cannot be subjected to quantitative analysis like ideas of individual leaders. Issues of the changing social world and its concomitant information cannot be subjected to quantitative methodology. Social science requires comparison based on value judgements which are a qualitative methodology. (King, Keohane, and Verba, 1994)

There are signs the division between the qualitative and quantitative research is loosening. There are quantitative researchers who have spent most of their time analyzing time series with few impoverished variables saying, so much is left out of our model that qualitative researchers include, and looking up to the qualitative researcher to systemize the information so that they can include it. At the other end,

the qualitative researcher often complains over the sheer number of information they have gathered with more still coming; they look up to the quantitative researcher for help. These versions of a dilemma are commonplace in numerous research projects. (King, 2014)

3.3 Research Design

Research involves the planning and specification of data to be collected and analyzed while considering the relevance of the data collected in a least possible way. In a nutshell, it is the visionary fabric within which research is handled; it comprises of an outline for data collection, measurement and analysis. (Kothari, 2004) In a similar vein, research design is a strategy of how a researcher intends to study an empirical question. The design will indicate the propositions a researcher will be testing and what unit of analysis are appropriate for the conduct of the tests, and all other necessary information aimed at drawing sound conclusions from supported evidence. (Johnson and Reynolds, 2005)

The aim of a research design is to make sure that the evidence collected will allow the researcher to answer his research question as explicitly as possible. It is pertinent when designing a research to ask: what kind of facts is needed to answer this question or what kind of fact is needed to test a theory? Therefore, research design is a logical structure of an inquiry. (De Vaus, 2005)

Research design possesses certain elements. First and the most important element is the set of questions and hypotheses to be answered and tested. This part addresses what is to be done, justification of why it is to be done, and a planned way of how it will be done. The second element deals with how research questions will be in

conformity with data sources and research method. The final and third element indicates how data is to be processed and analysed. (Davies, 2006)

3.3.1 Types of Research Design

Some factors are very vital in the choice of a research design. The first and foremost important factor is the purpose of the research investigation – exploratory, descriptive, or explanatory. Furthermore, personal idiosyncracies of a researcher plays a vital role in the type of research he chose to use. Researchers must choose a research design that is ethical in addition to the availability of data, money and time. A good research design should be able to balance what is possible to accomplish against what would ideally be done to investigate a particular hypothesis. (Johnson and Reynolds, 2005)

All types of research design can be seen as an attempt by researchers to test hypotheses and undertand if a relationship exists between two or more variables; determine if particular phenomena precede another in time and space; and do away with as many alternative explanations as possible to particular phenomena. Two types of research designs have been identified – experimental and non experimental. (Johnson and Reynolds, 2005)

An experimental research design allows a researcher to control exposure to an experimental variable – an independent variable. This is done with the assignments of subjects to different groups and the observation and measurement of responses and behaviour. Examples of experimental research designs include simple post-test design, time series design, multi group design and field experiments. (Johnson and Reynolds, 2005)

Case study research design examines one or a few cases of phenomena in a considerable way, with several data and methods. Examples include content analysis, personal interviews and observation. (Johnson and Reynolds, 2005) Similarly, it is an in-depth study of a single unit that aims to understand a large segment of similar units. Case study design is important when inferences are descriptive than causal. (Gerring, 2004) In another view, it is a research that carries an in-depth investigation of one or more examples of social phenomena that utilizes different sources of data. A case can be an individual, group, an event, or an institution. This design is criticized for the fact that in most instances individual cases do not represent general situations. (Keddie, 2006)

3.4 Methodology of Study and Model Specification

The empirical analysis of the research relies on secondary data collected for the time period 1970-2013. The economic determinants and terrorist incidents will be analysed using Johansen co-integration analysis. The Phillips Perron test will be used to check the pattern of integration of economic variables. This will be followed by with the Error correction model to check the stability of the model.

In co-integration analysis, the first step involves checking the order of integration of the variables. By checking the order of integration we hope to find out if the variables are stationary or not. Analysis of co-integration will no longer be required if the variables proved to be stationary at levels. For co-integration to be done, the variables have to be integrated of higher orders. Once it is determined the variables are not stationary, a unit root test will be carried out. Engle and Granger (1987) believes a non-stationary time series integrated to order 'd' after differentiated by order 'd'. A unit root test developed by Phillips Perron will be performed at both

levels and the first difference to ascertain if the series are stationary or not. A unit root test has a null hypothesis which holds that the variables are non-stationary against an alternate hypothesis of stationary.

In economic analysis, macroeconomic variables appear integrated to order 'd' and their changes are stationary. Therefore, if TI, UNM, PTY, INF, and LTY are each I(d), we can say a continuous combination of the variables will likely be I(d). If the variables are I(d), the order of integration of TI, UNM, PTY, INF, and LTY will be determined to check their long-run analysis of the relationships with terrorism. The examination of the long-run relationship is only possible if the variables are co-integrated.

There are two commonly used tests for co-integration, Engle and Granger (1987) and Johansen and Juselius (1990). Choice of a particular test over another depends on the number of co-integrating vectors. The Johansen and Juselius (1990) test is used in a multivariate analysis when there is more than one co-integrating vector. Our dependent variables consist of five elements, therefore, a functional model is defined as:

$$\ln(TI_t) = \ln(UNM, PTY, GDPP, INF, LTY) \quad (1)$$

The functional model above can be elaborated further into a mathematical model as shown in equation (2)

$$TI_t = b_0 + b_1 UN_t + b_2 PO_t + b_3 GDPP_t + b_4 INF_t + b_5 LIT_t \quad (2)$$

The mathematical equation is further transformed into an econometric model with an error term, $\hat{\epsilon}_t$ which is normally distributed with a zero mean and variance equal to one.

$$TI_t = b_0 + b_1 UN_t + b_2 PO_t + b_3 GDPP_t + b_4 INF_t + b_5 LIT_t + \hat{\epsilon}_t \quad (3)$$

Running analysis based on the above econometric model may lead to a spurious relationship as most of the variables have common trend (i.e. they are non stationary). Therefore, it is necessary to de-trend these variables using a first difference operator and hence the following model is estimated.

$$\begin{aligned} \Delta Ln (TI) = & \beta_0 + \beta_1 \Delta Ln (UNM) + \beta_2 \Delta Ln (PTY) + \beta_3 \Delta Ln (GDPP) \\ & + \beta_4 \Delta Ln (INF) + \beta_5 \Delta Ln (LTY) + \beta_6 Ln (TI (- 1)) \\ & + \beta_7 Ln (UNM (- 1)) + \beta_8 Ln (PTY (- 1)) + \beta_9 Ln (GDPP (- 1)) \\ & + \beta_{10} Ln (INF (- 1)) + \beta_{11} Ln (LTY (- 1)) + \varepsilon (- 1)(4) \end{aligned}$$

Where:

Ln = Natural logarithm

TI = Terrorism incidences

UNM = Unemployment

PTY = Poverty

GDP = GDP Per capita

INF = Inflation

LTY = Literacy

Δ = The first difference

$\varepsilon (- 1)$ = Error term lag value.

3.5 Terrorism in Nigeria and Economic Conditions

3.5.1 Boko Haram Terrorism and Poor Economic Conditions

The Boko Haram terrorism and its sustenance are seen to relate with the prevailing economic conditions in Northern Nigeria in which widespread poverty and economic backwardness characterize the region. The group is a product of large scale socio-economic and religious insecurity, its ideology perfectly fit into historical narratives and modern grievances. (Forest, 2012) Religious manipulation, manifest poverty, and

political discontent are factors that breed terrorism seen as the struggle between the oppressor and the oppressed. (Ajayi, 2012)

Boko Haram has leveraged on the economic underdevelopment of the north to nurture and thrive. Corruption, lack of good educational, and health services have bred animosity in the region. (Villiers, 2015) According to NBS absolute poverty is estimated to be 16.9 percent nationally and over 70 percent in the north while unemployment is 37.7 nationally with higher figures in the north. (Akinola, 2015) Corroborating this a Boko Haram member who was handed over to JTF by his father confessed to have acquired two cars and buried millions of naira in the ground. (as cited in David, 2013)

3.5.2 MEND and Poor Economic Conditions

The Niger delta crisis has its roots in the economic conditions of the region. This is a region prior to the discovery of oil rich in a natural ecosystem conducive for farming and fishing. The people of the Niger delta are mainly engaged in these two forms of economic activities. The discovery of oil in the region and subsequent activities of oil exploration changed the ecosystem and made it difficult for farming and fishing activities. Prior to the oil discovery, exploration and production, The Niger Delta region was essentially a pristine environment. The activities of oil companies led to destruction of farmlands and vegetation. According to estimates, in forty years of the oil company's activities around 60,000 spills have been reported and 2 million barrels discharged into the ecosystem between 1976 and 1996. (Afinotan and Ojakorotu, 2009)

The state of the economy in the Niger delta, the endemic poverty affecting a majority of the people in the area amidst plenty has led to a state of despair and the resort to violent activities. With little or no government and a private sector paid employment, the youths of the region decided to take the destiny in their hands and fight the Nigerian state. (Saliu, Luqman, and Abdullahi, 2007) A study conducted by AAPW to ascertain the nature and character of Niger Delta militants concludes among others that the vast majority of the militants are between the ages of twenty to thirty-three, unemployed, economically powerless, and barely literate. (cited in Asuni, 2009)

Boko Haram and Niger delta militancy both draw their foot soldiers mainly from the unemployed youths who have been pushed into the position of poverty. The depressing economic indicators with preponderant Nigerians living below the poverty line is no doubt, a possible cause of social discontent and the type of violence being witnessed in the north arising from the Boko Haram group and the Niger Delta militancy in the south-south part of the Nigeria. (Akpowoghaha, 2013)

It is worth nothing that both the Boko Haram and Niger Delta militants have capitalised on the economic situations of their region to recruit members. The north has seen its economic base shrinks compared to the Southern part of the country. Unemployment, poverty, and illiteracy is more pervasive in the Northern part of the country with the north east – the hotbed of Boko Haram worst affected. The Niger Delta militants have complained of economic hardship occasioned by oil exploration activities. This has left their means of livelihood – fishing affected. They have complained of the fact that despite housing the nation's life wire, this has not translated into improved status of their lives.

3.5.3 What Other Factors Lead to Terrorism in Nigeria?

Terrorism in Nigeria is so complex a phenomena to be understood from a single perspective. It is believed certain problems have piled up over the years and culminated in what the Nigerian state is facing now. Factors such as repressive military dictatorship, poverty, youth unemployment, failed state system, Islamic fundamentalism, globalization, corruption and poor leadership.

Nigerian terrorism can be understood as a monster created by an inept and corrupt leadership that presides over a rotten system. This leadership has failed to provide means of livelihood for the people and has made them starve in the lands of plenty. Similarly, the preponderance of unemployed vagabonds roaming the streets that live based on begging and scavenging provided a pool of disenchanteds to be recruited for terrorism (Adegbulu, 2013)

In addition to the lack of purposeful leadership, the culture of impunity encouraged by the government is a factor in Nigeria's experience with terrorism. (Alapiki, 2015) The African continent is home to most of the worst countries in the failed state index. Nigeria is among the countries on high alert, and it ranks 16th in the failed state index. (FSI, 2013) The failed state index is an indication of Nigeria's inability to provide the necessary leadership that will deliver services to the people. It also shows the inability of the state to have full control of its territories. This and many other factors allow terrorists to nurture and fester unhindered.

Boko Haram has been viewed as part of the global jihad movements. It holds the vision of global political Islam and the rejection of all worldly government and the enthronement of an Islamic state. (Alozieuwa, 2012) Globalization has also

facilitated the development of terrorist groups in Nigeria. Globalization has facilitated their access to logistics and weapons. This has enabled the groups have better coordination and an easy flow of information. (Adams and Ogbonnaya, 2014)

3.6 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter elaborated on the types of research methods and design in the social sciences. It gave a background of the development of positivism in the social sciences. The dichotomy and differences between qualitative and quantitative research was also discussed. But there are signs of synergy between two divisions. Furthermore, research design and what it entails was discussed in the chapter. Methodology of the research and model specification were elaborated also.

In the final part of the chapter emphasis was made to evaluate the main thesis of this research. The discussion centred along the lines of views expressed by scholars in the field. It is the view of this thesis that poor economic conditions determine terrorism in Nigeria. Nevertheless, the thesis did not rule out the existence of other factors, hence a section of other factors that may explain terrorism in Nigeria. The argument put forward in this thesis is that even if other factors are determinants of terrorism in Nigeria, economic conditions provide the root causes of Nigerian terrorism.

Chapter 4

DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

The task set out in this research is to analyse the relationship between economic conditions and activities of terrorist groups in Nigeria. Boko Haram and Niger Delta militancy as case studies were incorporated as a reference point on the economics of terrorism in Nigeria. This chapter will start with an overview of what GTD; to be followed by the various tests necessary for the testing of the hypothesis. Analysis of the results will be made in line with other research findings to see points of concurrence and divergence. It is believed the results will add to the body of literature in the field of terrorism.

4.2 Global Terrorism Database

The GTD provides all-inclusive databases of terrorism and has a unique characteristic of differentiating its recording by classifying terrorism into domestic, transnational and international. (Bowie and Schmid, 2011) The data set is a compilation of terrorist activities by START known as GTD. The GTD provides a comprehensive data on terrorist incidents around the world since 1970.

The incident must be carried out intentionally; it must consist of some degree of violence or risk of violence and should be carried out through non state actors. In addition to the above an incident must fulfil two additional criteria out of three. Firstly, the motive must either be economic, political, social or religious. Secondly, it

needs to have corroboration of coercion or aimed at sending a message other than the immediate victims and thirdly, it has to be beyond the conventions of permissible warfare. (GTD Codebook, 2014)

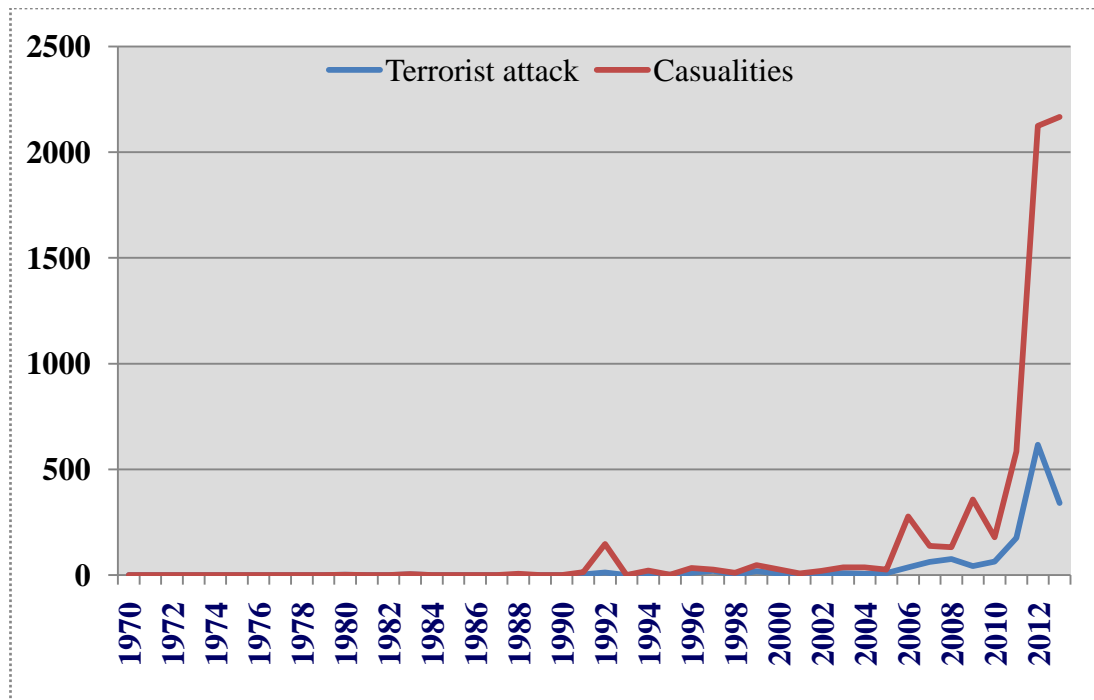


Figure 4.1: Terrorist attacks and casualties in Nigeria 1970-2013. Source: GTD

4.2 Data Presentation and Analysis

The economic determinants and terrorist incidents will be analysed using Johansen co-integration analysis. The Phillips Perron test will be used to check the pattern of integration of economic variables. This will be followed by with the Error correction model to check the stability of the model.

The descriptive statistics of the variables as presented in table 4.1 below are very important in depicting the social and economic conditions of Nigeria for the period under study. The mean values of terrorism and casualties indicate not on the loss lives but property as well. The mean values of poverty which stood at 57.45% and

unemployment 13.96% are very high and not good for the Nigerian economy. The high GDP per capita of \$ 718.96 has not translated in the improvement of lives and the general welfare of Nigerians. The mean value of inflation is above a single digit and not good for an economy like Nigeria that is import dependent. On the overall, the general social and economic conditions of Nigeria within the period under study have not been favourable. Therefore, the importance attached to testing the relationship between economic conditions and terrorism.

Table 4.1: Descriptive statistics results

	TI	UNM	PO	GDPP	INF	LTY	CA
<i>Variables</i>	<i>No of incidences</i>	<i>Unemploy ment rate %</i>	<i>Headcount %</i>	<i>Constant US \$</i>	<i>Consumer price index</i>	<i>Literacy level %</i>	<i>No of people dead</i>
Mean	66.4	13.9	57.4	718.9	20.3	54.1	212.3
Median	11.0	12.7	54.4	571.6	12.5	55.4	28.0
Maximum	616.0	28.5	69.0	1055.8	72.7	55.4	1826.0
Minimum	0.0	7.4	42.7	533.4	5.4	51.0	0.0
Std. Dev.	141.8	6.4	10.1	198.3	18.8	1.8	474.0
Skewness	3.0	0.6	-0.3	0.5	1.6	-1.0	2.7
Kurtosis	11.4	2.3	1.5	1.5	4.4	2.1	9.0
Jarque-Bera	102.2	2.0	2.3	2.9	12.9	4.7	6
(p-values)	(0.00)	(0.36)	(0.30)	(0.22)	(0.001)	(0.09)	(0.00)

The next step in the analysis is to apply the unit root test in furtherance of determining the hypothesis which argues the variables are not stationary against an alternative hypothesis of stationary. The Phillips-Perron unit root test will be applied at both levels and the first difference. The results of the test in Table 4.2 have shows

that the variables are not stationary in their levels, but they are stationary at their first difference. This means the non-acceptance of the null hypothesis of non-stationary at the first difference depicted by the p-values in the parenthesis. Therefore, the variables are said to be non-segregated of higher orders.

Table 4.2: Phillips Perron Unit Root Test

Variables	Levels		Difference	
	<i>Constant</i>	<i>Linear trend</i>	<i>Constant</i>	<i>Linear trend</i>
Terrorism	-1.804362 (-3.592462)	-2.579931 (-4.186481)	-7.753845* (-3.596616)	-8.149257* (-4.192337)
Unemployment	1.545740 (-3.592462)	-1.363288 (-4.186481)	-6.138668* (-3.596616)	-7.150267* (-4.192337)
Poverty	-0.853440 (-3.592462)	-2.643461 (-4.186481)	-6.483877* (-3.596616)	-6.437286* (-4.192337)
GDP Per capita	-0.383738 (-3.592462)	-0.298740 (-4.186481)	-5.904450* (-3.596616)	-6.402014* (-4.192337)
Inflation	-3.419070 (-3.59462)	-3.395259 (-4.186481)	-10.49624* (-3.596616)	-11.78824* (-4.192337)
Literacy	-0.34804 (-3.769597)	-1.906394 (-4.440739)	-4.670047* (-3.788030)	-4.800416* (-4.467895)

*Indicate significance of values at the first difference

The analysis proceeds with the Johansen-Juselius co-integration having observed the variables are integrated at their first difference. The test will reveal the number(s) of co-integration in the six endogenous variables. The test begins with a null hypothesis of no co-integration ($r=0$) among the variables as depicted in table 4.3. For the hypothesis to be rejected the trace value and Max Eigen value have to be higher than 95% critical values. If the result proves otherwise, we accept the alternate hypothesis of co-integration. The results as shown in table 4.3 show that the trace figures of

303.11 is greater than 95% the critical value of 117.70. Therefore, this means the non-acceptance of the null hypothesis of ($r=0$) in favour of the alternate hypothesis of ($r > 0$) This same rule applies to ($r \leq 1$) and ($r \leq 2$) because the statistics of 152.00 and 69.60 is greater than the 95% critical value of 88.80 and 63.87 respectively. Therefore; this means the rejection of the null hypothesis of ($r \leq 1$) ($r \leq 2$) in favour of ($r > 1$) ($r > 2$) Nevertheless, the results of ($r \leq 3$), ($r \leq 4$), ($r \leq 5$), will not be rejected but rather accepted in conformity with rule if trace values are less than its critical values. Consequently, the null hypothesis of no co-integration among those variables is accepted. In general, there are three co-integration relationships. Furthermore, two co-integration relationships are revealed by Max-Eigen statistics.

Table 4.3: Cointegration test results

H ₀	H ₁	Trace	Critical Values		Max-Eigen	Critical Values	
			5%	Prob.		5%	Prob.
$r=0$	$r>0$	303.111*	117.708	0.0000	151.104*	44.497	0.0000
$r \leq 1$	$r > 1$	152.007*	88.803	0.0000	82.401*	38.331	0.0000
$r \leq 2$	$r > 2$	69.605*	63.876	0.0153	30.541	32.118	0.0769
$r \leq 3$	$r > 3$	39.063	42.915	0.1152	30.515	25.82	0.3390
$r \leq 4$	$r > 4$	20.548	25.872	0.1994	13.512	19.387	0.2885
$r \leq 5$	$r > 6$	7.036	12.5179	0.3408	7.036	12.517	0.3408

*shows the rejection of the hypothesis at the 0.05 level

Short run and long run results as presented in Table 4.4 reveal that poverty, GDP per capita and inflation are co-integrated with terrorism. The results of poverty indicate that a percent increase in poverty causes terrorism to rise by 8.42% in the short run

while it increases by 14.5% in the long run. The results are in tandem with similar research by Burgoon (2006), Fearon and Laitin (2003) and Krieger and Meierrieks (2011). The results of GDP per capita show that a percent increase causes terrorism to increase by 3.7% in the short run. The research findings are consistent with the radical dependency and immiserization theory that argues economic growth can lead to social and political unrest. Furthermore, the results are similar with the findings of Gries et al. (2011), Freytag et al. (2010) and Fearon and Laitin (2003). The result of inflation reveals a percent increase raises terrorism by 8.2% in the short term and 5.7% in the long term. This is consistent with the findings of Ismail and Amjad (2014) and Piazza (2006).

Table 4.4: The short run and long elasticities

Variables	Short run		Long run	
	Coefficient	Prob.	Coefficient	Prob.
Unemployment	0.32722	0.5673	-4.3401	0.5788
Poverty	8.42382*	0.0037	14.5305*	0.0144
GDP per capita	3.73511*	0.0533	1.0975	0.0794
Inflation	8.24858*	0.0042	5.7847*	0.0152
Literacy	0.29469	0.5872	-20.36174	0.5981

*shows significant values of probability at 5% level

In order to determine stability, adjustments, and equilibrium of the model the ECM test would be carried out. The convergence of the model towards equilibrium is explained by the ECM having a (-) sign and a value within the range 0 and 1. Figure 4.5 shows the result of the ECM having a negative sign and a value within the

stipulated range. This means that the model is stable and points to a convergence toward equilibrium. The ECM shows that 140% of disequilibrium in terrorism is associated with the independent variables yearly. The results for R-squared reveals that variations in terrorism can be explained by the independent variables. The model is not in a serial correlation as revealed by the Durbin Watson value.

Table 4.5: Error correction model

ECM	- 1.402326
R-Squared	0.725103
Adjusted R-Squared	0.500187
F-Statistic	3.223887
Durbin-Watson stat	2.327274

4.3 Chapter Conclusion

The result of the co-integration has shown that there are three co-integration relationships between terrorism and the independent variables. Further tests reveal that poverty, and inflation has a positive relationship with terrorism while GDP per capita shows a negative correlation with terrorism. The results are consistent with other research findings as shown in the chapter. The chapter concluded with an estimation of the model, which is found to be stable.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Conclusion

Terrorism has become a central issue affecting Nigeria, from the Niger Delta militancy to the current Boko Haram terrorism in North East Nigeria. Terrorism as a whole is contextual; it does not arise out of a vacuum. Certain grievances and precipitants make the environment suitable for it to emerge. Political, economic, social and ideological factors can promote the development of terrorist groups. Boko Haram and the Niger Delta militancy can be seen as a product of the prevailing economic conditions within the Nigerian state. The statistical result of this study lends credence to the poverty thesis of terrorism. The result has shown that inflation and poverty to be statistically significant with terrorism in Nigeria. The possible explanation as to why Boko Haram or the Niger Delta militancy emerged in the particular region they emerged is because both groups were able to exploit the frustration of their people and the economic conditions in which they live and translate it to an enviable force to terrorise the state. As pointed out by Kukah who aptly captured the imagination of the terrorists when he said:

“The evil effects of corruption, total lack of security, and welfare have all become our daily lives, clearly in the eyes of sect members the persistence of corruption, collapse of public morality, injustice and so on, could only be attributed to those who govern. In their reasoning those who govern us do so because they have acquired their tools by gaining Western education. (Adegbulu, 2013 p 271-272)

Boko Haram is a product of large scale socio-economic and religious insecurity, its ideology perfectly fit into historical narratives and modern grievances. (Forest, 2012) Religious manipulation, manifest poverty, and political discontent are factors that breed terrorism seen as the struggle between the oppressor and the oppressed. (Ajayi, 2012)

This study has so far looked at the relationship between poor economic conditions measured by unemployment rate, poverty, GDP per capita, inflation and literacy rate with terrorism. The study has found out that inflation, unemployment and GDP per capita are co-integrated with terrorism in Nigeria. Unemployment and inflation have a positive relationship while GDP per capita shows a negative relationship. The results of the study are consistent with the membership following of the two groups. Boko Haram and Niger Delta militants are comprised mainly of the less privileged and poverty stricken members of the society. The hotbed of Boko Haram in Nigeria is the region having high figures of people living below the poverty line according to NBS estimates. A similar finding by NBS reveals that over 70% of Niger Delta people consider themselves poor.

5.2 Recommendations

Nigeria's counter terrorism measures in tackling terrorism have been mainly through the use of kinetic force which has yielded little results. This approach will only allow the terrorists to go underground and resurface once the military onslaught is over. Nigeria responded to the Boko Haram the way it responded to the Maitatsine riots of 1980's. This involves the use of security agencies to crack down on group members, stop and search operations, the imposition of curfews and state of emergency declaration in the states ravaged by Boko Haram activities. This approach is aimed to

punish and deter potential measures. This approach may not necessarily lead to a reduction of terrorist activities. The military approach of the Nigerian state has not led in to reduced activities of Boko Haram; similarly, the use of kinetic force did not end the Niger Delta militancy. Another problem with this approach is the competition that often arises between the security agencies in the fight against terrorism. Kinetic force has often led to more cycles of violence; terrorist groups often attack in order to provoke stringent counterterrorism measures as a means of escalation. Harsh counterterrorism measure can lead to polarization of an aggrieved population due to the economic damage caused by these measures.

Similarly, the Nigerian state has engaged in haphazard negotiation measures with Boko Haram group. This is in view of the success recorded by the amnesty programme of Niger Delta militants. The granting of amnesty by the Nigerian government to some Niger Delta militants. The initial deployment of security forces in tackling Boko Haram made partial success in killing some sect members and pushed them to local areas where there is no presence of security agencies is minimal. As a result of this, the group has resorted to guerrilla tactics in order to make its presence and continued existence known. Based on the results obtained from this study, the following suggestions are proposed.

Given the failure of the kinetic force approach and the rejection of dialogue by the group, the Nigerian government should embark on a program that will improve the well being of its citizens and alleviate poverty and unemployment which provides the basis for such groups to exploit. This will raise the opportunity cost for participating in terrorist activities. This approach if pursued with vigour and commitment by the

Nigerian state will prevent the emergence of future groups and deny the terrorists a geo-political space.

The implementation of amnesty programme for the Niger Delta has not rid the area of terrorist's activities; this is because the conditions which gave rise to such terrorism have not been fully addressed. This study, recommends that Nigerian government must prevail on oil companies to work according to international best practises. This will prevent the occurrence of oil spills and environmental pollution which deny the inhabitants a means of their economic activities. The amnesty programme of the Niger Delta should not be restricted to only former militants, but should focus on the factors that led to the militancy and prevent the emergence of future militants.

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