



TERRORISM THEORIES AND JURISPRUDENTIAL THEOREM: THE NIGERIAN EXPERIENCE

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Abstract

Terrorism is an international pandemic that has spread its fabric to Nigeria. In other words, with the advent of Boko Haram and its terrorist activities, the concept of “terrorism” is now part and parcel of the Nigerian jurisprudence. Hitherto, Nigeria had experienced militant activities in the Niger Delta, ethnic clashes, religious fights and labour protests in its chequered history. This article considers the theoretical and conceptual framework of international terrorism in relation to Nigeria. It posits that Social Darwinism lauds altercations, battles and unrest as instruments of politics, advancement and growth. Revolutionaries adopt systematic tactics of terrorist violence for political change. Conversely, the “frustration aggression” theory states that mankind has a propensity for self-destruction due to frustration and terrorists’ act such as suicide bombing, hijacking and killing of children can only be explained by this theory. On its part, modernisation theory relates the struggles of developing countries to the impact of modernisation on budding states. Causally, globalisation theory says that globalisation with its associated capitalism could be drivers of terrorism as it is seen as an embodiment of exploitation, oppression and injustice. In conclusion, the world systems theory is seen as a symbol of discrimination as it emphasises the global structure of inequality. The author’s recommendation on the way forward centres on strengthening bilateral and multi-national coalitions at all levels – global, regional, national and local.

Keywords: Terrorism, Jurisprudential theories, globalisation, bilateral and multi-national coalitions

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Introduction

Terrorism is a phenomenon that is widely spread across all continents of the world. Africa has been hard-hit by the destructive effects of this global menace. Nigeria's chequered history is replete with ethnic clashes, religious uprisings, labour protests, secessionist struggles and militant activities all over the major geo-political zones. Nigeria had a glimpse of terrorism in 1966 when Isaac Adaka Boro and his Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF), violently engaged the Nigerian government. The grouse of Isaac Adaka Boro, an Ijaw nationalist, was the marginalisation, subjugation and undermining of the economic interests of the Ijaw people.¹ The Niger Delta crisis continued with MOSOP (Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People) in the 1990s formed by Ken Saro-Wiwa and his compatriots. MOSOP was formed to peacefully advocate for increased autonomy, compensation for environmental damage caused by spillage and equitable share of oil revenue. Ken was sentenced to death and executed by the late General Abacha in 1995.² In the aftermath of the 1995 event, so many militant ethnic groups emerged, and were united under the aegis of MEND (Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta), NDA (Niger Delta Avenger) and the JNDLF (Joint Niger Delta Liberation Force). New groups such as the JNDLF, Utorogun Movement, Red Scorpion and the Reformed Egbesu Boys use the social media and emails as means of communication and agitations.³ At the height of the various emancipation cries, it was estimated that about twenty-five thousand armed youths were operating in the region.⁴ Militants in the region were involved in kidnapping, hostage taking of expatriates, attacking and blowing up of oil pipelines and other installations. Violent engagement between the south-south militants and Nigeria's Joint Task Force (JTF) in 2009 destroyed several houses and properties, and in most instances, entire communities were wiped off.⁵ The prominent non-state actors in the Niger Delta

¹Okafor, E. E. 2011. Dynamics of Niger Delta struggles and the state responses: the state of terrorism and terrorism of the state. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa* 13.2: 1520-5509.

²Ogundiya, I. S. 2009. Domestic terrorism and security threats in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. *Journal of Social Sciences*. 20.1: 31-42.

³ The Niger Delta region is one of the major Deltas in the world situated in the Southern part of Nigeria and consists of several minority ethnic groups.

⁴ See the United Nations Development Programme on the Niger Delta Human Development Report, 2006.

⁵Anon. 2009. *Daily Sun*, Friday, October 2, 2009.



are led by Asari Dokubo (NDVPVF), Henry Okah (MEND) and Atake Tom (NDV).⁶ These groups, however, eventually resorted to terrorist acts such as violence, bombing of oil installations, vandalism, armed resistance, outright confrontation, kidnapping and hostage taking.⁷ The motivation in the East is different. MASSOB (Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra) led by Ralph Nwazurike, and IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra) led by Nnamdi Kanu are the two prominent groups. These groups are motivated by self-liberation and struggles,⁸ therefore advocating the different rights of their members.⁹ Characteristically, these groups enjoy tremendous support from their people and engage in security services on their behalf.¹⁰

Terrorism in Nigeria, however, became a global security threat with the rise of Islamic fundamentalists and extremists. The Maitatsine Islamic group set the pace for religious conflicts and violence in the Northern region of Nigeria. There were rampant uprisings by the Maitatsine sectarian groups in 1980, 1982, 1984 and 1985 in the cities of Kano, Kaduna, Yola and Bauchi respectively, in efforts to forcefully impose their religious ideology and belief on Nigerians.¹¹ Other Islamic fundamental groups in Northern Nigeria with similar objectives, philosophy and ideology are: Jama'atu Izalatil Bidi'aWaiqamatic Sunna ("Izala")¹² and the Sheikh Ibrahim El-Zakzaky led Islamic sect.¹³ The emergence of a Sunni jihadist group¹⁴ (Popularly called "Boko Haram" by the media) as a dominant terrorist group in West Africa completely eclipsed all other Islamic jihadists in the Northern states. Boko Haram has spread its tentacles to the Chad basins and borders.¹⁵ The sect attack churches, mosques, military barracks, markets and refugee camps

⁶Abimbola, J. O. and Adesote, S. A. 2012. Domestic terrorism and Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria, issues and trends: a historical discourse. *Journal of Art and Contemporary Society* (Cenresin Publication). 4:11.

⁷ See Ogbogbo, C. B. N. 2004. The Niger Delta and the resource control, 1960-1995. Unpublished Phd Thesis, *Institute of Africa Studies*, University of Ibadan.

⁸ Coleman, J. S. 2011. Nationalism and development in Africa. Selected Essays California: University of California Press 15.

⁹ See Oyeniyi, B. A. 2010. Terrorism in Nigeria: groups activities and politics. *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance* 1:1.

¹⁰*Ibid*

¹¹Abimbola, J. O. and Adesote, S. A. *op cit.* 10.

¹² Founded in 1978 in the city of Jos, it is interpreted as Society of Removal of Innovation and Establishment of Sunna.

¹³ The Islamic Movement of Nigeria is a Shiite movement. See Buchanan-Clarke, B. and Knoope, P. 2007. The Boko Haram insurgency: from short term gains to long term solutions. *IJR Occasional Paper* 23. Retrieved February 10, 2018 from [file:///c:/users/HP/Downloads/Nigeria-Report20\(1\).pdf](file:///c:/users/HP/Downloads/Nigeria-Report20(1).pdf).

¹⁴ Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad meaning Sunni group for preaching and jihad.

¹⁵Buchanan-Clark, B. and Knoope, P. *Op cit.*

using suicide bombers. Another emerging deadly group in Northern Nigeria is the Fulani herdsmen who are nomadic cattle grazers, itinerant cattle rearers scouting for green pasture. The global community has acknowledged the Fulani herdsmen as the fourth most dangerous group globally, comparable to other high profile terror groups.¹⁶ Crisis between the Fulani herdsmen and farming communities degenerated to bloody attacks, kidnapping and killings of farmers and their families in the farming communities. Heavy toll in human lives and properties were recorded in Benue, Taraba, Nasarawa, Plateau, Kaduna and Katsina states as a result of devastating attacks by the Fulani herdsmen after so much delay, the Nigerian Government eventually yielded to pressure from the civil society by declaring bandits as terrorists.¹⁷

The right to self-government recognised under international law has adequately covered militant and the ethnic secessionist groups clamouring for self-determination and independence. The Fulani herdsmen menace is a different ball game with the overwhelming majority seeing it as crossing all laid down thresholds for designation as a terrorist organisation. Arguably, with the various definitions of terrorism and terrorist acts, *ipso facto* the actions of different militant groups in Nigeria are clear acts of terror and should be treated as such.

The Utilitarian Theory and Terrorism

The foremost advocates of the utilitarianism theory were Jeremy Bentham¹⁸ and John Stuart Mill¹⁹. The theory seeks the general good of the masses. It promotes joy and satisfaction, while it is against harmful and detrimental actions. It also places human interest on equal scale. The theory permeates all the facets of human endeavour – politics, social, economy and other precepts. The well-being of the people is the main target of utilitarianism and its standard or acceptance. Therefore, it hinges the standard or acceptance of any policy on the overwhelming pleasure it brings to the majority of the people. Jeremy Bentham emphasised that man is naturally governed by pain and pleasure (the two “Ps”), these two “Ps” dictate the norms and values, as well as determine the chain of events

¹⁶Sunday, G. 2006. Analysis: the deadly influx of Fulani herdsmen in Nigeria. Retrieved February 10, 2008 from <https://www.naija.ng/814082-analysis-the-deadly-influx-of-the-Fulani-herdsmen-in-Nigeria.htm#814082>.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸ Jeremy, B. 1748-1832, a British Philosopher, theoretical Jurist, economist and social reformer.

¹⁹ John, S.M. 1806-1873, the most famous and influential British Philosopher of the nineteenth century and exponent of utilitarianism.



or the action and reaction in all human endeavours.²⁰ In relation to terrorism in the country, the Nigerian Constitution unequivocally saddle the Federal Government with the primary purpose of protecting the people and catering for their general welfare.²¹ Accordingly, the Government has the overwhelming duty in ensuring the peace, tranquillity, order and joy of the Nigerian Society. Nigeria is currently engulfed in battling series of insecurity in form of terrorism, banditry, kidnapping, herders' attacks and other invading marauding forces. The Nigerian Government, through its legislative arm, has the responsibility, to make necessary laws that will guarantee the happiness and pleasure of Nigerians.²² Terrorism and insurgency are great threats to peaceful co-existence, order and happiness in the various Nigerian communities. The utilitarian theory conceives the Islamist militant groups / terrorist organisations in Nigeria as competitors for the sovereignty of the Nation and as seriously contending with the Nigerian Government on the monopoly of Force in the country.²³ The most important goal of the legislative arm of government, therefore, is the promulgation of laws that will guarantee security of lives and bring happiness and peace to the community. The utilitarian theory is based on the principle of utility or utilitarianism – this is inherent in an object or action in terms of good and satisfactory results or end products, whilst curbing evil or disaster on the other hand.²⁴

Gleaning from this theory, the Nigerian National Assembly should be able to assess the effect of any bill on the society before passing same into law. In other words, the beauty or essence of any legislation is its ability to promote good deeds and condemn evil in the society. Thus, the National Assembly, by implication, could enact or make amendments in response to the clamouring and agitations of the masses.²⁵ On the administration of criminal justice, it posits that the main aim of the system is the enhancement of the overall happiness of the people, therefore, any resulting pain ought to be in prevention of a more excruciating pain to the larger populace. To this end, the theory postulates that the punishment for a crime should far outweigh the gains from such crime. By

²⁰ Jeremy, B. 1781. An introduction to the principles of morals and legislation. Batuche Books: Kitchener 2000. Retrieved May 28, 2021 from www.socialsciences.mcmaster.ca/econ/ugcm/3113/bentham/morals.pdf.

²¹ Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (as amended), sections 14(2) (b) and 4(2) & (3).

²² Ibid.

²³ Jeremy B. *op. cit.*

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ See CFRN 1999 (as amended), section 4(2) & (3)

illustration, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) Act prescribes life imprisonment for a person who has been convicted for laundering money for the purpose of terrorism.²⁶ However, going by the principle of utility, in addition to imprisonment the proceeds or gains of crime should also be forfeited so as to restore the offenders to ground zero. In other words the economic motive of the crime should be nullified or cancelled.²⁷

In a nutshell, the utilitarian theory adumbrates the idea of a welfare state that focuses on the happiness and pleasure of the greater number of the people. Consequently, the state can counter the threats of terrorism or insecurity by the promulgation of anti-terrorist legislation, as well as laws that will increase the happiness, well-being and pleasure of its citizenry.

The Medieval Theory of Jihad

The Qur'an and the hadith²⁸ made jihad mandatory to a Muslim community or individual. According to the hadith, there is a stigma on those who did not participate in jihad, such as hypocrites and weak. The Qur'an glorified a jihadist as a true soldier for God with immense rewards from heaven.²⁹ From the root of the Islamic religion therefore, jihad was considered a righteous war for God and any other war for personal glory or power or aggrandisement was not recognised as jihad. Some key verses about jihad from the Qur'an have been recited by radicals with the belief that their problems are caused by non-Muslims who oppress them. One of the verses admonished Muslims to fight a war of liberation from the oppressive non-believers.³⁰ The Qur'an warned against the dire consequences of not obeying the call of Allah to rise up and perform the mandatory call for service of Allah in form of jihad.³¹ To further encourage Muslims to take active part in jihad, rewards for jihad or martyrdom was always emphasised, which is eternal glory and

²⁶ EFCC Act 2004, Cap E1 Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 2010, sections 15 and 45.

²⁷ Jeremy B. *Op. cit.*

²⁸ The sayings attributed to Prophet Mohammed.

²⁹ See Bernard, L. (ed.) 1987. *Islam from the Prophet Mohammed to the capture of Constantinople*. New York: Oxford University Press 1: 210-211.

³⁰ Surah 4:75.

³¹ Surah 9: 38-39, Shakir Translation. This verse was revealed while Mohammed was preparing his people to fight in the campaign of Jabuk. The verse warned some Muslims that hesitated to fight of Allah's punishment and the danger of being replaced by better people.

outstanding rewards to whoever dies in battle.³² The basis for taking up arms was basically to unite the Muslim world against oppressors and liberate the weak and vulnerable from the shackles of plundering and extortionists, and to propagate the religion of Allah.³³ The examples of Prophet Muhammed³⁴ have also been used by radicals to back up their calls for arms against “infidels”. For example, radicals often cite the words of Mohammed to violently invade Mecca.³⁵ The place of sword in Islam was confirmed by Prophet Muhammed in his last recorded sermon. This sermon, recorded before his death, was often quoted by radicals: it portrayed Prophet Mohammed as the messenger of Allah with a sword to silence the voices of dissent.³⁶ Political and socio-economic factors have also been put forward as explanation for Islamic terrorism. Instances such as the Arab-Israeli conflict,³⁷ the proliferation of Western culture, values and political influence in the Middle East³⁸ and the economic hardships that ravage the masses in the Middle East³⁹ have been cited as perfect reasons to launch Islamic jihad. However, according to Shmeul Bar, although these factors are significant but they are not concomitant with the spirit and culture of Islamic terrorism. The said religious culture does not differentiate between religion and culture.⁴⁰ Confused Muslim youth, who at early age have been indoctrinated with the tenets of Islamic radicalism, pitch their tents with radical Islam that promises an Islamic renaissance with a prospect of paradise for jihadist martyrs. These disillusioned young Muslims are majorly the worst hit by the Middle East problems – tyrannical governments, human rights abuse, massive corruption, unemployment, population explosion and the cascading effect of the Israeli-Palestinian endless conflict.⁴¹

³² Surah 4:74.

³³ Mark, A. G. 2006. Journey into the mind of an Islamic terrorist. Florida: Frontline Publishers 97 – citing Zohdy, Maghed, and Zoummar, “Fourth inevitability of confrontation”. *Constitution of Al-Jihad* (issued 1987) in Ahmed, *The Armed Prophet*.

³⁴ As recorded in the Hadith.

³⁵ Ibn Kathir. 2001. The beginning and the end, 2:3. Beirut, Lebanon: The Revival of the Arabic Tradition Publishing House 2:3. 53. Muhammed later made good his words when he invaded and defeated Mecca with ten thousand strong Muslim Army.

³⁶ See Ibn Hisham. 1998. The life of Muhammed. 3rd edition, Beirut, Lebanon: Dar-al-Jil. 3: 6. 8.

³⁷ The Arabs consider this conflict as unbearable humiliation.

³⁸ This is also viewed as another humiliation.

³⁹ Which was a basis for recruitment into terrorist organisations.

⁴⁰ See Shmuel, B. 2008. The religious sources of Islamic terrorism. In Marvin, P. and Howard, E. N. (eds.). *The theory and practice of Islamic terrorism, an anthology*. United States: Palgrave Macmillan. 11.

⁴¹ Marvin, P. and Howard, E. N. (eds.) 2008. The theory and practice of Islamic terrorism, an anthology. United States: Palgrave Macmillan. 39.

Religious terrorism, however, is not the exclusive preserve of the Islamic religion. There were recorded Jewish, Christian and Sikh inspired terrorism in the 1980s and 1990s.⁴² Religious terrorism was at its most dangerous level in 1995 with the use of sarin chemicals in Japan. This dangerous stage was a breakaway from the movements that linked nationalism and religion, and thus effectively identified religious cults as potential terrorist actors.⁴³ The 1995 Tokyo attack opened the eyes of the entire universe to the danger of Weapon of Mass Destruction (WMD) terrorism.⁴⁴ Interviews⁴⁵ with lower level members of the Aum Shinrikyo revealed that the members' quest was a long search for a new age spiritual commitment. It was believed that the members were not political activists but that restless members of other fringe cults had merged with the cult. In an interview conducted by Julian Morgans it was revealed that their belief system is "eclectic, to the point of incoherence".⁴⁶ Their commitments were interpreted with regards to interactions and friendship inside the sect and the power and quality of their leadership,⁴⁷ obedience to their leader was absolute, and where necessary, obedience was coerced and totally made obligatory. The Aum Shinrikyo was considered strange and bizarre, although the members exhibited "familiar ordinariness" as any other law-abiding citizens.⁴⁸

The religious approach to terrorism views terrorism as the outcome of infractions of religious tenets.⁴⁹ This approach explains the developments in Northern Nigeria where radical Islamists have used spiritual and moral decadence to advocate for Sharia law and the resuscitation of the influence of religious leaders. The religious extremists in Northern Nigeria are against the infiltration of western values which they perceived as corrupt and therefore agitate for an Islamic

⁴² See generally Jurgensmeyer, M. (Ed.) 1991. Special issue on violence and the sacred in the modern world. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 3. 3. Jurgensmeyer, M., 2000. *Terror in the mind of God: the global rise of religious violence*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

⁴³ See Lifton, R. J. 1999. *Destroying the world to save it: Aum Shinrikyo, apocalyptic violence, and the new global terrorism*. New York: Holt. Lifton's approach was basically psychoanalytic rather than descriptive and historical.

⁴⁴ Falkenrath, R. A., Newman, R. D. and Thayer, B. A. 1998. *Changing the world: a framework for the study of creativity*. Westport CT: Praeger. Their studies was focused on opportunity and capability rather than possible motivation.

⁴⁵ These interviews were corroborated by press and independent observers' accounts.

⁴⁶ Morgans, J. 2017. One man's interviews with a doomsday cult. *Your 2017 Guide to Cults and Fringe Religions*. Retrieved August 11, 2023-fromvice.com/en/article/ppmggz/one-mans-interviews-with-a-doomsday-cult.

⁴⁷ Their leader is Shoko Asahara who has recently being found guilty and sentenced to be executed.

⁴⁸ Lifton, R. J. *op cit*.

⁴⁹ Forest, J. F. 2012. *Confronting the terrorism of Boko Haram in Nigeria*. Florida: Joint Special Operations University.

caliphate. To carve out a surreal and idyllic caliphate, violence has been embraced as a desirable tool.

Other Theoretical Approaches to Terrorism

Terrorism is characterised by multi-disciplinary influences.⁵⁰ However, notable theoretical approaches to terrorism are the instrumental, organisational, political, communication/mass media/physiological, psychological, technological evolution/ecology, contagious and socio-economic factors. Terrorism, as a phenomenon is, therefore, multi-causal in nature, and these approaches to terrorism are derived from established bodies of theory – for example, instrumental and organisational theories.

Instrumental Approach to Terrorism

This approach is from the discipline of political science and clearly interprets the mind of a person from his/her expressed behaviour in accordance with logical rules. To the political actors, terrorism is a deliberate choice irrespective of the identity of the actors. This approach was nurtured in the environment of conflict studies and this gives it a wide range of applicability to different conflict situations.⁵¹ This approach sees terrorism as a weapon to an end (mostly political) and perceives the use of force as a choice. On the behavioural aspect of this theory, the analysis is that there is intense violent competition between a constituted authority (government) and opposition (terrorists) which target is to influence the behavioural pattern of the other.⁵² Terrorism, thus, becomes a tool of rivalry between the ruling party and the adversary. From the government side, it may provoke counter reaction through counterterrorism; this may increase the popularity of terrorists, thereby gaining more sympathizers to their cause. Terrorism is, therefore, deemed as similar to other strategies. This theory has comparison with such classic works on the strategy of conflict which provides that coercion is the “exploitation of potential force”,⁵³ consequentially,

⁵⁰ See Long, D. E. 1990. *The anatomy of terror*. New York: Free Press.

⁵¹ Crenshaw, M. 1988. *Theories of terrorism: instrumental and organisational approaches*. In Rapoport, D. (ed.) *Inside terrorist organisations*. New York: Columbia University Press. 13-31.

⁵² See Schelling, T. C. 1966. *Arms and influence*. Yale University Press.

⁵³ See generally, Schelling, T. C. 1980. *The strategy of conflict*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.

coercive bargaining entail exploring the possibility of adopting “the power to hurt” to achieve the desired end.⁵⁴ Here, the logic of force is differentiated from the threats of force⁵⁵ as coercion is sharply in contrast to militarism which forcefully takes what it desires.⁵⁶ Violence, according to Clausewitz, is therefore justified as *sine qua non* to political action – in other words, the justification for it is purely instrumental. The tool or instrument of terrorism, in simple language, is essential to boost or enhance human inherent or natural strength.⁵⁷ The instrumental theorists explain terror as tool for enterprise and local violence as a mode of accumulation or “the continuation of economics by other means”.⁵⁸ To this end, the aim of terrorism is to bring about political change in a particular system and not to decapitate the military structure. Since the actions of terrorist organisations are towards a political end, terrorism is, thus, a tool to change decisions, actions and policies of the different actors involved.⁵⁹ Terrorist activities and actions are illustrated as reactions to governmental policies and influences. This theoretical perspective aligns with the description/concept of terror “as a kind of weapons system” which is not fashioned after conventional warfare where there is a warfront to destroy each other militarily.

The instrumental approach share the same rationale with the rational choice studies in the assumption that terrorists display good logic and undertake strategic consultation with other actors before arriving at their decisions.⁶⁰ Terrorist organisations being non-state actors, decide their actions, by adopting the economic principle- of cost and benefit analysis.⁶¹ The inference from this theory is that terrorist organisations estimate the cost of an act or omission *vis-à-vis* the likelihood of success of such act or omission. To an advocate of the instrumental approach, even though they

⁵⁴Crenshaw, M. 1987. Inside terrorist organisations. *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 10, 4: 13-31.

⁵⁵ The force of persuasion (convincing others to part with something valuable to them) goes beyond the use of brute force (military might).

⁵⁶ Note that, denotatively and in common usage the use of force is within the realm of coercion.

⁵⁷ Von Clausewitz, C. 2003. Principles of war. Trans. H. W. Gatzke. New York: Dover.

⁵⁸Lenain, P., Bonturi, M. and Koen, V. 2002. The economic consequences of terrorism. *Working Papers* No.334. Paris: OECD.

⁵⁹ See Wilkinson, P. and Stewart, A. M. (eds.) 1987. Contemporary research on terrorism (per Brian Jenkins) definition of terrorism. Aberdeen, U.K.: University of Aberdeen Press.

⁶⁰Crenshaw, M. 1990. The causes of terrorism. In Kegley Jr. C. W. 1990. International terrorism: characteristics, causes, controls. New York: St. Martin's Press, 113-126.

⁶¹ Sandler, T. 1992. Collective action: theory and applications. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

may not achieve their ideological objectives, they are still fulfilled by the achievement of perceived intermediary aims because their ultimate goal is attaining political ends.

Conversely, it is pertinent to note that the instrumental analysis has not included the inside workings of terrorist organisations and thus, cannot explain how the terrorists arrive at their preferred options. Their assumption that actors are identical makes it difficult to assess and understand the disparity in the actors' different methods or mode of operation.

Organisational Approach to Terrorism

This approach analysed groups engaged in terrorism in terms of organisational structure. Thus, the determining factors for the various activities of any given terrorist group are not merely ideological or political but rather organisational. Unlike the instrumental approach, terrorists do not respond to external stimuli (i.e. government); neither do they make cost and benefit calculation; nor relate strategically with other actors before taking their actions – this gives rise to the assumption that terrorists acts appear inconsistent, erratic and unpredictable.⁶² To the advocates of the organisational theory, terrorism performs the same functions as a corporate organisation as it relates to internal control.⁶³ The organisational approach relates terrorist groups with any other organisational set up such as corporations or parastatals which sole goal is self-sustainability and survival. This suggests that as organisations strive to excel amidst competitions and rivalry, terrorist sects also spring forth to compete and to survive.⁶⁴ In clear words, terrorist organisations share similar characteristics with firms. Therefore, the same principle of maintenance and survival in competitive circumstances apply to firms and terrorist organisations.⁶⁵ In the case of a terrorist group, splinter or factional terrorist groups are like rivals in an open market system. The organisational approach is insightful as it x-rays the internal dynamics, processes and incentives for the survival of a terrorist's organisation. Part of the survival strategy of the organisation is the delivery of both tangible and intangible goods to its members in order to boost loyalty within the

⁶²Crenshaw, M. 1988. Theories of terrorism: instrumental and organisational approaches. In Rapport, D. (ed.) *Inside terrorist organisation*. New York: Columbia University Press. 13-31.

⁶³ See Crenshaw, M. 1981. The causes of terrorism. *Comparative Politics* 13 4:379-399.

⁶⁴Crenshaw, M. 1988. *Op cit*.

⁶⁵ See Hirschmann, A. 1970. Exit, voice and loyalty: responses to decline in firms, organisation, states. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

group and prevent dissent and defection to rival organisations.⁶⁶ The insights given by this approach has contributed to the understanding of the inner workings of terrorist organisations and the impact of this on their activities.⁶⁷ The insight provided through this approach supports the explanation that, terrorist do not uphold fixed ideas.⁶⁸

On the structure of their establishment, transnational terrorist groups have been cited as having similarity with political set-up in the sense that both of them are politically inclined or being political gangs.⁶⁹ To buttress this line of argument it was stated that both of them have a common function peculiar to an organisation, which is geared towards satisfying the needs of their members;⁷⁰ consequentially, they supply these members with their basic needs to satisfy essential demands. The difference is the adoption of violence to meet their members' needs.⁷¹

In addition, two analytical frameworks from the organisational school of thought have evolved to explain the operational capability of militant/terrorist groups. Thus, the understanding of how organisations acquire new technologies *per se* will create better awareness on the operations of terrorist groups since these terrorist groups thrive by the combination of technology and knowledge. The first of these analyses, *technology diffusion* lay emphasis on the passive spread of technologies from one group to the other and assumes that prospective beneficiaries of a nascent technological development will automatically take to it the very moment they have knowledge of its existence. The *diffusion* theory clearly assumes that proliferation of information is the usual consequence where potential new users meet immediate users concerning a new technology.⁷² In this regard, the simile of “epidemic spread of information from individuals or organisations that know about a new technology to those that do not” was adopted by experts to further explain the diffusion of technologies.⁷³ The analysis of the “contagiousness” of airline hijacking is an example

⁶⁶ See Olson, M. 1998. *The logic of collective action*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

⁶⁷ See Ozdamar, O. 2008. Theorizing terrorist behaviour: major approaches and their characteristics. *Defence Against Terrorism Review*. 1. 2: 89-101.

⁶⁸ Crenshaw, M. 1988 *op cit*; Oots, K. L. 1986, *op cit*, and; Rapoport, D. C. (ed.) 1988. *Inside terrorist organisations*. London: Frank Cass.

⁶⁹Oots, K. L. 1986. *The political organisation approach to transnational terrorism*. New York: Greenword Press.

⁷⁰ See *passim*, Sandler, T. 1992. *Collective action: theory and application*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

⁷¹ See Oots, K. L. 1986, *op cit*.

⁷² See Cragin, K., Chalk, P., Daly, S. A. and Jackson, B. A. 2007. *Terrorist groups and the exchange of new technologies*. U.S.: Rand Corporation. 11-12.

⁷³ Holden, R. T. 1986. The contagiousness of aircraft hijacking. *American Journal of Sociology*. 91. 4: 874-904.



of how this type of “disease”, within a transmission framework, spread just as specific tactic.⁷⁴ However, the shortcoming of this approach is that the prospective users of technology are treated as inactive actors or passive recipients of this technology. This line of literature, therefore, omits the important determinants that influence the interest of the organisation in determining whether to attempt such technological exchange or not.⁷⁵

The second analysis, technology adoption, lay emphasis on the process of exchange or acceptance of new technology and the active decision taken by groups prior to this exchange. This analysis emphasises that technology exchange is one of the many possible solutions available to an organisation when faced with new challenge and it comes as a result of the decision made by such organisation in response to specific problem. The theory concludes that an organisation will go for a new technology only when it is convinced such pursuit will solve its immediate problem. The process of acquiring this new technology will not be possible without “an active decision” being taken by the group or organisation.⁷⁶ Thus, the *technology adoption* theory solves the “passivity problem” identified in the first theory⁷⁷ by directing its searchlight on those factors that determine the proliferation of a specific technology from one group or organisation to another.⁷⁸ In summary, the technology adoption studies further stipulate the conditions of uncertainty faced by organisations when pursuing a new technology and the consequences of this uncertainty.⁷⁹

To the analysts of the organisation approach, therefore, terrorism is a well-structured plan of action which is collectively agreed upon by a group or organisation. In other words, terrorism is a product of collective reasoning based on common ideology.⁸⁰ However, this approach has been flawed as it is not backed up by empirical study to illustrate the process of collective decision making among terrorist organisations. It is rather suggested that this approach would be better suited to a guerrilla-

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Cragin, K. *et al*, *op cit*. 12-13.

⁷⁶ See Lane, P. J. and Lubarkin M., 1998. Relative absorptive capacity and interorganisational learning. *Strategic Management Journal* 19. 5: 461-477.

⁷⁷ Cragin, K. *et al*, *op cit*. 13.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid: according to this literature, such uncertainty leads to risk relating to cost-benefit judgments and, the risk of failure in the process of adopting the technology, the fear that it may turn out to be a white elephant project.

⁸⁰ Crenshaw, M. 1990. Questions to be answered, research to be done, knowledge to be applied. In Reich, W. (ed.) *Origins of terrorism: psychologies, ideologies, theologies, states of mind*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 250.

styled organisation with a centralised executive body, permanent administrative office with an imposing figure as head in the order of Marxist-Leninist lines of tradition.⁸¹

Cognate Approaches to Terrorism

Other related approaches to the study of terrorism are communicative, socio-economical, psychological, deprivative and contagion analyses.

Communicative Theory

The advocates of this approach opined that political violence, as a tool of terrorism, is specifically employed for communicative purposes. According to this theory, the victims of terrorist activities are not the actual target of communication, but another (e.g. a government or a group). The use of terror, therefore, is to maintain or weaken an allegiance or compliance.⁸² The centre point, therefore, is the effect with pertinent questions such as; how does terrorist activities impact on different targets? What are their effects on specified targets? And what is the connection between terrorist groups, victims or affected group and the actual target (e.g. government or group).⁸³ In clear words, their supreme objective is the general spread of political messages in a bid to coerce another group or state to comply with their demands.

Economic Approach

The fields of political science and social sciences have often apply economic methodological tools in their theoretical analyses.⁸⁴ The advocates of this approach are adamant that the application of economic methodology in the studies of terrorism produces better result than the political science

⁸¹ See Hudson, R. A. 1999. The sociology and psychology of terrorism: who becomes a terrorist and why? Majeska, M. (ed.) being a report prepared under an interagency agreement by the *Federal Research Division*. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Retrieved October 7, 2018 from <http://www.loc.gov/tr/frd/>.

⁸² Crelinsten, R. D. 1987. Criminologue: la couverture de presse et ses fonctions legitimantes. *Faire les nouvelles: journalism et affaires criminelles* 20:1.

⁸³ Ozdamar, O. *Op cit*.

⁸⁴ *Ibid*.

approach.⁸⁵ As early as 1978, the theory was applied in the United States of America.⁸⁶ Subsequently, economic ideas are commonly used in studies of terrorism by scholars.⁸⁷ It is also almost impossible to detach the discipline of economics from the studies of terrorism because every government or organisation involved as actors would want to know how terrorism has impacted on the economy.⁸⁸ The economic theory is also reliable in identifying and understanding the root causes of terror by addressing the question whether or not economic deprivation leads to radical mobilisation. A particular study finds that improved economic growth or development drastically or considerably reduces terrorism in a country.⁸⁹

The economic approach is further put in perspective in the theory of outbidding.⁹⁰ The theory of outbidding states that violence extremism is a way of staying relevant in a competitive world of terrorists.⁹¹ The areas of competition, among terrorist organisations, according to this theory, are media coverage, recruiting and public supports.⁹² There is high probability of outbidding where there are multiple competing actors for a sole resource base.⁹³ The theory of outbidding, therefore, comes to the fore where there is a leadership tussle among actors for singular cause within the same locality, and the masses are divided or confused on the actor(s) that has/have their best interests.⁹⁴ In addition, the more the competition, the more the conflict. In other words, increased competition inadvertently gives rise to conflict situation, even where these groups are purportedly agitating for the same goal.⁹⁵ The focus of this theory is the mechanism of suicide terrorism which

⁸⁵ The economic approach scholars lay claim to superior empirics in the area of definitions, case studies, theoretical and institutional frameworks.

⁸⁶ See Landes, W. 1978. An economic study of U.S. aircraft hijacking, 1961-1976. *Journal of Law and Economics*. 21.1:1-31.

⁸⁷ See Enders, W., Sandler, T. and Parise, G. F. 1992. An economic analysis of the impact of terrorism on tourism. *Kyklos* 45. 4:531-554.

⁸⁸ See generally, Enders, W. and Sandler, T. 2006. *The political economy of terrorism*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.

⁸⁹ See Quan, L. and Schaub, D. 2004. Economic globalization and transnational terrorism incidents: a pooled time series cross sectional analysis. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48.2. 230-258.

⁹⁰ Bloom, M. 2005. *Dying to Kill: the allure of suicide bombing*. New York: Columbia University Press.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ Kydd, A. H. and Walter, B. F. 2006. The strategies of terrorism. *International Security* 31. 1: 49-80.

⁹⁵ See Chenoweth, E. and Stephan, M. J. 2011. *Why civil resistance works: the strategic logic of nonviolent conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press.

has been classified as a “function of competitive political environment”.⁹⁶ The supreme sacrifice of a member’s personal life for an organisation’s cause has been seen as the highest sense of individual commitment, therefore presenting a stronger platform against a rival group.⁹⁷ Competition has been identified as the main factor that gave birth to suicide terrorism which is now rampant and more destructive.⁹⁸ The innovative trend in suicide terrorism suggests that the fluctuating effect of the cost and benefits of a particular pattern of operation may lead to change of strategies or make a group to come up with another activity with a more devastating effect and anticipated greater result. The popular example was the decrease in the incidents of skyjackings in the 1970s which was a result of the U.S. government counterterrorism strategy of installing metal detectors at their airports – it may have however, led to increased number in the adoption of alternative tactics by terrorist organisations.⁹⁹ The explanation, therefore, is that the more the level of competition among terrorist groups, the lesser the benefits derived from formerly adopted tactics, because if the costs of a particular tactic became unbearable, or its benefits diminished, the terrorist organisation will adopt alternative strategies.¹⁰⁰

On the corollary to the above is the traditional economic markets logic of differentiation. Differentiation is when a corporate outfit concentrates on a core value area to the exclusion of all others.¹⁰¹ It was noted that the essence of a firm differentiating its products (either goods or services) is to reduce price awareness or to attract a higher price.¹⁰² Differentiation, in this sense, connotes whatever permits an organisation and its goods or services to stand out in a given market.¹⁰³ The benefit of differentiation is to allow a firm or organisation to control a larger market

⁹⁶ Bloom, M. 2005. *op cit.*

⁹⁷ See Canes-Wrone, B. and Shotts, K. 2007. When do elections encourage ideological rigidity? *American Political Science Quarterly* 101.2: 273.

⁹⁸ For example, in the 1990s the adoption of suicide terrorism was a distinctive phenomenon between Hamas and Fatah in the Middle East.

⁹⁹ Enders, W. and Sandler, T. 2006. *The political economy of terrorism*. Cambridge University Press.

¹⁰⁰ See Conrad, J. and Greene, K. 2015. Competition, differentiation and the severity of terrorist attacks. *The Journals of Politics* 77.2: 1-41.

¹⁰¹ Sharp, B. and Dawes, J. 2001. What is differentiation and how does it work? *Journal of Marketing Management* 17.7.8: 739-759.

¹⁰² See generally, Baker, M. J. 1996. *Marketing: an introductory text*. 6th edition, Bath, U.K.: The Bath Press; Dickson, P.R. 1997. *Marketing Management* 2nd edition, Florida: The Dryden Press, Harcourt Brace College Publishers.

¹⁰³ Kotler, P. S. H., Ang, S. M. L. and Tan, C. T. 1996. *Marketing management – an Asian perspective*. Singapore: Prentice Hall.

share and considerably minimize direct competition. Although the theory of differentiation relates primarily to economic “market place” but the same principle is applicable to any organisation or firm whose target is to stand out in its own individual “marketplace”.¹⁰⁴ In striking similarity with traditional firms, the ultimate quest of terrorist groups is to capture a greater market share and to subdue competitors.¹⁰⁵

The economic approach relates to leadership and good management of a state. The political economy theory has argued that the root of insurgencies in Nigeria is bad leadership, the enormous natural resources in Nigeria have not been prudently managed by the political class. The Nigerian political class is not committed to human centred development and the ravaging poverty in the Northern Nigeria is a breeding field for radical extremism.

Psychological Theory

The psychological theory relates terrorist activities to their innate ideologies. There are subdivisions of the psychological approach: on the one hand, the psycho-pathological research evaluates the deviant traits in the character of an individual terrorist. The psycho-pathological scholars assume that the acceptable norm is a character trait divulged of violence, therefore anything contrary to this is abnormality. The assumption, therefore, is that violent terrorist activities are abnormal. These scholars claimed that there is certain negative character inherently associated with the personality profile of terrorists.¹⁰⁶ The psycho-sociological research, recognises environmental influence on the character traits of an individual. Researchers in this field have copiously identified the societal environment as a genuine psychological driver of an individual character.¹⁰⁷ This theory explores the personal motivations of terrorists in connection with certain ideologies and beliefs.¹⁰⁸ The argument in support of this theory is that a balanced examination of the cause of terrorism could only be possible by merging psychological and

¹⁰⁴ In this respect, the firm or organisation could be a terrorist group, while the products (goods or services) are the various terrorist activities.

¹⁰⁵ See Conrad, J. and Greene, K. *op cit*.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*.

¹⁰⁷ Wilkinson, P. 1990. The sources of terrorism: terrorists’ ideologies and beliefs. In Kegley, C. W. Jr. (ed) International terrorism: characteristics, causes, controls. New York: St. Martin’s Press. 139-145.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*.



environmental factors together.¹⁰⁹ The reason for this argument is that the study of the motivations and personal choice of an individual to partake in terrorism must be related to environmental influence. The core issue, therefore, is to ascertain the time and circumstances when radical groups resort to terrorism.¹¹⁰ In summary, the psycho-sociological explanation on individual character traits and mechanisms are studied in relation with the recognition of environmental influence on such individual behaviour.¹¹¹

The palpable questions posed by this study are; who do we call terrorists? What attracts people to terrorism? Why do terrorists involve in acts of terrorism? How do we identify terrorists? Are there any common character traits exhibited by these individuals? Why are terrorists violent? All these questions seek to study terrorists' 'states of mind' or the motivation and logic behind their activities or acts of violence. In order to proffer answers to the puzzle questions on terrorists, the psychological study of terrorism concentrates on terrorists' recruitment and careers.¹¹² One of the perspectives of this approach is that terrorists are mentally unstable with penchant for abnormality. Thus, the study fulfilled its own hypothesis by wading into the mindset of terrorists.¹¹³ The other perspective depicts terrorists as extremists with good rational qualities, calm and logical, whose motivations are ideological and political rather than personal financial gains. These qualities indicate that terrorists have sophisticated parental or family background with good education, and sound analytical and advanced characteristics.¹¹⁴ Consequentially, two sets of fanatics were identified: viz, religious fanatics and single-issue fanatics who are revolutionary with their actions.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁹Crenshaw, M. 1990. Questions to be answered, research to be done, knowledge to be applied, in Reich, W. (ed.) *Origins of terrorism, psychologies, ideologies, theologies, states of minds*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press. 259.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ See Brynjar, L. I. A. and Skjølberg, K. H. W. 2000. *Why terrorism occurs - a survey of theories and hypothesis on the causes of terrorism*. Norway: Norwegian Defence Research Establishment - FFI/RAPPORT-2000/02769.9.

¹¹² See Ozdamar, O. 2008. *Op cit.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ See Wilkinson, P. and Stewart, A. M. (eds.) 1987. *Contemporary research on terrorism*. Aberdeen, U.K.: University of Aberdeen Press.

However, the psychological theories have come under some criticisms as incapable of giving a comprehensive explanation for terrorist acts because it cannot on its own provide an account or predict terrorist behaviour.¹¹⁶ Hence, without other theories such as organisational instrumental. It is virtually impossible to empirically analyse the behavioural pattern or character profile of individual terrorist or organisation. Empirically, no viable psychological explanation of violent personality have, so far, been provided by scholars of political violence.¹¹⁷ It has also been argued that contrary to general projection, terrorists have differed in their psychological approach to issues and events.¹¹⁸ It was further argued that contrary to the psychological theories, terrorists have exhibited lucidity and impeccable characteristic traits.¹¹⁹ The summary of these criticisms is that terrorists that have political leanings are not psychopaths, but rather draw inspiration from in-depth values and ideals and explore such ideals as a legitimate political tactic.¹²⁰ Gleaning from these criticisms, the psychological approach is not comprehensive enough to explain the complex dynamics of terrorism and has failed to encompass the political, sociological, ideological and economic factors. In addition, the theory assumes that the personality profile of individual terrorist is similar to all other terrorists. However, the complex phenomenon of terrorism or terrorist organisation does not accommodate such homogenous groups or units.¹²¹ Although terrorists' 'state of mind' sometimes determine their violent activities, but this approach is not compelling as other factors also contribute as drivers of violent acts of terrorists.

Contagion Theory

The 'concept of contagion' suggests that any terrorist attack carried out by a group must have been galvanized by replica act of violence.¹²² The contagion theory of terrorism corroborated the studies

¹¹⁶ See Ozdamar, O. 2008. *Op cit*.

¹¹⁷ See Sprinzak, E. 1995. Right-wing terrorism in a comparative perspective: the case of split delegitimization. In Bjorgo, T. (ed.) *Terror from the extreme right*. London: Frank Cass.

¹¹⁸ Heskin, K. 1984. The psychology of terrorism in Ireland. Alexander, Y. & Segal, M. E. *Terrorism in Ireland*. New York: Martins Press.

¹¹⁹ See Crenshaw, M. 1981. The causes of terrorism. *Comparative Politics*. 13: 379-399.

¹²⁰ Corrado, R. 1981. A critique of the mental disorder perspective of political terrorism. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry* 4: 156.

¹²¹ There is not such a homogenous group where individuals are involved. See Ozdamar, O. 2008. *op cit*. 98.

¹²² Brynjar, L. I. A. and Skyolberg, K .H. .N. 200. *op cit*. 12.

demonstrating the fact that acts of terrorism are not by chance, but are rather well orchestrated.¹²³ Thus, the tempo of violent attacks are varied from time to time in arranged patterns.¹²⁴ In a study, covering the period from 1968 to 1986,¹²⁵ it was discovered that the casualties as well as the number of the terrorist activities recorded some steady growth. There was, thus, an exponential rise in the rate and volume of victims and terrorist events.¹²⁶ Apparent pattern of “periodical circle” was revealed by the study of spectrum of violent occurrences relating to terrorism, prompting the conclusion that these are not coincidences but apparent flow of contagious acts of terrorism.¹²⁷ The contagion thesis argues that the events or occurrences of terrorism in region or country directly or indirectly inspire terrorism in other countries whether by the same groups or affiliated organisations or imitators. The theory is backed up by the close affiliation and cooperation enjoyed by the sects globally. These terrorist groups render assistance to one another financially and technically. Distance and other physical limitations are not barriers, this is referred to as the “contagion process”.¹²⁸ The growth and proliferation of information and communication technology have led to worldwide coverage of terrorist tactics and strategies. Hence, most terrorist organisations have taken advantage of these information flows.¹²⁹ The trends of terrorism and empirical analyses have made the contagion theory of terrorism rather plausible.

Relative Deprivation Theory

The gap between human expectation and the corresponding satisfaction have been referred to as “relative deprivation”.¹³⁰ The theory argues that where initial hope has been raised as a result of improved economic or political condition, but subsequently such condition deteriorates or diminishes to the extent of depriving people of the means of meeting their basic needs and

¹²³*Ibid.*

¹²⁴*Ibid.*

¹²⁵ See *passim*, Weimann, G. and Brosius, H. 1988. The predictability of international terrorism: a time-series analysis. *Terrorism* 11.6: 491-502.

¹²⁶*Ibid.*, 498.

¹²⁷*Ibid.* 498-499.

¹²⁸Crenshaw, M. (ed.) 1983. *Terrorism, legitimacy and power*. Middletown, Connecticut; Wesleyan University Press, 17.

¹²⁹ See Crenshaw, M. 1990. The causes of terrorism. In Kegley, C. W. 1990. *International terrorism: characteristics, causes, controls*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 113-126.

¹³⁰ See Gurr, T. R. 1970. *Why men rebel*. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press.

expectations, there is high probability of conflict in such circumstances.¹³¹ The circumstances that invoke the rebellious attitudes or provoke aggressive behaviour is where there is perceived inequality in the socio-political structure.¹³² The studies of relative deprivation established a connection between individual's aggressive behaviour and frustration at all levels of the social ladder.¹³³ This frustration, due to social, economic and political circumstances, often boil over to political violence and other aggressive attitudes. In other words, frustration pushes people to revolt. In the ancient times, frustration was often associated with aggressive behaviour, thus, frustration was linked to political violence in Aristotle's classical theory of revolution.¹³⁴ The origin of aggressive behaviour was then traced to frustration¹³⁵. Thus, where considerable tension builds up because of perceived relative deprivation the end result is collective civil violence.¹³⁶ The theory predicts a gloomy future if the masses continue to experience deprivation or are unable to satisfy their various accustomed needs and expectations: continuous conflict results from people's dissatisfaction with the low level of their material supply.¹³⁷ This theory has identified lack of employment opportunities as a key cause of people joining the jihadists and becoming terrorists.¹³⁸ This definitely accounts for the high number of unemployed youth joining jihadist groups worldwide.¹³⁹ However, the difference in the recruitment drive is that unlike in Europe and Middle East, the youth conscripted by Boko Haram in north-eastern Nigeria are largely uneducated.¹⁴⁰ The almajiri groups are fertile recruitment grounds for Boko Haram because of their lack of exposure to western education and high poverty level.¹⁴¹ This theory also explain the situation in the Niger Delta where militant youth resorted to kidnapping and vandalism of pipelines.

¹³¹ See *passim* Davies, J. C. 1962. Toward a theory of revolution. *American Sociological Review* 27. 1: 5-19.

¹³² Galtung, J. 1964. A structural theory of aggression. *Journal of Peace Research* 1. 2: 95-119.

¹³³ Wilberg, H. 1990. *Konflikt teor ioch Fredsforkning (Conflict theory and peace research)* 2nd ed. Almquist & Wiksell; see also Gurr, T. R. *op cit*.

¹³⁴ See Brynjar, L. I. A. and Skyolberg, K. H. N. *op cit*, 11.

¹³⁵ Dollard, J. *et. al.* 1939. *Frustration and aggression*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

¹³⁶ Gurr, T. R. 1970. *op cit*.

¹³⁷ Przeworski, A. 1995. *Sustainable democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge Press.

¹³⁸ See *passim*. Richardson, C. 2011. Relative deprivation theory in terrorism; a study of higher education and unemployment as predictors of terrorism. Retrieved Jan.7, 2020, from www.politics.as.yu.edu/docs/10/4600/cbre/richardson_terrorism.

¹³⁹ Tespinar, O. 2017. ISIS recruitment and the frustrated achievers. Retrieved Jan. 7, 2020, from www.huffingtonpost.com/amer-tapaenar-isis-relative-deprivation.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*



Resource Mobilisation and Other Related Theories in the Developing World

Most countries in Africa including Nigeria are plagued with recurring crisis due to flawed systems. After years of nationhood, these countries are yet to resolve the issues of bad leadership, corruption, security, economic inequality, resource management, dysfunctional democracy, institutional failure and weak political system. The resource mobilisation theory argues that countries or states endowed with rich natural resources, and therefore prosperous, and socially integrated but with very weak political and institutional frameworks have higher probability of experiencing home-grown terrorism.¹⁴² The basis of this theory is that where there are economic inequality amidst surplus resources, different groups vigorously struggle for dominance.¹⁴³ In the developing states of Africa in general and Nigeria in particular, human and natural potentials abound but the continent still experience economic deprivation among its citizenry. For example, in September 2018 and October 2019, the National Bureau of Statistics conducted the Nigerian Living Standard Survey, tagged “2019 Poverty and Inequality in Nigeria” report. The report highlights that 40 percent of the total population, or almost 83 million people, live below the country’s poverty line of 137,430 (\$381.75) per year.¹⁴⁴ The plight of these countries was aggravated by leadership crisis coupled with poor implementation of viable policies and programmes. Domestic terrorism in Nigeria has been linked to the struggle for political dominance, ineffective resource management, inequality in sharing the commonwealth, religious and ethnic marginalisation. In northern Nigeria, religious strife has been the major cause of insurgency, whilst socio-cultural and economic factors have led to major unrest in the southern part of Nigeria.¹⁴⁵ In summary, the resource mobilisation theory emanates from the field of social

¹⁴²Freilich, J. 2003. *America militias: state level variation in militia activities*. New York: LFB Press.

¹⁴³*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ Anon 2020. Nigeria releases new report on poverty and inequality in country. *The World Bank: Living Standards Measurement Study/Briefs* May 28, 2020. Retrieved July 20, 2023 from worldbank.org/en/programs/Isms/brief/Nigeria-releases-new-report-on-poverty-and-inequality-in-country. The Nigerian living standards survey is the official survey that is the basis for measuring poverty and living standards in the country and is used to estimate a wide range of socio-economic indicators including benchmarking of the Sustainable Development Goals.

¹⁴⁵ See Dempsey, T. 2006. *Counterterrorism in African failed states: challenges and potential solutions*. Retrieved September 3, 2016 from <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/>.

science and it describes the process by which group collectively amass resources for its own interest and attempt to control such resources within its own control unit through collective action. Such group may prosper without contending for power through collective control of its mobilised resources.¹⁴⁶ The events and activities surrounding domestic terrorism in the developing world justify the theory of resource mobilisation.¹⁴⁷

Closely related to the above theory, is the democratic peace theory. Democracy entail the involvement of the citizenry in governance, it recognises and promotes the values and interests of the masses including that of vulnerable groups and minorities.¹⁴⁸ In this context, democracy is synonymous with working together, agreement, shifting of grounds and understanding in entrenching and institutionalization of popular arrangement in harmony with the background and governmental affiliation and ethics of a nation and the corresponding reaction of these establishments to the primary desires and hope of the masses.¹⁴⁹ Logically, this theory assumes that the general masses in all the nations of the world have particular interest in governance, therefore, they desire to partake in any process that affects and shapes their welfare and existence.¹⁵⁰ The proponents of this theory argue that democracies are better equipped against terrorism because they are positioned to meet people's aspiration and challenges. In addition, democratic states are more legitimate and relatively stable.¹⁵¹ Nevertheless, the events in Europe and America have given clear evidences that democracies are more vulnerable to terrorism. The American foreign policy in the Middle East has also been steered towards supporting liberalism in autocratic regimes. This is a departure from the previous position characterised by the "Fear of the Alternative".¹⁵²

¹⁴⁶ Collecting resources come together with mobilization. The process of mobilization of resources is influenced by four factors: (1.) organisation, (2.) leadership, (3.) political opportunity and (4.) the nature of political institution.

¹⁴⁷ See Freilich., J. *op cit*.

¹⁴⁸ Omotola, S. 2008. Democracy and constitutionalism in Nigeria under the fourth republic, 1999-2007. *Africana* 2. 2: 1-29.

¹⁴⁹ Kura, S. 2009. Democracy, human rights and rule of law in Nigeria. In *State and civil society relations in Nigeria*, Olutayo, O. *et al* (eds.) Ibadan: Hope Publications Ltd. 272.

¹⁵⁰ Zimako, Z. 2009. Face of a nation: democracy in Nigeria, foreign relations and the national image. *Modern Approach*.5.

¹⁵¹ See Amusan, L. and Oyewole, S. 2014. Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria: a reflection on the failure of democratic containment. *Politeio*, 33. 1: 35-49.

¹⁵² See generally, Brumberg, D. 2002. Democratisation in the Arab world? the trap of liberalised autocracy. *Journal of Democracy*, 13. 4: 56-68.



However, there is a wide consensus that elected government is anathema to a weak and frail nation.¹⁵³ In developing countries, especially Nigeria, the democratic systems are nothing more than on the surface, façade, sham, partial totalitarianism, autocracy, elected despot, absolutist and platoon egalitarianism.¹⁵⁴ Thus, the exclusive politics of these “lesser democracies” encourage violence in the developing countries and breed home-grown terrorism. In Nigeria, bad governance has inevitably given birth to two distinct set of groups: the genuinely grieved actors due to years of marginalisation and neglect, and the political actors that take advantage of bad governance to propagate their own personal motives. It was averred that the main root of terrorism in West Africa is poor governance.¹⁵⁵ Weak governance, therefore, inhibits developments and creates an atmosphere for the spread of radical ideologies.¹⁵⁶

The oppression and humiliation theory also resonate with the Nigerian terrorism story. The Boko Haram sect was aggrieved by the murder of their leader, Muhammed by security agents and his successor, Abubakar Shekau, decided to take up arms against the Nigerian government for its perceived oppression against the members of the sect. This theory is associated with the developing countries where home-grown terrorist groups are more likely to take up arms for perceived acts of oppression. The high-handedness of a state or its agencies against its citizenry forms the background for the oppression and humiliation theory.¹⁵⁷

Arms trade, arms smuggling and proliferation thrive in Nigeria because of its porous borders. Terrorists and other criminal elements have taken advantage of these ungoverned landmass to cause havoc and violence. It is believed that the emergence of the extractive industries led to the massive purchase of arms (for self-defence and regime security), and proliferation of arms,

¹⁵³ See *passim*, Collier, P. 2010. Wars, guns and votes: democracy in dangerous places. New York: Harper Collins Publishers.

¹⁵⁴ See generally, Diamond, L. 2009. The spirit of democracy: how to make democracy work, *Zenith Economic Quarterly* 4. 1: 49-56.

¹⁵⁵ See Trosper, T. B. 2009. West Africa’s war on terrorism: time and patience. Being a dissertation for the award of Master of Strategic Studies Degree, U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, March 25th 2009.

¹⁵⁶ Brown, W. 2006. The commission for Africa: results and prospects for West Africa’s policy. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 44. 3: 358-359.

¹⁵⁷ See generally, Crayton, J. W. 1983. Terrorism and the psychology of the self. *Perspectives on Terrorism*. L. Z. Freedom and Y. Alexander. Eds. Wilmington, D.E.: Scholarly Resources. See also Jurgensmeyer, M. 2000. Terror in the mind of God. Berkeley. University of California Press.



(through rebel groups and rouge political class).¹⁵⁸ This is the basis of the theory of arms trade, arms smuggling and arms proliferation. The closure of the Nigerian land borders and the urgent call to domesticate the Arms Trade Treaty in Nigeria are clear illustrations of the need to regulate the inflow of arms into the country.

Conclusion and Recommendation

The above-mentioned theories are knitted together and anchored to the utilitarian theory. The utilitarian theory espouses the importance of people-based provision of quality laws and human security. The instrumental, organisational and other related theories are the key icons that link up the medieval and other explored theories. This clearly connotes that the theories are cognate as the emphases are basically on people's welfare, security and all round well-being. More specifically, the iconic umbrella of the instrumental, organisational and other related theories have over-bearing influence on other theories which can be subsumed under the three broad categories. By way of illustration, the instrumental theory perceives terrorism as a tool of rivalry - in essence it is similar to psycho-sociological scholars which conveniently enveloped the sub-theories of arms and influence, communication, arms trade and proliferation (these are all related to the principles of war). The organisational theory transverse control, discipline and moral building, maintenance and survival, technological diffusion and technological adoption. The organisational theory further dovetail economic analysis (outbidding and differentiation), concept of contagion and proliferation of information and communication technology. The other related theories to instrument and organisational are relative depression and weak political and institutional framework.

The clear recommendation, based on these theories, is that lessons should be learnt from the hotbeds of terrorism in Africa. The theories are products of the African experience and encounters with terrorists and their devastative effects on the masses. The root of terrorism must be intentionally addressed by the governments in Africa, people should be the focal point of governance and welfarism. Also, compliance with the rule of law is an integral part of the global war on terror, governments should consciously uphold the rule of law and avoid violating the

¹⁵⁸ Sharife, K. 2010. The arms trade is big business in Africa. *BBC Focus on Africa*. January-March 12-15 (on file with the author).



entrenched constitutional rights of their citizens. Finally, cooperation among states, international communities and security agencies is the ultimate strategy for sustainable global war against terror-because cooperation is essential for obligations to be respected and observed among states and non-party state to international treaties and conventions. In the same vein, multilateralism or cooperation among several nations fosters international cooperation for concerted war against terrorism. To combat terrorism, actions should be taken to coordinate retaliation against terrorist groups through military, technical and logistic cooperation. Coordinated action or coalition has proved to be extremely efficient in waging concerted onslaught against terrorism from the militancy, economic, technical and logistic perspectives.