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# Urban Security and Neighbourhood Safety Impact on Sustainable Development in Nigeria

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#### Abstract

t the United Nation's sustainable development summit on 25<sup>th</sup> September, 2015, World Leaders adopted the 2030 Agenda sustainable development, which includes a set of 17 Sustainable Development Goal (SDGs) Goal 16 of the Sustainable Development Goal is dedicated to the promotion of peaceful and inclusive society for sustainable development, the provision of access to justice for all and building effective, accountable institution at all level. Peace, stability, human right and effective governance based on rule of law are important conduits for sustainable development. The various security challenges in Nigerian urban centres due to the activities of Boko Haram and militancy of various forms, the activities of these groups and individuals have resulted in wanton destruction of lives and properties of citizens and disruptions of socio and economic lives of millions of Nigerian, the abduction of over 200 Chibok school girls which have attracted global attention. This paper examined urban security and neighbourhood safety in Northern Nigeria, the recent emergence of militant by the Niger Delta avenger, which led to the disruption of Nigeria global oil output. Data for the study were collected primary and secondary sources. Primary data were collected through direct field observation and questionnaire survey. On the whole 600 questionnaires were administered using random sampling to stakeholder and opinion leaders in Northern Nigeria. The analyzed data revealed that social injustice and grievances are the major cause of urban insecurity in Nigeria while corruption and sabotage militate against the campaign on insurgency. Finding revealed that there is a significant relationship between urban security and sustainable development. The Author advocates the following toward achieving a lasting peace and security in Nigeria; conciliatory options, negotiation, responding to grievances, the hard line measure of maximum use of force and fiscal federalism.

> Keywords: Urban Security, Terrorism, Extremism, Insurgent, Sustainable Development.

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#### Background to the Study

At the United Nation's sustainable development summit on 25<sup>th</sup> September, 2015, World Leaders adopted the 2030 Agenda sustainable development, which includes a set of 17 Sustainable Development Goal (SDGs) Goal 16 of the Sustainable Development Goal is dedicated to the promotion of peaceful and inclusive society for sustainable development, the provision of access to justice for all and building effective, accountable institution at all level. Peace, stability, human right and effective governance based on rule of law are important conduits for sustainable development. We are living in a world that is increasingly divided. Some regions enjoy sustainable levels of peace, security and prosperity while others fall into seemingly endless cycle of conflict and violence. This is by no means inevitable and must be addressed.

High levels of armed violence and insecurity have a destructive impact on a country's development affecting economic growth and often resulting in long standing grievances among community that can last for generation. Sexual violence, crime, exploitation and torture are also prevalent where there is conflict or no rule of law and countries must take measured to protect those who are most at risk.

The Sustainable Development Goals (SGDs) aim to significantly reduce all forms of violence, and work with governments and communities to find lasting solutions to conflict and insecurity. Strengthening the rule of law and promoting human right is key to this process, as is reducing the flow of illicit arms and strengthening the participation of developing countries in the institutions of global governance. Inclusive city denote the adoption of urban management strategies that aim at reducing poverty, illiteracy, building partnership, strengthening institutional capacity and promoting participation in decision making by all elements of the population in the city. It is another terminology for the age old idea of focusing on citizen participation, focusing on bottom-up approach. It is a clarion call for policy makers to return to its roots by helping local, municipal, state and national governance, local thinking, pro-poor policies and strategies that would help stem poverty, injustice and corruption. The Rio Earth Summit of 1992, its derivation documents. The Earth Charter and Agenda 21 emphasized that broad public participation in decision making is a fundamental pre-requisite to achieving sustainable development.

In recent years, there have been increases in security concern Nigerian urban centres due to the activities of insurgents and militancy of various kinds. Boko Haram, which calls, itself WilayatCharibAfriqiyan (Islamic state's) West Africa province (ISWAP) and Juma'atAhi as –Sunnah Lid-Dai WahWai –Jihad is an Islamic extremist group based in North eastern Nigeria also active in Chad, Niger and Northern Cameroon the group had alleged links to Al-Qaeda but in March 2015 it announced its allegiance to the Islamic state of Iraq and the Levan (ISIL).

The activities of these groups and individual have resulted in Wanton destruction of lives and properties of citizens and disruption of socio-economic lives of millions of Nigerian including the kidnapping of 250 Chibok school girls in April 2014. Up to 1.3 Million children have been forced from their homes across Cameroon, Chad, Nigeria and Niger. Boko Haram use of child bombers has increased over the last years with one in five suicide attack done by children. In a report titled Beyond Chibok, UNICEF said that boys abducted and recruited into Boko Haram ranks were forced to attack their own families to demonstrate their loyalty while girls were

exposed to severe abuse including sexual violence and forced marriage to fighters, UNICEF (2016).

The recent renewed milltias and insurgents in the Niger Delta on oil infrastructures by group that call itself Niger Delta Avengers has caused global disruption in oil production outputs from Nigeria. Five largest export streams has been suspended: forcados, Qua Iboe, Bonny light and Brass river are under force majeure- a legal clause that allowed the exporter to stop shipment without breaching contracts. It has also forced Chevron and Royal Dutch Shell to close at least three plants RMP 24, RMP 23 and RMP 20 described as largest Chevron Oil producing well.

#### Objectives of the Study

The following are the objectives and purpose of the study:

- i. To determine the impact of urban security on sustainable development.
- ii. To determine the nature of urban insecurity in Nigeria.
- iii. To determine why citizens take up arms against the state and to proffer best approach to security situation in Nigeria.

#### Literature Review

Terrorism, however defined, has always challenged the stability of societies and the peace of mind of everyday people. In the modern era, the impact of terrorism-that is, its ability to terrorize-is not limited to the locales or regions where the terrorists strike. In this age of terrorism, the internet, satellite communications, and global news coverage, graphic images of terrorist incidents are broadcast instantaneously into the homes of hundreds of millions of people. Terrorist groups understand the power of these images and manipulate them to their advantage as much as they can.

Some acts of political violence are clearly acts of terrorism. Most people would agree that politically motivated bombings of market places, massacres of enemy civilians and routine government use of torture are terrorist acts. Behind each incident of terrorist violent is some deeply held belief systems that have motivated the perpetrators. Such systems characterized by intolerance. Extremism is a quality that is "radical in opinion, especially in political matters; ultra, advanced. It is characterized by catalyst and motivation for terrorist behavior. Extremists who cross the line to become terrorists always develop noble argument to rationalize and justify their acts of violence toward nations, people, religion or other interest. Extremism is a precursor to terrorism it is an overarching belief system terrorism. As in the past, religion is often an underlying impetus for extremist activity. When extremists adopt a religious belief system, their world view became one of a struggle between supernatural forces of good and evil.

The British have defined terrorism as the use or threat, for the purpose of advancing a political, religious or ideological cause, of action which involves serious, violence against any person or property' "The use of unexpected violence to intimidate or coerce people in the pursuit of political or social objectives; Ted (1989) "Terrorism is the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in the pursuit of change". Bruce (1998) the Federal Bureau of investigation (FBI) has defined terrorism as "the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the

civilian population, or any segment thereof in furtherance of political or social objectives. For the state Department, terrorism is premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by sub national groups or clandestine agents usually intended to influence and audience.

It should now be clear that defining terrorism can be an exercise in semantics and context, driven by one's perspective and world view. Absent definitional guidelines, these perspectives would be merely personal opinion and the subject of academic debate.

Perspective is a central consideration in defining terrorism. Those who oppose an extremist group's violent behavior and who might be its target-would naturally consider them terrorists. On the other hand, those who are being championed by the group-and on those behalf the terrorist war is being fought-often see them as liberation fighters, even when they do not necessarily agree with the method by the group.

Evaluating the following aphorism critically will help to address difficult moral questions:

- i. "One person's terrorist is another person freedom fighter"
- ii. "One man willing to throw away his life is enough to terrorized a thousand"
- iii. "Extremism in defense of liberty is no vice"
- iv. "It became necessary to destroy the town to save it" Neil (1988).

The role of perspective is significant in definitional debate. Terrorist always declare that they are fighters who represent the interests of an oppressed group. They consider themselves freedom fighters and justify their violence as a proportional response to the object of their oppression. The underlying principles of long standing ideologies and philosophies continue to provide justification for the support and use of political violence.

Ideologies are systems of belief derived from theories that explain social and political conditions, literally scores of belief system have led to acts of terrorist violence. Because there are so many, it is difficult to classify them with precision. Nevertheless, a classical ideology continuum rooted in the politics of the French Revolution has endured to the present time Bruce (1998).

# The Classical Ideological Continuum

#### The Case of the French Revolution

At the beginning of the French revolution in 1789, a parliament –like assembly was convened to present the interests of the French social classes. Although its name changed during the revolution –from Estates-General, to National constituent Assembly, to legislative Assemblythe basic ideological divisions were, symbolically demonstrated by where representatives sat during assembly session on the left side of the assembly sat those who favoured radical change, some advocating a complete reordering of French society and culture. On the right side of the assembly sat those who favoured either the old order or slow and deliberate change. In the centre of the assembly sat those who favoured either moderate change or simply could not make up their minds to commit to either the left or right. These symbolic designations left or right. These have become part of our modern political culture.

#### An Ideological Analysis: from the Extreme left to the Extreme Right

Fringe left ideology is usually an extreme interpretation of Marxist ideology, using theories of class warfare or ethno-national liberation to justify political violence. At the leftist fringe, violence is seen as a perfectly legitimate option because the group considers itself at war with an oppressive system, class or government. The key justification is the notion of the group as a righteous champion of the poor and down trodden.

This type of ideological movement frequently concerns itself only with destroying an existing order in the name of the championed class or national group, not with building the new society in the aftermath of the revolution. Far left ideology frequently applies Marxist theory to promote class or ethno national rights. Its best characterized as a radical world view because political declarations often direct public attention against perceived forces of exploitation or repression. Far left group do not necessarily engage in political violence and often fully participate in democratic processes.

Far right ideology is characterized by strong adherence to social order and traditional value. At chauvinistic racial or ethnic dimension is often present, as is an undercurrent of religion or mysticism. Like the far left, far right groups do not necessarily engage in political violence and have fully participated in democratic processes.

Fringe right ideology is usually rooted in an uncompromising belief in ethno-national or religious superiority, and terrorist violence is justified as a protection of the purity and superiority of the group. Terrorists on the fringe right picture serves as champions of an ideal order that has been usurp or attacked, by inferior interests or unwanted religious values. Violence is an acceptable option against those who are not members of the group because they are considered obstacles to the group's natural assumption of power. Like their counter parts on the fringe left, right-wing terrorist often have only a vague notion of the characteristics of the new order after the revolution. Significantly, rightist terrorists have been more likely than their leftist counterparts to engage in indiscriminate bombings and other attacks that result in higher numbers of victims. Fascism is a typical example of fringe right.

#### The New Terrorism

It is clear from human history that terrorism is deeply woven into the fabric of social and political conflict. This has not changed and in the modern world, states and targeted populations are challenge by the New Terrorism, which is characterized by the following: -

- i. Loose cell-based networks with minimal lines of command and control
- ii. Desired acquisition of high, intensity weapons and weapons of mass destruction.
- iii. Politically vague, religious, or mystical motivation.
- iv. Asymmetrical methods that maximize casualties
- v. Skillful use of the Internet and manipulation of the media.
- vi. The New Terrorism should be contrasted with traditional terrorism, which is typically characterized by the following.
- vii. Clearly identifiable organizations or movements
- viii. Use of conventional weapons, usually small arms and explosive
- ix. Explicit grievances championing specific classes or ethno-national group.
- x. Relatively surgical selection of target.

New information technologies and the internet create unprecedented opportunities for terrorist groups, and violent extremists have become adept at bringing their wars into the homes of literally hundreds of millions of people. Those who specialize in suicide bombings car bombings, or mass-casualty attacks correctly, calculate that carefully selected targets will attract the attention of a global audience.

#### The Modern Era

It is useful in developing a critical understanding of modern extremist behavior to understanding that the growing threat of the New Terrorism adds a unique dimension to the terrorist environment of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This is different in character, aiming not a clearly defined political but at the destruction of society and the elimination of large section of the population. The new breed of terrorist is characterized by horizontal organizational arrangement wherein independent cells operate autonomously without reporting to a hierarchical command structure. Many of these new terrorists are motivated by religious or nationalist precepts. Clarence (2011).

#### **Causes of Terrorist Violence**

Regardless of the specific precipitating cause of a particular terrorist behavior, the fact that so many individuals, groups and nationals resort to terrorist violence suggest that common motive and explanation can be found.

#### Political Violence as the Fruit of Injustice

The sociological approach argues that terrorism is a group-based phenomenon selected by weaker groups as the only available strategy. From the perspective of an opponent group, terrorism and other forms of collective violence are often described as 'senseless', and their participants, are often depicted as irrational". However, this is not an entirely complete analysis, because if 'rational' means goal directed ... then most collective violence is indeed rational. Their collective violence is indeed directed at achieving certain, social change-oriented goals, regardless of whether we agree with those goals or with the violent means used to attain them. If "rational' further means sound, wise and logical, then available evidence indicate that collective violence is rational... because it sometimes can help achieve their social goals". Peter (2001).

#### Theoretical Foundation for Sociological Explanation.

Two sociological concept, structural theory and relative deprivation theory, provide useful explanatory analysis.

Structural theory has been used in many policy and academic disciplines to identify social conditions (structures) that affect group access to services, equal right, civil protections, freedom or other quality of life measures, examples of social structures include government policies administrative bureaucracies, spatial (geographic) location of the group, the role of security forces and access to social institutions Applying this theory to the context of terrorism.

Structural theories of revolution emphasis that weakness in state structures encourages the potential for revolution. According to this view a government beset by problems such as economic and military crises is vulnerable to challenges by insurgent forces... other governments run into trouble when their policies alienate an anger elites with society. Jack (1986) the state is the key actor in structures theory of revolution its status is the precipitation factor for popular revolution. The alienation of elite and a pervasive crisis are to central ingredients for bringing a society to brink of revolution.

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Relative deprivation theory essentially hold that feelings of deprivation and frustration underlie individual decisions to engage in collective actions' when a group's rising expectations are met by sustained repression or second-class status, the groups reaction may include political violence. Their motive for engaging in political violence is their observation that they are relatively deprived in relation to other groups, in an unfair social order. This condition can also lead to political violence.

One observation must be made about relative deprivation theory: Although it was and is a popular theory among many experts, three shortcomings have been argued:

- 1. Psychological research suggests that aggression happens infrequently when the conditions for relative deprivation are met.
- 2. The theory is more likely to explain individual behavior than group behavior.
- 3. Empirical studies have not found an association between relative deprivation and political violence. Michael (2004).

#### Terrorism by the State

State terrorism is committed by governments and quasi-governmental agencies and personnel against perceived enemies. State terrorism can be directed externally against foreign adversaries or internally against domestic enemies. Political violence by the state is the far-reaching application of terrorist violence. Because of the many resources available to the state, its ability to commit acts of violence far exceeds that perpetrated by dissident terrorists in scale duration.

#### The Patronage Model

State patronage for terrorism refers to active participation in and encouragement, of terrorist behavior. Its basic characteristics are that the state, through its agencies and personnel, activity takes part in repression, violence and terrorism. Thus, state patron adopts policies that initiate terrorism and other subversive activities including directly arming training and providing sanctuary for terrorism.

# State Patronage in Foreign Policy

In the foreign policy domain, state patronage for terrorism occurs when a government champions a politically violent movement or group- a proxy- that is operating beyond its borders. Under this model, the state patron will directly assist the proxy in its cause and continue its support even when the movement or group has become known to commit acts of terrorism or other atrocities.

# State Patronage in Domestic Policy

In the domestic policy domain, state patronage of terrorism occurs when a regime engage in direct violent repression against a domestic enemy. Patronage is characterized by the use of state security personnel in an overt policy of political violence. State patrons typically rationalize policies of repressing by arguing that they are necessary to:

- 1. Suppress a clear and present domestic threat to national security.
- 2. Maintain law and order during time of national crisis.
- 3. Protect fundamental cultural values that are threaten by subversives.
- 4. Restore stability to governmental institutions that have been shaken, usurped, or damaged by a domestic enemy.

#### State Assistance in Domestic Policy

In the domestic policy domain, state assistance for terrorism, according to Clarence (2011) occur when a regime engage in indirect violent repression against an enemy. Under this model, the assistance is characterized by the use of sympathetic proxies. This can occur in an environment where the proxy violence coincides with that of state security personnel. Thus, the overall terrorist environment may include both state patronage (direct repression) and state assistance (indirect repression) state assistance typically rationalize policies of indirect repression by adapting official positions that.

- 1. Blame an adversary group for the breakdown of order and call on the people to assist the government in restoring order.
- 2. Argue that the proxy violence is evidence of popular patriotic sentiment to suppress a threat to national security.
- 3. Call on all parties to cease hostilities but focus blame for the violence on an adversary group.
- 4. Assure everyone that the government is doing everything in its power to restore law and order but that the region is unable to immediately end the violence.

#### Terrorism by Dissidents

Dissident terrorism – committed by non-state movements and group against government, ethno-national group, religious groups and other perceived enemies groups.

Policy experts and academics have designed a number of models that defines dissident terrorism. For example, one model places dissident terrorism into a large framework of three generalized categories of political action that include the following:

1. **Revolutionary Dissident Terrorism:** A clear world vision.

The goals of revolutionary dissidents are to destroy an existing order through armed conflict and to build a relatively well designed new society this vision can be the result of nationalist aspirations, religious principles, ideological dogma or some other goal.

- 2. Sub-Revolutionary Terrorism- the threat or use of political violence aimed at effecting various changes in a particular political system (but not aimed at abolishing it)
- **3. Establishment Terrorism:** the threat use of political violence by an established political system against internal or external oppositions Richard (1978).

Other models develop specific types terrorism such as single issue, separatist and socio revolutionary. Steve, et al (2001). Likewise insurgent terrorism has been defined as violence 'directed by private groups against public authorities aims at bringing about radical change. Ted (1998).

#### **Religious** Terrorism

Terrorism in the name of religion has become the predominant model for political violence in the modern world.

Religious terrorism is a type of political violence motivated by an absolute belief that another worldly power has sanctioned and commanded terrorist violence for the greater glory of the faith. Act committed in the name of the faith will be forgiven by the other worldly power and perhaps rewarded in an afterlife. In essence, one's religious faith legitimizes violence as long as such violence's is an expression of the will of one's deity. Some religious terrorists are inspired by defensive motives others seek to ensure the predominance of their faith and others are motivated by an aggressive amalgam of these tendencies.

# Fig 1: Boko Haram



Source: Author's Field Work

Religious terrorism can be communal genocidal, nihilistic or revolutionary. It can be committed by lone wolves, clandestine cells, large dissident movements or governments.

# Terrorism by Dissident

Peter (1989) defines and differentiated a broad category of dissident terrorism as revolutionary, nihilist and nationalist dissident terrorism.

# Revolutionary Dissident Terrorism: A Clear World Vision

The goals of revolutionary dissidents are to destroy an existing order through armed conflict and to build a relatively well-designed new society. This vision can be the result of nationalist aspirations, religious principles, ideologies dogma or some other goals.

Revolutionaries views the existing order as regressive, corrupt and oppressive, their envisioned new order will be progressive, honesty and just. Many Islamic revolutionaries also have grant vision – that of spiritually pure culture justly based on the application of Sharia's or God's law.

# Nihilist Dissident Terrorism

Nihilism was a 19<sup>th</sup> century Russian philosophical movement of young dissident. It believed that only scientific truth could end ignorance. Religion, nationalism and traditional values were believed at the root of ignorance. Nihilists had no vision for a future society, asserting only that the existing society was intolerable. The goal of modern nihilists is to destroy the existing order through armed conflict with little forethought to the configuration of the new society; victory is defined simply as the destruction of the old society.

# Nationalist Dissident Terrorism

Nationalist dissidents champion the national aspiration of groups of people distinguished by their cultural, religious, ethnic or racial heritage. The championed people generally live in an

environment in which their interests are subordinate to the interests of another group or a national regime. The goal of nationalist dissidents is to mobilize a particular demographic group against another group or government. They are motivated by the desire for some degree of national autonomy such as democratic political integration, regional self-government or national independence.

#### Anti-State Dissident Terrorism

Anti-State dissident is directed against existing government and political institutions and attempts to destabilize the existing order as a precondition to a new society.

Anti-state dissidents can have a clear vision of the new society (revolutionary dissident), a vague vision of the new society (nihilist dissident). Regardless of which model fits a particular movement, the common goal is to defeat the state and its institution.

#### Intensities of Conflict: Anti-State Terrorism Environments

With few exceptions, anti-state terrorism is directed against specific governments or interests and occurs either within the borders of a particular country or where those interests are found in other countries. Thus, anti-state terrorist environments are defined by the idiosyncrasies of each dissident movement and each terrorist organization. The histories of every nation give rise to specific anti-state environments that are unique to their societies.

#### **Terrorist Target**

Terrorist select their targets because of their symbolic and propaganda value. High profile, sentimental, or otherwise significant targets are chosen with the expectation that the society will be moved and that the victims audience will in some way suffer. The following targets are often selected for their anticipated return in propaganda value. Religious building, Educational facilities, shopping areas police post, Recreational areas. Table 2.

<b>GROUP OR</b>	ACTIVITY PROFILE					
MOVEMENT	DATE	TARGET	FATALITY	LOCATION	METHOD	
	24/12/2010	CATHOLIC	12 KILLED	JOS	BOMB	
		CHURCH			EXPLOSURE	
	10/07/2011	ALL CHRISTIAN	16 KILLED	SULEJA	SUICIDE	
		CHURCH			BOMBING	
BOKO	06/08/2011	UNITED NATION	10 KILLED 20	ABUJA	WELL	
HARAM		BUILDING	INJURRED		PLANNED	
					BOMBING	
	03/02/2012	POLICE STATION	4 KILLED	AJAOKUTA	GUERRILA	
					WARFARE	
	07/08/2012	DEEPER LIFE	19 KILLED	OKENE	SMALL ARMS	
		<b>BIBLE CHURCH</b>			ATTACK	
	08/08/2012	ARMY OFFICERS	3 KILLED	OKENE	SMALL ARMS	
					ATTACK	
	20/11/2012	PRISON	145 INMATE	KOTO-KARFI	BOMBING/	
			FREED		GUERRILA	
					WARFARE	
BOKO-	14/04/2014	COMMUTER	88 KILLED	NYANYAN,	SUICIDE	
HARAM		BUSSES	200	ABUJA	BOMING	
			INJURRED			
	24/04/2014	CHIBOK SCHOOL	250 SCHOOL	CHIBOK	BOMBING	
			GIRLS			
	26/09/2015	DEPARTMENT	ABDUCTED 3 GUNMENT	LOKOJA	GUERRILA	
	20/09/2013	OF STATE	1 POLICE	LUKUJA	WARFARE	
		SECURITY	OFFICER		WARFARE	
		OFFICE	KILLED			
	02/01/2016	MOGADISHU	6 KILLED 2	ABUJA	SUICIDE	
	22, 01, 2010	RESTAURANT	INJURRED		BOMBING	
	25/8/2015	CAR PARK	4 KILLED, 42	YOBE	SUICIDE	
			INJURED		BOMBING	
	2/3/2016	MINOR	3	LAGOS	KIDNAPPING	
		SEMINARY	SCHOOLGIR			
		SCHOOL	LS			
			ABDUCTED			
	16/3/2016	MOSQUE	25 KILLED, 18	MOLAI,	SUICIDE	
			INJURED	MADUGURI	BOMBING	

#### Table 1. Terrorist Selected Tactics and Target

Source: Authors field work, 2016

#### **Embassies and Diplomatic Personnel**

The symbolism of embassy attacks and operations against diplomats can be profound. Embassies represent the sovereignty and national interests of nations. Diplomatic personnel are universally recognized as official representation of their home countries, and attacks on embassy building or embassy personnel are conceptually the same as direct attacks on the nations they represent.

# Symbolic Buildings and Sites

Building and sentimental sites often represent the prestige and power of a nation or the identity of a people and can evoke strong psychological and emotional reactions from people who revere them. Terrorists and extremist select these cultural symbols because they knew the target audience will be affected. Fig 2



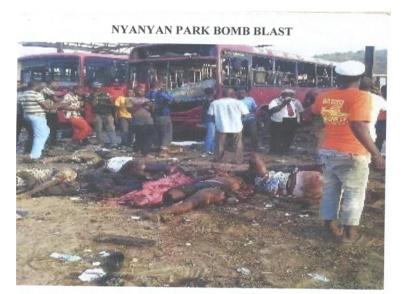
Fig. 2: Koto-Karfi Prison Bomb Blast Source: Author's Field Work (2016)

#### Symbolic People

Terrorist frequently assault individual because of the symbolic value of their status – security personnel, political leaders, journalists, and professor are typical targets kidnappings and physical violence are common.

# **Passenger Carriers**

From the terrorists' perspective passenger carriers are logical targets. If the carrier is big, it provides a large number of potential victims or hostage who are confined inside a mobile prison.



**Fig: 3: Nyanyan Park Bomb Blast Source**: Author's Field Work (2016)

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#### Counter Terrorism and the War on Terrorism

Counter terrorism refers to proactive policies that specifically seek to eliminate terrorist environment and group. Regardless of which policy is selected, the ultimate goal is clear: to save lives by preventing or decreasing the number of terrorist attack.

#### The use of force

The use of force is a hard-line policy approach that states and their proxies use to violently suppress terrorist environment. This policy option requires the deployment of military or paramilitary assets to punish, destabilize, or destroy, terrorists and their supporters. Nigerian Government is waging military and paramilitary counter terrorist operation in the North east against Boko-Haram. There is a special unit called operation 'Lafia Dole' (peace by force) comprises of the Army and the Nigerian Air force. The operation was headed by Lt. General Leo Irabor, the Theatre Commander. These deployments include ground and air forces in large operation configuration.

#### Maximum use of force: suppression campaign

Military and paramilitary forces can undertake counter terrorist campaigns that is long-term operations against terrorist cadres, their bases and support apparatuses. They are launched within the policy contests of way or quasi war and are generally waged with the goal of defeating rather than simply suppressing the terrorist.

#### **Conciliatory Options**

Conciliatory responses are soft-line approaches for ending terrorist environments. The apply policies designed to resolve underlying problems that cause people to resort to political violence. Diplomatic options such as negotiations and social reform are typical policy options and can be very effective. Concessionary options are also an alternative, but these are more problematic.

# Reasoned Dialogue:- Diplomatic options

Diplomatic options involve the use of channels of communication to secure a counter terrorist objective. These channels range in degree from direct talks with dissidents to formal diplomatic overtures with nations that can influence the behavior of terrorist groups.

#### **Peace Process**

In regions with ongoing communal, violence, long-term diplomatic intervention has south to construct mutually acceptable terms for cease-fire. The Nigerian government has at one time and the other attempted Dialogue with the group leaders of Boko Haram. But there is the problem of identifying the genuine leader because they operated in loose cell. Nothing spectacular could be achieved under the arrangement the peace process collapse.

# Negotiations

Conventional wisdom in the United States and Israel holds that one should never consider their grievances as long as they engage in violence, nevertheless, history has shown that resolve immediate crises. Nigerian government has offered to negotiate with the terrorist group however; there is also the problem of identifying the true leader of Boko Haram sects. The

group seems to have numerous cell groups. The negotiation was in a bid to release hostages. The 240 Chibok school girls that was abducted in 14<sup>th</sup> April, 2014 to be release in exchange of Terrorist that was capture. However, the negotiation failed again.

# **Responding to Grievances: Social Reform**

A social reform attempts to undercut the precipitating causes of national and regional conflicts. Reforms can include improved economic conditions, increased political rights, government recognition of ethno-national sentiment, and public recognition of validity of grievances.

# **Giving Them What They Want: Concessionary options**

Granting concessions to terrorist 'is widely viewed as a marginally optional counter terrorist response. The reason for this is obvious: Giving terrorists what they want is likely to encourage them to repeat their successful operation or perhaps to increase the stakes in future incidents. In other words, many extremists and those in the general population should be expected to conclude that concessions simply reward extremist behavior concessions include the following policy decisions:

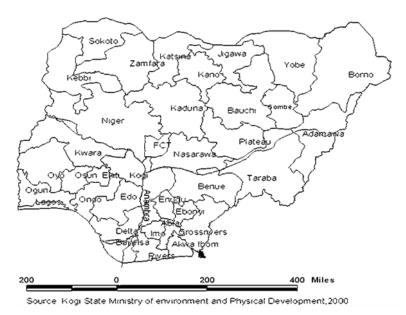
- 1. Payment of ransoms.
- 2. Release of imprisoned comrades
- 3. Political Amnesty

# The Study Area

Nigeria is located between latitude 4°N and 14°N of the equator and between longitude 3°E and 15°E of the Greenwich Meridian. Nigeria is bounded in the North by Niger Republic at the south by Atlantic Ocean, in the east by Cameron Republic and at the West by Benin Republic.

She became independent in 1960 from British colonial master, as at independent the country had three regions namely: North, East and West. The Northern region had it headquarters in Kaduna, East in Enugu and West in Ibadan. For administrative conveniences and regional development planning, these three regions have grown over time to thirty six states.

# Fig. 4: Map of Nigeria Showing the 36 States and the F.C.T



Source: Ministry of Environment and Physical Development, 2016

#### **Research Methodology**

The approach to the study involved the administration of structured questionnaires, field observation and focus group discussion with key stakeholders and opinion leaders in the studied area. In all 600 questionnaires was administered using random sampling technique in the North Central zone of Nigeria. Five hundred and twenty (520) were retrieved representing 87 percent of the total questionnaire that was administered inferential and descriptive statistics were used to process the data.

#### **Data Analysis**

Table 2: Likely source of fund for terrorist. Research Question 1: What are the likely sources of funding for terrorist? N = 520

S/No	Items	Number	Percentage
1.	International Organization	156	30
2.	Elite Group	312	60
3.	Religious Body	52	10
4.	Donation from Sympathizer	NIL	NIL

The result on Table 2 revealed that 60% of the respondents reported that Elite groups are the likely source of funding for terrorist groups; while 30% of the respondents also agree that international organizations fund terrorist group in Nigeria.

#### Table 3: Why war on insurgent is prolonged?

Research Question 2: Why should it take so long time for Nigerian Army to win counter terrorism campaign?

N = 520

S/No	Items	Number	Percentage
1.	Sabotage	52	10
2.	Poor funding of the Military	130	25
3.	Corruption	260	50
4.	Inadequate Military hardware	78	15

Table 3 revealed why war on insurgents is protracted; 60% of the respondents identified corruption and sabotage while 40% of the respondents agreed that poor funding of the Military and inadequate Military hardware is factors militating against counter terrorism in Nigeria.

#### Table 4: Profile of respondents on reasons why citizens take up arms against the state. Research Question 3: Why do citizens take up arms against the state? N = 520

S/No	Items	Number	Percentage
1.	Grievances	130	25%
2.	Social Injustice	260	50%
3.	Relative Deprivation	26	5%
4.	Alienation of the Elite	104	20%

Table 4 showcase respondents' views on insurgency. 50% indicated social injustice as reason why citizen takes up arms against the state while 45% of the respondents reported that grievances and alienation of the elite causes insurgency.

# Table 5: Profile of respondents ratings on motives of Boko Haram Terrorist groupResearch Question 4: What are the motives of Boko Haram Terrorist group?

S/No	Items	No	Percentage
1.	Religion	208	40%
2.	Politics	130	25%
3.	Weak Institutional Apparatus	130	25%
4.	Destruction of Existing Order	52	10%

Table 5 revealed that 40% of the respondents reported religion as the motive of Boko Haram Terrorist Group in Nigeria while 25% of the respondents indicated politics also 25% stated that weak institutional apparatus as the motive of the terrorist group. It is interesting that 10% reported that destruction of existing order as the motive of Boko Haram terrorist.

# Table 6: Profile of respondents rating on attack on social infrastructures Research Question 5: Social Infrastructures are soft target for terrorist attack

S/No	Items	No	Percentage
1.	Agree	234	45
2.	Strongly agree	208	40
3.	Disagree	52	10
4.	Strongly disagree	26	5

Table 6 revealed that social infrastructures are soft target for terrorist attack as indicated by 85% of the respondents.

#### Table 7: Profile of respondents rating on urban insecurity Research Question 6: Which of the following constitute most of

# Research Question 6: Which of the following constitute most of urban insecurity in Nigeria? N = 520

S/No	Items	No	Percentage
1.	Insecurity of Tenure	130	25
2.	Terrorist Attack	182	35
3.	Kidnapping	208	40

The result on table 7 revealed that kidnapping constitute most of urban insecurity in Nigeria as 40% respondents reported, followed by terrorist attack which was indicated by 35% of the respondents while 25% of the respondents were of the opinion that insecurity of tenure constitute most of urban insecurity in Nigeria.

# Result and Discussion Table 8: Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
Level of error *quantity life reduce	Valid		Missing		Total	
	Ν	Percent	Ν	Percent	Ν	Percent
	520	100.0%	0	.0%	520	100.0%

Table 8 above summarized the total number of questionnaires that were received and processed. 520 questionnaires were received and 100.0 percent were processed.

#### Table 9 Level of error \* quality life reduce cross tabulation. Count

Level of error	Agree	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Total
High	44	196	23	259
Very high	0	146	37	183
Low	0	39	39	78
Total	44	337	99	520

Table 9 above revealed that terrorism reduce the quality of life measured by socio infrastructure and services. 81 percent of the respondents reports that terrorism and insurgent affect quality of life measured by socio infrastructure and services provision.

#### Table 10 Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Assymp Sig (2 – sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	$104.666^{\circ}$	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	113.528	4	.000
Linear by Linear Association	86.489	1	.000
	520		
No. of Valid Case			

a. O cells (0%) have expected countless than 5. the minimum expected count is 6.60

# Hypothesis

- $H_0$  There is no significant relationship between terrorist attack and quality of life (measured by socio infrastructure on service provision).
- $H_1$  There is significant relationship between terrorist attack and quality of life.

# Hypothesis Testing

If the calculated value is greater than tabulated value accept  $H_1$ 

# Decision

Since the calculated value 104.666 is greater than tabulated value 0.294 at degree of freedom of 4 we accept  $H_1$  which state. There is a significant relationship between terrorist attack and quality of life measured by socio infrastructure and services provision.

The social insecurity witnessed in the Niger Delta occasioned by many years of neglect by previous administration in Nigeria. This has led to agitation and insurgency in the region. The activities of these groups or individuals who call themselves movement for the emancipation of Niger Delta include: Destruction of oil pipeline installations, kidnapping of expatriates. Piracy on the water creeks.

The Amnesty programme initiated by the administration of late President Umar Musa YarAdua in 2007 led to the laying down of Arms for cash, the release of imprisoned comrade. The region since then has witnessed a relative peace. (Fig 5)

# Fig. 5: Amnesty Programme in Niger Delta



Source: Author's field work 2016

However eight years later (2016) there emerge a new insurgent groups that called themselves Niger Delta Avengers, Niger Delta Red Cross (fig. 5) whose activities include destructions of oil pipe installations and vandalism. Negotiation and dialogue is ongoing as at the time of publication of this research. This reinforce the widely view that granting concession to terrorist response-giving terrorist what they want is likely to encourage them to repeat their successful operation.

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Fig. 6: Niger Delta Avengers

Source: Author's field work 2016

The Niger Delta avenger and their renewed offensive in the oil reach Niger Delta has vow to crippled Nigeria economy through attack on oil wells and pipeline installations fig 6. This has led to dwindling oil revenue from crude oil export and further degraded the environment.

The environmental consequences of such attack in the area of oil spillage and gas flaring are enormous. This further compounds the problem of sustainable development in Nigeria. To promote development that met the need of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own.



# Fig. 7: Chevron Oil Well hit again

Source: Author's field work 2016.

A sustainable agenda would entail policy and design measure that ensures an ecological balance between human activities land-use, consumption of services such as energy and water, waste management and the natural environment of the city. Ecocity seek to ensure

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sustainability of the total environment (physical, economic and social) sustainable cities are cities where socio-economic interests are brought together in harmony with environment and energy concerns in order to ensure continuity in change (Nijkamp and Perrels cited in Robert's et al 2009-13).

#### Conclusion

Assuming that Nigerian government and policy maker grasp the limitations of relying exclusively on coercive methods, it is likely that they will develop alternative measures. Operations other than war include conciliatory options which many provide long-term solution to future extremism. Conciliatory options of the past-such as peace processes, negotiations, and social reforms- did have some success in resolving both immediate and long-standing terrorists crisis if skillfully applied. Future adaptations of such options adaptations of such options could help avoid urban violence.

However, violent coercion will continue to be a viable counter terrorist option. Terrorist cell in Maiduguri, North Eastern Nigeria especially in the disputed region where they enjoy popular support cannot be dismantled solely with law enforcement, intelligence or non military Assets. Situations sometimes require a war like response with military assets from small special operations units to large deployment of significant air and ground forces.

#### Recommendation

The following recommendations were made toward achieving a lasting peace and security in Nigeria:

The Nigerian laws which are inherited from the British colonial master, some of these law are not operational in Britain such law are obsolete and outdated. Laws which create 'lacuna' and give rooms to several interpretations and allows perpetration of injustice should be repeal. Rule of law respect to fundamental human rights and speedy dispensation of justice.

The present approach of dialogue and negotiation with insurgents by the Nigerian federal government could be regarded as disjointed approach. What have been observed are clannish appeasement and aggrandizement of cronies and individual actors in the programmes. The situation where insurgents group are called to a dialogue and cash for peace were offered after a while another insurgent group rebranded and reemerge and the circle continue.

**Fiscal Federalism:** Negotiation and dialogue with insurgents should address fundamental issues of resource control, autonomy to sub-national government to mobile resources of their own and fiscal federalism. This require the restructuring of the country along the line of economy understanding which functions are best centralized and which are best placed along the sphere of decentralized level of government. Ownership of land resources should be decentralized to the sub-national government, while taxes and royalties should be paid to the center, the Federal Government. Empower each geopolitical zone to exploit and manage the natural resources domicile in their respective zones – fiscal federalism.

- 1. Requiring banks to identify source of money deposited in some private account.
- 2. Requiring foreign banks to report in suspicious transaction
- 3. Deporting immigrant who raise money for terrorist organization.
- 4. Interventional co-operation, cooperation between nations has always been essential counter terrorist operations.

- 5. Intelligence and law enforcement international cooperation between
- 6. Intelligence and law enforcement agencies do provide the means to track operatives identify networks and interdict other assets on a global scale.
- 7. Surveillance Technologies. It is technology feasible to assess virtually every private electronic transaction, including telephone record and conversation, computer transactions and communication (such as email) and credit card records. Digital finger prints and facial imaging permit. This will go a long way to track down the terrorist operatives in Nigeria.
- 8. The use of air drone for surveillance and counter terrorism can be effectively used when combined with ground troop in areas regarded as the stronghold of the terrorist sect.

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