# SOCIOECONOMIC EFFECTS OF TERRORISM AND INSECURITY IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

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# ABSTRACT

The most highlighted challenges confronting the growth of democracy in Nigeria at the moment are terrorism and insecurity. Terrorism in Northern Nigeria had forced the closure of schools and health facilities in many affected areas, constant killing of soldiers, policemen, aid workers, civilians and in addition to massive refugee problems. These had affected structures of political and economic development of the society. The intensity of terrorist activities and the anxieties it had unleashed on the population have resulted to moral panic. Since the advent of Boko Haram in the Northeast Nigeria in the past decade and followed by the Herdsmen violence across the country, Nigeria is facing the most daunting security challenges in its history. The nature of ethnoreligious divides in Nigeria creates problems in the fight to combat terrorism in the country. The paper looked at how terrorism had affected political stability, educational development, tourism, food crises, national cohesion and economy is general. The paper concluded that ethno-religious sentiments are the root cause of terrorism and constitute major obstacles in the control of terrorism, achieving of national security and the attainment of stable democracy in Nigeria.

**Keywords: Terrorism, Insecurity, Education, Political Stability, Food Security.** JEL: F51, F52, Z12

# **1. INTRODUCTION**

Terrorist attacks in Nigeria and its resultant human casualties and suffering dominate newspaper headlines (Umar, 2022; Nnodim & Isenyo, 2022; Wakaso, 2022; Labaran, 2022; Hassan, 2021, Olanrewaju, 2020). This is as Global Terrorism Index GTT (2022) noted that "Sub-Sahara Africa accounted for 48% of global terrorism deaths. Nigeria ranked high in second position as the most terrorized country in the world only behind Iraq and Afghanistan in third place (Global Terrorism Index, GTI, 2016).Since the advent of Boko Haram, the operation of the terrorists in the country has increased in intensity and widened in scope(see Nnam, Ugwuoke, Njemanze & Akwara, 2020; Ugwuoke, Ajah & Onyejegbu, 2020; Nnam, Arua & Otu, 2018; Okoye, 2018). The terrorist group in Nigeria is ideologically based on the version of particular Islamic doctrine which detests elements of western civilization. This created a serious security problem in the country due to massive destruction of lives and property in addition to a new emerging refugee problems following the displacement of a large population from a wide geographical communities. This brought Nigeria into the league of terrorized nations as part of globalization trend which increased in scope toward the end of 20<sup>th</sup> century. During this period, there were numerous highlighted act of terrorism targeted against foreign embassies, soldiers, politicians, religious leaders, economic investments, social infrastructures, worship places, and defenseless members of the public (Ugwuoke, Ngwu & Iziga, 2016).

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The issue of terrorism is always linked to security problem. The world attention was drawn when in September 11, 2001; the World Trade Centre (WTC) in New York was bombed by terrorists which signified the most devastating terror act on UnitedState soil in recent time (Lyman, 2011; Crenshaw, 2009; Furedi, 2005). The problems have been magnified more due to development innovations and inventions. As a result, security of mankind across the world became more vulnerable when elements of human inventions in the contemporary civilization have been utilized as effective instruments of terrorist weapons as was observed by previous authors:

The acts of terrorism, its instruments and capabilities have kept pace with the achievements recorded in the development processes of the contemporary civilization. Terrorist have utilized all known new technologies of the modern world in areas of ballistics, aviation, marine, automobile, locomotives, pharmaceutical, financial institutions, communication, chemical and the cyberspace (Ugwuoke, Ngwu & Iziga, 2016: 92).

Against this background, the security of many nations including Nigeria became more complicated due to technological equipment available in modern time which negatively benefit the terrorist in their war against societies. This has gone a long way to undermine security in Nigeria as Boko Haram got enough equipment to withstand the firepower of the Nigerian security for about a decade now. Terrorism in Nigeria has resulted is the death of several thousands of the citizens including soldiers, policemen and foreigners. The two terrorist group in Nigeria, the Boko Haram and Fulani Herdsmen operate on ethno-religious outfits. The terrorist campaign in Nigeria has created enormous security challenges within the polity, scaring economic investment, retarding education in the war affected areas, a new narrative for food security, taking its tools on economic and generally undermined national unity. The foregoing, scores the imperativeness to analyze the impact of terrorist elements on nation's security and the risk it imposes on an apparent fledgling democracy in Nigeria as it has been killings upon killings that had made Nigeria look like a failed state (Nwopara, 2022, Adeyami, 2018; Duru, 2018; Ordu, 2017; Musa, 2014; Ebije, 2014; Akinsuyi, 2016). This is the objective of this paper.

## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

Nnam et al (2020) observed that terrorism has long history but has taken unimaginable and frightening dimensions in recent times. The authors noted that terrorists are becoming more deadly in their attacks, with steadily increasing casualties recorded across the globe, stating a chronological events of major highlighted terrorist activities in many parts of the world. This goes to show that terrorism is not peculiar to Nigeria. Harping on global nature of terrorism and its extension to Nigeria, Okoye (2018) did a comparative analysis of the "trend in terrorism incidents in Nigeria and the United States." The author drew form the data spanning from 1980 – 2013, to show how terrorist activities had been consistent over the years with recent intrusion into Nigeria, Nnam et al (2018), analyzed some modus operandi of the Boko Haram terrorist group by the use of women and children for suicide bombing. The above can show the extent terrorism in Northern Nigeria had gone to destabilize and devastate the region.

Seigel (2010), argued that for an act to be qualified as a terrorist act, it must be a goal oriented act different from ordinary criminal committed for personal gain. This implies that terrorism is an altruist action. Terrorism is a form of an organized crime of violence or threat of it against specific group of people (Spindlove, 2004). It is a social process undertaken by a section of the population in view of their perceived realities based on ideological conviction (White, 2014).

This implies that terrorist behavior emanates from a worldview of a section of the society. A terrorist group operates on the basis of cultural and economic resources and as time goes on, creates international links (Levi, 2007). There are different types of terrorism ranging from nonpolitical, nationalist, cult, retributive civil disorder, revolutionary and state sponsored or political related (Siegel, 2010; Reid, 2000; cited in Ugwuoke, Ngwu & Iziga, 2016:94). National security could be seen from any perspective that is about safeguarding the interest of the citizenry and providing the type of atmosphere that is free of threats that could inhibit the pursuit of the good of all as the processes and measures required to preserve law and order (Lt-Gen Aliyu Mohammed, cited in Dambazau, 2007).

Terrorism in Nigeria has three dimensions; political, religious and economic interest. The Boko Haram insurgency based their war campaign on both political and religious focus. They are fighting to enthrone the version of their Islamic doctrine and also to abolish the secular political structure which Nigeria has been operating since its history as a political entity. The Fulani herdsmen are on economic rampage of land occupation by terrorizing land owners to abandon their traditional land for them to be taken over. The rise of two Islamic terror groups in Nigeria which have created serious security challenges and up-set the democratic stability is seen as an extension of growing Islamic terrorist up-rising across the world in recent time (Sookhdeo, 2007). The contemporary terrorism as being witnessed in the world today started in Europe and the United States (Crenshaw, 2009). The global terrorism is not limited to any continent. In North America, Asia and African the security challenges posed by the terrorist made media headlines on regular basis (Itua, 2018; Lorhemen & Pam, 2018; Onani, 2018; Oloja, 2014; Omotoso, 2015; Ukeh, 2015; Ogunbiyi, 2015).

As many countries experience terrorism, there are countries of high concentration since over 80 percent of all deaths in 2015 occurred in eight countries: Iraq, Afghanistan, Nigeria, Syria, Yenen, Pakistan, Egypt and Somalia (GTI, 2016)/ GTI further observed that terrorism is largely centralized in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), South Asia and Sub-Sharah African regions, which together account for 84 percent of attacks and 95 percent of deaths. Over 70 percent attacks in MENA were by bombing and explosives. It further stated that South Asia is the second most affected region with three countries among ten worst countries on the GTI: Afghanistan, Pakistan and India. In South Asia bombings and explosives account for 51 percent of attacks and firearms for 32 percent as the Taliban increased their use of firearms, with the majority of attacks targeting the police, which is part explains the increase in deaths in the region (GTI, 2016). GTI (2016), classified the four most deadly terrorist groups in the world as shown below:

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	GROUP	INCIDENTS	DEAT	INJURIE	LOCATION	ANNUAL	PRINCIPAL	OTHER	
			HS	S	ATTACKS	REVENUE	FUNDING	FINANCI	
							SOURCE	NG	
								ACTIVIT	
								IES	
	Islamic state	953	6,141	6,208	Bahrain	US &	Oil	Taxation	
	of Iraq & the				France	2 Billion	Smuggling	Traffic of	
	Levant (ISIL)				Iraq			Antiquiti	
					Jordan			es	
					Lebanon			External	
					Saudi-			Donation	
					Arabia			Drugs	
					Somalia				
					Syria				
					Tunisia				
					Turkey				
					Palestine				

Book Haram	491	5, 478	3, 376	Burkina Faso Cameroon Chad Niger Nigeria	US & 25 Million	Kidnapping for Ransom and Extortion (KRE)	Bank Robberie s Illegal Mining External Donation s Drugs
Taliban	1, 094	4, 502	4, 685	Afghanistan	US & 400 Million	Opium and Heroin Smuggling	Taxation CSHR & ZAKAT Extortion External Donation s
(AL-QRIDA) (AFFLIATES ) AL-Shabaab AL-Nusrah Front AL-QAIDA in the Arabia and Peninsula (AQAP) AL-QAIDA in the Islamic AAGHREB (AQIM) Abdullah Azam Brigades AL-QAIDA in the India Sub-continent	368	1, 620	969	Algeria Bangladesh France Kenya Lebanon Mali Pakistan Somalia Signa Uganda Yemen	US & 150 Million	Organized Crime Franchise	External Donation s Kidnappi ng

Source: Global Terrorism Index 2016

It is seen from the literature that Boko Haram is the second most deadliest terrorist group in the world going by the GTI ranking in the year 2016. For really a decade now, Boko Haram has rained terror in Northern Nigeria especially the Northeastern parts, causing momumental damages to lives and infrastructures destroying markets, schools hospitals and worship places (Olanrewaju, 2014; Olayinka & Musa, 2014; Akinsuyi, 2016). And since the beginning of 2018 by terrorists groups operating in Nigeria have stepped up attacks in various parts of the country leaving in the paths horrors of human casualties and destructions of many communities by creating fresh refuge problem with the displacement of large population from their homes (Adaji, Lorehemeh & Negedu, 2018; Adeyemi, 2018; Duru, 2018; Ejembi, 2018).

# **3. REVIEW OF RELATED THEORIES**

# **Social Disorganization Theory**

Social Disorganization Theory was popularized by the work of two Chicago sociologists, Clifford R. Shaw and Henry McKay, who linked life in transitional slum areas to the inclination to committed crime (Siegel, 2005). The theory also focuses on the urban conditions that affect crime rate. It stated that a disorganized area is one in which institutions of social control such as the family, commercial establishments, and schools, have broken down and can no longer perform their expected or stated functions. The theory emphasizes how period of cultural transitions and

social change bred emerging crime sectors. The strength of this theory to support this study shows how conflict of interest and cultural transitions in areas of modern communications, mobility and ballistics have aided the emergence and operations of terrorists in Nigeria.

# **Strain Theory**

Merton (1957) posited that the cause of strain is due to the social structure which defines the desired goals in the society without providing equal opportunities for the attainment of the desired goals (Adler, Mueller & Laufer, 1998). Strain theory explains a condition of frustrations, doubt, loss of hope, in-fighting, pessimism and bickering resulting from unstable social relationships (Ugwuoke, 2014). In Nigeria, incompatible socialization relating to religious intolerance and other aspects of dichotomies in world view have given rise to insurgency as a way of forceful relief from bottled-up anger and means of political and religious goals. Boko Haram terrorist group and Islamic State for West Africa Province (ISWAP) are products of socioeconomic and political strains in the society. The strength of this theory in this study is how it explained the rise of terrorism in Northern Nigeria as a result of strains within the political and socioeconomic structures.

## **Differential Association Theory**

The theory was propounded in 1939 by Edwin Sutherland (Igbo, 2007; Reid, 2000). The theory argues that the influence people were exposed to in their social relationships within their group circles determines their motives and reactions. Behaviours acquired through group norms and relationships amount to what Sutherland defined as Differential Association. In other words, human behaviours are the product of associations within a group or groups. This implies that to embark on deliberate actions or missions, group values propel interests and actions. The theory can support this study given its main focus which rest on the processes of social learning as a determinant of specific type of behaviour.

# 3.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Strain theory was used to explain this paper. Strain theory holds that crime is a function of the conflict between people's goals and the means they can use to obtain them (Siegel, 2005).Morton (1957) alsoargued that what generate social strain in the society is due to constraints in the social structure as a result of imbalance in social relationship with a perceived disadvantage by a group or individuals (cited in Ugwuoke, Ngwu & Iziga (2016). This points to the fact that when people perceive constraints in their social relationships, it will lead grievances which will heat-up the social system. People get constraint in the society due to the nature of political, economic, religious and environmental issues that may not be conducive to them from their social point of view. This brings the strength of this theory to support this paper on the ground that terrorism in Nigeria opposes the secular structure of Nigeria society. This implies that people who have sympathy for the insurgency are doing so because they are not comfortable with the system hence their feelings of constraints.

# 4. METHODOLOGY

The paper adopted qualitative research technique to understand the phenomenon about terrorism and insecurity in Nigeria. This is the use of content analysis. An Ex-Post Factor (after the fact) study design is considered applicable for this study given the fact that the data were obtained from secondary sources. For what government and its security agencies considered information relating to the management of war on terrorism as classified, access to official data

were restricted. For the above reasons, the study relied more on secondary sources like journals, newspapers and organizational reports.

# **5. DESCRIPTION OF THE IMPACT OF TERRORISM ON SOCIAL ACTIVITIES** Political stability

An empirical research investigated political instability through the military regime context. Targeting 151 economies for the time period 1970-2006, the study revealed that during military regimes, the terrorist attacks increase more as compared to reign of civil governments (Lai & Thyne, 2007). One of the reasons is the revolt against dictators, resulting in terrorism. Another research targeted a panel of 153 economies to empirically analyze the relationship between political instability and terrorism for the time period of 1999-2008 (Lai & Thyne). Using fixed effect, their results suggested that failed states or politically collapsed states are more likely to produce terrorism than others. The results showed a direct relationship between political instability and terrorism.

Moreover, the two way relationship was explained between political unrest and terrorism. They explained that political instability continue in any economic system, the non-state actors tend to promote their power through killings of innocent by creating fearful environment in the society. But another aspect is that increase in terrorist attacks cause more trouble to the political system of a state. The study showed that more terrorist attacks also hinder the political process in a state. The relationship between oil consumption, interaction tourism, environmental quality, political instability and economic growth was studied in 18 Middle East and North African (MENA) countries for the time period of 1995-2011. The results showed that political instability tends to negatively affect tourism and economic growth in these economies. Furthermore, oil consumption and tourism are the major catalysts in the economic growth of these economies.

In Nigeria, government's performance and ability to deliver it objectives, missions and visions to its citizens is reduced and unrealistic while social effect on the other hand connotes its effect of society and people's ways of life. The insurgence of Boko Haram in Nigeria has drastically reduced government of the day's performance in the affected areas.

## Education

Schools in Northern Nigeria have taken violent bashings from terrorists attacks resulting to the killings and injuring of many students and the kidnapping of hundreds of other students and closure of hundreds of schools (Hassan, 2021; Bello, Yakubu, Olawale, Agwan & Latona, 2020; Abubakar, Abu, Jimoh, Tsokar & Musa, 2014; Olanrewaju, 2014). Jones and Naylor (2014) have noted several ways in which armed conflict can affect education. These include, among others, school closure due to targeted attacks; collateral damage and the military use of school buildings; death and injury to teachers and students' the fear of sending children to school and teachers' fear of attending school due to their being threatened with targeted attacks; general insecurity reducing the freedom of movement; the forced recruitment of teachers and students by armed forces (state and non-state); forced population displacement, interrupting education and the public health impacts of conflict, which reduce the possibility of access and learning. These disruptions have the effect of preventing access to education and diminishing the quality of the learning experience (Lai & Thyne, 2007). Even where educational opportunities exist, parents worries about the safety of their children may be reluctant to sent them to school. In 2014, conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo kept over 31 000 children out of school in response to the attacks that had taken place on 22 schools, of which 12 were thereafter used for military purposes (United Nations Report, 2015).

According to Oladunjoye and Omemu (2013) attendance at school is dependent on the readiness of the child, encouragement from parents, the provision of school materials, the distance to school and, very importantly, the security of the child. The present state of insecurity in the Northeast of Nigeria has been traumatic for children as they are forced to flee from their homes in fear, to witness killings, or to live as displaced persons or refugees (Isokpan & Durojaye, 2016). Isokpan & Durojaye (2006) posited that as a result of the incessant attacks on schools, school children and teachers, over one million children have been forced out of school while their teachers have also been forced to stay away from school. Many schools in Northeast have been forced to shut down and the deserted school buildings have been converted into shelters for internally displaced persons. The children who were supposed to populate the schools have either sought refuge along with their families in neighboring states or countries or have been internally displaced, as over 1.4 million children have been forced to flee the terrorists affected areas (UNICEF, 2015).

However, the attacks by the insurgents have led to the deaths of many children. In July 2013, the insurgents invaded a government-owned boarding school in Mamudo village in Yobe state, killed 42 students and teachers and burnt down the school (Isokpan & Durojaye, 2016). On 25 February 2014 the insurgents invaded FederalGovernmentCollege, Buni Yadi, YobeState and gruesomely murdered about 59 students and burnt several buildings in the school (Anon, 2014). In November 2014 a suicide bomber entered a secondary school by disguising himself as a member of the school and killed about 47 school pupils and injured many others during their morning assembly (Anon, 2014). Also in April 2014 over 200 Chibok girls were abducted from their school dormitory and to date they have not been found except for some that are reported to have escaped (Oke & Labeodan, 2015). The Chibok girls' abduction represented the largest single incident of abduction attributable to the Boko Haram. According to Isokpan & Durojaye (2016), on June 6, 2013, Boko haram assailants set fire to a school and shot students and staff who were fleeing the burning building. About 46 deaths and 4 injuries were recorded. All these have in no small ways affected the educational development in Nigeria especially in the Northeast where terrorism had devastated for the past years.

## Tourism

Tourism is one the industries that generate income and provide employment opportunities and enhance development. However, it is the most exposed sector to social conflicts compared to other business sectors (Krol, et al, 2000). Tribe (2010) observed that crisis could affect tourism in terms of poor business strategies, employment redundancy, poor infrastructures and damage to properties. This is consistent with Butler's (1980) argument that a number of tourist demands and visitors to a particular destination may decline because of social conflicts.

According to Eme and Ibietan (2012) the tourism industry contributed N1.7 billon to Nigeria's GDP, which is about 4.8 per cent of the country's GDP in 2016. This contribution was a major boost for the economy especially since the country's GDP shrank 2.24 per cent year-on-year in the third quarter of 2016, following a 2 per cent decline in the previous period, and compared to market expectations of a 2.5 per cent decline. The authors further added that even though Nigeria might not be the first choice as a tourist destination in Africa, there were fever international arrivals in 2016, due largely to the ravaging effect of terrorism in the Northern Nigeria, which really impacted negatively on the inbound tourism as a lot of international tourists wrote off Nigeria as a tourist destination.

## **Food security**

Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO. 1996), opine that food security can be achieved by ensuring adequate food supply in terms of quantity, quality and variety of food; optimize stability inflow of supplies and secure sustainable access to availability by those who need them (Food Security Policy Brief, 2006). But circumstances such as natural disaster, conflict and terrorist activities may hinder the achievement of sustainable access and availability of food in any environment. Bosede & Agyeno (2015), asserted that traders in the market expressed frustration about the state of insecurity which has restricted the movement of the people. According to them, most of the food items selling in Maiduguri and are brought in from other local government areas of the state, transporting these food items into market in Maiduguri has been cumbersome due to fear and attacks from Boko Haram terrorist and the number of check points on the road (Bosde & Agyeno, 2015). In fact, roads that lead to major markets in Maiduguri have been deserted like Baga road that leads to the popular Baga Fish market, Kashim Ibrahim road and custom round about road both of which led to Gomboru market. Few vehicles now ply the road, thus leading to increase in transportation fare and increase in the prices of food items beyond the reach of ordinary consumers.

Furthermore, Hen-Jan and Hendrix (2011) noted that rising food prices may contribute to food insecurity and may worsen the threat to human security. Accordingly, Bosede and Agyeno (2015), a government official in an interview expressed fear of the impending food crisis in Maiduguri, and the turning effect on the cost of movement of produce to the market and the security challenges of the check points mounted by security agents and their effect on free flow of move. The situation, according to security operatives is seen as the unintended consequences of Boko Haram terrorist activities. Subsequently, terrorist activities have caused the dislocation of many farming communities which became refugees as farming was leading to serious drop of food production as an aspect of food security.

## National cohesion

For most people, the history of Nigeria is that of violent conflicts, chaos, and disorderliness, and retrogression. Some people have become inured to the ugly and obscene pictures of the maimed, charred human bodies, and the wanton destruction of properties as a result of some of the violence reminiscence of the Nigerian civil war. It is possible for anyone to develop amnesia over these horrible violent incidents that have occurred over some decades. And many people cannot live down the orgy of violence resulting to the savage carnage and horror. The overall consequence is that the collective psyche of the people has been affected. Terrorism though not new in Nigeria history, but has become the popular vehicle for instilling fear and conducting violence against the citizens in the country. In recent times, Nigeria is experiencing a new wave of violence which is terrorism conducted in different forms, means and places. These includes bombing and killing of persons and targeting certain persons and places such as worship centres, living homes, commercial buildings, telecommunication masts, government installations and infrastructure, kidnapping as well as depriving people of their legitimate entitlements. These terrorist activities are carried out by non-state actors and do not exclude politicians and government functionaries including security agency that ought to protect lives and properties.

The development untoward social behaviour has been a creation of the leaders in the north which include traditional, religious and political leaders. The overall consequences are that, since most of them have been negatively employed to wreak havoc against the society, the once bubbling commercial cities, serene and peaceful towns with a perfect blend of modern and traditional exotic cultural heritages have turned into fearful ghost towns. Another implication is the introduction of

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disorderliness, lawlessness and insecurity in the affected areas. Small pockets group of criminals have taken the advantage of the situation to perpetuate other forms of crimes such as armed banditry, kidnapping, assassination and looting of properties. There have also been cases of human right abuses by the criminals and the security agencies assigned to maintain law and order in the affected areas(Udama, 2013).

#### Economy

Insecurity and terrorism distort macroeconomic stability and management. This is because it forces governments to redirect absorption from growth-enhancing activities to relatively less productive activities such as defense and security. In addition, it decreases foreign direct investment and portfolio investment inflows as a result of perceived political and country specific risk and destruction of infrastructure (Shahbaz, Shabbir, Malik and Wolters, 2013). The authors also observed that weak economic development, unequal distribution of wealth, and high unemployment, reduce the opportunity cost of engaging in terrorist activities and therefore magnify terrorism. Terrorist activities increase the probability of death and therefore, individuals attach less utility to future consumption. This implies that the rate of saving and investment will be low since it will be substituted with present consumption. This inhibits sustained growth and development in a developing economy like Nigeria that is already characterized by a huge savinginvestment deficit. Terrorism is expected to influence to GDP and it has proven to be sensitive to the number of terrorist causalities (Malik and Zaman, 2013). Anecdotal evidence suggests that insecurity and the threat.

The cost of terrorist activities goes beyond destruction of lives and property because it also affects macroeconomic fundamentals especially if affected areas are major supplies of consumables and productive inputs. This increases market uncertainty and constrains productivity and investment; with long lasting and detrimental effects on the macro economy (Global Terrorism Index, 2014). For instance, the International Monetary Fund (2001) estimated that terrorism cost the U.S. 0.75% of GDP or appropriately US\$75 billion per year, while increases in terrorism in Nigeria in 2010 was associated with a decline of foreign direct investment by 30% in 2011 (ibid). Furthermore, Nigeria has spent as estimated N4.62 trillion in the last 5 years with a staggering 1.014 trillion earmarked for security and defense in the 2016 annual budget.

## 6. CONCLUSION

From the numerous cases of terrorist attacks in Nigeria, it is obvious that insecurity beclouds the Nigeria State(Benjamin, 2022; Labaran, 2022; Akintuotu & George, 2022; Ezeh, 2021; Bello, Yakubu, Olawale, Agwam & Latona, 2020). Security challenge such as terrorism therefore undermines social relations and provokes perverse social behaviour that is naturalized among vulnerable groups and becomes a preserve norm that can be transmitted intergenerational. It obstructs public engagement, endangers the practice of citizenship and weakens social support for democracy. Chronic violence like terrorism is unlikely to be easily reversed in the near term and therefore must be addressed as a long-term, perverse kind of "normality". It must be addressed through intersectoral and interdisciplinary approaches, and stakeholders must engage in an unprecedented process of interdisciplinary and intersectoral learning, exchange and experimentation in order to construct effective approaches. Counter terrorism measures need to take into account the fact that chronicle violence like terrorism is driven and reproduced by multiple drivers and affects wide ranging aspects of everyday life.

It is important that the government ensure that the institutions of democracy are made stronger in order to build the confidence of the Nigeria peoples in them. The justice system must be equitable and fast that the common man has unalloyed confidence in it; legislative assemblies must be made of men and women who are truly representatives of their people and not their pockets. There must also be more efforts by governments and civil society organizations at encouraging participatory politics among Nigerians. There are numerous proper methods of agitation: Media usage, pressure groups, private bills, legislature lobbying etc, and all these are avenues Nigerians should be encouraged and shown how to use. Even more so, the Nigerian government should strengthen the security and intelligence apparatuses of the country.

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