# Tensão no Paraíso: Fulani e Boko Haram Terrorismo na Nigéria

# Tension In The Paradise: Fulani And Boko Haram Terrorism In Nigeria

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**Resumo**—A violência sem limites faz com que um país se torne um estado acabado e gasto. Os tecidos que constituíam a Nigéria tinham sido minados pela série de práticas corruptas, tanto por funcionários estatais como não estatais. Estas resultaram, portanto, numa cascata de violência e numa série de efeitos dominó contra a estabilidade do país. Uma grande semiótica de um Estado acabado e gasto é uma crise sistémica prolongada que resulta em outras crises. Uma crise proeminente deste tipo na Nigéria é o terrorismo de Boko Haram, que durou mais de uma década. Isto gera outras variantes de insurreições internas e agressões externas, tais como o rapto do terrorismo Fulani para resgate e outras actividades de banditismo. Milhares de vidas foram desperdiçadas, milhões foram deslocados das suas comunidades e bens de valor económico no valor de milhões de dólares foram destruídos. Sem dúvida, estas são tensões no país que cresceram a partir de vários modelos de radicalização e ameaçam a existência da entidade política. Como pode a Nigéria sobreviver a estas tragédias e continuar a ser um Estado soberano único? As perspectivas teóricas realistas são interrogadas para oferecer uma solução para estas dificuldades. As conclusões baseiam-se na garantia de uma boa governação e distribuição equitativa da riqueza soberana do país para assegurar uma paz duradoura e um desenvolvimento sustentado.

Palavras-Chave — Boko Haram, Estado Falhado, Terrorismo Fulani, Boa Governação, e Teoria Realista.

**Abstract** — Unabated violence makes a country to become a finished and spent state. The fabrics that made up Nigeria had been undermined by the series of corrupt practices by both state and non state officials. These therefore resulted into cascade of violence and series of domino effect against the stability of the country. A major semiotic of a finished and spent state is an unabated protracted systemic crisis that results into other crises. A prominent crisis of such in Nigeria is the Boko Haram terrorism which has lasted more than a decade. This breeds other variants of internal insurrections and external aggressions such as the Fulani terrorism kidnapping for ransom and other banditry activities. Thousands of lives were wasted, millions were displaced from their communities and economic valuables worth millions of dollars were destroyed. No doubt, these are tensions in the country that grew from various models of radicalization and threatening the existence of the political entity. How can Nigeria survive these tragedies and remain a single sovereign state? Realist theoretical perspectives are interrogated to proffer solution to these predicaments. Conclusions are premised on the ensuring of good governance and equitable distribution of sovereign wealth of the country to ensure lasting peace and sustained development.

Keywords — Boko Haram, Failed State, Fulani Terrorism, Good Governance, Realist theory.

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#### 1 Introduction

TIgeria is becoming a spent and almost finished state. It is at the verge of a failed state. A major semiotic of a finished and spent state is an unabated protracted systemic crisis that emanates from bad governance, poor public policies, ethnic bigotry, religious chauvinism, wide spread corruption, political biases, economic backwardness and poor human capital development. Such protracted systemic crises results into other crises which include violence of all sorts in the urban or rural areas such as electoral violence, religious violence, ethnic violence, domestic violence and or international rancour, terrorist attacks, unabated kidnapping for ritual and ransom payment among others acrimonies and vices.

Indeed, among the comity of nations in the world, Nigeria is a promising State with huge natural resources such as gold deposits, Iron ores, crude oil, coal mines, Silver mines, lead mines, diamond mine, copper mine among numerous lucrative others. In terms of the human resources, Nigeria has a huge human population, the largest in the entire African continent. It is the largest Black nation in the world. This implies that out of every five Blacks find in any part of the world, one or two will be a Nigerian. No doubt, these human population is endowed with large cerebral and had produce prominent problem solvers across countries and international organisations such as the World Trade Organization, World Bank, Africa Development Bank, world renowned Pharmaceutical companies, world renowned automobile industries among others.

However, despite all of these promising haven and ecstasies, the country is in the verge of collapsing due to unabated crises and violence up to the magnitude of terrorism and mass atrocities (Aluko, 2017, p.188; Aluko, 2018, p. 136). At first, in 1999, the Niger Delta militants from the South-South region of the country were on the rampage, kidnapping selected oil workers and operating from the creaks (Onapajo and Ozden,

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2020, p.12; Joshua and Chidozie, 2021, p.276). This phenomenon depleted to a large extent the oil and gas natural resources of the country. The image of the country was smeared due to the

kidnapping and constant clashes with the State forces. This acrimony lasted about a decade until the government found a lasting recipe of amnesty to the menace. Almost immediately after the solution to the Niger Delta militias, the Boko Haram terrorists from the North East of the country erupted with more deadly attacks on the lives and properties of the citizens (Oyewole, 2021, p.16; Aluko, 2020a p.112). There rampage got the world attention due to the extent of their destructions which had defiles most solutions of the government for about two decade till date (Ugwueze and Onuoha, 2020, p.551; Aluko, 2020b, p.63). The latest attack on Nigeria causing more "tensions in the paradise" and a resultant fragile state is the Fulani terrorist's rampage which had metamorphosed from feud on grazing land to random kidnapping and killing of innocent souls. This had further affected the fabrics of unity in the country.

The fabrics of unity include those things put in place in the political system that enhances mutual understanding among the federating units in terms of the constitutionally prescribed resource allocation formula and income redistribution strategies among states. Others include the federal character principles in the distribution and allocation of public appointments so as to demystify tribalism, ethnic chauvinism and religion bigotry among other dividing vices in the country (Aluko, 2019a, p.139; Aluko, 2020c, p.215). All of these fabrics that held up the country had been undermined by the series of corrupt practices by both state and non state officials over a period of time in the country. This period spans through the independence era, the first republic to the current fourth republic (1999 till date) in Nigeria polity.

A prominent aggressive crisis situation of such in Nigeria that had caused mirage of cascade of trauma, evil, maltreatment and damnable consequences on the existence of the country is the Boko Haram terrorism and the Fulani herdsmen terrorism (Aluko, 2019b, p.81; Ekumaoko and Ezemenaka, 2020, p.12; Ejeh, Bappah and Dankofa, 2020, p.370; Cline, 2021, p.8). The Boko

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Haram terrorism internal insurrection had lasted for about two decades in Nigeria. Thousands of people had been killed; properties worth millions of dollars had been destroyed while more than five million people had been internally displaced. The Fulani herdsmen terrorism in Nigeria is another dimension of internal insurrection that had killed thousands of people especially farmers, several farmlands destroyed which results into food insecurity. These crises had further metamorphosed into several other crises or breed other variants of crises such as Banditry and Kidnapping escapades. The continuous or unabated crises are also reawakening other State resolved crises such as the Niger Delta Militancy which were granted amnesty in the South East and South-South part of the country amidst other corrupt acts (Aluko, 2020d, p.121).

No doubt, these are tensions in the country threatening the existence of the political entity. These therefore partly resulted into cascade of evil and series of domino effect against the stability of the country. Almost all of the sectors of the state had been negatively affected by these guerrilla sequences of mishaps. These include the educational sector, health sector, transportation sector, political party membership, voting during elections, social sectors such as family and marriage, manufacturing and economic goods production sectors, immigration, foreign relations and job creations among others (Aluko, 2020e, p.12; George, Adelaja, Awokuse, and Vaughan, 2021, p.110). Mutual suspicion which was visible during the civil war (1966-68) had been restored to the political, social and economic landscape of the country.

This implies that the country is fiercely under tension and tolling the lines of balkanization, disintegration and or fragmentations. The objective of this study is to find out how Nigeria can survive the plethora developmental sequential tragedies and regain a viable developmental status among the comity of States. In other words, how can Nigeria survive the developmental tragedies of Boko Haram terrorism and Fulani terrorism among other ethno-religious crises so as to regain a viable developmental status? Realist theoretical perspectives were interrogated to proffer solution to these predicaments. The research methodology utilises qualitative methods of data collections and analysis. Data were collected from through systematic review of relevant peer reviewed journals and other credible sources and participant observation method. Data collected were adequate, up-to-date and reliable. Data collected were analyzed through textual analysis and researchers' reflexibilities. This research is novel because it reveals how a group become radicalise and turn to a terrorist group. It also emphasis on the effective use of state power to deplete and exterminate all terrorist groups in the country without negotiating with them, granting amnesty and or prompt payment of ransom to rescue the victims. Good governance and equitable distribution of sovereign wealth of the country are also considered as vital to ensure lasting peace and sustainable development.

## 2 Theoretical Framework Realist theory

Realist theoretical perspectives explain the use power in the international system among actors such as the state actors and the non state actors. Non state actors include organised terrorist groups and organised business sectors among others. There are many different types of realist theory. These include; classical realism, political realism, structural realism. Classical realism ideas propounded by Reinhold Niebuhr, and E. H. Carr opined that realism is in opposition to utopianism. It was developed in the 1940s in response to the utopian ideas during the interwar period and sought to balance moral decision making with the rational pursuit of power. Hans J. Morgenthau developed what was called political realism. Kenneth Waltz further sought for sufficient scientific proof and constructs the structural realism which is also called neorealism. Neorealism has become synonymous with realism. These two strains remain the major theories that can mainly be considered realist (Jorgensen and Ergul-Jorgensen, 2020, p.281).

Despite their differences on major issues such as the cause of war, terrorism, power interplay among actors, and the goal of states' foreign policy, all realist theories are premised on a few basic concepts that allow them to be considered realist (Edinger, 2021): (1) the international system is anarchic, (2) states are the primary actors within that system, and (3) states act in their own interest in pursuit of either power (classical and offensive realism) or security (defensive realism). The key concepts found in realist theory are anarchy, the balance of power, and the national interest.

Nigeria state as an actor in the international system is in fierce competition with other (non) state actors such as organised terrorist groups that uses internal insurrections and external aggressions to express their powers and interest in controlling the social, economic and political wheels of the country. These groups include; Boko Haram, Fulani Ethnic Militias, Islamic State of West Africa (ISWAP) among others. All of these terrorist groups have a single agenda; to establish their own state within the existing one. Power realism explains that the international system is anarchic (Morgenthau, 1973); everyone will seek to dominate the others regardless of the cost and implication. Therefore there is a need to use force as a moral tool to effectively push back and exterminate the terrorist groups instead of dialogue and mutual understanding with such group (Ojo, 2020, p.83; Olomojobi and Omotola, 2021, p.34).

Nigeria as a state actor must utilise power and force of habit as a moral tool to protect her integrity in the comity of nations. Only states actors have sovereignty, they are the primary actors within the international system and has the moral right legitimate use of force. Their sovereignty cannot be shared with terrorist groups. As such, any state that dialogue or form alliance with terrorist groups are seen as alien in the comity of states (Ike, Singh, Jidong, Murphy and Ayobi, 2021, p.12). The Nigeria states in the midst of terrorist attacks must act in the interest of the entire state and survival of the citizen is not negotiable. The use and pursuit of power (classical and offensive realism) and security (defensive realism) are cardinal focus to exterminate the terrorist groups, internal insurrections, external aggressions and restore peace and sustainable development to the state.

### 3 Models Of Group Radicalization Of Terrorist Or Neo-Terrorist Groups

The figures I-IV reveals the models of radicalism of violence in any community especially in West Africa. Radicalization is a state of being violent. It is a stage of extreme violence perpetuation by a group. It is the situation of extreme brutal in interaction between a person and another. Radicalisation is a gradual manoeuvre from soft chaos to mild violence then to extreme violent reaction due to the use of sophisticated weapons and back up of political powers (Aluko, 2017, p.189; Aluko, 2020f, p.11). This is usually attended by the suppression of the rule of law so as to give a group an upper hand than the other. The variables of radicalisation include the following; access to weapons, political power, economic interest, religious bigotry and ethnic chauvinism. Others include suspension of the rule of law and the psychological manipulation of the masses through the mass media.

Models are created to explain how a group turns from having a general communal ideology to a radical ideology leading to radical indiscriminate attacks. Access to weapon, access to political power and access to economic power related to religious bigotry, ethnic chauvinism and political party extremism to see how violence becomes radicalise using pastoralists and farmers violence in Nigeria (Benue state) as a case study.

#### Model 1: Radicalization through Access to Weapons



Figure I: Radicalization through Access to Weapons Source Researcher, 2022

The figure VI shows the circle of a proactive government. It is basically characterised with intelligential gartering about almost every issues in the country and much more on the security of lives and properties. The security of the homeland against internal insurrections and external aggression are of utmost priority. Before a conflict ensues, the government is already on top of the situation because the rightful information about the situation is gotten from their numerous channels of communications on both domestic and international front. The right policies are often taken to forestall the eventualities and deter any potential threat. This leads to the temporary abate of the situation and eventually becomes permanently resolved, resulting into communal development and further intelligent gathering on all (political, economic and social) subject matters in the state.

The access to weapon makes the group to become radical and uses brute force on any other groups that is not in alignment with their ideology (Aluko, 2019). The use of brute force will lead to radical attacks on all other groups that are perceived to be against it ideology. Therefore, access to weapon is a critical agent of radicalization of a group. In other to de-radicalise such group, the accessibility to weapons must be cut off and such group can then only operate on the communal levels.

#### Model 2: Radicalization through Access to Political Power



Figure II: Radicalization through Access to Political Power Source Researcher, 2022

The figure II shows the radicalization of group with initial communal ideology through access to political power. This explains the Fulani Ethnic Militias, kidnappers and Bandits across Nigeria. Access to political power in itself is not the primary or singular factor that makes a group to become extremely radical as such. The intricate factors such as that as well stimulate radicalism are the infiltration of extreme religious believes leading to religious bigotry makes other groups without such religious views to become aliens. Also, ethnic group superiority notions which breed chauvinism coupled to the extremist political party ideology leading to separatist group ideology. This group originally have no power to foment troubles but depend on the key critical factor which is the access to political power.

The access to political power makes a group to become radical because the mechanism of governance is in their hands. They have the executive, legislature and judicial backup in their sphere of operations in country. Therefore, they can overcome all legal, political and social huddles of government and uses brute force on any other groups that are not in alignment with their ideology. The use of brute force will lead to radical attacks on all other groups that are perceived to be against it ideology. Therefore, access to political power is a critical agent of radicalization of a group. In other to de-radicalise such group, the accessibility to political power must be cut off and such group can be subjected to the reality of the laws of interrelationships which will eventually makes communal living relevant.

Model 3: Radicalization through Economic Power



Figure III: Radicalization through Economic Power Source Researcher, 2022

The figure III shows the radicalization of group with initial communal ideology through access to economic power. This explains how a group become a terrorist group by access to economy power. This is typical of all terrorist groups across the world such as the Boko Haram in West Africa, ISIS and ISWAP, Fulani Ethnic Militias, kidnappers and Bandits across Nigeria. Access to economic power in itself is not the primary or singular factor that makes a group to become extremely radical as such. The intricate factors that stimulate radicalism remain the infiltration of extreme religious believes leading to religious bigotry that makes other groups without such religious views to become aliens. Also, ethnic group superiority notions which breed chauvinism coupled to the extremist political party ideology leading to separatist group ideology. This group originally have no power to foment troubles but depend on the key critical factor which is the access to economic power.

The access to economic power makes a group to become radical because the mechanism of governance is in their hands. They have the economic strength to operate effectively in country. Such operations include the purchase of the government personnel such as top executives, judiciary and legislators. Therefore, they can use economic wherewithal to overcome all legal, political and social huddles of government. With this economic triumph, the uses brute force on any other groups that are not in alignment with their ideology will be a norm. The use of brute force will lead to radical attacks on all other groups that are perceived to be against it ideology. Therefore, access to economic power is a critical agent of radicalization of a group. In other to de-radicalise such group, the accessibility to absolute economic power must be cut off and such group can be subjected to the dictates of the laws much more in economic matters and of interrelationships which will eventually makes communal living relevant.

#### Model 4: Absolute Radicalism



Figure IV: Absolute Radicalism or Terrorism Source Researcher, 2022

The figure IV shows the absolute radicalization of group with initial communal ideology through access to political power, economic power and weapons. Access to political power, economic power and weapons ordinarily are the primary factor that makes a group to become extremely radical. These are what stimulates known terrorist groups across the world such as the Boko Haram in West Africa, ISIS and ISWAP, Fulani Ethnic Militias, kidnappers and Bandits across Nigeria among others. However, the intricate factors that stimulate radicalism remain the infiltration of extreme religious believes leading to religious bigotry that makes other groups without such religious views to become aliens. Also, ethnic group superiority notions which breed chauvinism coupled to the extremist political party ideology leading to cascade of separatist groups and their variant ideologies.

#### 4 Cascade Of Violence In Nigeria

Violence in Nigeria occurs in sequential mannerism. If a form of violence is not effectively managed and or nip in the bud, it will escalate or metamorphose into another form. The government of Nigeria is often seen to be mere reactive to situation instead of been proactive. A reactive gesticulation of government is a situation whereby the government shies away from its responsibilities and when the eventualities occurs, it begins to window dress the situations as if the government is so much keen to see the resolution of the crises (Ejeh, et al, 2020, p.380). A reactive government is also characterised by allowing procrastination to take effect which leads to degeneration of the situation to an irreparable circumstance. At such irreparable level, several lives must have been loss and properties that worth millions of dollars are damaged then the government will begin to take the situation very serious.

Another dimension of a reactive government as a direct result of a dysfunctional government leading to cascade of violence is when the situation has not affected the close allies of the government or member of such families. The poorest of the poor might be affected and dying in silence but the government attention will merely over gloss such situation. The situation must have torch a prominent government official or at the best become an enigma and shame in the international circuit on the countrys image, then some actions may be taken just to calm the media reportage of the circumstance. Furthermore, after such media hulu labora (the act of becoming active over night for media coverage and reportage just to deceive or cajole the recipients and to calm down initial tensions) the situation is left as it is until it further degenerates into more severe issues.

Model 5: Circle of Reactive Government



Figure V: Circle of Reactive Government Source Researcher, 2022

The figure V reveals that a reactionary government waits until the crises become degenerated into an anomaly before it takes concrete actions. The time taken to observe situation is usually too much until the situation goes out of control. This does not mean that there are no information about the crises before it occurs but the inherent slow nature of response to public issues makes such government to become so weak and irresponsive to public yearnings and outcries. When the stage of escalation is not attained, the government is not sensitive to the rate of destructions of lives and properties that had taken place. After the escalation stage, the government quickly respond due to some factors; these include the public outcry on the rate of death, marginalization or destructions, media detrimental reportage and interference of international organizations or countries. After the government's quick response, the crises will become temporary abated but will resurface few moments later because the response was late and the parties in crises had degenerated into sphincter groups. Also, the response was not holistic but superficial so as to succour the public mindset about governments responsibilities.

A proactive government on the other hand is a government that takes the mandate of the people as the supreme task to be fulfilled. It has a feature of promptness in handling situations that has the potential of causing hardship, death, and destruction of lives and properties of the people. It receives information and promptly investigates the situation so as to curtail the manifestation before it originates. The development of citizen oriented policies and developmental goals or agenda are always set so as to measure the rate of development within the political and economic system. Whenever a policy or an action is taken, it has taken care of some future calamities which may exterminate the trust and support derived from the citizens. A proactive government also ensures the development of human capital and ensures human security instead of the loss of human lives due to violence or natural disaster that could be prevented.

Model 6: Circle of a proactive government



Figure VI: Circle of a proactive government Source Researcher, 2022

The figure VI shows the circle of a proactive government. It is basically characterised with intelligential gartering about almost every issues in the country and much more on the security of lives and properties. The security of the homeland against internal insurrections and external aggression are of utmost priority. Before a conflict ensues, the government is already on top of the situation because the rightful information about the situation is gotten from their numerous channels of communications on both domestic and international front. The right policies are often taken to forestall the eventualities and deter any potential threat. This leads to the temporary abate of the situation and eventually becomes permanently resolved, resulting into communal development and further intelligent gathering on all (political, economic and social) subject matters in the state.

A proactive government is a feature of good governance where growth and stability thrive while a reactive government is not a feature of good governance. A proactive government is mostly seen in developed country and a few developing countries. A reactive government is mostly seen in the developing or the under developed countries. It is characterised with repeated anarchy, deeply divided state and system failure. Information generated in such countries is often distorted, invalid, late, obsolete or fabricated. Whenever real intelligent information is provided from within or outside such country, the wherewithal to implement or utilise such information becomes a problem until the situation becomes endemic against the political and socioeconomic structure of such country resulting into cascade of violence or calamities.

The cascade of violence in Nigeria is evidence from the basic pockets of communal clashes which are rampant in almost all nooks and cranny of the country. These over time had resulted into wastage of lives and invaluable properties. The little element of civilization in many communities had been destroyed due to a mere reactive attitude of government to such crises. These crises in many cases had metamorphosed into bigger crises which is a thorn in the flesh of the political and socioeconomic life of the country. Conspicuous examples of such crises that combined forces and become a monster against the peace of the country were the crises in the Niger Delta and the South Eastern areas of the country in the early year 2000 to 2012. This initially led to the Civil war and in the fourth republic it had resulted into Niger Delta militias and Voluntary forces. These groups fought the purported marginalization of the oil rich region in the revenue allocation formula of the country.

The various groups used kidnapping of both foreign and local expatriates and the bombardment of oil installations as tools to get the attention of the government to their plight. Instead of the government to look inwardly to the plight of these regions and alleviate their abject poverty, the groups were declared as terrorist and amnesty provision was given to those who will lay down their arms for peace. Such individual were given cash rewards and a few were sent on foreign trips for study. The group seems to re-emerge in 2021 by issuing warning threats to the government about their purported bombardment targets.

Another major tension in the paradise called Nigeria was the emergence of the group called the Boko Haram. The terrorist group was birth in 2009 when the jihadist group rebel against the Nigerian State. The movement calls itself the "Sunni Community for the Propagation of the Prophet's Teaching and Jihad". According to the movement's public speaking, its goal is to create God's kingdom on earth through justice for the poor which is achievable by the rigid application of Islamic law, or sharia. Anything that gets in the way of this goal must be destroyed. For Boko Haram, violence is therefore not a perversion of Islam; it is a justifiable means to a pure end. The Nigerian political life has not help to curtail their ethos but strengthens it. It is based on patronage clientele networks, and religious and ethnic loyalties to the various groups rather than nation building.

In line with the primary mission of the group is to counter all western developmental features starting from Western Education. Nigeria's Boko Haram, an Islamist militant group is fighting to overthrow the government and create an Islamic state. The group has caused havoc in Africats most populous country through a campaign of bombings and attacks on all forms of civilization. The epicentre of the terrorist attack in Nigeria is Bornu State while other North Eastern states are witnessing some spill over effect of the group.

According to the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs in 2018, the group had killed over thirty thousand (30,000) people; about three hundred thousand became refugee and nearly three people million displaced in a decade of Boko Harams terror activities in Nigeria (para. 2). Campbell (2021) revealed that a cumulative figure of about seventy eight thousands of lives were lost in the Boko Haram ongoing war (Nigeria Security Tracker, para 2). The group have use all sort of strategies to sustain the war such as kidnapping for negotiations with the State to release some of their members in jail, kidnapping for ransom so as to sustain themselves in the weapon market, food and other human needs, bombardment of government installations such as schools, markets, police stations and military instalments among others. Others include; churches and individual soft targets.

The table I and figure VII shows the sum total of deaths recorded from Boko Haram, State Actors and other sectarian actors in Nigeria from four states with highest casualties. Borno, Kaduna, Adamawa, Zamfara, Yobe, Plateau, Taraba and Katsina States has the highest casualty rate in the entire saga with above 1,500 death so far. However, Borno state is the epicenter of the terrorist attacks with over 33,000 deaths. Kaduna and Adamawa have above 4,000 deaths while Zamfara and Yobe state have above 3000 deaths.

# Table 1: Ten top states with high Boko Haram Death Casualties

Country	State	SUM (Total Deaths)
Nigeria	Borno	33,274
Nigeria	Kaduna	4,275
Nigeria	Adamawa	4,012
Nigeria	Zamfara	3,932
Nigeria	Yobe	3,014
Nigeria	Plateau	2,890
Nigeria	Taraba	1,761
Nigeria	Katsina	1,545
Nigeria	Nasarawa	1,118
Nigeria	Kano	1,083

#### Model 7: Ten top states with high Boko Haram Death Casualties



Tabel 1 and Model VI Source: Nigeria security tracker https://www.cfr.org/nigeria/nigeria-security-tracker/p29483 accessed 18/3/2021

The Root mean Square value of the data revealed that the death rate due to Boko Haram attack on Nigeria (10) states has a significant effect on the entire country with a value of 0.643.

Amidst of the Boko Haram's crises and due to the reactive syndrome instead of a proactive attitude to national security and other germane issues such as the spill over effect of prolong abject poverty, military rule, corruption, unemployment, governance base on patronage, ethnic bigotry, religious chauvinism and patron-client relationship among others, a new variant of crises erupts from the ethno-religious sentiment and political economy selfishness. Another ethnic militia group sprang up to take advantage of the porous security of the country for their religious and political economic motive (Giroux and Nwankpa, 2020). This is the Fulani terrorist. The Fulani are an ethnic group with about 20 to 30 million population strength. They are thought to be the largest in the Sahel. They are traditionally semi-nomadic cattle herders, and communities would travel long distances in search for pasture for their herds to eat.

The rate of attack by the Fulani herdsmen in Nigeria had been continuous and sporadic. In 2017, there were 99 attacks resulting in the killing of 202 people while 12 kidnapping cases. In 2018, the attacks intensified rising to 245 resulting in bloodbath that caused 1,478 deaths. The number of those kidnapped cases rose to 29. In 2019, 169 attacks, 524 killings, and three kidnapped cases were reported. In 2020, according to the report, there were 141 attacks, 335 people killed and 137 kidnapped. The Council on Foreign Relations' Africa programme reveals that in the first six weeks of 2021, lives of about 1, 525 persons have been wasted across the country due to Fulani herdsmen terrorism among other groups (Vanguard, 2021, Fulani herdsmen terrorism, para 6). Behind the figures, the attacks, killings, and kidnappings were targeted at farmers who were predominantly Christians. All of these killings and destructions have severe effects on the state as a whole.

## 5 Effects Of Terrorism On State Survival

There are several effects of terrorism on the state. It is noteworthy to say that terrorism has no positive effect on human being and the society at large. All the trend of effects is negative in all climes. A few will be discuss effects on the survival of the state will be discussed.

i. Political Effects: These are the reactions that terrorism has on the political landscape of a country. Politically, terrorist tries to contend with the government so as to cease political power from the state. It does this gradually but continuously by attacking soft targets in the community. This in effect may weaken the state power when the terrorists gain some ascendancy in the society. At this stage they occupy some territory within the state and declare their own government, a counter state ideology and antithesis to popular government. If the government is further weakens, due to poor intelligential information and a reactionary provess instead of a proactive force the terrorists will gain more political power and become a regional force dictating the peace and stability of the region or the world at large.

ii. Economic Effects: These are the reactive effect that terrorism has on the economic landscape of a country. Economically, terrorist tries to contend with the government so as to cease the economical power from the state (Ezeogidi, 2020). It does this gradually but continuously by attacking soft targets in the community. Kidnapping for ransom payment, illegal mining, slave trade and human trafficking becomes a regular economic trend of activities in such state. The legal trade within the country will be jeopardised due to fear of terrorist attacks. The gross and net domestic income will have a negative dip because the terrorist have destroyed the countrys trade network. This is a tactics employed by terrorists to weaken the state through poor economy and extreme poverty. Investors from the local and foreign scenes are generally ill disposed to invest in country that is not secure and cannot guarantee the security of their lives and investment.

iii. Population Depletion Effect: These are the reactive effect that terrorism has on the human resource of a country. In terms of population, terrorist tries to contend with the government so as to have an incursion into the population force, have equal right to recruit members and render the rest of the population unproductive, weak, displaced and indolent. It does this gradually but continuously by attacking soft targets in the community. Bombardment of places where much population are gathered such as Churches. Market, large community squares, special events locations and Schools among others is usually their target so as to achieve the aim of depleting the entire population, suppress the psycho-social strength of the people and render useless the mental capability of the government and the entire population by forcing them to accept their terms and condition.

iv. Ethno-religious Division Effect: These are the reactive effect that terrorism has on the ethnoreligious landscape of a country. Ethnically and religiously, terrorist tries to contend with the government so as to cause a sharp division in the state. This division is usually the driving force of terrorist manipulations. The terrorist group tends to polarise a religious group or ethnic group by emphasising on some of their tenets as the yardstick for their operations. Therefore, within such religion or ethnic group, some will be sympathetic and indoctrinated to support the terrorist ideology and judgements while others may not. At the same time, all other religious and ethnic groups will be seen as unholy and anathema. These sharp divisions are the wings on which terrorism thrives. It helps them in recruitment process, information acquisition and long lasting acceptability among within the state.

v. External Image Effect: These are the effects that terrorism has on the external image of a country. Terrorist tries to contend with the government so as to obtain an international image and smear the external repute of the state. The international community will begin to sensor the country, suspect the citizens and form an opinion about such country. Some international organizations may designate such country as a terrorist bereft state and a dangerous country of destination. With this bad impression, the country will become a pariah state among the comity of nation unless a drastic step is taken to curtail the terrorist groups and rejuvenate the external image of the country.

vi. Escalation or Domino Effect: These are the effect that terrorism has on all other aspects of the country. Generally, terrorist tries to contend with the government so as to cease the political, economic and social power from the state (Adelove, Carr and Insch. 2020, p.72; Bildirici and Gokmenoglu, 2020, p.106340). All aspects of the state will be affected due to the presence of terrorism acts in one area of the state. The bombardment of economic facilities of the state will lead to shortage of fund to finance developmental projects. This will lead to increase in poverty level in the community. The destruction of schools and kidnapping of students will lead to poor school enrolments and high rate of school dropout. This will result in the increase in the illiterates population of the state, the development of science, technology and human capital development will begin to decline until all forms of civilization fades away.

vii. Failed State Effects: This is the aftermath effect that terrorism has on the lifespan of the country. Terrorist generally contend with the government so as to cease the entire state structure and establish their own (Nnam, Ugwuoke, Njemanze and Akwara, 2020, p.18). A failed state is the one where all the political, economic and the social system had collapsed. In such a state, there will be several fractions claiming to be the substantial government. The state will be in a war zone, several lives will be lost and properties destroyed. Many citizens will seek to become a refugee elsewhere, others will become internally displaced while some government officials will seek asylum in other countries. Poverty, food insecurity and short life of the people and will characterised such state. Eventually, the state will collapse or be balkanised as the last resort of terrorism.

#### 6 Conclusions

Nigeria is a vast country with abundant human resources and natural resource. The worth and value of such natural resources could effectively settle most of the domestic needs of the entire African continent. The worth of the human capital and international market in the country is indeed a blessing to the entire world. However, there are tensions in Nigeria. This tension is palpable in the political, economic, social and psychological life of the entire country. This tension had made the vast human and natural resources to be in jeopardy and becoming a problem to the entire country and the international community. This tension is caused by terrorism acts of groups such as the Boko Haram, the Fulani herdsmen and some other groups generally called bandits.

This makes the fate of survival in the paradise called Nigeria to become an illusion and unrealistic. Several lives (in hundreds of thousand) that could have contributed to the economic and political growth of the country had been wasted. Several million others had been internally displaced from their homes while other had become refugee in other countries. Properties worth millions of dollars had been destroyed over the act of terrorism in the past two decades. This had brought the hope of survival of individuals with Nigeria territory (citizens or foreigners) to be in jeopardy so also Nigeria as a state is in jeopardy and doubtful of mutual existence.

This study reveals how Nigeria state could overcome the act of terrorism. Power realism is always the best option to deal with internal insurrections and external aggressions. The survival of the state is of priority instead the primordial tradition of holding affinity with religious groups that are promoting separatist agenda or ethnic groups that are causing division and violence in the community. Therefore, the promotion of ethnic bigotry in political offices in the public or private realms must not be encouraged at the expense of the security of the state. Also the promotion of religious chauvinist ideologies must not be upheld by public leaders in either public or private realms. The duo of religious chauvinism and ethnic bigotry are catalyst in the breeding process of radicalism and terrorism and must be de-market.

This paper emphasis on the effective use of state power to deplete and exterminate all terrorist groups in the country without negotiating with them, granting amnesty and or prompt payment of ransom to rescue the victims. All of these simply gives the terrorist more power and help them to establish their constabularies within the state. The use of force by the state to effective suppress the groups are not negotiable. The state must ensure the practice of good governance and equitable distribution of sovereign wealth of the country without the consideration of religious factors and ethnic biases so as to ensure lasting peace and sustained development.

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