

TERRORISM AND NATIONAL SECURITY IN NIGERIA: A CASE STUDY OF NORTH EAST (2014-2024)

Malosan Liurawirnan Mahlo^{*1}

Adamawa State University, Mubi, Faculty of Administration and Management Sciences,
Department of Public Administration, Adamawa State-Nigeria

wirimalosan@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

To provide options for ending the insurgency, this study aims to investigate whether terrorism has impacted Nigeria's national security in the northeast. The study's specific goals include identifying the threats that terrorism poses to national security, examining the reasons why terrorism persists despite collective efforts to prevent it, identifying the factors that contribute to terrorist activity, assessing the impact of terrorism on the national security effort, and formulating counter terrorism strategies for North East, Nigeria (2014–2024). This study used a survey design. Primary data was used extensively for the study. A cross-section of security officers was given 256 questionnaires. The study's findings show that terrorism has a detrimental impact on Nigeria's national security and that, among other things, religious extremism, poverty, unemployment, corruption, and illiteracy, particularly in the country's northeast, contribute to the rise of militant sects and their followers. Therefore, the study suggests that law enforcement and intelligence gathering methods be modernized and harmonized through interagency cooperation, the establishment of good governance structures, and a reorientation of Nigerian values toward nationalism, patriotism, civic engagement, and community policing. Additionally, for a smooth information flow to support the decision-making process, both formal and informal surveillance at the local government and district levels should be maintained and improved; this is where the Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC) and Vigilante groups become important to Nigerians.

Keywords; *Terrorism, National Security,*

Introduction

With the growing tendency of terrorism in the modern world, there is now worry at both the national and international levels. The number of terrorist groups in the world has increased and it is one of the biggest threats to national security. Acts that are today known as terrorism have long been included in the management techniques for dealing with violent disputes. National security in any state depends on the political system, administration, and vital infrastructure among other factors in ensuring the welfare of the state and its citizens. Any impairment or paralysis brought on by terrorism is regarded to be a possible direct danger to national security since it will be extremely expensive and detrimental to state organisations.

The point here is that any perceived threat to Nigeria's national security may affect world security since Nigeria stands at a strategic position as regards ensuring the security of the world petroleum market for price stability at local, regional, and international levels as reported by Adebajoko, Ojua, & Okorie, 2017. There would be a strategic consequence on world oil prices becoming unstable with subsequent political and economic damage. Nigeria is working at putting up necessary infrastructures like any other part of the developed world, in spite of it battling with long years of terrorism and high costs of countermeasures.

In 2009, Nigeria's post-independence bloodshed assumed a new dimension with the rise of terrorist activity in the northern part of the country, especially in the northeast, Borno State. Terrorism impacts national security both directly and indirectly. Zakaria, Jun, and Ahmed (2019) state that terrorism, wars, and violence erode the socio-political institutions which have a positive impact on national security and destroy both human and physical capital. Doubtless, security has been the top priority of every political group from time immemorial (Zainab, 2014). Indeed, one of the many reasons why individuals may have gathered into bands, tribes, kingdoms, and nation-states to join international organizations was the desire for security.

With so many armed groups, terrorists, and insurgents fighting for various causes and ideologies around the world, including Al-Qaida, Islamic State in Syria and the Levant (ISIS/ISIL), White Supremacists, Al-Shabaab, and the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), as well as groups like Islamic State in West African Province (ISWAP) and Jama'atul Ahlis Sunna Lida'awatiwal Jihad (JAS/Boko Haram) operating in Nigeria, the threat of terrorism has never been more significant than it is in the twenty-first century. Although terrorism has existed since the beginning of human society, its threat has continuously grown over the last three decades (Alqahtani, 2016). Thus, the actions of terrorists impair the state's capacity to maintain peace for its people. The effects of terrorism have been felt by men, women, and children alike. Infrastructure is being damaged so impulsively that billions of dollars are being squandered on repairs. While humans always pay a high price in the form of murders, kidnappings, hostage-taking, and other violent crimes, explosions and poisonous gases have an impact on the ecology. Adamawa State's and Nigeria's overall national security has been impacted by all of these. Thus, by investigating the dangers that terrorism poses to national security in northeastern Nigeria in 2014-2024, this study will close the gap.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Terrorism

Though related studies on terrorism and national security such as Alqahtani, (2016); Matseketsa and Mapolisa, (2013); Shola, (2015); Zakaria, Jun and Ahmed (2019) have been conducted in both

developed and developing countries, much less emphasis is lent to the threat of terrorism to national security in Adamawa State, North East of Nigeria. Though a very serious threat to national security, the term terrorism seems a bit difficult to define as several scholars have tried depending on how they view it. To Bozimo (2010), terrorism is a calculated use of violence and non-violence or threat of both to intimidate, oppress and suppress people into submission, usually for the purposes of achieving certain goals. Crenshaw (2009), observes that the concept terrorism, is subjective and pejorative, due to the conditions that push persons to engage in terrorist activities. She notes that terrorism is any act that is intended to cause death or severe bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants, when such purposes or act by nature is to intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing an act.

Security

The United Nations Development Programme defined human security: “It can be defined to include the absence of: Chronic threats to health, livelihood, dignity, and security itself” (UNDP, 1994). Security refers to protection “against hidden and hurtful disruption in the patterns of daily life in homes, offices, or communities.” It was also defined: “The state of being safe and secure from danger”. There has been no consensus in attempting to define security because it has been viewed in terms of one’s own orientation and perspectives (Zabadi, 2005). Commonly defined, it relates to the absence of being vulnerable to any kind of dangers, attacks, accidents, and deprivations (Zabadi, 2005). The security experts would posit that it is generally associated with the safety of the citizenry, state capacity to control internal insurgency and external attacks (Zabadi, 2005). The latter aspect pertains to the “concept of national security” that involves “military power” in understanding security (Zabadi, 2005). In most general terms, it can be referred to where there is the “traditional conception of security” (Zabadi, 2005).

Nigeria’s National Security

The central pillar of Nigeria’s national security policy is the preservation of the safety of Nigerians at home and abroad and promotion of the sovereignty of the country as well as her integrity and assets (Nwagboso, 2012). The implementation of the national security policy in Nigeria is, by and large, the responsibility of the President, National Security Adviser (NSA), Chief of Defence Staff (CDS), Chief of Army Staff (COAS), Chief of Naval Staff (CNS) and Chief of Air Staff (CAS). The Nigeria Police, Department of State Services, Nigeria Correctional Service, Nigeria Immigration Service, Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps, Nigeria Customs Service and National Drugs Law Enforcement Agency are responsible for the internal security management of Nigeria. Unfortunately, it is perceived that managing Nigeria’s internal security is an exercise in

futility despite the fact that various security apparatus has been established and huge budgetary allocation made to them accordingly (Usman, 2010).

Threats of Terrorism on Nigeria's National Security

Ethnic/religious clashes in Nigeria have been vitiating the nation since it became independent after regaining democracy in 1999 as an independent nation. The insurgency in Nigeria has continued to pose a threat to the nation's security network and political corporate entity (Zenn, 2014). The increased spate of attacks and suicide bombings in Nigeria by the Boko Haram has extended beyond the boundaries of the nation since the group launched its violent campaign in 2009. The group has engaged in bombing police stations, markets, schools, churches, and mosques in pursuit of the attainment of its violently expressive aim. The group has engaged in kidnappings of aid workers, students, government functionaries, and most recently, women in the local communities. The group has kidnapping more than 250 school girls in Chibok in the state of Borno in Nigeria. The group, according to Anyadike in 2014, has confused many experts with the dynamic nature of their operation and tactics in Nigeria. The group began with attacks on security agents and security formations in Nigeria, and presently, they have extended the attacks to the entire populace of the nation and to other nongovernmental targets.

Empirical Review

Ever since Nigeria attained independence in 1960, the nation has been grappling with different security challenges that culminated in major crises such as civil war and communal/religious conflicts due to different reasons and failures by different stakeholders in Nigeria. Ever since the late 1990s to 2011, different individuals have penned different articles on some of the security challenges in Nigeria, which has been the bane of Nigeria's development processes.

The researcher, Mbachu (2006), in "Ethno-Religious Conflicts: A Threat to Nigeria's National Security", addressed some of the challenges facing the nation, which included political/electionrelated conflicts, socio-economic agitations, ethno-religious conflicts, ethno-militias, border disputes, cult activities, criminality, organised crime, and kidnappings perpetrated by militants. These were believed to be individual and group threats to the nation's peace, security, and development by the researcher.

Mezieobe (1994), argued that Nigeria being a multi-ethnic nation has remained a detriment to unity and progress yet there are over 250 ethnic groups in Nigeria, and whatever is done or expected to happen in Nigeria especially by the government has an ethnic and religious flavor yet failed to mention favoritism, nepotism, and partiality in terms of infrastructural development to the citizens based on sentiment. The above authors contributed immensely on the security problems and

challenges facing the nation at large. Ezeobi (2009), postulated that, the increasingly growing situation of insecurity in Nigeria has directly resulted in the negative effect on the economy of the nation. Prior to the time when the amnesty program was designed to cater to repentant militants in the Niger Delta Region, there was a drastic reduction in the production of oil in the nation owing to kidnapping and hostage-taking of oil workers in the Niger Delta Region. These challenges resulted in the reduction in government revenue, as seen in the abandoning of most capital projects including the 2007/2008 budget yearly documents owing to the absence of funds in the nation resulting from militancy in the Niger Delta Region.

Nwagboso (2012), explained that the spread of kidnapping in one way or the other contributed to major economic challenges in Nigeria. The recurring cases of kidnappings in the commercial cities of Port Harcourt, Aba, and Onitsha definitely made investors, businessmen, and manufacturing companies to move to the peaceful cities in Nigeria or other countries in the sub-region of West Africa. For example, in Aba, the Nigerian Bottling Company (NBC), Unilever Plc, Paterson Zochonis (PZ) Plc were relocated to Enugu because of the regular kidnapping of their expatriate employees.

Despite the level of security threats that seemed to have derailed any kind of investments flow to the nation entirely, it has irrevocably become one of the most serious hindrances to development in Nigeria. As indicated by Agomuo in 2013, "In the First Nine Months of 2012, data from CBN indicated that while portfolio investment was \$4.6 billion, Foreign Direct Investment was only \$1.44 billion in contrast to \$4.2 billion direct foreign Investment in 2010." The rising cases of kidnapping in the nation have directly derailed Nigeria's attempt to develop the nation's economy by attracting direct investors to the nation.

Ononogbu (2012), attempts to explain the actions within a nation that survives on a "rented economy"; the state has consistently tried to "buy" peace and has consistently ended up with "peace in the graveyard" as in the present state of affairs within Niger Delta regions. The corrupt and ineffectively packaged "Amnesty" program has ensured that the former militants are either top contractors in government or emergency crude refiners in the creeks.

Apart from the kidnappings and militancy experienced in the Niger Delta regions, the persistent "Boko Haram" insurgency, which began in 2009 in the state of Borno before spreading to the entire region, has further drained the economy of the "Northern" regions. The "Boko Haram" insurgency has ensured that the regions' previously healthy commercial centers are weakened with thousands of persons left jobless. In the same way, large consumer companies' supply chains have been undermined because the distributors of their commodities in the North parts of the nation have

been compelled to move to the Southern parts of the nation. The telecommunication firms' infrastructural base has been destroyed while bank branches have been attacked and robbed. Under current security realities, the initial group of persons who would flee the nation are investors/investors-to-be, whose funds would contribute to growing the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). (Nwangwu. 2012).

Sobowale (2012) believes that “The agricultural sector of our economy, which has been giving jobs to most of our citizens and accounts for almost 40% of our GDP, has been worsted by the activities of the Boko Haram insurgency in the Northern states.” The 24-hour curfew enforced in the Kaduna, Yobe, Borno, and Adamawa States in 2012 due to the escalation of the insurgency makes it clear what the future holds for Nigerian agriculture. Kaduna, Kano, and Yobe serve the same purpose for the transportation of agricultural products from the North. Even in the absence of the curfew, there has been a drastic reduction in the supply of agricultural products.

The current state of insecurity has resulted in low agricultural production, with most farmers migrating to safer areas, while others who were so bold to still stay in the area and go to the farm because they have no other place to go, might find it difficult to evacuate the produce from their farms because the transport companies are afraid to go to the Northern Region(Sobole 2012).

viii. What Bello (2004), Williams (2008), and Lake (2001) gave vent to is that insecurity in any state not only has serious impacts on the development and sustainability of any democracy, but it can equally occasion deep poverty, unemployment, high crime rates, low education standards, low literacy rates, low infrastructural growth, and low state of healthcare facilitates to name but a few. Public enlightenment campaign and campaign for peace is one of the most powerful tools to take on the internal security challenges of Nigeria today.

Proper security guarantees, political and economic growth in the host nation that provides security for the citizens to invest their resources in productive ventures in the new nation to make wealth, jobs, income re-direction, feeling of belongingness to the new nation, ingenuity, and entrepreneurship spirit in others.) However, there has been growing evidence of an alliance between the Boko Haram group and other Islamist militants outside Nigeria, ranging from Nigeria's borders with Chad, Cameroon, and the Niger Republic to “as far as Northern Mali, the Sahel region, Somalia, and across the Muslim world” in August 2011 to date.

It is, therefore, the case that because of ties with these global outfits, rather than being recognized in 2009 by Forbes magazine “as nothing more than a machete-wielding mob” in Nigeria, they are now “equivalent in capability to, and in some cases even outdo” some Al-Qaeda affiliates in Nigeria, adopting Al-Qaeda ideology aside from other Nigeria-specific motivations toward the uprising in northern Nigeria (Zenn, 2013). For instance, in Mali, “around 100 Boko Haram militants joined forces with Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa” aka “MUJAO” in the

“fight for Gao” and furthermore “took part in MUJAO's raid on the Algerian consulate in Gao and the kidnapping of the Vice Consul” who was promptly beheaded by “MUJAO on September 2, 2012.”

On May 1, 2014, “a car bomb explosion in the Nyanya Motor Park in Abuja” resulted in “at least 19 deaths.” The summer “of 2014 has been one of horrific attacks – car bombings, massacres, and mass shootings committed on almost a weekly basis.” In “July 2014, Human Rights Watch approximated” that “2,053” persons “had been killed in 95 separate attacks” spearheaded by BH “since the start of” only “2014” so far, though “it is likely to be far higher” presently “since then” in light of BH “unprecedented” “levels of brutality” of “violence” in Nigeria anyhow “since the group launched” “its insurgency” in “2009” “finally” (Uzochukwu, 2014). Perhaps ominously, one would think that the unprecedented Depth and Extent of BH can be connected to “our porous” “borders” which “have made it easy” for them to “take refuge” in “countries” such as “Chad, Niger, and Cameroon” “as well as” “places” of “training, planning and attack” “recruitment” in them in Nigeria anyhow “today”

Theoretical Framework

This study relied on Substance of the theory. The supporters of this theory are John Dollard, Leonard Berkowitz, and Aubrey Yates in 1939 and 1962 respectively. Theorists who base their theories on this explanation base them on the motivational and behavioral theories in psychology. These theories seem to offer the most plausible explanation with respect to the causes of violent acts resulting from the unmet needs of individuals in society. Humans demand very much from society, in fact, they deserve the best. There is a natural tendency to go to war with the persons one blames in cases where one does not meet one's ambitions (Faleti, 2006).

The principal explanation offered by the frustration-aggression theory is that not only is aggression actioned, it is natural to it that it is a reaction or an instinct, it is the result of frustration, it is a situation where the genuine needs of the individual are denied either through direct consequence or the nature of the structure of society. The situation of disappointment and feelings of helplessness can cause such an individual to vent his anger in the form of violence on either the persons he holds responsible or on persons related to them. (Faleti, 2006).

Presently in Nigeria, poverty, unemployment, and other negative vices loom, yet Nigeria is rich and endowed with human and natural resources. Despite the abounding realities, hunger, poverty, and unemployment take the spotlight, as Nigeria at present can be referred to as a poverty-stricken nation because of such realities. Therefore, frustrated Nigerians express their anger in terms of

violence to attract the attention of the government to their plight through attacks on instruments of the state.

Despite the numerous criticisms of this theory, yet with so much frustration and aggression being related to the study because “Culture was implicitly involved in the hypothesis itself, because it was dealing with human behaviour, which is always formed and influenced by the environment, be it social or cultural.” Also, “it is supposed to be relatively easier to fit the hypothesis in persons whose culture portrays life in terms of a series of neutral or frustrating events, with satisfying conclusions.” The book “Frustration and Aggression” sparked criticisms from various scientists, ranging from animal behaviours to psychologists and psychiatrists (Berkowitz, 1962). Seward, in a study on rat behaviour, proposed that “aggression may result not only from frustration but possibly from conflicting urges to dominate, which in his opinion differs from frustration” (Seward, 1945). Durbin and Bowlby, in studies on “apes and children” divided the causes of the onset of fight into different categories of three: “Of these one was frustration, but the other two were possession disputes and resentment of the intrusion of a stranger” (Durbin & Bowlby, 1939). Reacting to the criticisms, Berkowitz proposed: “it would appear there is no single definition of frustration in current usage”, which might be taken to imply that the frustration-aggressiveness link postulated in any one theory might not inevitably hold good.”

Methodology

The survey study design was employed in conducting the study. The study population for conducting the study include 770 personnel from the rank of Inspector and below in the Nigeria Police and Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps, and Non-Commissioned Officers in the Nigerian Army and Nigerian Air Force attached to the Joint Task Force of Operation Hadin Kai, whose troop formation was 770 in Adamawa State. The cosmopolitan aspect presented by the various respondents coming from different security agencies involved in the aspect of humanity and combating terrorism was one major advantage to conducting the study.

The sample size is considered the representative of the total population, and in general, the questionnaire survey is designed to perform the surveys (White & McBurney, 2012). The sample size was calculated from the total population by the Taro Yamane formula in 1969. The Taro Yamane formula is given as:

$$n = \frac{N}{(1+N(e^2))}$$

Where N= population (770)

n = sample size e = accepted

sampling error (0.05) (Yamane, 1967).

Therefore, $n = 1 \frac{N}{770} + N, n = 1 \frac{770}{770} + (770)(0.05)^2 = 264$ Security personnel

Hence, the sample size for conducting the study was 264 security personnel in the Adamwa state. The study has made use of the purposed Non-probability sampling technique in selecting the respondents for conducting the study (Bryman & Bell, 2015). Through the method, the researcher chose to participate in conducting the study, based on the aim of the study and the characteristics of the study population. The study aims at obtaining data from 264 security personnel in Adamawa state. The sample used in conducting the study was made of persons who were interested in participating in the study and responding to the study. The instrument used to collect data was based on the questionnaire. The data gathered was considered to be analyzed through the regression analysis to test hypotheses on 0.5 significance level. Regression analysis is one of the forms of the analysis process, which can be employed to evaluate the connection between variables.

Result ad Discussions

The study involved carrying out a regression analysis to see if there is any connection between variables with the aid of Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). In this study, I would examine the effect of terrorism on the nation's security in the North-East, Nigeria. Coefficient of Determination: The measure of the degree to which one can explain the variation in the dependent variable in terms of the variation in the independent variables or the proportion of total variation in the dependent variable explained by the independent variables.

Based on the regression model employed in the study on table 1, the R-value of 0.561 indicated that the explained variables in the study were responsible for 56.1% in explaining the effect of terrorism on security while 43.9% was explained by the variables not covered in the study.

Table 1: Model Summary^b

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted Square	R	Std. Error of the Estimate	Durbin-Watson
1	0.561 ^a	0.314	0.311		3.88328	1.558

a. Predictors: (Constant), Terrorism

b. Dependent Variable: National Security

The ANOVA report or F statistics on Table 2 indicated that the overall significance of the regression model applied in this study indicates that, $p < 0.05$ (Sig. = 0.00) and therefore our model is significant. The F value is 97.212 and the significant level is 0.000.

Table 2: ANOVAa

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	1465.936	1	1465.936	97.212	0.000 ^b
	Residual	3196.928	287	15.080		
	Total	4662.864	287			

a. Dependent Variable: National Security

b. Predictors: (Constant), Terrorism

Table 3 shows the coefficient of the variables which indicated that terrorism has $\beta = 0.561$, $t = 9.860$, $P=0.000$, this means that terrorism has significant effect on national security, null hypothesis rejected and alternate accepted since the calculated value is less than 0.005 significance level.

Table 3: Coefficient²

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
	B Std Error	Beta		
1 (Constant)	5.628	0.865	6.509	0.000
Terrorism	0.419	0.042 0.561	9.860	0.000

Dependent Variable: National Security

Discussions

Based on the findings from this study, terrorism has very significant impacts on the security of the nation in the state of Adamawa. This study supports the work of Adebajo Ho, Ojua, & Okorie in 2017. Furthermore, the cost of terrorism has reduced the infrastructural growth of Nigeria because funds earmarked for infrastructural development are being diverted to combat terrorism. Education and literacy are very essential components of the security of the nation. Terror acts has resulted in the shutting down of schools because the parents feel they are not secured to go to school, teachers are not in school because teachers ran out of posts due to insecurity created by terrorism. The schools' infrastructural base has deteriorated because of arson attacks or bomb explosions. The students psychologically are not interested in schooling because of fear occasioned by Post Traumatic Syndrome Disorder (PTSD).

Conclusion and Recommendations

Insecurity has derailed the Nigerian socio-political economy in many ways. The North Eastern flank of Nigeria has been most adversely hit by the crisis resulting from the insurgency, where the States of Borno, Yobe, and Adamawa are facing an unprecedented act of terrorism from the militants with dire implications on the social, political, religious, and economic well-being of the populace resulting in massive losses. It has further created considerable dust on the performance capability of the Federal Government in tackling the rapidly evolving scenarios of insecurity crisis in the North Eastern States of Nigeria in the most efficient manner feasible in Nigeria at present. There is an imperative need for adopting a holistic approach with the full gamut of players, both locally and Internationally in the management of security crisis in Nigeria to restore the nation to the fold of the league of civilized societies once more in the Comity of Nations across the world.

It is further suggested that in spite of the United States of America and other countries fighting insecurity in different forms in the world, Nigeria must develop and adopt National Security Doctrine to suit Nigeria's own socio-economic and political needs to avoid insecurity challenges in any manner in Nigeria in future with far-reachingly positively different implications for Nigeria in general for the benefit of the nation in multiple and intangible ways to avoid any untethered negative spill-over implications in Nigeria in general with due respect to the sanctity of Nigeria in the laws of nature with respect to human activities in Nigeria in any manner in the future with the inalienable right to defend.

Therefore, on the basis of the above conclusion, it is recommended that:

- i. effective to counter the constantly recurring situation of religious intolerance in Nigeria, the government must be pro-active to enhance the culture of religious tolerance by followers of the two prominent religious faiths in the country.
- ii. At different levels of governance, from Federal to the local level, there is a need to ensure accountability, transparency, responsiveness, equity, and justice.
- iii. A need arises for the Nigeria government to set up a reconciliation committee that should arrange a forum where known religious and ethnic leaders can come together to brainstorm with each other through lectures and presentation on the aspect of harmonic coexistence in Nigeria regardless of one's religious and/or ethnic backgrounds.
- iv. The Nigerian government should, therefore, enhance its level of collaboration with the neighboring countries in order to curb the flow of illegals into the nation.

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