



History And Dynamics Of Terrorism In Nigeria: Socio-Political Dimension

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Abstract:

This paper traces the history and dynamics of terrorism in Nigeria, focusing on its socio-political dimensions with the view of discovering the etiology of terrorism in Nigeria. The paper notes that the trend and dynamics of present day terror acts in Nigeria are very alarming and never has the magnitude and intensity been as frightful and devastating as currently experienced. The paper examines the concept of terrorism in order to establish the framework for our analysis. The paper then looks at various epochs of Nigerian history exposing the dynamics and dimension of acts of terrorism in each era. The paper further examines various motives and motivation that are espoused as basis for the rise of terrorist groups. This paper also looks at various government efforts to tame the menace and why such efforts have been mere peripheral window dressing considering the dilemmas of government. The paper recommends good governance based on the rule of law and justice, reduction of perceived injustice in the polity, creation of jobs for the youth, resource control and true federalism and genuine dialogue among others as panacea in suppressing the trend.

Keywords: History, Dynamics, Terrorism. Socio-Political dimension, Nigeria

1.Introduction

Nigeria became one geographical and political entity after the very simple act of administrative amalgamation performed by Lord Frederick Lugard in 1914 at the economic expediency of the British imperialist Empire which was done without due consultation of the merging ethnic groups. Although, the ethnic groups had existed and administered as separate political units; each has maintained stability and development within its pace without political rivalry or comparative economic advantage over one another. The unification of the unwilling ethnic groups into one entity known as Nigeria brought with it myriad of socio-political, economic, cultural and religious challenges, which were further intensified by British administrative policies especially as engrained in the 'divide and rule' principle. This polarized the society into the ruling class and the ruled class. Thus, the seed of animosity as in divide and rule, social inequality and injustice, oppression, exploitation, rule by iron hand, relative deprivation, marginalization, religious and political acrimony began to manifest in the new state. Insecurity and social vices resulting from political and religious tensions among rivalry ethnic groups dominated the geographical landscape of the country emanating to the present state of terrorism and acts of violence being experienced.

Global insecurity resulting from terrorist attacks by religious extremist has worsened the case of Nigeria. Following the attempt by a young Nigerian Farouk Umar AbdulMutallab to bomb a US Detroit bound airplane, Nigeria was blacklisted by U.S Government as a terror nation (Dankano, 2010) and named number 6th risk country in the world most likely country to be kidnapped in 2010. According to Ambassador Olugbenga Ashiru, most European countries are yet to delist Nigeria from their terror watch list (Ojeme, 2011). While we were counting our loses in this international condemnation and stigmatization, a home gown terrorist bomb attack was hatched in the Federal capital of Nigeria on October 1, 2010 by a group known as the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) at a time Nigeria was celebrating her golden jubilee as a country. This was followed swiftly by multiple bomb attacks at various states of the North East and North Central Zones of Nigeria by an Islamic fundamentalist group known as Jama'atu Ahlus-Sunnah Lidda Awati Wal Jihad or Boko Haram (Western Education is sin) on December 25, 2010 at Abuja; June 16, 2011 of Police Headquarters Abuja, August 26, 2011 of UN Office Abuja and so many other places including churches, Schools and Universities (Coulmas, 1999; Ogunmade, 2011; Omipidan, 2011; Ganagana, Taiwo & Awowole-Brown, 2011). Since then bomb attacks and threat of

violence of various magnitude have been carried out by this group and government seem inept in solving the situation. Thousands of lives and property worth billions of Naira have been lost and people now live in fear while general insecurity is dominant (Nwachukwu, 2010; Mohammed & Adaji, 2012).

The dimension of terrorism in Nigeria especially as witnessed after the April 2011 general elections and government inept attitude in tackling the security situations is worrisome. Fortunately, almost all the religious riots and attacks which occurred in the Northern Nigeria has socio-political undertone. Thus, Udoidem (1997) observed that Sharia crisis was more of a political issue than a religious problem; religion was only being used as a foil. It is important to mention here that religion and politics are intricately interwoven in Islamic religion, in such a way that you cannot talk about politics without religion. The North have in all matters of national discourse hidden under the sentiment embedded in religion to press home their demands through the use of threats and actual application of violence or force to actualize their parochial interest. The implication is that religion is used to cover up multitudes of terrorist and violent criminal activities committed against the state. Having laid the foundation for our analysis one is apt to ask from whence terrorism emanated and what is it that has fueled it so intensely and ferociously in Nigeria? First, we have to tackle the issue of identifying what terrorism is all about before we delve further into the paper.

2.The Concept Of Terrorism

There has been no general consensus as to what the concept of terrorism is. Different persons - criminologists, social scientists, security professionals, legal experts, policy makers, and scholars of various disciplines view terrorism from different perspectives or approaches depending on what ideology is applied or whose ox is gored. Thus, the idea that “one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter” has led to enormous conclusion that defining terrorism is, in the final analysis, a subjective activity about assigning negative connotation to one’s opponents (Garrison, 2004:279). Terrorism both as practiced and justified by terrorist themselves, is a device used to achieve a specific outcome by using force or violence or threat of violence on one segment of society with the primary purpose of causing fear and insecurity in the larger society with a view to change or cause a political or economic change in that society.

Pinkerton Global Intelligence Service (PGIS) defined terrorism as events involving the threatened or actual use of illegal force and violence to attain a political, economic,

religious or social goal through fear, coercion or intimidation (Lafrue & Dugan, 2007). This definition excluded criminal acts arising from open combat between opposing armed forces, both regular and irregular.

We note that terrorism is a crime against humanity. It is a high order crime that is usually political in aim and motive, although sometimes with religious coloration. It often involves great violence or the threat of violence. It is designed or carried out to exert far reaching psychological repercussion beyond the immediate victim or target. It is often conducted by an organization with an identifiable structure of conspiratorial compartments or cells. Thus, Hoffman (1998: 32) recognizing this aspect of terrorism points out that “terrorism is as much about the threat of violence as the violent act itself”. He went further to say that “terrorism is the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence”. According to him, terrorism is specifically designed to have far-reaching psychological effects beyond the immediate vicinity. In fact, many, perhaps most aerial hijacking involve only the threatened use of force.

Nigerian Parliament while passing the bill on Anti-terrorism under Section 2(c) 2011 avoided the difficulty associated with the acceptance of a general consensus on the concept of terrorism and went rather to define a terrorist as “anyone who causes an attack upon a person’s life which may cause serious bodily harm or death; kidnapping of a person; destruction of government or public facility transport system, an infrastructural facility including an information system, a fixed platform located on the continental shelf, public plaza or private property likely to endanger human life or result in major economic loss” (Akinola, 2011:4). The bill also covers possession of or use of explosives as well as research into the development of explosives including biological and chemical without lawful authority. It stipulates a minimum of ten years imprisonment for anyone found in the training of potential terrorists, passing or withholding terrorist information, aiding or harbouring terrorist and funding terrorist activities. The bill also stipulates a maximum of 20 years imprisonment or death penalty, in case of loss of life in any terrorist act (Dunia, 2011).

Generally, considering all the arguments surrounding the concept of terrorism; we will harmonise various views and define terrorism as “an act of psychological warfare driven by fear or panic, intimidation, force or threats of violence on the individual(s) or the general public with the view of compelling a government, an institution or organization or individual to act in ways, ordinarily may not have been acted upon, in order to ensure safety of lives and property or justice, equity and fairness”. It also involves the deliberate

attacks on civilian population, police, military and other security agencies coupled with massive destruction of government facilities and civil properties like the oil installations, police stations, prisons, churches, mosques, and shops and so on. This definition is based on the fact that, almost all known terrorist acts are caused by human injustice or man's inhumanity to man, marginalization, exploitation, greed, deprivation, poverty, corruption, oppression, repression, etc. It is important to remind us that government activity positively or negatively may lead to the escalation of terrorism. There could be no stability in the society where social injustice, corruption and exploitation permeate the society. This is our working definition, and with this in mind we can now examine the various historical epochs in the history of our nation to see how the act of terrorism, fear and violence has been exhibited on the people to attract 'forced obedience or compliance' from the people.

3.Terrorism In Nigeria: Historical Trends And Dynamics

Historians, researchers, sociologists, criminologists, philosophers, and intellectuals from different fields of discipline have historised the era of terrorism in Nigeria. We will endeavour to highlight some of the major outlines of events in our national growth and development that gave room to political terrorism. We have to emphasis that the historical trends and dynamics of terrorism are older than Nigeria itself. Terrorism predates Nigerian history as one nation.

4.Pre-Colonial And Colonial Era

In pre-colonial Nigeria, age grades members (an age grade is a social category based on age), and many other groups and bodies performed roles akin to those of modern law enforcement agencies, civil groups, vigilante group and other groups agitated for particular ethnic objectives before colonial rule. Examples of these include Ndinche, the Modowa (Ile-Ife), Aguren (Ijebu and Egba), Eso, Akoda and Ilari (Oyo). These were community men and women whose functions ranged from guarding towns, maintaining roads, markets, rivers and public utilities, as well as arresting and bringing suspected criminals to the villagers before handing them over to the traditional heads. However, side by side in the functions of these age grades and other community social control agencies was the secret societies, such the Ogboni, the Ekpe, Obon, Okonko, Ekpo, Awopa, Osugbo and so forth (Ugwuoke, 2010; Igbo, 2007; Ogunbameru & Rotimi, 2006). During that period Oyeniya (2007) noted that the secret societies were involved in

acts of terrorism like killing, looting, armed robbery, assassination, kidnapping, perversion of justice and so on. Most of them were also used by the local chiefs as agents of terror to eliminate opponents and threaten oppositions. In so doing, acts amounting to harassment, intimidation, violence, fear and general insecurity, characteristics of terrorism were established by the local chiefs.

Consequently, it was easy for the colonial masters to collaborate with the local chiefs in further committing acts of terrorism on the people. Oshita (2007:27-30) while anchoring the history of terrorism in Africa and particularly Nigeria observes thus “the entry of colonial administrators into Africa saw colonizers aligning with local rulers as they set up trade centers in places where it would serve their strategic mercantilist interests. In the process they unleashed terror in the form of systematically organized slavery”. Indeed, some scholars like Eugene Victor Walter (1964) contends that slavery could not have been possible without accompanying doses of terror on the people. According to him, to succeed in their administration, the colonial masters moved in with its dominant military power to enforce the imperial destiny on the colonies in those areas where resistance was either anticipated or encountered. Terrorism was therefore was a key strategy of conquest in which nations were forced by invaders to submit to an authority, other than the one they would normally recognize. The imperial authority was illegitimate because the colonizers did not have minimum ethical consent of their victims. Arguably, “colonialism remains the most brutal form of terrorism in history, with deep roots in the economic and political agenda of the global north” (cited in Oshita, 2007:30). African scholars have historical data to demonstrate how deeply entrenched terrorism has been in Africa since colonialism, the slave trade and exploitation of raw material (Fanon, 1963; Chinwizu, 1975; Rodney, 1982; Ake, 1981). It was during this period that the Igbina Okpabi (Long Juju) at Arochukwu gained its prominence as an instrument of terrorism used to create fear, intimidation and facilitated the provision of human slaves (victims of terrorism) to the colonial slave masters through the medium of presumed judgment and conviction by the gods.

Eyo (1997:229) observed that:

“The colonialists, after claiming the territory now called Nigeria as part of their booty in the scramble for Africa found that they were confronted with numerous distinct nationalities in the ideal meaning or conceptualization of the term. Various experiments in the administration of these nationalities culminated in the

Amalgamation of Nigeria in 1914 by Lord Lugard. Ever since then, the manipulation of the politico-geographical components of Nigeria has been continuing affair....Thus the factors of divisiveness was built into the amalgamation by the colonialists and have remained thorns in the flesh of the nation ever since because negative gains made from exploiting those factors by individuals and cabals have inhibited the will to eliminate them”.

Because the Nigerian nation was built on a faulty foundation of suspicion, intimidation, fear, violence or threat of violence and terrorism, stability, peace and oneness had eluded us as a nation. Thus, Oyeniyi (2007:48) argued that the beginning of terrorism in Nigeria is anchored on the civil government relations, “which is characterized by the use of force, brutality towards the people and the development of (hard) power to suppress civil resistance to state policies. In civil relations, it manifested as ethnic nationalism and militancy”. According to him, by the need for legitimacy and acceptance, colonial rule in Nigeria depended on the use of force and the deployment of terror to enforce its policies, laws and orders. He cited the case of Oke-Ogun uprising of 1921 to buttress his point. The Oke-Ogun uprising presented in colonial records as anti-tax riots was a resistance effort by Yoruba people along the Ogun River in present day Oyo and Ogun states of South West, Nigeria against an imposition of an alien culture that mandated the building of pit latrines in homes. This kind of culture was repulsive and offensive to Yoruba cultural lifestyle and considered as an insult in their way of life. Aside from its unhygienic and health hazards, it was considered as having negative spiritual implications. The opposition and rejection of this colonial health policy led Colonial administrators to engage the people in a three year war of violence and terrorism in order to enforce the law and at the end more than 10,000 people were killed.

Akanji (2007) noted that during the colonial era, the British government began a system of repression against the people, not only in the Niger Delta but also in the South East region of Nigeria with the forceful removal of established traditional rulers and replacing them with colonial stooges through the introduction of the indirect-rule and appointment of warrant chiefs. Examples are the removal of King Jaja of Opobo, Nana Olomu of Itshekiri and William Dappa Pele of Bonny and other traditional chiefs in the Eastern region because they opposed British imperialism and the exploitation of their people. This was an affront on the people and the cultural values of the Nigerian people. The system was enforced through terrorist activities of the colonial people in collaboration

with the newly installed chiefs. Akanji noted also that the killing of the female civilians by security operatives of the colonial government during the popular Aba Women's protest of 1929 was one of the numerous acts of terrorism perpetrated by the colonial government.

During the tail end of colonialism in Nigeria, the British colonial government gradually disengaged. Self government was introduced and three autonomous regions were created between 1947 and 1954. Within this period the revenue sharing formula was introduced by 1951 McPherson constitution and fully consolidated by Lyttleton constitution and 1960 independent federal fiscal policy based on the principles of derivation, distributable and independent revenue (Philips, 1980; Akanji, 2007; Chukwuemeka, 2007). However, the military incursion into the body polity of Nigeria and its tyrannical style of government changed the fiscal policy under decree 13 of 1969. This action was considered an attack on the Niger Delta and South East Nigeria whose oil revenue were being hijacked by the Northern military leaders to develop the North at the detriment of the South. Since then the issue of resource control in Nigeria particularly in the South East and the Niger Delta has led to sequence of youth restiveness and agitations by political elites and the masses.

The 1953 crisis in the Federal parliament regarding the need for self government, which was proposed by Southern leaders and vehemently opposed by Northern leaders, was perhaps the starting point of political and ethnic conflict. The eight point programme which the Northern region threatened to embark upon after the parliamentary crisis can be described as a secession threat. The violence that subsequently erupted in Kano, a city in Northern Nigeria, in May of 1953 in which Southerners were killed and their properties destroyed, further demonstrated the political and ethnic tension between the North and the South. The level of political disagreement and terrorist acts persisted with great intensity in the general elections of 1954 to 1965, in which political parties maintained dominance in their ethnic and geographical areas of origin (Akanji, 2007; Olukoju, 1997). Appendix 1 is an illustration of the kind of ethno-political and communal violence that has occurred in Nigeria for over two decades, aside from the civil war. A quick glance at the statistics will immediately reveal that most of this ethno-political and communal violence occurred between indigenous people and settlers (indigene and none indigene) and the bone of contention was mostly over land ownership. These were some of the colonial blunders committed against the people when most land boundaries were adjusted without recourse to natural and ancient landmarks

like streams, rivers, hills or trees. African leaders who inherited the leadership role from the colonialists have woefully failed in correcting some of these injustices, and these have continued to be a thorn in our national growth, development and unity as a country.

5. Post Colonial (1st and 2nd Republic) Era

Abubakar (1997) contends that during the years of the first republic (1960-1966) the political system was typified by communal conflicts – such as the Tiv riots, electoral violence epitomized by Western regional crisis of 1965, and the Agbakoya uprising. The tensions and terrorist activities that were carried out against the Igbo ethnic group during this period eventually led to the fall of the first republic and the rise of the 1966 pogrom. The 1966 pogrom saw the real Northern hatred, wickedness and unequivocal display of total acrimonious acts of terrorism perpetrated against the Igbo and Southern minorities. The aim of which was to completely wipe out the Igbo race. The actions of the federal government or northern political or military leaders was seen as the worst display of terrorist acts against a nation aside from the Hitler's Jewish six million gas chamber genocide. The display of terrorism has been further demonstrated in all the phases of government in Nigeria. The fact is that, if it is not politically motivated terrorism by non-combatants, it is that of state terrorism against her people. Worst still, while the world battle against international terrorism or transnational terrorism, Nigeria is besieged with myriad of home-grown terrorism entrenched in hatred, suspicion, fear and injustice.

It is important to mention here that the Nigerian elites coming from the colonial setting polluted with ethnic primordial interests and divisive tendencies founded political parties in line with ethnic affiliations. Thus, widening the gap in the polity and thereby sustaining suspicion, fear and intolerance, and increased tensions that generate terrorist activities. Dlakwa (1997:108) recognizing this implication comments that “any member of the educated elite who fails to compete favourably over the share of power or economic resources is bound to turn to the thesis of being victimized on ethnic, religious and other primordial sentiments. It is therefore the imputation of ethnicity rather than real ethnicity that characterize the major complaints by Nigerian against fellow Nigeria”. During the second republic (1979-1983) political and communal violence was prevalent. Diamond (1982) noted of the second republic the resistance to internal opposition and challenges has been an important source of tension and instability in the party system in Nigeria. He argued that a more severe issue of the period was the intolerance of opposition in the political culture which gave rise to dangerous levels of violence and

terrorism, not only in the mass destruction of lives and property in Kano, but numerous violent clashes across Nigeria.

Appendix 2 is an illustration of the emergence of the use of bombs by both individual and state sponsored terrorism acts. The Military era stands out as the greatest purveyor of state sponsored bomb terrorism. It is a great aberration of breach of trust when leaders who are sworn to protect individual security turn out to be messengers of death to her people. The greatest mistake of most African political leaders is that they believe that violence is the only means of maintaining their authority because majority of them lack the mandate of their people to rule. So to them ruler-ship is synonymous to tyranny and terrorism.

6. The Military Era

The history and dynamic nature of terrorism in Nigeria assumed a different political dimension, not only in the weaponry, strategy, intensity and scope but also in the choice of targets and mass destructions. From 1986, when the use of a parcel bomb was introduced and used to kill Dele Giwa during the regime of General Ibrahim Babangida, till present day the dynamics, dimensions, intensity and pervasiveness of terrorism assumed an unprecedented proportion in the history of Nigeria. Both state and non-state terrorism became rampant and alarming with massive human casualties. The military era of General Babangida and General Sani Abacha established state terrorism to the extent that it became an act of treason for two people or group of persons to be seen standing and discussing together during the Abacha regime.

Oyeniyi (2007:51) contends that “political trials, political assassination, ethnic hatred and civil communal wars dominated the landscape and the various governments ruled the country using terror”. Each subsequent regime, outdid the other in acts of terrorism, and no one regime was different from any other. During the economic recession in 1980s, government policies, particularly those of General Babangida and Abacha were implemented through state terrorism aimed at forcing unpopular policies on the citizens; scores of people were summarily tried, jailed or executed for agitating for their people. State repression soon developed a culture of mutual suspicion and distrust.

Oyeniyi (2007) went on to say that during Late General Sani Abacha’s regime, state terror reached new heights, opposition voices were either killed or silenced; while Nigerians left the country in droves for fear of being killed by General Sani Abacha. Akanji (2007) in the same vein stated that during the period from 1993-1998, Nigerians

were constantly threatened by the military government, political assassinations included those of Sir. Alfred Riwane and Alhaja Kudirat Abiola, the Ogoni human right activists Ken Saro Wiwa and many unarmed civilians, as well as the attempted assassination of Chief Felix Ibru and Pa Abraham Adesina. There was also a general crackdown of the National Democratic Coalition (NADECO), human right groups like the Committee for Defense of Human Rights (CDHR), students Union and labour unions and many others. The act of terrorism assumed a very dangerous dimension in Nigeria following the annulment of the June 12, 1993 election with a new trend. On October 26, 1993, a Nigerian Airways – Abuja bound Airbus A310 aircraft with 150 passengers on board was hijacked and diverted to Niamey in Niger Republic by a group called Movement for Advancement of Democracy (MAD) led by one Jerry Yusuf. On January 17, 1996, a British-made Forker Sidney AS-125 700 Series aircraft with registration number 5N-AYO crashed in a small village called Damsaji in Kano, killing Ibrahim Abacha, son of General Sani Abacha and 14 others. A group which calls itself United Front for Nigeria’s Liberation (UFNL) claimed responsibility for the crash (Igbo, 2007; Obi 1996).

As a result of perceived injustice and continual insecurity, marginalization, poverty, unemployment, corruption, lack of social infrastructure and general breakdown of law and order coupled with government participation in state terrorism, ethnic militia groups started to emerge with greater intensity and pattern in the trends and dynamics of terrorism. Such ethnic militia groups that emerged during the period include: Ijaw Youth Council (IYC), Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), The Niger Delta People’s Volunteer Force (NDPVF), Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV), Militant Action in The Niger Delta (MAND), The Martyrs Brigade (MB), The Oodua People’s Congress (OPC), The Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Arewa Youth Forum (AYF), Mambila Militia (MM), Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSSOP), and recently Boko Haram. They emerged also state vigilante groups like Bakassi Boys, Agbesu etc. that transformed into terrorist groups. According to Oshita (2007:30) these groups:

“Known as non-state terrorism is precipitated by forces outside of government, but may be provoked by state action or in action...with the increasing privatization of security and the growing challenge to the state monopoly on violence posed by organized criminal groups, a new and disturbing scenario began to unfold”.

This was further complicated with the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, the tension over ownership and management of resources and armed militants in the Niger Delta, South East, South West and Northern Nigeria. Table 1 below is an illustration of actual cases of state sponsored acts of terrorism against her citizens.

DATE	INCIDENT	REMARK
November, 1999	Unwanted massacre of Odi people in Bayelsa state and destruction of their homes by a democratic government under President Olusegun Obasanjo.	Government claimed it was a reprisal against the indigenes for the murder of six policemen deployed in the area.
16/11/2007	Unwarranted massacre of Zaki-Biam people in Benue state and destruction of their properties by a democratic government under President Olusegun Obasanjo.	Government claimed it was a reprisal against the indigenes for the killing of 16 soldiers and kidnapping of 19 others deployed in the area.
25/2/2008	Police killed approximately 50 persons, burnt down nearly 100 homes, and destroyed more than 150 market stalls in Ogaminana, outskirt of Okene (Adavi LGA) in Kogi State.	Police attacked the village in reprisal for the alleged killing of a colleague by local youths the previous day. No formal investigation.
3/1/2009	Police in Okeagbe, Ondo State allegedly killed 3 youths and wounded 2 others who were demonstrating against local police extortion,	No investigation on the reported case of brutal murder.
15/10/2009	Police allegedly killed 4 persons in Sabo Tasha area of Kaduna state. The indigenes were protesting against the failure of the power holding company of Nigeria to deal with power outages.	No investigation on the reported cases of brutal murder.

Table 1: Statistical Illustration of Acts of State Terrorism in Nigeria
 Source: 2008 Human Rights Report on Nigeria (cited in Nwagwu, 2010:52)

7.Third Republic And Current Political Situation

The return of civil rule in 1999 opened up new opportunities for Nigerians to breathe air of freedom from the old order of tyranny and terrorism. However, instead of engaging the populace in constructive debate and meaningful developmental progress, Obasanjo regime continued to rule by force style and increased use of terror by deploying soldiers to attack unarmed civilians in Odi, Jesse in Bayelsa State with the aim of silencing Ijaw Youth Council (IYC). At the end 200 people were killed while the village was raised to the ground in November 20, 1999. In October 22, 2001 another horror was recorded in Benue State when the villages of Zaki-Biam and Gbeji were destroyed by government forces (Centre for Law Enforcement Education (CLEEN) & World Organization against Torture (WOAT), 2002). The carnage is still going on in the North where Boko Haram has openly challenged the state and Federal governments and ordered the military and everything that represent Western culture to vacate the Northern states.

However, a new dimension in terrorism was introduced. In this new twist, instead of government to address the fundamental issues of terrorism, the government engaged in playing one group of militant against the other. Dokubo Asari, alleged that Jomo Gbomo, who earlier in the year 2006 invited the international TV Broadcast CNN to witness the failure of government of Nigerian State to provide security to its people and friends, was actually a foil as the same government officials were using him to destroy the Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF) (Oyeniya, 2007). The implication is that Jomo Gbomo was sponsored by the ruling government against another militant group. This often leads to militant factions and that was why we had many militant groups in the Niger Delta. This also is playing out in the case of Boko Haram. A serious and obvious implication is that the government in power can actually and deliberately create a state of insecurity against itself in order to wipe up sentiment against the opposition. This was witnessed during the Abacha regime. We may be tempted to ask whether the present insecurity situation in Nigeria is a brain child of the ruling party to pin down the opposition party.

It is important to state that terrorism assumed an alarming proportion with the introduction of kidnapping, hostage taking, assassinations, armed robbery, murder and so on (Okoronkwo, 2007; Chukwurah, 2007; Sokumbi, 2007). It was so severe and brutish in the Niger Delta and the South – East that oil facilities were destroyed, expatriates abandoned their projects and deserted the zones. Many Nigerians called for state of emergency to be declared in the zones. Even the state governors of the five South-East approached the Presidency, claiming that the lack the resources to contain criminal

activities in their states (Fabiya, 2010; Chidozie, 2010; Adeyeye, 2010). The terrorist activities especially kidnapping, hostage taking and armed robbery went on uncontrollably in Aba and Umuahia towns of Abia State that the traders and well meaning Nigerians demanded for a state of emergency to be declared. Thus the Federal government waded in, by sending soldiers to Abia state to contain the situation (Oji. 2010).

In spite of these historical analyses of acts of terrorism in Nigerian soil, the word “terrorism” remained repulsive and never to be used or mentioned. However, it dawned on the country, when on October 1, 2010 as multiple bomb blasts greeted the independence jubilee celebration in Abuja. At the end, The Movement for the Actualization of the Niger Delta (MEND) claimed responsibility and blamed the government for the Niger Delta underdevelopment and marginalization. When the issue of the Niger Delta seems to be given way for peace, the Boko Haram surfaced again this time with deadly weapons of human destruction. From that day till now, the word “terrorism” has become a common household word and the use of bomb blast and suicide bombers have added greater fear and insecurity and thus became the nightmare of government. On a daily basis the citizens are being terrorized and government remained helpless in all these. Boko Haram has become a thorn in the flesh of government causing sleepless nights to top security agents. The Boko Haram’s style and strategy of attack and destruction is likened to Al-Qaeda modus operandi (guerilla warfare, surprise and attack with massive civilian casualty). They have even boasted of having trained suicide bombers in Afghanistan, Somalia, Sudan and other Islamic terrorist countries (Ganagana, Taiwo & Awowole, 2011). According to Chinwokwu (2012), the trend is dynamically assuming a massive destructive posture and threats by the group becoming more severe, with 95 percent actualization of their threats. It is no longer a threat or boast of perpetuating violence, the country has actually witnessed bomb attacks and massive destruction of lives and property across the country. But the worst scenarios and emerging trend in the history of terrorism in Nigeria is the dimension whereby churches and worship arenas have become the battle ground for terrorist attacks.

Boko Haram is an Islamic fundamentalist group, but hides under the cloak of religion to demand for the abolition of western system of government in the North and enthronement of Sharia system of government. The group has caused a lot of havoc in the country, to the extent that the Federal Government is currently finding a way to dialogue with them (Taiwo-Obalonye, 2011). The introduction of weapons of mass

destruction (WMD), suicide bombers, kidnapping and killing of foreigners, attack of worship centers and government open participation in the use of terror on the citizens are terrorism dynamics that pose great danger to the stability and unity of Nigeria. It further dampen Nigeria's image in the comity of nations as it erode the objectives of our economic dream for 2020.

From the foregoing, it would be apt to say without mincing words that colonialism and military rules in Nigeria entrenched terrorism into the body polity of Nigeria and this was heightened and sustained by the political and intellectual elites in order to continually maintain a system of disequilibrium that gives them much advantage over others. Unfortunately, the dynamics and dimensions have changed overtime. The proliferation of arms and ammunition, government active participation in terrorism, government insincerity in addressing basic social infrastructure with its double standard, re-cycling of the resources among the political elites, injustice, general insecurity, entrenchment of executive lawlessness as epitomized in corruption, money laundering and government lack of political will to address the militancy uprising has further polarized the society. It is pertinent to note that the political elites have further created entrenched terrorism through hatred, ethnicity and division in their bid to clinch political power and dominance over other ethnic groups. We may now ask the question, what are the motives and motivations which compel individuals and even government to carry out acts of terrorism against her citizens? We may find the answers we seek as we examine the motives and motivations that generate terrorism.

8.Motives And Motivation

Available terrorism related literature indicates that major motives and motivations of terrorist organizations all over the globe revolve round the following:

8.1.Political Agitation

It is obvious that terrorists are in the habit of demanding for a political change. Since political change cannot come on a platter of gold, terrorists take arms against constituted authority hoping, by their actions to upset the existing status quo. Mores so, political elites create the monster gang of terrorists in order to use them to gain political advantage over their opponents and at the end cannot disband them. The case of Boko Haram is very relevant. It is believed that the ruling People's Democratic Party in Borno State gave birth to it.

8.2. Ideological Differences From That Of Constituted Authorities

According to Robert Merton (1968), there are various ways individuals in the society adapt to achieve both means and ends. However, some members of the society may reject both the approved societal means and ends to a goal. This group may be regarded as 'rebels' or 'militants'. This group of people rejects both the success goals and the institutionalized means of achieving success in the society and thereby advocates for change in the socio-political and economic order using radical and revolutionary approach. You may call them the rebels or terrorists who have their own ideology and most times imposes or wishes to impose their ideologies on the people in order to enthrone their own goals.

8.3. Regional And National Demands (Self Determination)

The Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) and Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) share this dream of self determination. In fact, MASSOB although have not engaged in serious acts of terrorism, have gone as far as printing their own flag, currency and other identities towards secession before government clamped down on them. Boko Haram main objective in killing innocent citizens have not been specified as they are known to have made several allegations and demands without anyone owning the responsibility of being the leader of Boko Haram.

8.4. Religious Beliefs

The activities of Taliban like Boko Haram, al-Qaida, Hamas and Islamic fundamentalist are politically motivated but hides under religion to shape the desired goal. Their activities are aimed at wiping out those they considered as 'unbelievers' or 'infidels', like the case of Boko Haram (western education is sin) and enthronement a Sharia state.

8.5. Pecuniary Needs

The original motive of MEND and the Niger Delta militants was resources control. But as criminals infiltrated the ranks of the organization, hostage taking, kidnapping for ransom became a booming business for them. In other words, the original motive of terrorists can be diverted for monetary or pecuniary gains. Within these various motives and motivations lies the cause of terrorism. However, the motives are not exclusive of the other. "Between 2005-2007 over 200 kidnapping cases were recorded in the Niger

Delta and only 10% of this was for political reasons. The others were entirely criminal and economic ventures” (Agbo, 2007:23). The motives and motivations serve as the fundamental causes of terrorism. Political, economical, religious and psychological factors which are fundamental underlying causes of terrorism are latently inherent in the motives and motivations of terrorism.

9. Government Responses To Terrorism

Nigeria is one of the first countries in Africa to comply with the United Nation’s conventions and protocols on combating terrorism and a compliant of almost all existing conventions, protocols and resolutions on combating the financing of terrorism and anti-money laundry (CFT/AML) (US Dept. of State, 2006). It has also gone further into passing the bills proscribing these offences.

It established a Presidential Advisory Committee on terrorism and further empowered the National Security Adviser to deal decisively with outlaws of these acts. It went on to grant amnesty to Niger Delta militants and empowering the youths through rehabilitation programme.

Aside from the passage of those bills, Nigerian government have also established a special agency on terrorism and bombing. A special adviser on terrorism was also appointed by President Goodluck Jonathan. The government promised also to carry out the training of security agents on intelligence and intelligence networking.

Nigeria has also entered into pacts with foreign nations like -the United States of America, France, United Kingdom, Israel and other countries in the fight against terrorism. And these countries have offered to assist Nigerian government in the battle against terrorism especially Boko Haram criminalities. This has further strengthened government resolve in fighting terrorism. In the past US, Britain and Israel had assisted Nigeria in technical areas especially in the area of investigation and forensic science.

It has severally made overtures to Boko Haram with the view of reaching a dialogue and a truce by sending the former President General Olusegun Obasanjo to the group. But it failed. Continual efforts are still being pursued with the view of dialoguing with the sect for peace. It is being filtered into the air that with the destruction of the main operational base of the group in Borno State, they will have no option than to surrender to government forces.

Government has also established Almajiri Schools in Northern States with the view of using it to educate the teeming illiterate youths in the zone and thereby reduce Boko

Haram foot soldiers. However, in combating terrorism in Nigeria government is faced with critical issues of dilemmas which seem to frustrate their efforts.

10.Dilemmas Of Combating Terrorism

Government leg-dragging in taking critical and decisive strategic action against perceived political opponents who in the past have made inflammatory and treasonable statements crystallizing into the present insecurity and fear in the country is a very great challenge in fighting terrorism in Nigeria.

To wage the emerging trends of criminality as associated with terrorism and other related security threats to the country, government must dismantle barriers towards free flow of intelligence amongst its security agencies. Intelligence sharing amongst security agencies within and outside country is a key to waging a successful war against terrorism. However, there seem to be a barrier or show of superiority amongst security apparatus of government towards effective intelligence sharing.

Aside from the huge amount of budget Government appropriates every fiscal year, the country is yet to reap the dividends of democracy. There is absolutely lack of rule of law, corruption, depression, discrimination, social injustice, unemployment, poverty which are signs of a weak state providing the impetus for terrorists. In addition, there is gross executive lawlessness, systematized and entrenched corruption never experienced in the Nigerian politics. The war on terrorism cannot be waged when all these indices stare us in the face and government seems massively overwhelmed by them.

The war against terrorism cannot be fought and won by the selective settlement approach adopted by government. It is a welcome development that militants who otherwise ought to be in jail for terrorizing the Niger Delta and causing general insecurity in Nigeria are given amnesty by the government. But any settlement which neglects the basic needs of the general populace of the Niger Delta dwarfs the gain so far achieved in the fight against terrorism. So government choice of selective settlement may only be but a time bomb waiting in incumbency for explosion. It is this kind of selective settlement that Boko Haram sought. The challenge is that once government has decided to adopt the 'divide and rule' approach, it must be ready to settle other contending militants in the embryo.

To pretend that this does not exist is building a castle in the air. The rate at which arms and ammunition especially the prohibited ones- weapons of mass destruction (WMD) enter the country makes nonsense of the fire arms law in Nigeria. Government agencies

have allowed the Nigerian borders to be used for illegal trafficking of arms and weapons of mass destruction. This poses great challenge to government efforts in ending terrorism in Nigeria.

The ability to prosecute terrorist offenders depends solely on the security agencies. Sometimes, it is one thing to arrest a suspect and another thing to duly prosecute the offender in the court of law. The lack of prosecution of arrested Boko Haram suspects makes useless the bill on terrorism.

Another dilemma confronting the country is the emerging trend towards terrorism that is religious or ideologically motivated. Radical Islamic fundamentalist groups such as Boko Haram, or other groups using religion as a pretext, pose terrorist threats of varying kinds to Nigeria or U.S interest and to friendly regimes (Lee & Perl, 2002). The dilemma of government is how to arrest perceived sponsors of the group or how to condemn and combat such terrorist activity, the extremism and violent ideology of specific radical groups, without appearing to be anti-Islamic in general.

11.Recommendations

The foundation of good governance is built on trust, the rule of law; equality and fairness. When individuals and nations understand that all human beings irrespective of their race, religion, culture, sex etc. are equal before God, then exploitation, oppression, intimidation, suppression and others alike will be eliminated. Government must endeavour to win the trust and confidence of the people by entrenching an enduring legacy of political reforms based on rule of law. We as a people must be harvesting the physical dividends of democracy and not harvesting of failed promises and celebration of shameless corrupt politicians.

The law on anti-terrorism has been made, but the fight against terrorism depends solely on its enforcement and implementation. Therefore the police and the court must work assiduously to ensure that cases involving offenders of terrorism are promptly treated without undue delay. The government should as a matter of national urgency set aside specific courts across the country for the trial and prosecution of criminal offenders involved in terrorism.

Government must de-emphasis corruption and wasteful spending by diverting such funds to establishing industries where the youths of this country will have gainful employment. This will reduce poverty and improve the living standard of the people and thereby reduce criminality.

The time for the enthronement of true federalism which de-emphasizes the power at the centre with the entrenchment of resources control residing with the federating unit must be allowed to have its way in Nigerian constitution. This will reduce the tension presently being posed at the centre.

The war against terrorism of every kind in Nigeria requires the political will of government that is devoid of ethnic sentiment. Government must demonstrate that it has the political will to combat terrorism in the country. In so doing, there should be no sacred cows or goats, the laws of the land must apply to all persons equally irrespective of religion, political or ethnic leaning.

The act of dialogue in managing crisis as we have them in the North is recommended. But the real leaders of Boko Haram must unveil themselves to the public. The use of surrogates by Boko Haram to dialogue and negotiate with government should not in any way be acceptable by government, if the war on terror must be fought squarely. The Boko Haram should be able to come out clean by surrendering their weapons as a mark of their readiness to accept peace.

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Appendix 1: Ethno-Political/Communal Violence in Nigeria 1980-2008

DATE	COMMUNITES INVOLVED IN THE VIOLENCE
1980	Communal clash between Kadara host communities and Hausa settlers in Kasuwan Magaric Kajuru LGA of Kaduna state over land dispute.
1984	Communal clash between host community and Hausa-Fulani settlers of Yarkasuwa in Saminaka/Lere LGA of Kaduna state over land dispute.
1987	Communal violent between Kurama local inhabitants of Lere and Hausa settlers in Lere town Saminaka/Lere LGA of Kaduna state over land ownership.
1991	Communal violence between Jarasaiyawa host community and Fulani settler community of Tafawa Belewa in Bauchi state over land dispute.
April 2, 1992	Violent clash between the Tayiawa (original owners of Tafawa Balewa) and the Fulani immigrants of Lere District Council of Bauchi state over leadership of the town.
May, 1992	Violent communal clash between Zango and Kataf of Kaduna state over farmlands. The clash saw many lives lost and property worth millions of Naira destroyed.
1993/1994	Communal violent between the Tiv settler community and the Jukun west community in Wukari Ibi Bali LGA of Taraba state over land dispute.
May 30, 1999	Renewed Warri communal clash in Delta state in which many lives and properties were lost
July 18, 1999	Oodua People's Congress (OPC) and Hausa people clashed at Shagamu in Ogun State over the killing of an Hausa woman who was alleged to have dares the Oro festival. The aftermath of the violent clash left many people dead.
November 25, 1999	Communal clash between the OPC and the Hausa community in Lagos state over the leadership of the Abattoir in New Oko Oba – Lagos. Many people lost their lives.
January 25, 2000	Communal clash in Brass LGA of Bayelsa state.
January 29, 2000	Communal clash in Etsako LGA in Edo State.
February 2, 2000	Boundary dispute between communities in Akwa Ibom State.
March 5, 2000	Communal clash between Ife and Modekeke over land. This violent clash claimed many lives while properties worth millions of Naira were destroyed.
March 16, 2000	Communal clash between Eleme and Okirika in Rivers state.

DATE	COMMUNITES INVOLVED IN THE VIOLENCE
May 18, 2000	Violent clash between Local farmers/land owners and Fulani cattle rearers in Saki, Oyo state as a result of destruction of farm crops by the Fulani cattles.
June 5, 2000	Communal clash in Owo community in Ondo state.
June 12, 2000	Communal clash between communities in Isoko North LGA of Edo state over land.
June 23, 2000	Communal clash between the people of Ikot Offiong and Oku-Iboku of Cross River State over land.
July 1, 2000	This is the beginning of communal clash at Ikare Akoko in Ondo state.
July 21, 2000	Communal clash between the Ijaws and Urhobo communities in Delta state over land dispute.
August 22, 2000	Communal clash in Bende LGA of Abia State.
August 22, 2000	Violent clash at Agboma community in Epe LGA of Lagos state.
October 16, 2000	Igbos and Hausa traders clashed at Alaba Ram market area of Lagos state over leadership.
December 11, 2000	Renewed clashes between Ife and Modeke over land dispute.
May 12, 2001	Communal clash between the Ijaws and Itsekiri communities in Delta state.
June 2, 2001	Communal clash between Odimodu and Ogulagba communities in Delta state.
February 2, 2002	Clash between OPC and Hausa people at Idi Araba in Lagos State.
February 26, 2002	Communal clash between Apprapum and Osatura communities of Cross River state.
August 31, 2002	Communal clash at Ado Ekiti in Ekiti state.
September 2, 2002	Renewed communal clashes in Owo communities in Ondo state.
March 25, 2008	Violent clash between Jakun and Kuteb communities in Taraba state resulting to the death of 7 persons and destruction of property worth millions of Naira.
July 23, 2008	Violent clash between the Atagenyi and Omelemu communities of Benue state. This resulted to the loss of five lives.
December 28, 2008	Violent clash between Jekun and Kuteb when Kuteb was been prevented from holding their festival Kuchicheb. The clash resulted to mass destruction of property worth millions of Naira.

Source: Author's compilation

Appendix 2: Cases of Domestic Terrorism arising from Bomb Explosions in Nigeria 1986-2011

DATE	PLACE	STATE	TERRORIST GROUP	CASUALTY
19/10/1986	Parcel bomb, Lagos	Lagos	Nil	1
31/5/1995	Venue of launching of family support Ilorin	Kwara	Nil	No record
18/1/1996	Durbar Hotel Kaduna	Kaduna	Nil	1
19/1/1996	Aminu Kano Airport, Kano	Kano	Nil	No record
11/4/1996	Ikeja cantonment	Lagos	Nil	No record
25/4/1996	Airforce base	Lagos	Nil	No record
14/11/1996	MMIA	Lagos	Nil	2
16/12/1996	Col. Marwa convey	Lagos	Nil	No record
18/12/1996	Lagos state task force on environment bus in Lagos	Lagos	Nil	No record
7/1/1997	Military bus at Ojuelegba, Lagos	Lagos	Nil	No record
12/2/1997	Military vehicle Fakka D608 at Ikorodu road, Lagos	Lagos	Nil	No record
7/5/1997	Nigerian army 25 seater bus at Yaba, Lagos	Lagos	Nil	No record
12/5/1997	Eleiyele, Ibadan	Oyo	Nil	No record
16/5/1997	Onitsha	Anambra	Nil	5
6/8/1997	Port Harcourt	Rivers	Nil	1
2/9/1997	Col. Inua Bawa convey, Akure	Ekiti	Nil	No record
18/12/1997	Gen. Oladipo Diya at Abuja airport	Abuja	Nil	1
22/4/1998	Evan square	Lagos	Nil	3
23/4/1998	Ile-Ife	Osun	Nil	5
27/1/2002	Lagos	Lagos	Nil	1000
31/7/2002	Port Harcourt	Rivers	Nil	1
25/11/2006	PDP Sectariat, Yenagoa	Bayelsa	Nil	No record
28/11/2006	Owan LGA	Edo	Nil	1
5/12/2006	Goodluck Jonathan campaign office	Bayelsa	Nil	No record
23/12/2006	Port Harcourt	Rivers	Nil	No record
12/7/2009	Atlas Cove, Lagos	Lagos	MEND	5

DATE	PLACE	STATE	TERRORIST GROUP	CASUALTY
2/5/2010	Yenagoa	Bayelsa	MEND	No record
1/10/2010	Eagle square	Abuja	MEND	8
12/11/2010	Alaibe house Opokuma	Bayelsa	MEND	1
24/12/2010	Jos	Plateau	Boko haram	38
27/12/2010	Barkin Ladi	Plateau	Boko haram	No record
29/12/2010	Yenagoa	Bayelsa	MEND	1
31/12/2010	Mugadishu barracks	Abuja	Boko haram	32
2/2/2011	Aba	Abia	Nil	2
3/3/2011	Suleja	Niger	Boko haram	16
16/3/2011	Yenagoa	Bayelsa	Nil	No record
1/4/2011	Butshen-tanshi	Bauchi	Boko haram	No record
6/4/2011	kaduna	kaduna	Boko haram	4
7/4/2011	Unguar Doki, Maiduguri	Borno	Boko haram	10
8/4/2011	INEC office suleja	Niger	Boko haram	14
8/4/2011	Kaduna	Kaduna	Boko haram	1
9/4/2011	Unguwandoki polling station	Kaduna	Boko haram	5
9/4/2011	INEC collating centre	Borno	Boko haram	No record
22/4/2011	Kaduna	Kaduna	Boko haram	3
14/5/2011	London chiki Maiduguri	Borno	Boko haram	2
19/5/2011	Lagos road Maiduguri	Borno	Boko haram	No record
28/5/2011	Lagos park Zuba/Mammy market	Abuja & Bauchi	Boko haram	18
29/5/2011	Zuba near Abuja	Abuja	Boko haram	8
3/6/2011	Maiduguri	Borno	Boko haram	No record
7/6/2011	Beside St. Patrick church Maiduguri	Borno	Boko haram	10
10/6/2011	Kaduna	Kaduna	Boko haram	No record
16/6/2011	Police force headquarters	Abuja	Boko haram	3
16/6/2011	Damboa Maiduguri	Borno	Boko haram	3
26/6/2011	Beer garden Maiduguri	Borno	Boko haram	25
3/7/2011	Beer garden Maiduguri	Borno	Boko haram	20
10/7/2011	All christian fellowship church Suleja	Niger	Boko haram	No record
26/8/2011	United Nations Office	Abuja	Boko haram	23
6/9/2011	Baga road & Ward Maiduguri	Borno	Boko haram	No record

DATE	PLACE	STATE	TERRORIST GROUP	CASUALTY
17/12/2011	Shuwai Area of Maiduguri	Borno	Boko haram	3
22/12/2011	Pompomari near Emir of Damaturu Palaca	Yobe	Boko haram	2
22/12/2011	Timber shed along Bada road Maiduguri	Borno	Boko haram	No record
25/12/2011	St. Theresa Catholic Church, Madalla near Suleja	Niger	Boko haram	43
25/12/2011	Near Mountain of Fire Ministry, Jos	Plateau	Boko haram	12
25/12/2011	SSS Office Damaturu	Yobe	Boko haram	4
26/12/2011	Near Islamic School in Sapele	Delta	Nil	No record
28/12/2011	Near a Hotel in Gombe	Gombe	Boko haram	No record

Source: Author's compilation