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The Growing Issues of Migration and Refugees in Africa: Threat to Regional Development

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Abstract

The issues of migration and refugee phenomenon had remained critical and are at the centre of discuss vis-à-vis establishing enduring continental development. Africans see the idea of travelling out of the continent for greener pastures as a relief of the current economic hardship that pervades almost all parts of Africa. The foray has exposed many in the act to serious risk that involved all unimaginable consequences, including death. Looking at this ugly development critically, many factors could be adduced to the unabated growth of migration such as social, political, cultural, environmental, health, education and as well as transportation factor. This unbridled trends, has contributed to the emergence and rapid growth of refugees in the continent. This study tries to examine the relationship between Africa and the western world, colonialism, neocolonialism, globalization and Africa leaders as agents or puppets in the promotion of glo-domination of the continent by other developed world leaders. The paper x-rays the involvement of some players, such as the non-governmental organizations (N.G.Os), Africa Union and United Nation Organization vis-a-vis their roles in the global development and their contributions to the festering issues of migration and refugees in the continent. The paper uses secondary data to facilitate the understanding of the study. The paper recommends good policies formulation and implementation, leadership with abilities and capacities, transparency in governances, sustainable welfare packages, peaceful electoral transition process and patriotism on the part of Africa leaders among others as remedy to the menace of migration, refugees and displaced persons in Africa.

Keywords: Migration, Refugees, Internally Displaced Person, Development, Sovereignty and Patriotism

1.0 Introduction

Terrorism in Africa appears to be a dimension of violent conflicts, political instability and insurgency that have long plagued the continent. Although terrorism is a major security concern globally, the frequency of its occurrence in the African region is quite worrisome. The African continent has continued to be the scene of most terrorist actions. There was about 20 per cent

increase in the number of terrorist attacks and a more than 750% increase in fatalities in Africa between 2009 and 2015 (Ejikeme, 2016). According to Okereke et al. (2016), such actions are manifested on the continent through bombings, kidnappings, torture, murders, fires, sabotage, intimidating phone calls, muggings, and poisoning, amongst others. Currently, numerous terrorist groups are operating in most African sub-regions, prominent among which are Al Shabaab in East Africa, Boko Haram in West Africa and Lake Chad Basin, and Al Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). The Islamic State of Somalia (ISS) and the Islamic State of West African Province are active in the region of Lake Chad. Besides, Anser Dine terrorist outfit has an intimidating presence in Mali while the Islamic State of Greater Sahara has been operating since 2016 in Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso. Many of these groups have grown in influence and sophistication.

It is important to note that no single globally accepted definition of terrorism exists. However, for this article, a few definitions are highlighted. In an ordinary sense, terrorism is an illegitimate use of force to achieve a political aim by targeting innocent or unarmed people. According to Audrey (2002), terrorism is, in the broadest sense, the use of intentionally indiscriminate violence to create terror, or fear, to achieve a political, religious or ideological aim. Walzerin (2002) defined terrorism as the deliberate killing of innocent people indiscriminately to spread fear through a whole population and force the hand of its political leaders. United Nations (2004) report viewed terrorism as any act "intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants to intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act". Global Terrorism Index (2020) defined terrorism as 'the threatened or actual use of illegal force and violence by non-state actors to attain political, economic, religious, or social goals through fear, coercion, or intimidation.' This last definition implies that terrorism is not only the physical act of an attack but it also includes the psychological impact it has on society for many years after the attack.

According to Global Terrorism Index (2020), an action must meet three criteria to be termed as terrorism; first, it must be intentional, secondly, it must entail some level of violence or threat of violence and thirdly, the perpetrators must be non-state actors. However, Sinclair and Antonius (2012) stated that terrorism is the connotation of something "morally wrong" and that it is often used by both governments and non-state actors, to abuse or denounce opposing groups. Terrorism may also be seen as a set of methods of combat rather than an identifiable ideology involving the premeditated use of violence against non-combatants to achieve a psychological effect of fear on others than the immediate targets. Regardless of the way terrorism is viewed, it is certain that its paths are littered with violence, blood and avoidable deaths.

According to Abasa (2015), the emergence of terrorism in Africa is due to the exploitation of ungoverned spaces by criminal elements among non-state actors. Clunan and Trinkunas (2010) defined ungoverned spaces as social, political and economic zones where states do not have effective control. Cronin (2009) argued that ungoverned spaces exist both in fragile, failing and failed states as well as migrant and immigrant-populated slums and inaccessible border regions of well-governed states. He stated further that regions that are endemic and burdened with conflicts offer terrorist bases to organize, recruit, train, and launch attacks. Beckett (2005) noted that terrorism and insurgency tend to thrive mostly in underdeveloped countries as in many parts of Africa. He cited other enabling factors for terrorism as difficult terrain (such as a mountain, desert, forest, swamp, and jungle), external support and young unemployed populations. Ghani and Lockhart (2008) linked ungoverned spaces to a lack of effective state institutions. Thus, they argued that terrorism flourishes in Africa mainly because Africa has difficulties in security, political, and economic spheres emanating from weak governance and the absence of an effective state. Other factors that drive support for terrorism are social fragmentation, a sense of injustice, perceptions of marginalization, and distrust of government. Similarly, terrorist

groups can flourish when they increase their influence through media coverage, sympathizers and finances.

In any case, one should note that conflict and political instability remain the primary driver of terrorism, with over 96 per cent of deaths from terrorism in 2019 occurring in countries already in conflict. Countries with the highest impact of terrorism are all engaged in at least one armed conflict or the other (Global Index of Terrorism, 2020). Conflict and instability destabilize states and borders, undermine political systems, impede development, stifle economic growth, slow investment, and rob young Africans of the opportunity for education and better life. Besides, they place additional burdens on already fragile healthcare systems, as in the Ebola or Covid-19 response cases. Terrorism is among the major risks to economies in parts of Africa. For instance, Tunisia's GDP growth has been cut from 3 per cent to 1 per cent. Chad's GDP dropped to 1 per cent in 2015 from a growth of 5 per cent in 2014. Similarly, countries like Kenya and Nigeria saw a reduction of 25 per cent in tourism following terrorist attacks. The UNDP estimated that at least 33,000 people have died on African soil since 2011 as victims of terrorism while 6 million people are currently internally displaced.

2.0 Terrorists' Operation in Africa

Terrorists seemed to have stepped up their operations in recent times despite the efforts of the affected sub-regional states to contain their nefarious activities. High-profile extremist attacks have intensified in recent years, including mass casualty bombings in Uganda, Nigeria, and Somalia; attacks on U.S. facilities in Benghazi and Tunis in 2012, and U.N. facilities in Algeria, Nigeria, and Somalia. There were also deadly sieges at Algeria's major gas plant and at Kenya's Westgate Mall in 2013, abduction of more than 270 Nigerian school girls in 2014, the executions of Christians in Libya and the recent attacks on Tunisia's Bardo Museum and a university in Kenya.

In the Lake Chad Basin region, Boko Haram has continued to assault Northeastern Nigeria and the neighbouring countries of Cameroon, Chad and Niger, and they have increased the ghastly practice of forcing women and children to act as human bombs. The conflict has affected the lives of communities across the Lake Chad Basin region, with some 2.6 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) and nearly 170,000 Nigerian refugees forced to flee their country. Since 2009, the conflict has caused approximately 18,000 deaths. A notable deadly attack by terrorists in Mali took place in November 2015, when some affiliated terrorist groups, who claimed to be AQIM, attacked the Radisson Blu Hotel in Bamako, killing 22 people, including two attackers (Gberie 2016). In North Africa, the Maghreb is home to some of the longest-running terrorist campaigns on the African continent. More recently, terrorist groups have become all the more combustible with the disintegration of Libya, in the wake of the collapse of the Muammar Gaddafi regime.

In the Sahel, where AQIM and al-Murabitoun operate in parts of Northern Mali and along the border corridor between Mali, Niger, and Libya, the terrorists have continued to absorb military pressure by turning to more asymmetric tactics. They have increased high-profile attacks against so-called ``soft targets,'' including a series of attacks against international hotels, cafes, and resorts in Burkina Faso, Mali and Cote d'Ivoire. Similarly, in East Africa, Al-Shabaab has become increasingly aggressive in conducting large-scale attacks against African Union Mission to Somalia (AMISOM) forward operating bases and a range of targets throughout Somalia. On July 12, 2010, Al-Shabaab sprang from its bases in Somalia and struck in the region when the group bombed Kampala, killing more than 74 people who were watching the World Cup finals (BBC, 2010). The group staged another macabre attack when it killed more than 60 people at the Nairobi Westgate Mall on September 21, 2013 (BBC, 2013). In 2015, Al-Shabaab also launched a series of attacks across the border in Northern Kenya, including one against a university in Garissa that left nearly 150 people dead. The group continues to carry out terrorist attacks in Somalia and East Africa. Al-Shabaab reportedly maintains a

network of operatives and recruiters across the wider region who seek to exploit long-standing divisions between communities and security forces along the Swahili Coast. With the increased spate of terrorist attacks in the continent, it has become an uphill task for many states to meet their constitutional obligations to their long-suffering citizens.

As it happened elsewhere, there is the possibility that the terrorists' operations on African soil will grow and expand in the foreseeable future. The big-time terrorists may seek to co-opt other emerging terrorist groups and local insurgencies to expand their network and advance their agenda. According to the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (2009), marginalized citizens who feel excluded from the political process may turn to extremist groups to fight for inclusion or to gain a sense of belonging. Apart from that, a 2014 study by academics at the University of Illinois, Chicago, and Pennsylvania State University found that countries, where ethnic groups do not have political power, suffer more from domestic terror attacks (Choi and Piazza, 2014). Unfortunately, in many African countries, the politics of exclusion remains a reality. Identity politics, buttressed by subjective criteria such as ethnicity, region of origin, and in a few cases religion, breeds discontent and dissatisfaction within communities. According to the Institute for Economics and Peace's Global Terrorism Index (2015), sub-Saharan Africa experienced the second-highest number of terrorism-related casualties in 2014, with more than 10,000 deaths. The worst terrorist impacts were in Northern Nigeria and neighbouring countries in the Lake Chad basin, the Sahel, and the Horn of Africa.

Despite the military defeat of Islamist militants by African and French troops (Operation Serval) in 2013 and the signing of a peace accord in Bamako in June 2015, Northern Mali remains vulnerable to terrorist activity. Recent attacks on western hotels in Bamako and neighbouring Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, underscore the new strategy of Ansar Dine and Al Mourabitoun, which now focus on attacking ``soft targets'' such as hotels, cafes, and supermarkets. Terrorists first gained strength in the region between 2010 and 2012 when extremists and criminal networks previously active in Algeria in the 1990s moved into ungoverned spaces in Northern Mali and later capitalized on a separatist movement sparked by dissatisfaction with the performance of the central government in Bamako and allegations of extreme corruption and ineffectiveness of public service. The expansion of ISIS affiliates in sub-Saharan Africa has led to a surge in terrorism in the region. Seven of the ten countries with the largest increase in terrorism globally are unfortunately in sub-Saharan Africa and they include Burkina Faso, Mozambique, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Mali, Niger, Cameron and Ethiopia. These countries are also facing various ecological threats, are amongst the countries with the highest population growth and suffer from low societal resilience (Arieff 2018; Global Terrorism Index, 2020).

3.0 Key Drivers of Terrorism in Africa

Africa faces the challenges of terrorism inspired by radical Islamic outfits which are primarily anti-western and aim to establish a society or a state based on Sharia laws or tenets of Islam. Indeed, Jihad terrorism has become a global phenomenon. Although terrorist groups target civilians to achieve political objectives, the causes of terrorism vary according to social circumstances. Terrorism and violent extremism are major sources of instability in Africa. Terrorist groups such as Al-Shabaab, Boko Haram (which now calls itself the Islamic State in West Africa), al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), and al-Murabitoun are conducting asymmetric campaigns that cause significant loss of innocent lives and create potentially long-term humanitarian crises. They are adept at exploiting state fragility and political and economic vulnerabilities. Terrorists gain an advantage when security forces and border guards lack the necessary leadership, training, equipment, intelligence, and mobility to disrupt their

Table 1: Major terrorist attacks in Africa in 2019 Source: Global Terrorist Index (2020)

S/N	DATES	COUNTRIES	CITIES	GROUPS	FATALITIES
1	23/3/2019	Mali	Ogossogou and Welingara	Dan Na Ambassador	157
2	9/6/2019	Cameroon	Darak	Boko Haram	101
3	28/12/2019	Somalia	Mogadishu	Al-Shabaab	84
4	27/7/2019	Nigeria	Badu	Boko Haram	70
5	28/1/2019	Nigeria	Rann	Boko Haram	60
6	24/12/2019	Burkina Faso	Arbinda	Islamic State in the Greater Sahara	57
7	30/9/2019	Mali	Boulikessi and Mondoro	Amaat Nusrat Al-Islam Wal Muslimin (Jnim)	53
8	22/12/2019	Cameroon	Daba Lamy	Boko Haram	50

activities. They also gain an advantage when security forces fail to carry out operations by international human rights standards. When governments break the bond of trust and fail to protect civilians, terrorists exploit these actions to feed their narratives.

Terrorism flourishes where there are frequent internal and external conflicts, mass illiteracy, poverty, diseases and lack of hope. Africa probably is the poster child for those qualifications. While the drivers of terrorism are multifaceted and defy easy analysis, their roots lie in poverty, low human development, an endemic sense of economic and political exclusion, marginalization, and weak social contracts with a high level of societal divisions along ethnic or religious lines (Chergui 2019; Blake 2019). High levels of group grievances and a weak rule of law breed terrorism across all countries. In more economically developed countries, social disenfranchisement and exclusion play a role in terrorism while in less economically developed countries, religious or ethnic ruptures, and corruption are more strongly associated with high levels of terrorism. The prevalence of violence will be greater where groups feel unable to seek peaceful resolution and remediation because the political or judicial systems are perceived as ineffective or biased. On average, developing countries tend to have less capacity for the peaceful resolution of grievances than developed nations.

The most fertile grounds for terrorism are the border areas, which are in most countries neglected and ungoverned. Other factors are weak governance, low socioeconomic development and poor institutional infrastructure. Though there are factors which drive terrorism generally, there are some differences among countries. For example, socioeconomic factors tend to be the prominent drivers in the Sahel, the Lake Chad Basin, Somalia, and Nigeria, whereas political grievances are a much more prominent factors in Kenya. However, the principal motivation of today's terrorists in sub-Saharan Africa is deeply rooted in a pattern of religious beliefs. It is

noteworthy that governance failures have exacerbated the impact of this phenomenon and created an enabling environment in which terrorism thrives. When a state collapses, as was the case with Somalia before the emergence of Al-Shabaab, or allows for huge swaths of ungovernable spaces, as was the case in Northern Mali, or fails to fulfil its basic purpose of providing citizens with access to a meaningful life, liberty, and property as in Northeastern Nigeria, the social contract between the state and the citizenry is broken.

Poor governance accounts for low and uneven rates of economic and human development, poor service delivery, and a lack of opportunities for gainful employment and prosperity. Societies with these traits tend to be breeding grounds in which extremist groups thrive (Feldman, 2009). Dissatisfaction with a government's failures to ensure a reasonable quality of life can lead to acts of terrorism and a rejection of central authority. Similarly, discontent with governments viewed as illegitimate or ineffective is a fertile ground for terrorism as disaffected individuals may easily embrace extremism hoping to access a better life, political power or voice, and the resources linked to these attributes in transition environments. Moreover, oppressed citizens and marginalized groups that are denied access to basic public goods and services and opportunities are more vulnerable to extremist appeals and indoctrination by non-state actors who in return promise to fulfil their needs.

The presence of high levels of organised criminal activity is correlated with the impact of terrorism, in both developed and developing nations. Many criminal organisations also engage in terrorist tactics to intimidate authorities and rival groups (Phillips, 2018). In addition, terrorist and organised crime groups operate in similar ways, drawing recruits from the same social pool, taking advantage of socioeconomic disenfranchisement, and confronting authorities and rival organisations (Gallagher, 2019). Traditional organised crime activities such as extortion, money laundering, human trafficking, currency counterfeiting, drug and arms trafficking are sources of funding for terrorist groups (Windle, 2018). Terrorists and criminal groups also take advantage of weak and corrupt criminal justice systems unable to investigate, prosecute and incarcerate criminals.

4.0 Terrorists' Recruitment

Terrorist recruitment denotes the willingness of individuals to engage in terrorist activity. How terrorist groups seek to recruit individuals are many and varied. The proximity of an individual to members of a terrorist group has a profound influence on whether or not the individual will join. For example, it is estimated that 58 per cent of current or former terrorists report being influenced by either immediate or extended family, or close friends that were members (GTI, 2O20). Interestingly, much as the families can be a source of radicalization, they can also guide members away from that path, turn them into the authorities or limit the time spent in terrorist groups.

An important strategy widely used by terrorist groups to attract new members is their tactical communication system (Taylor, 2017; Speckhard et al. 2018). Narratives have been developed to attract young people, motivating them through promises of some rewards as long as they are alive and in the supposed afterlife. Besides, the narratives use religious concepts to amplify their impact and legitimatize the attacks committed (Ali, 2018). According to Speckhard et al (2018), there are several attractions present in recruitment advertisements, such as promises of marriage, sex, money, honour, sense of purpose, adventure and the opportunity to contribute to the establishment of a caliphate. Similarly, terrorist groups routinely utilise social media to promote their political agendas and seduce individuals to their cause. For instance, nearly 50 per cent of most terrorist groups indicated that they had been radicalized solely by passively consuming materials on social media (Kelly & McCarthy-Jones, 2019). Monitoring of social media feeds by law enforcement is thus crucial in identifying key accounts and individuals who are accessing the material, seeking to recruit others or expressing a desire to provide financial or material aid to them. (Jones & Libicki, 2008).

Social Network Analysis has proven useful in identifying the perpetrators of terrorist attacks. Terrorist groups can provide a powerful sense of belonging to disenfranchised individuals. Being in a group is conducive to survival because it offers protection from potential threats. These groups have their encoded norms and patterns of behaviour that allow a group to quickly determine who belongs and who does not belong. In extreme circumstances, an individual's identity may become fused with their group, leading them to carry out extreme self-sacrificing behaviour such as suicide bombings (Fredman, Buhrmester, Gomez, et al. 2015). Terrorist groups that commit attacks with a higher impact appear to receive more coverage, which in turn can become a recruiting tool for a group. The higher the degree of notoriety a group has, the more likely it will become a magnet for potential recruits or a source of inspiration for other would-be-terrorists.

Violent extremist ideology and tactics may be alien and illegitimate to the vast majority of Africans, but individuals and communities are increasingly vulnerable to recruitment by violent extremists in a growing number of locales over the last few decades. While the motives for joining violent extremist activities are complex, overlapping, and context-specific, violent extremists tend to focus their recruitment efforts where there is a lack of education and economic opportunity, political and social alienation, poor governance, corruption of elites, and lack of accountability for abuses by security forces. These terrorist groups use increasingly sophisticated means to exploit these weaknesses on social media by developing and propagating violent extremist messaging and narratives.

5.0 Negative Impact of Terrorism on African Development

The most conspicuous negative impact of terrorism on African development is the loss of valuable human lives. Whenever a terror attack happens, many people lose their lives while many others lose their source of livelihood. Consequently, there is the destruction of property and loss of breadwinners for most families and homes, resulting in poverty for the affected.

Cilliers (2003) indicated that from 1990 to 2002, Africa recorded 6, 177 casualties from 296 acts of terrorism. He stated that evaluating the cost of terrorism in terms of human casualties presents an alarming picture, especially when it is realised that Africa came second only to Asia over the same period in terms of continental casualties. Groups such as Boko Haram in Northeastern Nigeria and the Lake Chad Basin, Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb in northern Mali and the Sahel, and Al Shabaab in Somalia and the Horn of Africa have caused tens of thousands of deaths and tremendous economic and social dislocations for civilian populations. Some of these extremist groups operating in Africa are eager to establish alliances with violent extremist groups in other parts of the world, notably Al Qaeda and the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, ISIS.

Terrorist activities in Sub-Saharan Africa over the past decades have destabilized the continent and rolled back some of the gains in broadening political space and participation since the third wave of democratization that began in the 1990s. One of the most direct impacts of terrorism is on society's economic well-being. Terrorism destabilizes political arrangements, leads to loss of revenue, and makes the political system vulnerable, especially with a lack of relevant policies. It also challenges the existing political institutions and makes political institutions vulnerable to external influences.

Terrorism affects the economy by undermining the tourism sector, which is evident in the massive loss of tourists due to travel advisories translating into a loss of revenue caused by loss of guests, jobs and foreign earnings. In terms of economic investments, terrorism affects investors' confidence in the economy. The immediate economic costs of terrorism can be measured in terms of the value of lives lost, the disability that results from the injuries, and the destruction of private and public property. Beyond the immediate impact, terrorism causes disruptions to the broader economy that may only appear days, weeks or months after the terrorist incident. Depending on the scale and frequency of the terrorist events within a country, the economic impact of terrorism on growth, investment,

consumption and tourism is a serious threat to the country's economic development and growth. The broader implications of terrorism also depend on the ability of the economy to reallocate resources from the affected sectors smoothly. Terrorism alters economic behaviour, primarily by changing investment and consumption patterns and diverting public and private resources away from productive activities and towards protective measures. Terrorism destroys capital and reduces the economic capacity of the country affected.

Iqbal, Bardwell & Hammond (2019) suggested that the monetary cost of violence is dependent on the underlying theory and assumptions used to estimate the costs. Developed countries experience only short-term impacts since they experience less frequent incidents of terrorism compared to developing countries. Furthermore, developed economies are more resilient to short-term disruptions. In addition to retarding economic growth, terrorism disrupts financial markets, and trade apart from inhibiting business investment. Mirza & Verdier (2014) found a negative relationship between trade and terrorism. Blomberg and Hess (2006) estimated that terrorism, in addition to internal and external conflicts, can distort trade as much as a 30% tariff on trade. Furthermore, bilateral trade may be reduced by approximately 4% if one of the trading partners experiences domestic terrorism. For instance, De Sousa, Mirza, & Verdier (2009) found a reduction in bilateral trade between the United States of America and most African countries where higher levels of terrorism occur. Nitsch & Schumacher (2004) and Bandyopadhyay, Sandler, and Younas (2017) all confirmed a reduction in bilateral trade and an increased cost of trade as a result of terrorism.

Terrorism has had a massive impact on social life. Today, most institutions and premises such as places of worship, schools, shops, restaurants and other public utilities are unsafe. People have to be searched to access them. There is a general social mistrust of one another, fuelling insecurity. Family institutions have also been affected by terrorism through the loss of their members. Children have also been recruited into terror networks in schools, clubs, churches and mosques. Terrorist social media are also taking advantage of mass communication techniques to lure young people into joining the networks, sometimes without the knowledge of their parents or guardians.

Terrorism increases the risk perception among investors leading to a decline in foreign direct investment (FDI). Abadie and Gardeazabal (2008) examined terrorism risks across 186 countries from 2003 to 2004 and found that the net FDI a country receives reduces by 5% of GDP in response to an increase in terrorist risk by one standard deviation. Terrorism can impose costs on a targeted country through several avenues. If a developing country loses enough FDI, which is an important source of savings, then it may also experience reduced economic growth just as capital may take flight from a country plagued by civil war. According to Collier et al. (2003), a sufficiently intense terrorist campaign may greatly reduce capital inflows.

6.0 Theoretical Assumption
The theoretical assumption underpinning this article is the social identity theory propounded by Henri Tajfel and John Turner in 1971. Social identity theory (SIT) provides a framework for explaining intergroup relations, behaviour and communication through the inherent value humans place on social group memberships. The theory stresses that membership in social groups forms an essential aspect of a person's identity. Social identity can be understood as the sum of individual cognitive affiliation, the comparative value of group status, and feelings of a group membership. According to the theory, humans naturally desire inclusion and differentiation. They seek to belong to groups and tend to classify groups within a given society. Social groups also compete with each other. Groups seek to maintain their perceived upper status by reinforcing prejudices and negative stereotypes of out-groups. In certain conditions, this competition can translate into intergroup hostility and violence. The theory suggests that behaviour is determined by membership in a group that offers belonging, self-esteem, and a role for the individual. Because the individuals value this membership, they

behave as expected by the collective norms and value system of the group.

The theory has helped to clarify how individuals engage in extreme violence in conflicts due to the collective norms binding the in-group members against out-groups. Once one adheres to radical ideology, one often adopts the group's exclusivist "us versus them" worldview. The dynamics of belonging, self-fulfilment, and pride in the in-group, prepare one to sacrifice oneself for the group's survival—a process common to all radical and terrorist groups. The SIT has been used to understand intergroup relations among social groups that frequently employ the techniques of terrorism. This theory applies to Islamist terrorist movements such as Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab with group identities comprising shared experiences, attitudes, beliefs and interests of in-group members.

The strength of this theory lies in the fact that it has demonstrated the social categorization in intergroup behaviour that allows for differentiation between social and personal identities. On the other hand, a major weakness of the theory is that it fails to predict future behaviour and has low ecological validity. Besides, it favours situational factors rather than dispositional factors which are not empirically supported.

7.0 Conclusion and Recommendations

The frequent incidence of terrorism in the African landscape is a fallout of persistent violent conflicts ravaging the continent for a long time. From the pre-colonial period to date, most parts of the African region have been enmeshed in violent conflicts occasioned by poor governance, poverty, crass corruption, unemployment, ethnicity and other societal ills. This situation has exacted a heavy toll on the continent human and natural resources and created many challenges that a large part of the continent has been hopelessly struggling to overcome. Indeed, conflicts and terrorism are drawbacks to the continent's attempt to meet its full development potential. Thus, preventing and responding to violent conflicts is key to Africa's total emancipation from the stranglehold of terrorism. In light of this, the following recommendations are suggested.

There is a need for coordinated and collaborative partnerships among governments, development partners, and civil groups.

1. Any attempt to counter violent conflicts, extremism and terrorism in Sub-Saharan Africa must address poor governance as a part of the overall strategy

2. Autocratic regimes should not get a pass from the international community solely because they are good partners in the fight against terrorism. As democratic governance is critical to every counterterrorism strategy, partners in countering violent extremism and terrorism should be good performers in democratic governance.

3. Nations must address recruitment methods and motivation to discourage recruitment by terrorist groups. To address the motivation to join a terrorist group, both social and economic inclusion need to be promoted.

4. There is a need for constant dialogue between researchers and law enforcement professionals to approximate the scientific area to the reality of the security activities in Africa.

5. It is important to evaluate the effectiveness of the existing policies with objective and scientifically based criteria to invest financial resources more rationally.

6. There is a need to stimulate international cooperation in research on terrorism. The transnational impacts of the phenomenon require a combination of powers from multiple countries to study it and oppose it.

7. The resolution of the UN's Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy of 2006 should be strictly adhered to and adopted, individually and collectively, by the respective countries in the sub-region. This comprehensive resolution generally provides for collaborative, combative,

preventive and protective actions against terrorism sub-regionally and globally.

8. The mission statement, aims and objectives of ECOWAS must be strictly adhered to and actively enforced without ethnic, socio-political or diplomatic prejudice.

9. There is a need to strengthen the financial mechanisms that allow the control of money laundering, illegal transactions and organized crime of which terrorist networks are financed. Governments should continue to study and disseminate the phenomenon of terrorism to raise public awareness of its negative consequences.

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