Peace Education as a Recipe for Terrorism in West Africa

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Abstract

Peace is a sine-qua-non for development all over the world. The current trend of terrorism reflects the need to deliberately teach culture of peace and tolerant attitude among youths. According to Ogunyemi and Adetoro (2013), the need to 'catch them young' to curtail culture of violence and aggressive behavours among the adolescents needs urgent attention. Most nations in West Africa had witnessed and are still witnessing several political, religious, socio-cultural and ethnic-related conflicts that have claimed many lives and properties in the last three decades. Prominent among these is the rampaging Boko Haram insurgency that has claimed over 15,000 lives since 2009 with more than 300 schools damaged or destroyed and over 800,000 children displaced in North Eastern Nigeria (UNICEF, 2015). This worrisome trend calls for new strategies to promote peace culture through education. This is why UNESCO (1998) canvassed that Peace Education should be taught as a veritable means of promoting necessary attitudinal change to evolve a culture of peace and non-violence behaviour. This paper therefore intends to explore the various theoretical background that are relevant to behaviour modification like Bandura (1976) social learning theory; Jenkins (2006) and Kester (2007) pedagogies of engagement theory. These theoretical frameworks were used to justify Learning Together and Constructive Controversial classroom engagements for attitudinal transformation against terrorism. With copious evidences, the various multi-track peace education approaches like tolerant sociometry, and Reciprocal Peer Relations Conditional Learning (RPRCL) were recommended to form parts of the curricula recipe to stem the rising tide of terrorism in West Africa. Good governance was also suggested to be the pillar for the peace education curricula rescue.

INTRODUCTION

The culture of peace seems to be lacking in some notable West African countries. This is due to "unwholesome state-civil relations" and "the current spate of terrorism" (Adeyemi, 2013). Although terrorism is generally considered a recent development in West Africa but the use of terror as a strategy is not new. According to Ewi (2012), a bomb exploded in Accra in 1964 predating the assassination of President Kwame Nkrumah while kidnapping, hijacking, hostage-taking, murder etc. were common phenomena during political activities of post-independence era. The coups and counter-coups coupled with ethnic massacre as witnessed in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire and Guinea added more to the volatility of insecurity in the 1980s and 1990s in West Africa. The recent 2015 palace coups in Guinea Bissau and Burkina Faso no doubt indicated that polity in West Africa is still fragile.

Transitional criminal activities like kidnapping, sea privacy, human trafficking, cybercrime, etc have continued to pose serious challenges to governance in West Africa. According to Vorrath (2013), they constitute "crime-terror nexus" for the people of West Africa. The activities of Boko Haram insurgency has reached a crescendo such that it is networking with renown terror organizations like Al Shabaab of East Africa, Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and recently the Islamic state of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) to commit genocide in West Africa. It is on

record that the six year old Boko Haram insurgencies in Nigeria, Niger, Chad and Cameroon has left more than 20,000 people dead (Petesch, 2015) and over 1.4 million people displaced from their homes (Oduala & Ola, 2015). Consequently, the United States of America recently decided to commit 300 of its troops along with surveillance drones to combat the militants in Cameroon (Sahara Report, 14th October, 2015).

The questions this paper therefore attempted to answer are:
- What are the scholars' positions on the concept of terrorism and its root in West Africa?
- What forms and theoretical frameworks are available to explain the causes of terrorism in the sub-region?
- What is the position of peace education to build culture of peace in minimizing terror acts in West Africa?
- What other transformational learning pedagogies are available to combat terror behaviour in the minds of West Africans?

Terrorism in West Africa Conceptualized with its Background
Terrorism as an act of violence, threat of violence, intention to coerce, compel or intimidate a population or government into some form of action (Maogoto, 2003 cited by Minteh & Perry, 2013) emanated from political and socio-religious movements in West Africa. Right from the days of anti-colonial struggle to the era of coups and counter-coups, combined with anti-government social movements were later to be complicated with religious fundamentalism which continuously fuel terror acts in West Africa. It is even on record that criminal elements trading in kidnapping, hostage and drug trafficking, cybercrime, suicide bombing, health-terror etc have compounded the problem by exploiting the protocol on free movement of persons in West Africa (Odiogor, 2013).

A survey of literature by Afokpa (2013) suggests that most scholars agree that criminality and terrorism serve the same purpose of "unlawful use of force or violence against people and government", sometimes with "inspirational ideologies" and "hatred" as the motivational factors (Minteh & Perry, 2013). Statistically, Ewi (2012) recorded 50 major terror attacks in West Africa between 2000 and 2009 which swelled up to 300 attacks between 2010 and 2012. He also reported that 90% of the attacks occurred in Nigeria with 65% of them having to do with religion.

While reporting transnational organized crime in West Africa as diverse and complex act of terrorism, Vorrath (2013) noted that challenges of violent attacks were often associated with oil and minerals' piracy along the Gulf of Guinea, oil bunkering in the Niger Delta, illegal exploitation of gold and diamonds in Ghana, rubber and timber theft in Sierra Leone, human and drug trafficking enroot Senegal. Even the 2009 assassination of the President and the Armed Forces Chief of staff in Guinea-Bissau was linked to drug-related terror act (Vorrath, 2013). Indeed, West Africa is regarded as the most vulnerable to terrorist attacks because of management problem in the extractive industries, trans-border criminal networks, bad governance and illegal supply of small arms and light weapons (Bolaji, 2014). Added to these factors are chronic corruption, weak institutions, farmers-grazers land conflict, porous borders, ethnic and religious violence (Ewi, 2012).

Forms and Theoretical Frameworks on Causes of Terrorism in West Africa
According to Udeh (2011), the United States of America classified terrorism into six categories thus:

- Political Terrorism: This involves violent criminal behaviour that is often exhibited during electioneering campaigns or post-election violence, in order to capture power by all means. According to International Relations and Security Network (2012), the relationship between terrorism and electoral violence has been well established. This was the case of post-election violence in Cote d'Ivoire that claimed more than 3000 lives between 2011 and 2013 (Genocide Watch, 2013). As well as the tragic post-election violence of April 2011 that claimed more than 1000 lives in Nigeria (Osimen & Ologunowa, 2015).

  In Nigeria, opposition groups mostly northerners felt the election was a political manipulation in favour of President Goodluck Jonathan to the detriment of the "unofficial power-sharing agreement" in Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) that was to lead to Northern hegemony until 2015 (Udama, 2014). There was even speculation that these disenchanted Northern political elites later transformed into sponsors of Boko Haram sect to make Nigeria ungovernable. Evidences are bound that during the 2007 and 2011 elections, some Nigerian Northern Governors had been sponsoring the Boko Haram leaders as their political protectors (247 Ureports, 2015). Even the Nigerian Army on September 26, 2015 raised an alarm that they have information that some prominent individuals and political groups who hail from Borno State in particular and North-East generally are determined to scuttle the fight against Boko Haram terrorists in order for them to continue to enjoy certain benefits (Nigerian Eye September 26, 2015). Earlier, Chad Republic and France interest in oil drilling in Chad basin had been well documented as a reason for international partisanship (The Cable, 2015, Ukwu, 2015; Ends 2014 & Freedom Africa 2014). Even, a former Governor of Borno State was said to be a big player in the Chad oil and gas industry and at the same time introduced two former Nigerian Presidents to the lucrative investments (Freedom Africa, 2014). Hence, political terrorism can be linked with some economic gains of some individuals and international community.

- **Civil Disorder:** This is a common type of terror act in West Africa. It is described as a collective violence that interferes with the peace, security and normal functioning of the community (Udeh, 2011). Cases of such are bound on boundary disputes, traffic and students' riots, market disturbances, borders' clashes, farmers-grazers land conflicts etc. indeed, the June 21st 2015, Sodom and Gomorrah riots in Accra occasioned by peoples' displacement after a demolition exercise (The Guardian June 22, 2015) as well as the July 30, 2015 students' riots that claimed two lives in Northern Ghana were examples of civil disorders (Daily Guide July 31, 2015). Equally, the protest of Nigerian youths in Cote d'Ivoire on May 6, 2013 over maltreatment by state securities was another example of civil disorder (Premium Times May 6, 2013). It is also on record that the Modakeke-Ife and Umuleri-Aguleri massacres of the 1980s and 1990s respectively in Nigeria were civil disorders that could be likened to terrorist acts (Fatile & Awotokun, 2009; Nwanegbo, 2009).

- **Non-Political Terrorism:** This in the view of Udeh (2011), refers to conscious design to create and maintain a high degree of fear for coercive purposes, but the end is individual or collective gain rather than the achievement of a political objective. Consequently, other terror acts like kidnapping, cybercrime, narco- terror, armed robberies, abduction and human trafficking come under non-political terrorism. A current case of cyber terrorism was the duping of Nigeria's Vice-President to the tune of 8 million naira (Nairaland Forum October 24, 2015). Indeed, sporadic kidnapping and hostage-taking for ransom have been major source of AQIM and Boko Haram financing in West Africa. Goita (2011) reported that AQIM alone received a total of 70 million dollars as kidnapping ransoms and 60 million dollars for 600-kilogram cocaine shipment between 2006 and 2011. The Hezbollah connection in the illicit funding of

terrorism through Lebanese diamond trading in Sierra Leone and importation of used cars from United States of America to Togo and Benin with narcotic trafficking from South America were reported to have fetched an estimated 329 million dollars out of which about 150 million dollars was seized between 2011 and 2012 (Afokpa, 2013). Hezbollah through Lebanese commercial activities is seen as both a bigger terrorist and criminal group financing its terrorist affiliates with AQIM and Boko Haram in West Africa. Boko Haram bank robberies' fortune was also reported to have fetched terrorism in Nigeria between 500 million and 1 billion Naira (3 to 6 million dollars) in 2011 alone (Afokpa, 2013).

Indeed, kidnapping for ransom in Nigeria has become a good source of enrichment for both local and international criminal gangs. Nigeria was ranked 11th on world highest kidnapping prevailing countries in 2008 (Okoli & Agada, 2014). At the local scene, around the Niger-Delta region, the movement for the Emancipation of Nigeria Delta (MEND) and the 'Bakassi boys' in the Eastern region were allegedly engaging in frequent hostage-taking, kidnapping for ransom, pipeline vandalization, oil theft, arson and ambush between 2008 and 2012 (Adeyemi, 2013). Ngwama (2014) also reported that more than 200 foreigners were kidnapped between 2006 and 2008 in the region with the sum of over 600 million naira collected as ransom. In addition, sometimes the victims were maimed, raped, or killed while the families and associates are knocked down by intractable trauma (Ngwama, 2014). It is even on record that the former Governor of Nigeria's Central Bank (Prof. Charles Soludo) had to pay as much as 200 million naira to secure the release of his father from kidnappers in 2010 (Adeyemi, 2013), while the former Secretary to the Federal Government of Nigeria, Chief Olu Falae had to pay a ransom of 5 million naira for his release from his abductors in 2015 (Badejo, 2015). Thus, prices for ransom are quoted based on the worth of the victim (Adeyemi, 2013).

- **Quasi- Terrorism:** This refers to activities that are incidental to the commission of crimes of violence that are similar in form and method to genuine terrorism (Udeh, 2011). These include various forms of domestic violence, rape, customs – smugglers encounters, plane hijacking etc. These are common daily affairs which in most cases may lead to government declaration of curfew as a result of wanton destruction of lives and properties. All the cultists' activities in schools and communities with their attendant maiming and killing of people can be categorized under quasi-terrorism.

- **Limited Political/Religious Terrorism:** These acts of terrorism are committed for political or religious motives but not for the purpose of capturing or controlling state. Most religious fundamental conflicts like that of Christianity versus Islam and Islam versus traditional religions are of limited dimensions. For examples, the Maitatsine religious riots of 1980 in Kano that claimed 4,177 lives with extensive destruction of property, the Kataf (Christians) versus Zangon (Muslims) conflict of 1992 in Zaria, the Sharia law crises of year 2000, all in Northern Nigerian can be categorized as religious terrorism (Ugwu, 2009). Indeed, most religious crises that snowball into terrorist acts are due to attempts on forceful evangelism.

- **Official or state terrorism:** This could also be known as structural terrorism. It refers to government terrorism through fearful and oppressive rule. According to Udeh (2011), it is a terrorism carried out by government in pursuit of its political objectives, sometimes as part of foreign policy. Thus, the issue of Umaru Dikko abduction in London in 1984 by Buhari/Idiagbon regime and the assassination of Dele Giwa (a fearless journalist) through a letter bomb in Nigeria on 19th October, 1986 during Babangida era were cases of state terrorism (Ewi, 2012). The August, 2015 palace coup

in Burkina Faso by the Presidential Guard leading to riots and political tension was another classical example of state terrorism in West Africa. Equally, Udama (2013) identified the murder of Chief Moshood Abiola, the Nigerian acclaimed winner of June 12, 1993 election in detention during the late General Sanni Abacha regime and that of Chief Bola Ige (former Nigerian Minister of Justice) during President Obasanjo regime in 2003 as other examples of official/state terrorism. It is even observed that very often, motorists and commercial vehicle drivers easily fall prey to the bullets of state securities as a result of non-release of bribe in Nigeria (Udama, 2013).

The last form of terrorism which is uncommon in literature is health-related terrorism. It would be recalled that in the 1960s to 1970s, it was cholera but in the 1980s, it was HIV/AIDS and today it is the Ebola diseases that is terrifying the whole of West African countries. According to the BBC news report of 19th June, 2015, Ebola disease has claimed about 11,284 lives since its outbreak in the last one year in West Africa. Liberia recorded the highest causality figure of 4,808, followed by Sierra Leone with 3,949, Guinea with 2,512, Nigeria with 9 and its continuous outbreak are still being reported in Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea up till today (BBC news, June 19 2015). Thus, Ebola becomes a health-related terror that still terrifies all West African residents.

Theoretical Frameworks Adduced for Terrorism

In literature, different theoretical frameworks have been adduced by scholars for causes of terrorism in West Africa. For political terrorism, since politics is a process of competition to capture power, then scholars often aggregate conflict theory (Truman, 1984) to explain why oppositions in politics are in desperation and constant struggle to capture power as Boko Haram even claimed at a point in time that their main objective was to create a "Sunnah caliphate" of their own and consequently declared Gworza as their headquarter with their flag hoisted there. This theory is also supported by relative deprivation theory (Dollard, et al., 1939 & Davies, 1962) whereby the collective frustration of the Boko Haram initiators and the Niger-Delta militants turned to anger and violence, calling for genuine democratic system that will respect peoples' fundamental human rights with adequate provision for social justice and economic prosperity for all.

The theories of anomie, justified thievery, and Queer Ladder have been used to rationalize criminal violence like kidnapping, hostage taking, abductions, armed robberies, smuggling, human and drug trafficking in West Africa. For instance, Durkheim (1964) posited that law and order can breakdown in a society where socio-structural constraints of behaviour become inoperative. Hence, the perpetrators of criminalities in West Africa see kidnapping and abduction for ransom, armed robberies, smuggling and drug trafficking as more lucrative and alternative social enterprises. The justified thievery (Warner, 2011) and Queer Ladder (Mallory, 2007) theories posited that it was the exploitative social forces that operate in West Africa coupled with the need to climb-up the social ladder that makes people to engage in cybercrimes, smuggling, drug and human trafficking. However, from the perspective of public choice theory (Shaw, 2012), it is the wide prevalent of public corruption that made people to pursue selfish economic interest and commit criminal and terror acts for personal gains.

Nevertheless, the most popular theory is the leadership failure theory because it is believed that the leadership is to account for both the progress and challenges that occur in a society. According to Onuoha (2010), leadership failure has played a significant role in Boko Haram crisis because of the careless extra-judicial killing of its foremost leader, Mohammad Yusuf in 2009 and further jungle justice meted on other captured Boko Haram members by the Nigerian security forces. More of the leadership failure led to the defeat of former President Goodluck Jonathan and its political party in the 2015 Nigeria's general election. Its regime was accused

even by his so called 'Godfather', Chief Edwin Clark for lacking courage and political will to tackle Boko Haram militancy and corruption in Nigeria (Nigeria Bulletin, 2015). Other political leadership in most West African countries are not doing better as Sierra Leone ranks 2nd, Mauritania 4th, Gambia 5th, Chad 13th and Guinea Bissau 18th in the 2015 topmost 20 most corrupt African countries (Africa Ranking, 2015). The pervasive corruption in most West African countries can therefore be attributed to leadership failure.

Peace Education to the Rescue

If conflict is inevitable in human society and inner peace is a prerequisite for corruptless leadership, then peace education is very germaine to checkmate terrorism in West Africa. Peace education according to UNESCO (1998) is an education to enable individual to acquire knowledge on how to resolve dispute peacefully and in the spirit of respect for human dignity and of tolerance. UNICEF (1999) elaborates further that Peace Education is for promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behaviour changes that will enable children, youth and adults to prevent conflict and violence whether at an intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup, national or international level. It is therefore an education for promoting culture of peace (Galtung, 2003; Ogunyemi, 2006 & Adetoro 2014) which will involve pedagogies of engagement (Jenkins, 2006 & Kester, 2007) in order to foster community values and practices of sharing, caring and fellowship.

Indeed, the 'hatred attitude' and 'culture of violence' that are pervasive in West Africa calls for catching them young by 'de-segregating the mind' to build the 'culture of tolerance' using transformative approaches (Ogunyemi, 2006 & Adetoro, 2014) as against what Freire (1992) called the "banking model" as being practiced today. Consequently, the type of Peace Education that is required according to Upeace (2006) is an integrated study that relates with other studies like Gender Education, Sustainable Development Education, Multicultural Education, Human Rights Education, Education for Social Justice and Non-Violent Conflict Transformation. It also covers Governance and Leadership Education as well as Personal and Inner Peace Education in a wholistic manner as can be seen in figure 1.

Figure 1: An Integrated Peace Education Study Proposed for Curbing Terrorism in West Africa (Source: Adapted from Upeace, 2006)

In other words, the recommended integrated Peace Education is to cover a wide range of issues like Educating for Dismantling the culture of war, Conflict Resolution and Non-violence behaviour, Educating for living with Justice and Compassion, Educating for promoting Human Rights and Responsibilities, Educating for building cultural Respect, Reconciliation and solidarity behaviour, Educating for living in Harmony with Earth and for Cultivating Inner Peace (Marthe, 2012). Thus, as rightly submitted by Julius, David and Paul (2012), Peace Education should be used to promote both inner and outer peace in order to create a shield for human survival on the planet.

Behavioural Modification Theory for Taming Terrorism in West Africa
The social learning theory as advocated by Albert Bandura (1976) using learning together and constructive controversial pedagogies in classroom interaction has been found to promote tolerant attitude and solidarity among learners than the direct instructional mode of teaching (Adetoro, 2014). Even Isom (1988) had earlier submitted that if aggression is detected very early and if possibly cooperative learning strategies like (learning together, constructive controversy and Jigsaw) are applied, there is the tendency that the individual would be reframed from being adult criminals. The strongest benefits of these pedagogies are that students would cooperate with each other, like each other and have improved relations among themselves and different ethnic groups (Balkon, 1992). This is because the pedagogies afford the learners collective celebration of successes and collective regret of failures because of their group processing and social interdependent working relationships (Johnson, Johnson & Holubec, 1993). So in an attempt to catch them young, teachers are encouraged to apply cooperative learning strategies in teaching peace education in the classroom.

In a meta-analysis of 158 studies, Johnson, Johnson and Stanne (2000) found learning together to promote the greatest effect size of between 0.82 and 1.03, followed by constructive controversy with 0.59 and 0.91 in promoting higher social interdepdnenece and greater learning outcomes. On attitudinal outcomes towards peaceful living, Adetoro (2014) found that

students treated with constructive controversy had a higher mean post-test scores of 89.13% as against those taught with learning together that scored 86.09%. In conflict resolution skills however, the learning together group came first with 66.47% mean scores as against 65.25% scored by the constructive controversy group. By these findings, constructive controversial engagement was found to be more beneficial in classroom interaction while learning together proved better in acquiring conflict resolution skills.

Tolerant Sociometry and Reciprocal Peer Relations Conditional Learning Strategies for Curbing Terrorism in West Africa

Indeed, a multi-track Peace Education approaches like tolerant sociometry and Reciprocal Peer Relations Conditional Learning (RPRCL) for psychological rehabilitation, sharing and reconciliation values, equity and fair play culture are necessary in the school curriculum at all levels of education. Tolerant sociometry as a group psychotherapy should be combined with psychodrama to promote interpersonal relationships in the classroom (Thompson, 2010; Blatner, 2012 and Socratorna, 2014). As people of other ethnic background are usually disliked in a community, then using tolerant sociometric approach in the classroom, the teacher should always ensure that students of different ethnic background often interact in group discussions, group problem-solving and group role-play to strengthen good ethnic relations. This will reduce cynical hostility that causes anger, irritability, mistrust, aggression and violence (Socratovna, 2014). According to Ingles, Delgado, Garcia-Fernandez, Ruiz-Esteban and Diaz-Herrero (2010), this Reciprocal Peer Relations Conditional Learning (RPRCL) would make children and adolescents to acquire better psychosocial adjustment and psycho-affective relationships in future.

Using Teenage Inventory of Social skills (TISS), The Social Phobia and Anxiety Inventory (SPAI) and Sociometric Peer Nomination Test (SPNT), Ingels et al (2010) discovered that it is possible to detect the level of prosociability and aggressiveness of a student in the classroom. They therefore suggested an application of Reciprocal Peer Relations conditioning in teaching. This would lead to psychosocial-mixed grouping and application of socio-dramatic learning that would engender tolerant sociometry.

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

As terrorism is becoming a reactionary measure undertaken by the disenchanted and neglected in West Africa, there is need for both regional counter-terrorism collaboration and good governance. The regional counter-terrorism should involve partnership with ECOWAS countries, Central and North African states "to develop a robust tri-regional mechanism" to combat "the flow of drugs, arms, weapons, explosives and fighters in the Sahara-Sahel region" (Onuoha & Ezirim, 2013). Using ECOWAS and AU standing armies, it should also involve collaborative combat pressures against the current rampaging Boko Haram, AQIM and Al-Shabaab militant forces in West, North and Central Africa. In the views of Onuoha and Ezirim (2013), this collaborative tri-regional forces should help to establish a Regional Intelligence Fusion Centre (RIFC) for warehousing intelligence and information on militant activities to inform collective reactive responses.

Against the 'militarycentric approach', there is the need for good governance in West Africa in particular and Africa in general. According to Bolaji (2014), the proponents of this ultimate approach argued that there would neither be need for peacekeeping and conflict prevention if good governance principles are adhered to by states and that this will make African countries

not to be conducive to terrorism. These principles of good governance include establishment of representative and accountable form of government; freedom of expression and association; observance of the rule of law and impartial legal system; high degree of transparency and participatory service delivery; broad-based economic growth with dynamic public-private sector and social policies that will lead to drastic poverty reduction; high priority on investment on education, health and other social facilities; good corporate governance with respect for social norms and property rights. In West Africa in particular, it is recommended that institutions have to be re-built and distribution process of public resources has to be re-ordered to be corruption free. Furthermore, electoral institutions must be reformed and economic liberalization entrenched. Indeed, state security forces must always be professionalized and well-equipped while sustainable micro-credit schemes for the poor must be well-entrenched into government finances.

CONCLUSION

It has been well established that the battle against terrorism in West Africa cannot be won on military operations alone but must be supported with building culture of peace through a multi-track approach to peace education with good governance. It is also a known fact that no nation can win the battle alone but with the collaboration of other neighbouring countries and Africa in general. It is therefore essential that good leadership with well-articulated socio-economic policies and deliberate teaching of peace education are required to engender peace and combat terrorism in West Africa.

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