

Poverty, Political Freedom and Roots of Religious Militancy; A Comparative Study of Nigeria and Somalia During 21st Century

Muhammad Asim (Corresponding Author)

Assistant Professor at the Government Associate College (Boys) Dhoke Syedan, Rawalpindi Cantonment

Email: asimsheikh62@yahoo.com

Publication History:

Received: August 03, 2022

Accepted: August 13, 2022

Published Online: November 01, 2022

Keywords:

Provincialist

Puntland

Somaliland

Boko Haram

Al-Shabab

TFG

Research related to Academic Areas:

African Studies, Peace and Conflict

Studies, Nigerian Studies, Somalian

Studies, Political Economy

Acknowledgment:

This paper was written by the Author during his PhD coursework

Abstract

Modern investigations prove that terrorism can only be measured by judging the level of poverty and political freedom in any country. Empirical research in this regard highlights several case studies like South Sudan, Palestine, Kenya, Afghanistan, Nigeria, Yemen and Somalia during the 21st Century. Not only poverty, but lack of political freedom is also a significant cause of terrorism. Hegemonic aspirations of any social or sectarian group in the third world usually become an important reason for promoting terrorism. Therefore, scholars present two dimensions of terrorism in this regard; terrorism against the political system during increased poverty ratio and militant agitation against or imposing any socio-political or sectarian hegemonic ideology. This study will investigate Nigerian and Somalia's conditions in this regard. Hegemonic orientations of Boko-Haram in Nigeria and the Islamic Courts Union along with Al-Shabab in Somalia will also be discussed here with a special focus on describing the poverty level and conditions of political freedom.

Copyright © 2022 IMSTS Journal as an academic research-oriented non-profit initiative of Rehmat and Maryam Researches (SMC-Pvt) Limited, working in Islamabad, Rawalpindi, and Lodhran under the Security and Exchange Commission of Pakistan (SECP). This is an open-access article. However, its distribution and/or reproduction in any medium is subject to the proper citation of the original work.

Introduction

Terrorism is a worldwide discussed topic during the 21st century. The majority of social scientists are trying to find its roots with different dimensions while Alberto Abadie (2004) describes its roots in terms of increasing poverty ratio and low political freedom. Although, his views are theoretical notes but empirically we find these roots in different countries like Nigeria and Somalia where increasing poverty ratio and lack of political freedom are the big reasons for enhancing terrorist activities. Both countries are victimized by ethno-sectarian militancy in this regard where Boko Haram and Al-Shabab are trying to occupy power structures with hegemonic orientations regarding imposing their ideology in both countries. Although the process of democratization in both countries after the first decade of the twenty-first century is undermining the lack of political freedom and reducing the poverty ratio, this is at the initial stage. It will require more time to socialize citizens and improve their economic conditions in both countries.

Literature Review

Corlett (2003) defines terrorism and its types with examples while Antonius (2013) describes the political psychology of terrorism with both viewpoints; present by the state or anti-state elements. Similarly, Holmes (2001) illustrates the views of state officials and anti-states elements against each other regarding terrorism. He also puts examples from different states in this regard. At the same time, Crenshaw (2015) highlights the reign of terror in France and the definition of terrorism by the UN Secretary-General in 2004. As Hoffman (2013) differentiates between terrorism and criminal activities, Taiwo (2015) and Mackinnon (2015) relate it to attacks on innocents. On the other hand, White (2014) presents six negative traits of terrorism and Abrahams (2010) defines three reasons that motivate people to perform militant acts.

Richardson (2006) points out the basic objectives of the militants to perform terrorist attacks while Abadie (2004) describes the basic myth of this study; a relationship between poverty and political freedom with terrorism. In this scenario, Rauhut (2005) relates poverty with capitalism and the process of globalization. On the other hand, Gupta (2004) presents unemployment as a reason for industrialization. Similarly, Caporaso (1992) emphasizes different approaches to the political economy which are becoming the reason for the increasing poverty ratio.

At the same time, Brenkert (2006) presents different viewpoints regarding political freedom. As per the comparative study, Obiyan (2013) describes the political history of Nigeria including the military regime and Comolli (2015) highlights the reasons for generating religious militancy in Nigeria along with the establishment of Boko Haram and its affiliation with Islamic State (ISIL). Similarly, Hesse (2013) presents the socio-political and economic history of Somalia and Hensen (2013) describes the history and reasons for establishing Islamic Courts Union, Transitional Federal Government and Al-Shabab in Somalia.

Terrorism

The word "terrorism" is derived from the word "terror". All the violent acts create terror or fear for fulfilling political, economic, ideological, or religious interests against non-armed people like civilians or neutral military men. Some scholars refer to this act as the non-state actors in a state. Similarly, acts of criminal organizations which disturb the peace also include terrorism. On the other hand, most scholars do not link "terrorism" with any law. According to them, any kind of act which disturb the peace situation and create fear at the cost of fulfilling personal, ideological, political, economic, social or religious interests, is called terrorism. It is not related to any organization, ideology or religion. At the same time, some Western critics only relate the concept of terrorism with Islam which is being countered by explaining the Jewish Resistance Movement in Palestine after World War II (Corlett, 2003, 6).

According to a political psychologist, there is no concrete definition of the word "Terrorism". It can be related to the concepts of using force, violence, threats, fear or targeting. Similarly, in some cases, we can find two concepts of terrorism in one state; a concept of terrorism propagated by the state against its opponents and a concept of terrorism described by the opponents of the state against state actions (also called state terrorism). Therefore, this word has a controversial history. South African leader Nelson

Mandela was called a terrorist once but later he recognized as well renowned international political leader (Antonius, 2013, 317).

In a democratic state, the concept of terrorism can be linked with right-wing and left-wing political parties also. Both types of political parties claim to be the victim of terrorism if the state announces any kind of policy against the ideology or interest of anyone among them. At the same time, the state tries to promote state nationalism and state patriotism but some nationalist, provincialist, regional, linguistic or religious parties try to promote its specific interests. This difference creates an environment of rivalry among states and ideologically limited political parties. Both sides use symbols of terrorism against each other to fulfill their interests or achieve their goals by generating fear among their followers. During the 21st century, such tendencies showed as a serious threat to federal states according to social scientists that is very difficult to counter (Holmes, 2001, 1).

Although, the word “terrorism” has a French origin, and this term is referred to the practices of the French government during 1793-94 which duration is also called the “Reign of Terror”. Similarly, practices of the French government at that time are considered “State Terrorism”. On the other hand, according to the United Nations Secretary-General Report of November 2004, terrorism is defined 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” (Crenshaw, 2015, 11).

Similarly, according to Bruce Hoffman; the director of the Center for Security Studies at Georgetown University, some traits of terrorism distinguish other kinds of crimes or criminal activities from terrorism. For him, terrorism is;

- 1) Violent or threatening violence.
- 2) Politically aimed.
- 3) Designed for getting long-run psychological impacts from the instant target.
- 4) Conducted by an organization with an informal look but have a strong chain of command.
- 5) Designed by non-state elements or subnational groups (Hoffman, 2013, 2).

Similarly, according to Carsten Bockstette, the concept of terrorism is related to political psychology. It can be defined as an act that creates terror and generates fear through violent acts or attacks. It has a large audience. The basic aim of terrorist activity is to affect the government. Terrorists always threaten or attack national unity and national symbols (Taiwo, 2015, 2).

On April 2013, after Boston Marathon Bombing, Barack Obama argued that;

“Anytime bombs are used to target innocent civilians, it is an act of terror” (MacKinnon, 2015, 509).

There are six types of terrorism defined by the report entitled “Disorder and Terrorism”, presented by “The National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals” of the United States “Law Enforcement Assistant Administration” in 1975. The report is designed by H. H. A. Cooper; the director of the Task Force Staff under this national advisory committee. According to this, these six types are;

- 1) Civil disorder activities or collective violence in the community.
- 2) Criminal behavior or violent activities that generate fear for gaining political interests.
- 3) Limited violent acts for getting political or ideological interests can also be categorized as revolutionary approaches.
- 4) Public or state's violent acts have no reaction from the other side but to keep silent for getting personal interests. This is also called "Passive Terrorism" (White, 2014, 94).

Similarly, during the Stalin era, Article 58 of the Russian Penal Code defined terrorism as;

- 1) Destruction of communication, warehouses, water supply, transport and other national buildings including communal property.
- 2) Violent activities against organizations of peasants or workers and representatives of the Soviet Union.
- 3) Violent activities against revolution.
- 4) Any violent activity whose basic aim is to organize counter-revolution or weaken Soviet workers and peasants.
- 5) Any armed intervention whose basic aim is to get power.
- 6) Discouragement of any state department, state industry, state monetary system, state transport system including cooperative organizations and societies (Crenshaw, 2015, 12).

According to Max Abrahms, there are three reasons for terrorism that motivate people to perform terrorist acts. These are;

- 1) Undermining state control for getting political benefits like terrorist attacks in Cyprus, Algeria, Kenya and Ireland.
- 2) Counter-terrorism against state terrorism like Palestinian attacks against Israel.
- 3) Violent efforts for getting appropriate space in the political environment and political structure.
- 4) Revenge against state actions or state policies (Abrahms, 2010).

At the same time, Bruce Hoffman (2003) and Louise Richardson (2006), the basic objectives of terrorist attacks are commonly observed as;

- 1) Demand for the independence of any territorial part of a state or its amalgamation with any other state.
- 2) Demand for dominance upon or share in economic resources or political structure.
- 3) Demand for some sort of particular form of government.
- 4) Demand for overcoming economic deprivation of any segment of the society.
- 5) Demand for favorable policy-making from the central or regional government.
- 6) Demand for imposing particular religious teachings as state laws (Nester, 2015).

Although the state shows its response against these activities in form of targeted laws, increasing police powers, criminal procedures, military actions, increasing intelligence activities and imprisonment, Alberto Abadie (2004) relates the roots of terrorism with poverty and political freedom. He says that all the terrorist activities are occurred just because of two main reasons that are economic deprivation or poverty

and lack of political freedom or absence of pure democratization. Other reasons defined by social scientists just move around these two reasons in any state (Abadie, 2014).

The Concept of Poverty

The concept of poverty is related to the lack of sufficient amount of money that can be required to fulfill the necessities of life. Although this situation can be temporary or inherited, social scientists relate this concept with inequality. There are different aspects of poverty defined by different scholars but absolute poverty means the absence of necessities of life like health care, shelter or home, clothing, sanitation, water and food. It has an open relation with economic inequality of an area, location, society, city or region where suffered people live also described by Karl Marx and the supporters of his philosophy. Some socialist scholars illustrate the reasons for poverty as a result of the capitalist economic system that is based on the international market, foreign trade, privatization and personal property. On an image of competition and quality, capitalists capture means of the production in their hands and create a monopolist environment by offering low wages for producing expensive products through multinational companies all over the world. Critics of capitalism argue that this is an effort of handling the international market with the concept of globalization in which the poor become poorer while the rich become richer. On the other hand, Marxism offers an equal distribution of wealth and resources by the state at the initial level, called socialism which further moves towards handling the entire world's resources and productions through one central governing structure, called communism (Rauhut, 2005, 1).

Similarly, unemployment is a product of industrialist countries. Discriminating commercial policies of the industrial countries especially in their colonial territories became the reason for unemployment. This issue is still prevailing in the modern state where sometimes, any ethnic group or groups claim to have an increased unemployment ratio due to discriminatory commercial policies of the central government towards them (Gupta, 2004, 58).

On the other hand, there are two kinds of views among political economists. One group is in favor of capitalism and the second group claims all the approaches of political economy as reasons for the increasing poverty ratio. According to the mercantile approach of political economy, major powers occupied territories in other regions for getting access to their resources. This trend can be direct or indirect. Directly occupation is called colonialism and indirect occupation is called neo-colonialism. The basic objective of both dimensions of occupation is to control the economic resources of that specific territory. On the other hand, the liberal approach of political economy teaches about fewer rules and regulations of the state on economic matters. At the same time, the capitalist approach of political economy focuses on free economic affairs. It totally rejects any kind of law regarding economic affairs. Critics of capitalism argue that all the approaches of political economy are becoming the reason for the increasing poverty ratio all over the world. The process of colonialization or neo-colonialization enhances socio-economic dependency along with unemployment, industrial deprivation and fiscal deficiency in directly or indirectly occupied regions. Similarly, as the state will lose its control over economic matters, multinational corporations, monopolist industries or business elites will violate the state's economic interests along with exploiting labors' rights for fulfilling their economic interests. At the same time, if economic affairs will be free from any kind of state laws, how the state will secure its national economic

interests along with the economic rights of its citizens against the economic interests of multinational companies, monopolist industries or business elites. Therefore, according to political economists, the basic reason for poverty is any kind of economic exploitation (Caporaso, 1992, 1-10).

The Concept of Political Freedom

After poverty, political freedom is considered as the second root of terrorism. The concept of political freedom is related to the concepts of democracy and human rights. It can be defined in terms of the relationship between the state and its citizens free from any unreasonable pressure or oppression. There are different explanations of political freedom which are as follows;

According to leftist political philosophy, political freedom relates to the absence of the state's unreasonable pressure or conditions, treatable diseases, starvation and poverty (Brenkert, 2006, 6).

According to classical liberalist; Friedrich Hayek, an idea of political freedom in the sense of an ability to do what I want and the power to fulfill our wishes is related to the concept of socialism. It actually means collective power for satisfying collective wishes rather than individual liberty (Brenkert, 2006, 6).

- 1) Anarcho-socialists define "political freedom" in the negative meanings of capitalism. According to them, political freedom is actually selfish freedom for fulfilling individuals' desires (Brenkert, 2006, 6).
- 2) On the other hand, Anarcho-capitalists like Ayn Rand have totally opposite behavior than the Anarcho-socialists. They purported even state rules regarding medical services, education or housing as oppression to enslave its citizens (Brenkert, 2006, 6).
- 3) Alasdair MacIntyre describes political freedom in terms of social interdependence with other people (Brenkert, 2006, 6).
- 4) Theodor Adorno, Jacques Ranciere, Herbert Marcuse, Antonio Gramsci and Cornelius Castoriadis relate political freedom with cultural practices (Brenkert, 2006, 6).
- 5) John Dalberg-Acton related political freedom with some specific limit of security and freedom enjoyed by minorities (Brenkert, 2006, 6).
- 6) Hannah Arendt finds the history of political freedom in the times of Ancient Greece. At that time, according to him, political freedom was related to political action. Only those people could practice political affairs that were free and had basic necessities of life. Therefore, the concept of freedom was considered to be related to the concept of "freedom of the will" (Brenkert, 2006, 6).

Now, we have to analyze the roots of terrorism in Nigeria and Somalia under these two basic reasons, presented by Alberto Abadie.

The Case Study of Nigeria

The Federal Republic of Nigeria is the most populated country in the African continent, comprising 36 federated states along with approximately 500 linguistic and 500 ethnic communities, got independence in 1960 from British colonial rule. It has a long history of several kingdoms and tribes. According to Democracy Index, compiled by the Economist Intelligence Unit Limited which is an independent business group in the U.K, Nigeria has an authoritarian regime (limited democracy), having 121 numbers among

167 countries. Politically, it has experienced both the political systems of democratic government and military dictatorship. During 1967-70, it suffered from civil war also (Obiyan, 2013, 56). According to New York Times (April 17, 2011), the presidential elections of 2011 can be considered the first free and fair election in the country.

During the 21st century, this biggest economy in Africa is suffering from religious violence and insurgency of the Islamic sectarian militant movement Boko Haram which is demanding Islamic laws in Nigeria rather than the secular system of government. The official name of Boko Haram is "Jamah Ahl-e-Sunnah lid-Dawah wal-Jihad". It also claims to be the West African Province or West Sudan Province of Islamic State (ISIL or ISIS). Similarly, it uses the same flag and same symbols as Islamic State or Al-Qaida. During 2009-2015, this organization killed more than 13,000 common civilians of which 10,000 were killed just in one the year 2014. Although, it has occupied most of the southern region of Borno State but it lost its capital city of Gwoza after starting joint military operations of Cameroonian, Chadian and Nigerian military forces against it (Comolli, March 27, 2015, 1-30).

During analyzing the poverty ratio and political freedom in Nigeria, it is assessed that the country experienced a long military rule from 1970 to 1999 after three years of civil war from 1967 to 1970. Not only this tenure crushed ethno-sectarian militancy but also exploited the political rights of the citizens. Since 1999, Nigeria is experiencing democratization but as it became democratic, ethno-sectarian militancy increased in the country. During 21 century, it has become the 30th largest economy in the world according to gross domestic product and the biggest trade partner of the United States in Africa. Overall, it is the 12th largest producer of petroleum products and the 8th largest oil exporter in the world. 11 percent of its oil imports to the United States. Similarly, IMF estimated its 9 percent economic growth during 2008 and 8.3 percent in 2009. But, the history of religious violence and demand for Islamic laws has its roots in 1900 when it became colonial under British Empire. The region where Boko Haram has controlled nowadays was a sovereign sultanate, named Bornu Empire. This empire was ruled according to the "Constitution of Madina". The majority of its population was Muslim. After the British occupation in 1903, Christianity was promoted through Christian educational institutions in this region (Comolli, 2015, 1-30).

Nigeria got independence in 1960 from Britain. But from 1966 to 1999, it experienced military rule except civilian rule between 1979 to 1983. Similarly, ethnic militancy became a reason for civil war during 1967-70 and religious violence in Kano (the most populated city in northern Nigeria) in 1980 where followers of Maitatsine (a controversial Islamic preacher who rejected the prophecy of Muhammad and claimed to be "Al-Nabbi") initiated riots which resulted with four to five thousand deaths. Followers of Maitatsine were called Yan Tatsine. In 1980, after Yan Tatsine attacked other ethnic-sectarian groups, the Nigerian army was involved and crushed them by force. Maitatsine was killed but the impacts of his controversial teachings felt over the next 20 years in the northern part of the country. At the same, this region suffered from poverty, social inequality and the radical nature of ethno-sectarian teachings. Therefore, these factors contributed to the promotion of Maitatsine's and Boko Haram's ideologies. Even, the radical Islamists of the northern region created resistance against western education during British colonialism here. And, after independence, the same tendency prevailed in several political, ethno-religious and military leaders. During military regime, such militant and anti-western tendency crushed by military junta

but democratic civilian rule after 1999 is still failing to crush such orientations from northern parts of Nigeria especially areas under the control of Boko Haram (Comolli, 2015, 32-50).

The Case Study of Somalia

Somalia is victimized by terrorism like Nigeria. It is also facing issues of poverty and political freedom even during the 21st century. On September 05, 2011, United Nations announced that Somalia is suffering from a harsh famine in the last 20 years where more than four million people lack of food. Just before seven months, suffered people were 2.7 million. Thousands of people have been killed due to famine of which half are children. In 6 among 18 regions, people are deprived of necessities of life which are creating civil unrest according to the Central Bank of Somalia. The recent civil war destroyed its healthy economy which was based upon telecommunication, money transfer companies, and livestock. However, its economy is now once again moving towards growth after 2007 as per the report of the British Chambers of Commerce (Hesse, 2013, 35-49).

Historically, terrorism in Somalia traced back to 1986 when Major General Muhammad Siad Barre; President and Chairman Revolutionary Council of Somalia got serious injuries due to a car accident near the capital city of Mogadishu due to heavy rain. He was admitted to a hospital in Saudi Arabia for approximately one month. At that time, Vice President; Lieutenant General Muhammad Ali Samatar served as de facto head of the state till the recovery of Muhammad Siad Barre. Although he appeared for the next presidential term in the elections held on December 23, 1986, his advanced age and poor health developed several conspiracies about his presidency. His possible successor was his son-in-law; Ahmad Suleman Abdille who was a general in the army and interior minister (Hansen, 2013, 1-19).

Meanwhile, Supreme Revolutionary Council had become authoritative which motivated opposition to be grown. After returning, Barre tried to raise state nationalism through his personality rule. For this purpose, he also tried to crush resistance movements but resistance movements got support from Ethiopian Provisional Socialist Government (1974-87). So, such conflicts converted into a civil war against his regime. In 1990, approximately 100 politicians including the first president of Somalia; Aden Abdullah Usman Daar signed a reconciliation agreement among them against the Barre regime. Although, Barre arrested all the signatories this tactic enthused resistance movements to target government officials and public offices. In this scenario, the Barre government lost its control over capital. Now, different groups like United Somali Congress (USC) and the Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM) tried to control the power structure. In such a situation, autonomous regions of Somalia including Galmudug, Puntland and Somaliland gathered with the aim of decentralization and formed an interim federal administrative setup in early 2000. Through the formation of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) in 2000, they established several federal departments like the military (Hansen, 2013, 1-19).

At that time, Islamic Courts Union was established in its government in 2006 as a rival of TGF under the leadership of Shareef Sheikh Ahmad who was a Somali politician. This was not a sudden establishment but its roots go back to the collapse of the Barre Regime when under the leadership of Shareef Sheikh Ahmad, a system of Islamic courts was established in Somalia as an alternative judicial system. This system worked with the funds taken or paid as the fee by the litigants. Soon, these courts started provision of their services in terms of health care and education. After this, these courts established their police force

regarding countering crimes. Local businessmen paid for this because of their business safeties. It also controlled drug dealings, the business of pornographic movies in the cinemas and robberies. Somalia was a Muslim-populated country; therefore, this system got huge popularity. Such types of courts system were established in different cities of Somalia. In 1999, this court system got oriented to acquire power. Supporters of Islamic Courts established its militia and initially took control over the main market in the capital in April. Similarly, it took control of Afgoi-Mogadishu Road in July. All these acts were observed and overviewed by judges under the Courts system. Though the local population supported this system due to its socio-ethical and religious activities but international media including the Ethiopian Government and United Nations blamed the Eritrean Government supplied weapons and military assistance to Islamic Courts. In 2000, this court system established a union of Islamic courts and on June 05, 2006, it conquered Mogadishu. Similarly, it reopened Mogadishu International Airport on July 15, 2006, which was closed after the withdrawal of international forces in 1995. During this regime, Islamic Courts Union protects its beaches from pirates and reopened them for trade. Although, the United States and Ethiopian officials were blaming them to be allied with Al-Qaida but Islamic Courts Union shouted; "No to Al-Qaida operatives" (Hansen, 2013, 31-72).

Till November 2006, Ethiopian officials were backed at TFG against ICU which had captured most of the Somali territories but in December 2006, Ethiopian troops directly entered Somalia which resulted in splintered into several ethno-sectarian radical groups like Al-Shabab. Militant activities of Al-Shabab had also the aim of acquiring power which was crushed by TFG and Kenyan troops. Al-Shabab was also against the Djibouti Peace Agreement which resulted from reconciliation between TFG and Shareef Sheikh Ahmad, and, Shareef Sheikh Ahmad was elected as President of TFG on February 01, 2009. After 2011-12, permanent democratic institutions are established which can be called starting of political development in Somalia. Similarly, these institutions passed the provisional Constitution of Somalia in August 2012 which declared Somalia as a federal state. At the same time, the Transitional Federal government was abolished and the Federal Government of Somalia became the first democratic central government since the start of the civil war. Now, the Somali nation is experiencing reconstruction of its country including maintaining its informal economy (Hansen, 2013, 73-120).

Somalia has two types of areas. First are formally divided into 18 regions which are further divided into districts while northern areas of Somalia are de-facto autonomous regions. Puntland declared itself as an autonomous region but it never demanded independence from Somalia. Somaliland is also a self-declared sovereign state but internationally it has no recognition but is an autonomous part of the Somali federation. Galmudug and Jubaland also claim to be autonomous states within the region. On the other hand, South West State and Central Regions State are officially recognized as federal states by the Federal Government of Somalia in 2014 and 2015 respectively. During the civil war, these regions were not suffered but established Transitional Federal Government in the absence of a central government. In other meanings, these states protected their national unity with the establishment of TFG. Economically, these states are somewhat strong than the central government. On the other hand, the economic conditions of Puntland are considered rising after oil exploration. Puntland Government also showed its willingness to sign an agreement with the oil exploring and producing companies at different sites in Puntland and other regions of Somalia in 2012. Analysts argue that it will change the socioeconomic and

political conditions of the Somali people at large which will further facilitate them to get rid of ethno-sectarian militancy and strengthen democracy in Somalia (Somali Republic, 2015).

Indexes Comparison of Nigeria and Somalia

United Nations Development Program and Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative prepared an index regarding measuring poverty with different dimensions in 2010, called MPI or Multi-Dimensional Poverty Index. There are three basic dimensions for measuring the poverty ratio defined in this index. These are education, health and living standards. This index replaced Human Poverty Index. According to this index;

Country	Percentage of People who are Multi-Dimensional Poor	Average Intensity of Multi-Dimensional Poverty	Number of Multi-Dimensional Poor People in Thousands	Year of Survey
Somalia	81.20	63.30	6,940	2006
Nigeria	54.10	57.30	81,510	2008

Similarly, Global Terrorism Index is prepared by the Institute for Economics and Peace which collected data and information from the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism at the University of Maryland. According to this index;

Country	Rank	Score in 2013-140	Score in 2012-13
Nigeria	04	8.58/10	8.24/10
Somalia	07	7.41/10	7.24/10

Although both countries are fully trying to counter terrorism in different aspects including increasing economic activities in the backward regions along with initiating the process of democratization, we have to judge the level of emerging peace in both countries through the Global Peace Index, prepared by the Institute of Economics and Peace. According to this index;

Year	Rank of Nigeria	Rank of Somalia	Score of Nigeria	Score of Somalia
2008	125	136	2.610/10	3.150/10
2009	129	139	2.625/10	3.086/10
2010	136	145	2.790/10	3.270/10
2011	140	152	2.697/10	3.360/10

2012	143	157	2.640/10	3.398/10
2013	147	158	2.634/10	3.242/10
2014	150	157	2.701/10	3.362/10

Conclusion

Nigeria and Somalia are now emerging economies due to the exploration of oil but their suffering period of terrorism illustrates the reasons behind them. The population of both countries were and remain living below the average income line. Similarly, dictatorship and religious hegemonic orientations in both countries did not facilitate political freedom. Now, if democracy is evolving in both countries, it is automatically giving surety to the citizens regarding the availability of political freedom. At the same time, it is enhancing economic activities in the region which is becoming a reason for reducing the poverty ratio. So, it is concluded that terrorism (either political or religious) is just because of poverty and political freedom, and, its final solution is democratization.

References

- Abadie, A. (2014). *Poverty, Political Freedom and the Roots of Terrorism*. *Harvard University and NBER*.
- Abrahms, M. (2010). *The Causes of Terrorism: A Reappraisal of the Conventional Wisdom*. Retrieved May 18, 2015, from Google Books:
<https://books.google.com.pk/books?id=KT2tYgEACAAJ&dq=Max+Abrahms+on+terrorism&hl=en&sa=X&ei=BWhjVZb9FsHuUt2wgZAN&ved=0CB8Q6AEwAQ>
- Antonius, D. (2013). *The Political Psychology of Terrorism Fears*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Brenkert, G. G. (2006). *Political Freedom*. New York: Routledge.
- Caporaso, J. A. (1992). *Theories of Political Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Comolli, V. (March 27, 2015). *Boko Haram: Nigeria's Islamist Insurgency*. London: C. Hurst Publishers Limited.
- Corlett, J. A. (2003). *Terrorism: A Philosophical Analysis*. Norwell: Springer Science & Business Media.
- Crenshaw, M. (2015). *International Encyclopedia of Terrorism*. New York: Routledge.
- Gupta, G. S. (2004). *Macroeconomics: Theory and Applications*. New Delhi: Tata McGraw-Hill Education.
- Hansen, S. J. (2013). *Al-Shabaab in Somalia: The History and Ideology of a Militant Islamist Group, 2005-2012*. New York and Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Hesse, B. J. (2013). *Somalia: State Collapse, Terrorism and Piracy*. New York: Routledge.
- Hoffman, B. (2013). *Inside Terrorism*. Columbia: Columbia University Press.

- Holmes, J. S. (2001). *Terrorism and Democratic Stability*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- MacKinnon, B. (2015). *Ethics: Theory and Contemporary Issues*. Stanford: Cengage Learning.
- Nester, W. R. (n.d.). *Globalization, War, and Peace in the Twenty-first Century*. Retrieved May 18, 2015, from Google Books:
[https://books.google.com.pk/books?id=0anGAAAQBAJ&pg=PA185&dq=Bruce+Hoffman+%282003%29+and+Louise+Richardson+%282006%29+on+terrorism&hl=en&sa=X&ei=9-xjVbKXEcPYU9rSglAD&ved=0CCEQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=Bruce%20Hoffman%20\(2003\)%20and%20Louise%20Richardson%20\(2006\)](https://books.google.com.pk/books?id=0anGAAAQBAJ&pg=PA185&dq=Bruce+Hoffman+%282003%29+and+Louise+Richardson+%282006%29+on+terrorism&hl=en&sa=X&ei=9-xjVbKXEcPYU9rSglAD&ved=0CCEQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=Bruce%20Hoffman%20(2003)%20and%20Louise%20Richardson%20(2006))
- Obiyan, A. S. (2013). *Nigeria's Democratic Experience in the Fourth Republic Since 1999; Policies and Politics*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Rauhut, D. (2005). *Economists and Poverty: From Adam Smith to Amartya Sen*. ew Delhi: Vedams eBooks (P) Ltd.
- Somali Republic*. (n.d.). Retrieved May 22, 2015, from Nations Online:
<http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/somalia.htm>
- Taiwo. (2015). *World Terrorism: Diagnosis And Path To Global Peace*. Apata Ibadan: Manifold Grace Publishers.
- White, J. (2014). *Terrorism and Homeland Security*. California: Cengage Learning.