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Editor's Welcome Message

The publication of the Mediterranean Journal of Social & Behavioral Research (MJOSBR) is going to be an important contribution for social and behavioral sciences. This journal has emerged as a result of international collaboration among academic scholars throughout the world. The editorial board consists of different academics from many countries. We welcome submissions to bring international quality of MJOSBR. The strength of any good journal arises from interdisciplinary academic perspectives represented by the members of its editorial board. With the launching of our new publication, we invite readers to submit their manuscripts to the MJOSBR, and welcome all articles contributing to the improvement of social and behavioral sciences. We would like to thank to the editorial board of MJOSBR for their voluntary support. The Mediterranean Strategic Research Center is also a supporting association in collaboration with the journal which publishes books in the related fields. Please do not hesitate to send us your valuable comments and suggestions. The journal will publish refereed papers, book reviews and selected papers from conferences as well as special issues on up-to-date problematic topics. MJOSBR is a platform for exchanging views related to social, behavioral and educational research. We welcome authors with the warm senses of Mediterranean culture and share the common global ethical views of our academic world.

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(Southern) Urban, American Education: Myths and Methods

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ABSTRACT

The advent of urban education, in America, brought about the recognition of the cultural and environmental 'cognitives' as they relate to students in industrialized states. The imperatives surrounding the education of these students require that educators factor diverse cultural identities, languages (foreign and dialects), 'challenged' economic situations, and limited funding for public education into their curriculum planning. The new frontier of Southern, urban education is looming before pedagogy and administrators presently. America's Southern regions are booming with population and economic growth. Currently, the primary and secondary schools of the Southern regions rank poorly against their Northern counterparts. These (newly) recognized urban students lack fundamental proficiency in math, English, and Science. Most are IT illiterate. The deficient practices of the schools that educate or mal-educate these pupils must be acknowledged and hopefully changed.

This paper seeks to explore the role historical elements of urban education and the methodologies (successful and non-successful) that are part of this discipline. Southern, urban education and the different and/or similar practices (past and present) will be explored with a focus upon the new challenges within.

Keywords: Horace Mann School of Thought, John Dewey Education theories, Booker T. Washington Education theory, The Talented Tenth, Education 'tracking', Brown v. Board of Education, Civil Rights Act of 1964

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INTRODUCTION

America is a vast continent. The educational systems within the continental, United States take form in vastly unique ways. Still, history indicates that early, American, educational philosophy and policy can be traced the Horace Mann School of thought. Mann continues to impact upon educators and politicians to this very day. Horace Mann attended a one room school house, as a primary student. His early education in impoverished settings and lacking in adequate resources drove him to seek to improve the quality of public schools. He devoted his life to improving and establishing a better, free system for all students. Mann's polices centered upon character development with an emphasis on reading, writing, and arithmetic ('PBS Online: Only A Teacher,' 2015). This school of thought became the basis for future educational thought throughout America. During Mann's times, few children could attend school and fewer minorities (blacks and Americans Indians) had the ability to reap the benefits of a formal education. The rich educated their young, privately, and the poor struggled to merely clothe and feed their young. The education of blacks was prohibited in the South. Severe penalties were evoked against those who educated blacks and those educated blacks could be killed during the time of slavery. The impact of acts which operated as educational prohibitions served to inhibit the learning process of the poor and minorities.

METHODOLOGY: *An examination of educational theories and legislative acts through the course of American history from 1884-2015.*

Horace Mann Educational Thought

In the post- Horace Mann period, The American Reconstruction Era, many changes included the advent of new education policies in Southern regions ("The History Channel: Carpet Baggers and Scalawags," 2015). Mann was a Northerner born in Massachusetts and remote from the Southern experience. During The Reconstruction Era, most (attempted) positive changes were abruptly thwarted and/or never realized. Northerners harbored resentment over the South for the pain, sufferings, and losses sustained as a result of the Civil War. This disdain for the South prompted the reluctance of many to render assistance. Many capitalized upon the vulnerability and rejected state of the Southern regions. Carpetbaggers (Northerners) and Scalawags (white Southerners) equally took advantage of the weakened Southern economy and people. Together, these factions ravaged Southerners. During the upheaval of these times, complex and multi-tiered educational policies were enacted which governed the course of Southern education. It is to be noted that current policies (which impact upon African American educational systems) stem directly from The

American Reconstruction Era. White schools were seriously underfunded and black schools were less or never funded. However, it must be noted that some 'self' education among blacks did take place. Those blacks with an education endeavored to teach other blacks. Black churches became schools, by night, and the age of the pupils spanned from the very young to the very old ("Black towns, established by freed slaves, are dying out," 2015). Compassionate whites (some Abolitionists and Northern philanthropists) personally aided in teaching the newly freed. And in no other period of American history did so many blacks seek and struggle to read and write. Freedom and literacy were the dreams of the enslaved.

Most monies appropriated to Southern regions, by the government, were meant to finance the redevelopment of infrastructure, communities, and educational institutions destroyed by the Civil War. Tragically, these monies were often diverted, embezzled, and lost through greedy, self-serving individuals before ever reaching the needy parties. Most importantly, the Southern economy based upon slavery was destroyed ("The South After The Civil War: Chapter 15," 2015). As a result, the Southern poor became poorer. The uneducated found it hard to get work as sharecroppers because the farmers had difficulty getting financing for their farms. Southern rural or urban education came under the dominion of the North (through funding). Educational theory and policy remained stagnant and conveniently rooted in Horace Mann theories which were dependent upon federal funding for implementation. As usual, money dictates the level, quality, and extent of one's education in any region...especially so during The Reconstruction Era of the South. Horace Mann realized these injustices years before. Southern pupils suffered badly after the Civil War because of limited or non-existent funding for public schools. Timothy Thomas Fortune was a forerunner in connecting economics and education with the legitimacy of residency for blacks in mainstream, American society. His treatise, in the form of his book, *Black and White: Land, Labor, and Capital in the South* (1884), is the companion and equal to the British manifesto *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), by Adam Smith. Adam Smith's classic surveys and critiques the basis and fundamentals for Western Capitalism as being facilitated by cheap labor. Timothy Fortune's classic surveys and critiques the individuals which comprise the labor force as being poor whites and blacks...equally exploitable for Capitalist purposes in America. As Timothy Fortune's career advanced, he left the South to pursue more opportunities in journalism and writing in the North. A permanent resident of the South, Booker T. Washington, became the forerunner in terms of developing philosophical educational and economic policies for the emerging freedman. Booker T. Washington's own classic *Up from Slavery* (1901) provided a concrete plan and the methodologies for Southern blacks and indigenous peoples to advance. But, Booker T. Washington's views came not without contest. W.E.B. Dubois, of the Northern hemisphere of intellectual thought and policy towards *the new negro*, offered a different position and methodology for the education of blacks which clashed with Booker T. Washington's objectives ("Locke and the New Negro," 2015).

Booker T. Washington School of Educational Thought

Booker T. Washington was born into slavery, in the hostile Southern region (1856-1915). He knew no security, only the harsh reality of racial hatred. Aware of this truth, Booker T. Washington pursued educational and professional goals which would not clash with Southern whites. He worked his way to attend Hampton Institute to

study. Hampton offered 'skill' study in trade and farming. These skills were necessary in a developing South. Washington rationalized that Blacks, through necessity, stood a chance to flourish and remain alive; if they possessed fundamental skills, not liberal arts. The demand for trades and agricultural skills was so great that conflict could be averted. Of course, a segregated community for blacks would be the trade-off. Most whites did not possess extensive education in the South or the North. Poverty bridled the aspiration and ability of most to pursue extensive education. Timothy Thomas Fortune concluded that white, poor children were needed to contribute to the family income as farmers or participants in the migrant labor force of the South. Poor children could not be sacrificed to sit in a classroom for lengthy periods. Southern school terms, to this day, commence in August and terminate in early May. This time frame was enacted to accommodate the children of farmers who were needed on the farm in springtime. The practice of permitting a child to extend his/hers education beyond the primary stage was referred to as 'spoiling' a child. Only 'monied' families could afford this luxury. An educated black, sponsored by the means of a well-to-do, black family, would be an enigma and seen as an offense and threat to whites in the South. Furthermore, a formally educated black seeking employment (in any sector of a limited, Southern economy) would be an object of envy. Those who despised educated blacks might hurt or lynch such individuals.

W.E.B. Du Bois school of Educational Thought

W.E.B. Du Bois was born into a Northern, middle class, black family in Massachusetts (1868-1963). There were funds and a safety cushion provided for many blacks born in the Northern, hemisphere of America. Du Bois went fearlessly and pursued opportunities. The sponsorship of family afforded him the opportunity to have the basic needs for food and shelter met. He would also benefit from his family sponsoring aspirations in terms of formal and higher education. W.E.B. Dubois benefited well and exhausted every possible opportunity that was presented to him. He attended the prestigious, black, Fisk University for his undergraduate education. He was the first African American to obtain a PhD from Harvard University. Cultivation and further grooming were accessible to Du Bois. He also studied at the University of Berlin. This form and mode of education was exclusive and few whites could access such opportunities in the South. In fact, white Southerners preferred their sons to attend Princeton University, as opposed to Harvard or Yale, because of Princeton's links to Southern politics and politicians. Originally, Du Bois' application to the more liberal Harvard University was rejected because of his Fisk University degree. Black institutions of education were considered sub-standard because of racist views. Eventually, Du Bois was accepted and permitted to study at Harvard. At one point in Du Bois' career, Atlanta, Georgia, was a point of destination. Du Bois seized a coveted offer to teach at Atlanta University, as a professor. Although, Du Bois had taught in the North, few Northern universities rivaled the status of Atlanta University for a black academic. His honored work *Souls of Black Folk* (1903) was a landmark treatise which outlines his philosophy and hopes for equality for blacks through academics. The concept of *Double Consciousness* for blacks is outlined in Du Bois' text.

Policies vs. Law (The Atlanta Compromise of 1894 and the Plessy vs. Ferguson Supreme Court ruling)

Booker T. Washington's fundamentalist, educational policies stemmed from the reality of his own environment. The Classics, the Arts, and Rhetoric served not communities striving to regain a foot hole

in the scheme of American economics. Masons, carpenters, and farmers were basic and essential to the Southern community. Work could be found more readily by possessing trade skills. Blacks could also survive and thrive in cellular circumstances outside of white compounds with enough money derived from regular work. Segregation, as opposed to death, was a preferable alternative for freedmen. Washington negotiated policy into a fully, functional agreement called *The Atlanta Compromise* ("Booker T. Washington Delivers the 1895 Atlanta Compromise Speech," 2015) This agreement paved the way for black, economic, achievement, in Atlanta, un-rivalled by any other American city to this day. Booker T. Washington, further, transferred his ideas into real educational formats during his tenure as head of Tuskegee University. Not surprisingly, money was donated to Booker T. Washington from white philanthropists. Washington, according to Mark Bauerlein in his critique "The Tactile Life of Booker T. Washington," (2008), was skilled at generating revenue. Many donors to the cause of Booker T. Washington were white and from the North of America. Yet, many white donors were Southerners that saw that segregated study was favorable for their purposes. The *Land Grant Colleges Act* of 1862 led to the establishment of venues for the study of agriculture and mechanical arts. Separate domains for blacks (HBCUs) and American Indians were enabled through the *Morrill Land Grant Act*. This government provision specified that equal access to blacks and Indians to high education must be provided or the establishment of services (separately) for their use. Many states preferred to provide separate colleges and universities for their use ("The History of Historically Black Colleges and Universities," 2015). The famous case of *Plessy vs. Ferguson*, in 1896, legally sanctioned segregation in public schools. And, it was not until the famous *Brown vs. Board of Education* ruling, by the American Supreme Court, that the separate but equal policies were deemed illegal. Still, those rogue states which opposed the new ruling held education hostage by totally closing public schools. For example, in Prince Edward County, Virginia (1959), the entire school system was closed for five years in defiance of the law ("Brown at 60: The Southern Manifesto and "Massive Resistance to Brown," 2015). White children, with monied families, were privately educated. Most of the black student population lacked schooling for five, long years because the public schools were their only source for education. Notorious school districts in Norfolk, Charlottesville, and Warren County halted the implementation of *Brown vs. The Board of Education* by making school attendance personal, noncompulsory and a choice. And the landmark Supreme Court verdict, on education, enabled the future methodology of 'tracking' and designating specific curriculum for lower level, commercial, and academic students, in America and England too. The perception of many became that some students (of certain castes) were best suited for certain levels of education (Kohli, 2014). W.E. B. Du Bois adamantly disagreed with such theories and perceived that such educational policies stymied the progress of the black race.

A proponent and recognized member of New York's Harlem Renaissance movement, Du Bois, theorized the educational and philosophical theory of *The Talented Tenth* ("W.E.B. Du Bois: The Talented Tenth Speeches 1-4," 2015). The educated blacks (which represented ten percent of the black populous) would avail themselves to the other ninety percent and mentor their education and eventual advancement, according to these principles of Du Bois.

Northern and Southern educational practices and premises remained segregated by class and race for most of the years which

preceded the historic case of *Brown vs. the Board of Education*. Exclusively, overt politics, economics, and racism dictated the course of education in the South. In the North, covert politics, real estate (redlining), economics, racism, and fear dominated the course of education. Homer Hoyt is credited with a fact based study of the illegal, real estate practice in his 1934 dissertation entitled: "*One Hundred Years of Land Value in Chicago: The Relationship of the Growth of Chicago to the Rise Its Land Values, 1830-1933.*" His treatise assisted in enabling the real estate industry's racist practices further ("How We Got Here: The Historical Roots of Segregation," 2015). As a result, Northern and Southern schools of the rich and poor experienced a sanctioned, greater divide because of favor or disfavor through enhanced or impoverished funding from tax revenues.

The John Dewey Social Movement and School of Educational Thought

As the conflicts between the educational philosophies of Washington and Du Bois raged on, mainstream progressive, educational thought for America focused upon a maverick named John Dewey (1859-1952). Dewey's theories gained prominence during the late 1800's and were cemented in the core of American educational thought by the 1900's. John Dewey, born in Vermont, was another Northerner with Northern educational, philosophical cadence. He spawned a new rhythm in terms of the linguistics, logics, and principles of education. He was a philosopher, by academic origins, but he extended his logistical range to make application with education. Experience was a prominent aspect of his views regarding methodology. Dewey valued the child as being the center. The educator, he advocated, merely expands upon the relative experience that the child presents before him/her. This philosophy and John Dewey was annexed fully by *Teachers College/Columbia University* ("John Dewey/American Pragmatist," 2015) Dewey appealed to elitists and the Avant-garde of Northern, educator circles. These factions accessed the methodology of John' Dewey and his theories were implemented widely. Still, with the acceptance of Dewey methodology, the omission of black pupils and Southern pupils (and their population, environs, and linguistics) was never accounted for by Dewey. Speakers of Northern AAE Urban AAE, Southern AAE, and Cajun were not factored into consideration in terms of linguistic impasses that might occur through misunderstandings. True, the Southern educational systems did not embrace new ideas quickly. The virtue of exposing students to aesthetic arts was a major component of Dewey's educational premises. But, Southern urban and rural communities had not the funds or established venues for their students to engage in aesthetic practices. As a result, Southern educational practices and methodologies remained stagnant in comparison to Northern counterparts.

The *Brown vs. Board of Education* verdict was a catalyst for the ensuing changes of the 1960's. In New York, public school teachers (through Albert Shanker) protested and formed a strong force as a union (UFT) for educator and pupil rights ("Albert Shanker," 2015). The policies of *school busing* and the integration of college campuses commenced after the landmark rulings from America's highest court on Civil Rights and education. Blacks, in the South, sought changes and justice against *Jim Crow* social codes ("A Brief History of Jim Crow," 2015). The Supreme Court's ruling against *Jim Crow* came with *The Civil Rights Act* of 1964 struck down separate, but equal practices. Also, this new act prompted social uprisings for the true realization of changes in primary and higher education. America did change radically.

Economic growth, in America, provided for affluent, liberal thoughts in the 1960's. In fact, an advocate and legal defender of the SDS (Students for a Democratic Society), directly attributed the social consciousness of the students to John Dewey thought. Bernardine Dohrn, a member of the notorious Weathermen Underground group, participated in the university movement. Dohrn stated that John Dewey thought inspired student protests ("1998 Interview About 1968 Columbia Student Revolt with Ex-Weatherman Leader Bernadine Dohrn," 2009). Students in the South challenged laws which prohibited blacks from equal rights ranging from seating on public buses to eating in restaurants (Turner, 2011). White students, in colleges and universities, primarily, protested America's role in the Viet Nam war and academic affiliations in warfare research. The discovery of academic affiliation, in war research, at one of America's Ivy League institutes (Columbia University) led to the seizing of campus buildings by students. Black students, on the same campus, protested discriminatory identification practices by campus security and the limited opportunities for other blacks to study there. The unrest spilled over to high schools and college campuses in New York, America, and the world. Student awareness fueled the social and academic change in the 1960's. It is to be noted that *The Civil Rights Act* of 1964 was aided and abetted by the sacrifices of white and black students. Still not all educational injustices were eradicated through the protests.

Real Estate Politics, and Minority Representation in Education

In the 1970's, red-lining and segregation became institutionalized. There were many innovative changes in curriculum, in Northern schools, which catered to student development. As a result, major and minor courses of study (similar to the academic casting in colleges and universities) were offered on the Middle and Secondary levels within public schools. Yet, in keeping with old separatist practices, suburban school districts (in the North and South) became hostels for whites to escape problems caused by poverty and neglect in the public school sector. Families with money could pay the higher taxes required in suburban communities. Much of this money was funneled into better schools and the salaries to attract the best educators. Suburban schools were modern, well-equipped, and endowed with a lower student-to-teacher ratio. Students were 'tracked' to attend colleges. Most black students attended seriously underfunded schools in impoverished settings. Teachers, in urban areas, were inexperienced (waiting to gain enough experience to escape to the suburban school districts). The urban schools, also, lacked books and supplies. Few black students were advised to attend college and most courses in their schools lacked depth (Ogbu, 2003). Open Enrollment, a concept of freeing university admission to all students, benefited the white children of blue collar workers, mostly (Lavin & Alba & Silberstein, 1981). Black students were underrepresented at public universities and colleges in the North and South. There were even fewer blacks attending private universities and colleges in America. This may be the result of the lack of preparation and courses to prepare black students for collegiate education (Ogbu, 2003). The disparity between black, white, North, and South education grew. The fervor of the people and students to be instigators of change tempered. Economic climates across the globe changed for the worst as the first major recession in America occurred in the mid 1970's. Jobs became scarce, unemployment rose, and political awareness an activity became second to survival.

Shifting Focus to Economics versus Educational Policies

By the early 1980's, educational progress was slowed by the economics of the times and things settled downward. Americans were continuing to grapple with an economic downturn. Teacher recruitment and salaries were low. Attrition was used as a tool to free school districts (in the North) of expensive, tenured, elder staff without union backlash. Incentives for voluntary, early retirement were offered to seniors and this depleted schools of the most skillful staff. An imbalance in terms of maintaining the quality of education rendered to students surfaced. Also, the mentoring of new teachers became difficult because of a lack of seasoned staff to do so. School buildings were crumbling and ill maintained because there was no money to do so. Yet, politicians in self-aggrandizing platforms, argued for standardization of public education in America. The Reagan administration commissioned the report *A Nation at Risk* (1981), this report touted reform in the form of developing transitional sequence of courses for secondary school curricula ("*A Nation At Risk: The Imperative For Educational Reform*," 1983). This new agenda was sensitive to student needs and the call to adequately attract and compensate good teachers. Yet, regional and linguistic variations across the nation were not adequately addressed in this study. Violence and the lack of classroom management became the concern of parents and the public in the 1990's. Funding was allocated to school security in urban areas where crime escalated on school premises. Parents sought refuge in the concept of charter schools. Suburban parents argued for home schooling and/or vouchers to offset the cost of private schools. Teacher unions fought vigorously against shifting student populations to private arenas. Political forces pandering to poor parents weary of the decline of the public schools conceptualized the *No Child Left Behind Act* (*No Child Left Behind: Elementary and Secondary Education Act*, 2001). With this act, fundamental, educational propaganda was economized into concrete legislation. This act aimed at pacifying frustrated, poor parents seeking a better education for their children in public schools. The main focus of the act was "standards, assessment, and accountability." Middle class defection from public schools occurred long ago. The loss of the educated, monied middle class from public education contributed to the demise of the public school system. Public education was now servicing mostly black and immigrant populations which were unaware and aloof from the role of parents and parenting through PTAs (Parent Teacher Associations). The blame for student failure was placed upon the schools and the teachers. Achievement disparities were visible in the testing scores between black, white, Southern, and Northern populations. Salvation, channeled by the politicians, was to be realized through balanced lessons and formats in all American schools. The American Republican party took up the cause for improving education under George W. Bush. Little educational theory was incorporated into this new agenda. Southerners adamantly supported the simplicity of this new initiative. The state of Georgia's own, political representative, Newt Gingrich, was a proponent of *No Child Left Behind*. In accordance with Republican policies, states (not the government) gained more control to set standards for education through the *No Child Left Behind Act*. And the new method for obtaining student success centered upon accelerated testing. The vital role of parent participation and intervention, in conjunction with teachers, was not factored into the equation of achieving student success. Inherent participation within the educational process by middle class parents in public and private schools contributed to the success of their children in the past. *The No Child Left Behind Act* industrialized teaching and focused upon solely improving

test scores. Schools which aiding in the false validity of the theory (through whatever means) were rewarded with enhanced funding to such schools and incentives for the salaries of administrators and a few teachers. Schools which continued to falter and disprove the credibility of the propaganda of *No Child Left Behind* were admonished and obtained demoted ratings. Poor ratings rendered diminished funding and eventual closure of poor schools. Rankings and documentation of failing schools were tools for political forces to further propagandize and dismiss concrete solutions.

Politics and Educational Policy

Almost as soon as the act was pressed to paper, *No Child Left Behind* (2001) commenced a period of fear and deception in public education circles. Teachers and administrators worked under conditions which instilled fear and paranoia. The schools began issuing false progress reports and statistics to attest to the success of the new agenda. The city of Houston, Texas actually reported a zero dropout rate (Winelip, 2003). Superintendents in Houston pushed for districts to provide positive statistics to hide the true dismal state of affairs. Researchers and educators cited the flaws in the legislation that politicians did not. Diverse cognitive development/ levels of students combined with lack of support and sponsorship from the parents presented challenges in the face of the new act. Also, technology was playing a pivotal role in the educational process. Suburban schools and parents realized this and provided computers in the schools and homes with access. Black students did not possess the same level of access to computers in their schools and homes. Access to technology did not come into the scheme of the legislative act (Bainbridge, 2002). Educators and their students continued to suffer. Fear, as opposed to inspiration, reigned at staff meetings. Further, deceptive means were fashioned to alter state test scores to salvage jobs and reputations.

In the North, as well as the South, a dark cloud hovered over public education in America during this time. True education was bridled. Teachers taught to the 'test' without infusing any creativity or aesthetics. No allocations for such were appropriated in most state, mandated lessons. Yet, the sterile lessons still did not spawn the anticipated results. Falsified test scores were becoming mandatory by the edict of administrators. And the veil of deception was slowly being lifted, as parents discovered that many graduates of public schools were illiterate ("Years of Schooling Leaves Some Students Illiterate," 2009).

Deceptive Practices to Justify Political Malpractice in Education

One of the most notorious cases (involving cheating) surfaced in the Atlanta, Georgia, public schools system. The *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (2008) embarked upon an investigation regarding the miracle of improved testing in the state ("A timeline of how the Atlanta cheating scandal unfolded," 2015). This was the opening of the *No Child Left Behind* 'Pandora's Box.' President Obama instituted the Reform of the *No Child Left Behind* legislation in 2010. Waivers were granted to States for exemption. The flaws in the act were becoming more evident. *The Atlanta Journal Constitution* surged forward and researched other school districts, in America, with miraculous healing tendencies emanating from the policy of *No Child Left Behind* ("Cheating our children: Districts with suspicious patterns," 2015). Indictments were eventually obtained against the Superintendent of Atlanta public schools, Beverly Hall, district leaders, and teachers. Beverly Hall, the Superintendent, was a credible suspect and (possible) scapegoat. She

was from New York, an urban educator, and her new ideas and 'demands for results' garnered suspicions among locals. A conspiracy was declared in the case against Beverly Hall and her administration and the questionable test scores. Charges of racketeering were put forth against the administrators and teachers. The court of public opinion blamed the teachers and the system for the theft of 'authentic education.' And the public acquired the justice demanded with the convictions of the teachers on April 1st of 2015. Tragically, Superintendent Beverly Hall died of terminal cancer in March of 2015. She died before the verdict was rendered. Southern justice, in terms, of education prevailed. The South did not acknowledge the errors in judgement within *No Child Left Behind Act*. The blame was directed toward the 'messengers,' those who were burdened with the task of implementing the act. No real, new educational reform exists to date in the state of Georgia. However, a new law nullifies the mandate for students to pass the GHSGT, Georgia High School Graduation Tests (Downey, 2015). The change can be attributed to Bill 91 in Georgia. Bill 91 maintains the consistent policy of the South. Educational theories and methodologies are not required. Progress can be legislated (Downey, 2015). New York City embarked upon an investigation into cheating by teachers and administrators in August of 2015 (Harris, 2015).

CONCLUSIONS

In essence, (Urban) Southern education is distinguished by the pivotal role of politics in the education. Booker T. Washington's *Atlanta Compromise* (1895) may have been a financial and social agreement, but the ramifications are evident in educational policy, in the South. Tracking, in education, commenced through Washington's own theories regarding vocations suited for freedmen. Race determined the quality of education in the South. Race determined the extent of funding for education. Segregation within education was a staple in the South. Jim Crow laws were legally effective in maintaining the balance until *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954) and the *Civil Rights Act* of 1964. Unique methods were devised to cloak the disparities and justify the failures. The *No Child Left Behind* (2001) Act was a superficial gesture to balance the scales for the poor. Educators, in States with failing test scores, merely cheated and changed the scores in the 2000's. The *No Child Left Behind Act* was never held accountable for the problems and victims. In 2015, standardized tests for prospective graduates in Georgia were eliminated, by state legislation, and graduation rates falsely rose.

(Urban) Northern education is distinguished by ever changing philosophies. W.E.B. Du Bois and John Dewey schools of thoughts steer educators to recognize student cognitive development and individuality. Yet, tracking in accordance with class and race did occur. Red-lining, as opposed to Jim Crow laws, created borders to prohibit trespassing into wealthy, white school districts by blacks and minorities. *Brown vs. Board of Education* did not impact upon the segregated school systems. Middle class flight from the cities impoverished schools did impact, negatively, upon public schools. Failure was publicized by revealing the poor standardized test results obtained by urban schools. Attempts to 'save face' were initiated through the changing of test scores and permitting students to do extensive 'back tracking' through make-up work and altered grades. The *No Child Left Behind Act* merely contributed to the negative categorization of failing students and schools. But, no real changes occurred to bring about changes. But, positive graduation rates were attainable through cheating and

concessions that permitted students to make-up arrears at the last minute.

In the case of the North and South in America, education is propelled, currently, by the need to achieve positive results through any means necessary. Historically, the quality of American education, North or South, appears to be less important in contrast to the need for a cosmetically, positive outcome. Politics fashion the course and control the outcome of the theory.

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French Learners' Opinion About the Effect of Study Abroad Experience on Language Learning

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ABSTRACT

According to the majority of learners and educators, the best way to learn a second language is to live in a country where this language is spoken. To become proficient in a second language, study abroad is admitted as 'sine qua non'. Several studies demonstrated the positive impact of the study abroad experience. However, they usually measured language gains by test scores. Fewer studies consider the value of learners' view of their personal and linguistic development during study abroad.

The aim of this study is to enlighten the perceptions of French learners study abroad experience and how a L2 is learned. We used semi-structured interview for collecting data from six students of French Language Teaching Department at Anadolu University. The subjects stayed in France during 2012-2013 academic year, one or two semesters with Erasmus exchange program. Students reported that they have gained fluency and their self-confidence has developed after the experience.

Keywords: study abroad experience, language learning, proficiency, fluency

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INTRODUCTION

According to a common belief in the field of foreign language learning, the most effective way of learning a language is to live in a country where the language is spoken. During the period spent abroad, the learners are exposed to a large amount of authentic language input, especially the oral skills improve through interaction with native speakers. The results of numerous studies and experiences have proven that this belief is true to a large extent. One of them, carried out by John Carrol (1967) with 2,782 college seniors majoring in French, German, Italian and Russian demonstrated that the students who spent time abroad tend to acquire greater proficiency in the second language than those who studied at home.

The study of Willis and his colleagues cited in Freed (1998), has also supported the linguistic growth (measured by scores) of 88 British students who spent abroad more than a year (Willis, Doble, Sankarayya and Smithers, 1977). Similar studies pointed to the linguistic advantages of a period spent abroad: Dyson (1988), Veguez (1984), Magnan (1986), Foltz (1991), Meara (1994), Coleman (1996), (Freed, 1998, p.5).

The study of Brecht, Davidson and Ginsberg (1991, 1995) and that of Lapkin et al. (1995) considered both student's prior learning

experience in order to predict success abroad. Despite different student populations and target languages (Brecht et al. studied with American students studying Russian and Lapkin et al. with Canadian adolescents who have participated in a bilingual interprovincial exchange program) two studies have shown certain similarities.

A series of research (Lafford, 1995; Freed, 1995b; Huebner; 1995, Milleret, 1991) have compared language skills acquired in classroom context and during study abroad period (Freed, 1998). These studies have provided a description of some specific linguistic features as fluency and accuracy which differ in the language of two compared student groups. Despite individual variations pointed out in different studies, according to Tanaka, Ellis (2003),

on the whole, an increase in natural exposure to the L2 through a study-abroad experience seems to contribute more to fluency and naturalness of speech (i.e., higher speech rate and fewer disfluent, silent pauses) than to accuracy and complexity of speech. Compared with gains in fluency and naturalness of speech, the improvement in grammar, listening, and reading is relatively low.

However, the extent to which the language is learned and with aspects of second language have improved depends on numerous variables. These variables include individual differences in motivation, aptitude, learning styles, age, level of pre-program language proficiency, the features of the language to be learned, the length of time spent abroad, homestay placements, whether the students have received formal classroom instruction and the degree to which they are immersed in the second language community, in other words, the frequency of their contact with the native speakers. Consequently, it is certain that a period spent abroad accelerate at a large extent language learning process. Nevertheless, a research should not only state the linguistic growth of students but also it should specify the conditions in which the maximum linguistic development may occur.

Contribution of Qualitative Studies

A series of qualitative studies enhance the research of study abroad by offering a view from the perspective of the students who participate in these programs. These investigations emphasized multiple individual factors that play an immense role in study abroad experience. (Klein, 1993; Pellegrino, 1997; Siegal, 1995) Such as the investigation of Wilkinson that focused on participant's backgrounds and expectations (Wilkinson, 1998). "The texture and richness of students' perceptions of the study abroad experience provide tremendous insights into the benefits and costs of in-country language study in terms of linguistic development, cultural understanding, and personal growth" (Pellegrino, 1998, p.114). Despite the apparent scientific limitations of qualitative methods, they allow pedagogues and administrators to anticipate student's difficulties encountered abroad in order to enhance the positive effect of study abroad experience. These findings are also of great benefit to students who are preparing to go abroad and to researchers who need to discover student's personal experience from their own perspective. In addition, student's thoughts on their own experience and how they conceive language learning process may give some ideas for best organization of formal instruction setting.

It is clear that the classroom context is different from study abroad setting in many respects. First of all, formal instruction is more focused to accuracy and grammar than fluency and communication. Whereas in study abroad context achieving a communicative goal and spontaneity are more important than accuracy. This is why the students mostly tend to produce correct sentences without knowing in which communication situation they should be used. As a result, the fear of making mistakes prevent the natural speech of students.

As pointed out by Pellegrino (1998, p.97),

according to the classroom-based view, meaning that 'successful L2 use is measured by correct grammatical form and target expressions, rather than achievement of the communicative goal. Thus, if learners fear failure and perceive grammatical mistakes as negative and experimental phraseology as leading to potentially incorrect L2 usage, they may reject opportunities to experiment if they believe they are unable to do so accurately.

One of the various advantages of study abroad experience is that the frequent contact with native speakers allows students to get rid of the fear mentioned above. Consequently, at the end of a period spent abroad students feel more fluent and as a result more self-confident.

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Research Questions

The main objective of this work is to understand students' perspective on their study abroad experience and to reveal the changes in their beliefs on the L2 learning process. Thus, the following questions were addressed in this study:

1. Was the period spent abroad sufficient to improve students' French level?
2. What changes in the learners' French language proficiency occurred during the study-abroad program?
3. What changes in the learners' beliefs about language learning process occurred during the study-abroad program?
4. What type of communicative difficulties students encountered in the classroom and out of the classroom during study abroad period?
5. Did students have problems due to cultural differences between their own culture and the target culture?
6. According to students what is the most efficient way to learn a L2?

Participants

Six undergraduate student studying in French Language Teaching Program have participated in this study. They study French for 2 or 3 years and they learn French in the preparatory class during an academic year, after having studied English in high school. None of them have been abroad before this program except one who have been in France before for 3 months. They are supposed to be at level B2 before participating to the exchange program. They spent one or two semester in France. Three of them have spent 4 months, two have spent 9 months and one 11 months.

Instruments and Data Analysis

In this study we used semi-structured interview as a qualitative data collection tool. Participants were asked to answer to 13 questions which 7 were closed-ended, 6 were open-ended regarding their period spent in France, their experiences, and opinions on language learning process. Interviews were one-on-one, lasted approximately ten minutes, and were audio-taped and transcribed. The interviews were conducted in Turkish, the data was transcribed and then translated to English. Then it has read and coded by the researcher and another colleague in order to identify the important concepts. As says Maxwell, "simply reading the notes or transcripts is an important step in the analytic process. Researchers should make frequent notes in the margins to identify important statements and to propose ways of coding the data.." (Maxwell, 1996, p.6).

RESULTS

The table below indicates the important statements as well as words used by students during the interview. According to the answers of the first and second questions, the students who have spent 3 months think that this period is not enough to improve L2. The first student precise that it depends on what you do abroad. That means, on condition that take advantage of frequent contact with native speakers, 3 months may be sufficient. The students who have spent 9 and 11 months in France think that this period is absolutely sufficient. Because during first weeks

Table 1. Comparison between Study Abroad Settings and the Classroom Context (at Home)

Study Abroad Setting	Instructional Learning Context
Oral skills, speaking, fluent, vocabulary, pronunciation, accent, to express herself easily, spontaneous, improvised	Accuracy, focus on writing, grammatical point of view, no fluent, lack of automatism
Street French, daily French	Language of the books
To learn what to say where and how, to experience the L.2	Things abstract, non-correlation, things in air
To practice, to hear, to see and to learn visually	To memorise
To be exposed to L.2	
Self-confidence, to get rid of shyness, to correct errors	Fear of making errors, anxiousness, timidity
To be forced to speak all the time, to speak French everywhere	To speak French only in the classroom
To learn language and culture together	Focus on language rather than culture

and first semester they try to accustom to new conditions. The third question was about the differences in students' French level before and after the study abroad experience and the sixth question is in correlation with it, asking which language skill has most developed after the stay abroad. The answers to two questions permit to compare study abroad setting and instructional language learning context. The comparison based on students' own expressions are illustrated in **Table 1**.

We can summarise the findings as follows:

- Instructional teaching is focused on grammar, writing, and accuracy rather than achieving communicative goals.
- There are some differences between the French taught in the classroom namely the textbook's French and that spoken by native speakers.
- In the classroom, students learn about the language but they don't learn enough how and when to use them. In other words, they can't associate the correct sentences with the communication situation in which they are supposed to be used.
- In study abroad setting, students learn by experiencing, practicing and solving real communicative problems. Or, in the classroom they usually tend to memorise knowledge.
- During study abroad period, students get rid of the fear of making errors and as a result they feel more self-confident.
- Learning a L.2 at home, in the classroom, is limited to a few hours per day or per week and out of the classroom students don't have any chance to practice the L.2. However, a stay in country allows students to use the L.2 anywhere and anytime. That is to say, they are totally immersed in the community speaking French.
- A stay abroad offers many opportunities for understanding and learning the target culture better than the classroom context does.
- The students have encountered communication problems outside of the classroom and they used dictionary and gestures to solve them. In the classroom, some of them had difficulties due to vocabulary. But the courses there were similar to the courses they follow in Turkey. Thus they didn't have big problems.
- The students attested that they didn't have difficulties sourced by cultural differences and that there isn't big differences between their own culture and the target culture. Except two students who had problem with foods and strange smell.

- They all think that the oral skills have most developed during the period spent abroad, one of them specified that his reading skills have also improved.
- Oral communication course that they followed before study abroad was very useful for their study abroad experience. One student says that writing course was also useful because she learn better by writing.
- According to students the best way to learn a language is to stay in a country where this language is spoken. But they pointed out the importance of oral communication and contacting native speakers. They recommend to use films, radio and television programs, songs, poems and Internet in self learning as well as in the classroom in order to develop linguistic skills.

CONCLUSION

It is certain that one of the most effective ways to learn a L2 is to stay and study in a country where this language is spoken. Because, this period allows learners to practice the knowledge that they have learned in the classroom. In their home country, they don't have to use the L2 out of the classroom. Thus, they aren't usually aware of the language level they reached. Test scores and institutional exams are not sufficient to measure competence of communication. That's why they need a guidance to progress on their way. Students said that the language of the books is different from the spoken language. In order to minimize this difference, the teachers and instructors should first use more frequently authentic materials. They should also guide the students in self-learning and encourage them to use L2 out of the classroom. If the teachers try to enrich the content of L2 course with movies, songs, poems and websites, the learners could learn how and where to access to L2 as it's used by native speakers. Secondly, the classroom activities tend to focus on grammar and writing, rather than communication. Then, teachers should prefer a teaching approach that prioritizes communication instead of accuracy. Thirdly, the teaching context of the classroom should be arranged to prepare students out of classroom communication situations, especially before a stay abroad, they should be aware of difficulties that they could probably encounter during the time spent abroad.

Finally, the individual needs of students such as learning styles, motivation, and use of communication strategies should be taken into account. To some students who have difficulty in expressing himself, speaking exercises can be planned. Therefore, students who realize that they are able to communicate in L2, gain self-confidence and their motivation level increases. As said by a student "the more you speak the

more you are motivated and the more you are motivated the more you speak”.

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Terrorism and Security Challenges in Nigeria's Socio-Political Development

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ABSTRACT

Terrorism is a global phenomenon. It is the use of violence and intimidation to coerce for various reasons. In recent times, the spate of terrorist attacks by various groups seeking political and religious reforms in Nigeria is alarming and has become worrisome as they pose a serious threat to Nigeria's security. Furthermore, they are gradually destroying public confidence in the nation's security system. Conditions which support the development and growth of terrorism in Nigeria range from socio-economic factors such as poverty to religion. This paper examines terrorism in Nigeria, its causes and implications for Nigerian Democracy. Data for the study were drawn primarily from secondary sources as well as the authors' knowledge of the Nigerian political scene. The paper argues that terrorism has adverse implications for Nigeria's security. Socio-economic transformation, security awareness and sensitization and collaboration among security agents among others are advocated as possible solutions to the menace.

Keywords: terrorism, conflict, crises, democracy, national security

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INTRODUCTION

Terrorism is the use of violence and intimidation as a means of coercion for political purposes. It is a form of political violence that targets civilians deliberately and indiscriminately and a shadowy world of faceless enemies with irregular tactics marked by extreme brutality and bestiality (Magstadt 2011). Terrorist attacks have taken a heavy toll on humanity, especially innocent civilians at different forms and dimensions. Incidentally therefore, about 80% of victims of such oppression and anti-human acts in the recent years have been the vulnerable civilians, mainly women and children (Njoku 2011).

Since the September 11, 2011 terror attacks in United States which led to the death of many American citizens and nationals of other countries, governments, Non-governmental organisations, Inter-governmental Organisations and ordinary people have paid more attention to the issue of terrorism than ever before. As a result, the need to prevent or respond to acts of terror has radically transformed the policing and security landscape of countries which is often marked by the enactment of new laws, creation of new security agencies or departments, fostering inter-agency intelligence sharing and technology provision of new resources, development of technologies, and intensification of bilateral and multi-lateral cooperation on policing and security. The ability of governments to deter, defeat and respond decisively to terrorist attacks is one of the priorities of our times. In

Nigeria, Africa and indeed the world over, terrorism has become a daily occurrence and a challenge. In short, Nigerian democracy has been challenged by daily terrorist occurrences which the government has not found solutions to and this has left the masses disillusioned and disheartened. Though the government was cautious in the beginning in branding any group terrorist, in recent times following the spate of barbaric attacks on innocent citizens, it has come out to denounce all acts of terror stating that "terrorism is worse than civil war". Nigerian democracy has witnessed series of crises including a Civil War in 1967-1970 but none has led to wanton destruction of property and loss of lives as is currently going on in the country. Bomb blasts have become common feature in Nigeria and this take place on a daily basis in the news; in fact, it is now the headlines of most tabloids. Terrorist groups have continued to unleash terror on the country and its citizenry while the government is helpless as to what to do. Recently in 2014, over 200 school girls were abducted from a secondary school in Chibok village in Borno State leading to public and international outcry against it. While the government was still seeking for means of recruiting them, other girls numbering over a hundred have been abducted. These young girls are not only denied their fundamental human right to education, but the right to liberty which democracy guarantees. What started as an innocent protest against some policies of government has blossomed into a full-blown terrorism condition. This paper examines the security threats posed by terrorism in Nigeria. The paper is divided into four sections and begins with a conceptualization of terrorism, its historical

evolution, types, characteristics and causes. Furthermore, it examines the issues of terrorism in the country with a focus on various terrorist groups. Finally, it contends that terrorism poses a challenge to the country's democracy and security and makes recommendations.

TERRORISM: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

From the etymological concept, the word terrorism comes from the Latin and French words: *terrere*, and *terrorisme*, meaning "to frighten," (Campbell 2001). The words "Terrorist" and "Terrorism" were used for the first time during the French Revolution (1793 to 1794). "Terrorism" was used in 1795 to refer to the Reign of Terror by the Revolutionary government while agents of the government who enforced the barbaric policies of the regime were referred to as "Terrorists."

Terrorism remains an elusive concept as it is often very difficult to define because the term is often politically and emotionally charged as 'one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter.' Among academics there are ongoing debates and instead of defining it what we have are arguments about its meaning (White 2011). Despite this challenge however, the following definitions will help us to understand acts that constitute terrorism.

Goldstein and Pevehouse (2012), define terrorism as 'political violence that targets civilians deliberately and indiscriminately'. A United Nations Security Council report (2004) defines terrorism as any act "intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants with the purpose of intimidating a population or compelling a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act.' The FBI's definition is similar to this as it sees terrorism 'as the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives' (www.terrorism.com). Furthermore, Chaturvedi (2006) defines it as 'the use of violence or indulgence in violent activity for any political end or in order to put the public in fear,' while to Karacasulu (2005) 'it is the act of violence committed against innocent persons or non-combatant that is intended to achieve political end through fear and intimidations.' The AU Convention on the Prevention and Combating Terrorism article 1 (3) defines terrorism as any act which is a violation of the criminal laws of a State Party and which may endanger the life, physical integrity or freedom of, or cause serious injury or death to any person, any number or group of persons or causes or may cause damage to public or private property, natural resources, environmental or cultural heritage and is calculated or intended to:

- (i) intimidate, put in fear, coerce or induce any government, body, institution, the general public or any segment thereof, to do or abstain from doing any act, or to adopt or abandon a particular standpoint or to act according to certain principles; or
- (ii) Disrupt any public service, the delivery of any essential service to the public or to create a public emergency; or
- (iii) Create general insurrection in a State.

Terrorism is also defined as the use of violence to obtain political demands from a government. It has often been described as the weapon of the weak against the strong and terrorist attacks are often designed to undermine support and confidence in the existing government by creating a climate of fear and uncertainty. Terrorists therefore use

violence as a form of psychological warfare to drive home their demand. Traditionally, the purpose of terrorism is to demoralise a civilian population in order to use its discontent as leverage on national governments or other parties to a conflict. Related to this is the aim of creating drama in order to gain media attention for a cause. 'Terrorists with a cause' are often said to be the most dangerous to the society and according to Magstadt (2011) more than 600 identifiable terrorist groups exist worldwide with most of them found in the Middle East.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Violence is the result of many factors and as a result, one theory may not be sufficient to explain it. A combination of theories is therefore adopted in this study namely de-individuation, social learning theory and frustration-aggression theory. It is hoped that a combination of these theories would help our understanding of the subject-matter of terrorism.

De-individuation theory focuses on collective behavior. It postulates that people tend to lose their sense of individuality and identity and take on the identity of the group to which they find themselves at a particular time and in such a moment can commit acts of aggression that they would not have ordinarily committed as an individual believing the group would take responsibility for their action. This theory helps in understanding the rationale behind a group taking responsibility whenever an attack has been launched but does not really explain the causes of terrorism.

Social Learning theory is one of the theories of violence which seeks an explanation of the phenomenon of terrorism. The core of this theory is that aggressive behavior is learnt. People are abusive, aggressive and violent because they have learnt these behaviors. Bandura (1973) believes most human behavior is learned observationally through modeling. For instance, if children and even adults are exposed to abusive and violent scenes through movies and games, they model such behavior. In the case of terrorism, would-be terrorists are often radicalized via violent movies of 'jihad' by some terror groups or individuals. While this is true to an extent, exposure to violent crimes does not always predispose an individual to crimes because empirical evidence has shown that those who have been exposed to violence in their childhood often do not want others to experience it.

Frustration Aggression also known as Frustration-aggression-displacement theory was developed in 1939 by John Dollard and Neal Muller and others. The theory associates the root cause of aggression to the frustration which results from an individual's inability to attain their goals. It is believed that individuals who find themselves in frustrating environments often seek ways of transferring their aggression. In the case of terrorism, empirical evidence supports this; in Nigeria for instance, jobless youths and the poor who are frustrated because of the socio-economic situation of the country often prey to the appeals of terrorism and easily radicalized by terrorists themselves who are disgruntled by the moral, social and political life of the country. Such people feel that society has cheated them, that life is unfair, and that they deserve far more, they are unwilling to wait or work for something better and believe that the only way to get is to take (Magstad 2011).

ORIGIN AND CASES OF TERRORISM IN HISTORY

Terrorism is not a new phenomenon as acts or the threat of such actions has been in existence for decades. All through history, there have been cases of violence against civilian populations. The Zealots of Judea, also known as dagger-men which carried on an underground campaign of assassination of Roman occupation forces, as well as any Jews they felt had collaborated with the Romans and the Assassins a group which rose in the late 13th century and assassinated leaders of enemies groups were the earliest terrorist groups. With the rise of the modern nation state after the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, terrorism assumed a wider dimension as politics, religion, insurrection, ethnic strife led to open warfare. The late 19th century, which witnessed radical political theories and improvements in weapons technology led to the formation of small groups of revolutionaries who effectively attacked nation-states while in the first half of the 20th century, the two World Wars led to the intensification of nationalism as members of ethnic groups whose states had been absorbed by others chose terror as a method to conduct their struggle and make their situation known to world powers (www.terrorism-research.com/history/earl...).

The killing of the male Israelite children on the order of the Egyptian Pharaoh, the slaying of children in Bethlehem from ages zero to two years by Herod were early acts of terrorism (Exodus 2: 22; Mathew 2:16). In contemporary times, Hitler's holocaust which led to the death of about six million Jews was one of the worst cases of terrorism in the history of mankind while in Africa, the Rwandan genocide which witnessed the killing of about five hundred thousand to one million Tutsis by the Hutus-led government, interahamwe and impuzamugambi militias in 1994, the killing of eight thousand Bosniak men and boys in July 1995 in Srebrenica, Bosnia and Herzegovina by army of Republika Srpska under the command of General Ratko Mladic are also acts of terror (en.wikipedia.org/Rwanda_Genocide). These cases are in addition to other myriad examples of terrorist acts that cannot be cited here.

However, terrorist attacks have become more deadly over the past 50 years as their attacks have increasingly employed more violent means to kill or injure civilians. The attack on the World Trade Centre towers in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington, DC On 11 September, 2001, by Al Qaeda, the London train bombing, suicide bombing in places like Russia, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Nigeria, the recent brutal murder of a British soldier by two Nigerians, the Kenya Mall killings in 2013 by Al Shabab have introduced a new dimension to the issue of terrorism.

TYOLOGIES AND CONTEXTUALIZATION OF TERRORISM

Various types of terrorism have been identified and these include:

State terrorism: This exists when a government perpetrates terrorists tactics on its own citizens such as occurred under Herod, Hitler in Germany, in France and Abacha's regime in Nigeria which witnessed brutal killing and assassination of those who supposedly opposed the government. It may also be referred to as Structural Terrorism defined broadly as terrorist acts carried out by governments in pursuit of political objectives, often as part of their foreign policy.

International terrorism: according to the Federal Bureau of Information (FBI), international terrorism transcends national boundaries in terms of the means by which they are accomplished and the persons intended to intimidate or coerce, or the location in which their perpetrators operate or seek asylum. It is also known as state-sponsored terrorism and exists when a government harbors international terrorist (as the Taliban Government in Afghanistan did in the case of Osama Bin Laden and the Al Qaeda organization), finances international terrorist operations, or supports international terrorism outside its border. A good example is Al Qaeda.

Domestic terrorism: This is practiced within a particular country by terrorists groups with the aim of influencing the conduct of government through its activities. The group may or may not have ties to any foreign terrorist group. Examples of domestic terrorists are Boko Haram in Nigeria and Al Shaabab in Somalia.

Transnational terrorism: This arises when terrorist groups not backed by any government and operating in different countries cooperate with one another or when one of such groups' terrorist actions cross national boundaries. Example is the bombing of the US embassy in Kenya, bombing of the World Trade Centre in 1993 and 2001 and bombing of Kenyan West Mall shopping complex by Al Shabab in 2013 etc. Examples of transnational terrorists groups are Al Shaabab and Al Qaeda.

Religious terrorism: it is terrorism performed by groups or individuals, the motivation of which is typically rooted in faith-based tenets. Terrorist acts throughout the centuries have been performed on religious grounds with the hope to either spread or enforce a system of belief, viewpoint or opinion. Religious terrorism does not in itself necessarily define a specific religious standpoint or view, but instead usually defines an individual or a group view or interpretation of that belief system's teachings, e.g., Al-Qaeda network, Palestinian Sunni Muslim Organization Hamas, the Lebanese Shiite group Hezbollah, Boko Haram etc

Political terrorism: This involves criminal behaviour designed primarily to generate fear in the community, or substantial segment of it, for political purposes as in the case of the military governments of Ibrahim Babangida and Sani-Abacha in Nigeria which witnessed the assassination of many innocent citizens.

Non-Political terrorism: Terrorism that is not aimed at political purposes but which exhibits "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."

Left-Wing Terrorism: The major aim of this kind is outright elimination of capitalism and subsequent replacement with a communist or socialist regime. Left-wing terrorism developed following the contradictions of capitalism. With the fall of the Soviet Union and the end to cold war, left wing terrorism is now uncommon.

Right-wing Terrorism: these are groups that seek to do away with liberal democratic governments and create fascist states in their place. Neo-fascist terrorists frequently attack immigrants and refugees from the developing world.

Quasi-terrorism: The activities incidental to the commission of crimes of violence that are similar in form and method to genuine terrorism but which nevertheless lack its essential ingredient. It is not the main purpose of the quasi-terrorists to induce terror in the immediate victim as in the case of genuine terrorism, but the quasi-

terrorist uses the modalities and techniques of the genuine terrorist and produces similar consequences and reaction.

CHARACTERISTICS OF TERRORIST GROUPS

The following traits according to Madgstad (2011) are exhibited by terrorist groups:

- Oversimplification of issues: terrorists do not have interest in debates but often imagine that people will support their cause.
- Frustration: they feel that society has cheated them, that life is unfair, and that they deserve far more, they are unwilling to wait or work for something better and believe that the only way to get is to take.
- Orientation toward risk taking: many seek situations involving adventure and are easily bored.
- Self-righteousness: they display holier-than-thou attitude, dogmatism and intolerance of opposing views
- Utopianism: they harbour an unexamined belief that heaven or earth is just over the horizon and the only thing standing in the way is the corrupt and oppressive existing order.
- Social isolation: one expert noted that terrorists are often 'people, who are really lonely,' and for some, a terrorist cell may be the only 'family' they have.
- A need to be noticed: terrorists share a need to feel important, a desire to make a personal imprint by getting newsprint.
- A taste for blood: some kill without an ounce of remorse. They are hardened and see victims as mere objects as observed among Nazi guards at extermination camps during the holocaust.
- They are small and tight-knit comprising of family members and close friends in most cases
- They are often ethnically and politically homogenous
- Terrorists cells are often difficult to penetrate because of the composition of members and close friends
- There is utmost secrecy among the group. Some like Al Qaeda operate on a need-to-know basis closely guarding and compartmentalising information within its ranks like intelligence services do.
- They recruit adolescent youths, unemployed graduates and those within the society who are dissatisfied and disenchanting and willing to do anything
- They seldom operate from a fix location.
- The lifespan of most terrorists/group is only about 5 to 10 years while their leaders tend to come and go.
- Terrorist groups are often funded by wealthy individuals while a state can sponsor terrorism by funding or harboring a terrorist organization.

TERRORIST ACTIVITIES IN NIGERIA

Nigeria is featuring more and more in acts of terrorism. On 25 December 2005, a Nigerian, Farouk Abdulmutallab popularly referred to as the 'underwear bomber' was convicted and sentenced to life in 2012 for attempting to detonate a plastic explosive hidden in his

underwear while aboard a flight to the US. Recently in 2013, Adebolajo and Adebowale murdered a British soldier in London in cold blood in broad day light. While Adebolajo faces life imprisonment, Adebowale was sentenced to forty-five years. Though these are naturalized British citizens of Nigerian descent, there is no doubt that Nigeria is featuring more and more once in international terrorism and this continues to mar the image of the country. Back home in Nigeria, terrorism is not a new phenomenon although its frequency in recent times is becoming alarming. As early as 1985, a case of terrorism was witnessed when Dele Giwa, a journalist with Newswatch magazine was murdered in cold blood through a letter bomb which pointed to a key official in the then government. State terrorism was also displayed during the regime of General SaniAbacha, when SaroWiwa and eight Ogoni men were sentenced to death by hanging for crying against environmental degradation and demanding for resource control. Assassination of political opponents by thugs, kidnapping for rituals etc are all acts of terror in the country. That Nigeria has not been classified with other terrorist nations does not absolve her of terrorism. The use of violence by various groups in the country as is the case of the brutal killing of natives by the Fulani in Benue, Nasarawa and Plateau states for whatever reasons, constitute an act of terrorism. In discussing the emergence of terrorism in Nigeria, it is important to look at two major groups whose activities have elements of terror and violence and constitute a threat to the security of the nation.

Terrorism in Nigeria could be traceable to the fourth republican politicians who armed jobless youths to use them as tugs to win election by using them to intimidate their political opponents during electioneering period. These evil politicians abandoned the tugs who now possess dangerous weapons use them to perpetrate violence on innocent Nigerians. Terrorism in Nigeria takes various forms like suicide bombing, kidnapping/abduction, firing at unarmed innocent citizens etc. Modern day terrorism in Nigeria can be traced to the activities of Niger Delta militants who waged war against the Nigerian government and Multinational Oil Companies over the issues of resource allocation and non-payment of compensations for environmental degradation. Militant groups such as the Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND), MASSOB, Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF) led by Mujahid Dokubo – Asari and the Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV) led by Ateke Tom and many other groups in the Niger-Delta were reputed for hostage taking, kidnapping for ransom, pipeline vandalization, oil-theft, arson and ambush. More than five hundred oil workers, politicians, actors, children, and other important personalities were kidnapped or taken hostage in the process. The argument of the group at the initial stage was that that kidnapping and hostage taking were introduced to force or pressure the Nigerian government to take decisive steps towards ameliorating their situation however with time foreign nationals irrespective of whether they worked in the oil industry or anywhere near the oil-producing areas or not were kidnapped. More than five thousand foreigners, most of whom were from America, Britain, Thailand, Egypt, and the Philippines were kidnapped and taken hostage by Niger-Delta groups. With the introduction of kidnapping by the militants, kidnapping and hostage took another dimension in Nigeria as many Nigerian politicians, university lecturers, kings and their chiefs, musicians and movie industry workers featured among the kidnapped with some dying in the process. With arms surrender by the militants and granting of amnesty by the Federal Government under President Shehu Musa Yar'ádua, the geography of kidnapping-for-ransom changed with

people being kidnapped in different parts of the country. In some cases victims were killed when ransom was not paid or partly paid or to shield the identity of the kidnapers. While Nigerians were heaving a sigh of relief from the Niger Delta militants following arms surrender by the various group as a result of amnesty granted them, the Boko Haram sect emerged on the Nigerian political scene.

Boko Haram is a dreaded group in Nigeria and neighbouring countries. The mention of the name instills fears in the mind of the ordinary citizen. In some circles, people are often warned not to mention the name while in homes; people speak in hush tones while discussing the activities of the sect. Of various groups that have emerged in Nigeria in recent times, the activities of this group are the deadliest and of utmost concern.

Boko Haram was founded by Mohammed Yusuf in Maiduguri in 2002 with the aim of establishing a Sharia government in Borno State. The name of the group which literally translated means 'western education is forbidden' shows its opposition to anything western which it feels is corrupting. Some members of the group were said to have received training in Afghanistan and Mauritania (known to be terrorist enclaves). In addition, Boko Haram is believed to be potentially allied with Al Qaeda (Wikipedia). During the first seven years of its existence activities of the sect was peaceful but this took a drastic turn in 2009 following the launch of an investigation into its activities by the Nigerian government as a result of reports that its members were arming themselves. With the arrest of several members of the group deadly clashes with Nigerian security forces erupted in which the fighters reportedly used fuel-laden motorcycles and bows with poison arrows to attack a police station. The death toll from the fracas was estimated 700. During this period, the group's founder and then leader was killed while still in police custody. This infuriated the followers who carried out their first terrorist attack in Borno in January 2010 leading to the death of four people. From that time, the violence has escalated in frequency and intensity. Major bombings in the country such as the June 2011 Police Headquarters and August 2011 UN House bombings, and recent bombings in Nyanya and Wuse II in Abuja and January 2012 Kano bombing that left over one thousand people dead, Jos 2014 bombing in addition to attacks on individuals and churches were carried out by the group with over 2000 people said to have been killed in the various attacks. A new strategy by the group is the abduction of young schools girls which denies them access to education. Recently in 2013, Boko Haram was proscribed by the Nigerian government while a ransom of \$7 million dollars was placed on its leader Shekau Abubakar by the American government. The Federal Government of Nigeria has also commenced air strikes in three states notorious for Boko Haram activities namely; Borno, Yobe and Adamawa while a state of emergency has also been declared in these states but despite these measures, their activities continue unabated.

CAUSES OF TERRORISM IN NIGERIA

Experts are of the opinion that terrorism is the result of an overlap of concurring and mutually reinforcing factors which manifest in different forms depending on the individual and context (Roy 2003; Bakker 2006; Saggat 2006; Silke, 2008). However, there's a consensus that grievance, ideology, mobilisation and tipping points are ingredients in the radicalisation process. Whereas grievance is understood to be the sense of alienation or disenchantment that

provides a cognitive opening, ideology entails the extreme set of ideas that provides the individual with a new outlook and explanation for the world an individual finds him or herself. Mobilisation captures the process by which the individual is slowly integrated into a community of individuals who are like-minded and create a self-reinforcing community, and finally tipping points are the specific events that push an individual or group from rhetoric to action.

Various factors have been identified as the causes of terrorism in Nigeria. These would be grouped into psychological, economic, political and social-cultural factors.

Psychological factors: some experts are of the view that terrorism is the product of transferred aggression resulting from years of abuse suffered by some individuals which could be sexual, physical (beating, choking, burning etc) and verbal. Some of these people mainly youths who may have been tagged 'good for nothing' for whatever reason, may choose to become martyrs because they want to be regarded as heroes by friends and family members. Their belief is that if they are not good for anything, they are good at evil.

Political factors: it argued that nondemocratic governments breed conditions that terrorists can exploit to further their own agenda. Societies with weak states characterised by bad governance, unstable political structures and fragmented political culture are most prone to terrorism. Even in democracies, disenchantment with the government of the day, absence of legitimacy and alienation of a particular group from governance and the dominance of a particular group could lead to frustration which will result into protests which may eventually degenerate to terrorism.

Economic factors: Economic factors play a significant role in encouraging terrorism. In Nigeria, the rise of terrorist groups and subsequent ease of recruitment of followers is directly related to the failure of governance as seen in the level of poverty, unemployment, crime and the resultant insecurity. Nigeria is acclaimed one the poorest countries in the world despite its oil wealth. Endemic poverty which is the product of corruption among others provides a situation whereby people are willing to do anything to earn a living. Idle and unemployed youths resort to criminal activities such as armed robbery, kidnapping and membership of various cults. Others are readily available for recruitment into terrorist groups. Most of the people recruited as terrorists in the country are usually unemployed youths. Examples of Niger Delta militants and Boko Haram members are a case in point. The issue of widespread official corruption, poverty, moral decadence, injustice, among others, in the country are part of the major sources of grievances harboured by the Boko Haram sect. High rates of poverty have alienated many young people in the area and as a result, many Muslims are becoming increasingly disenchanted with the current system. They therefore believe that poverty and collapsed governance are responsible for the failures and corrupt attitudes of modern elites (trained at secular schools) who have acquired Western education and are currently in positions of power. Consequently, they question the rationale behind Western education if it cannot secure them decent jobs or make political leaders in Nigeria to be accountable and responsive. This environment of frustration made many to fall victims to the appeals of violent extremist ideologies which was why some graduates of tertiary institution store up their certificates in 2004 to join the group. Thus, the 'movement used the term Boko Haram to mobilize unemployed, unskilled and poverty-stricken youths to join its cause to dislodge the secular, Boko (elite)-controlled state in Nigeria.'

Social-cultural factors: Ethnic cleavages and religious fundamentalism play key roles in encouraging terrorism. Unresolved religious and communal disputes have resulted into wars of terror. Nigeria is a country with a population of about 160 million people, with diverse ethnic groups of more than 250. The country is also polarized along religious lines with the Christian followed by the Muslim religion in the majority while other religious groups are in the minority. Religious crises are often between the two dominant groups and such crises in recent times haven taken a terrorist dimension with the bombing of churches. The ongoing 'jihad' by Boko Haram is an attempt to institute an Islamic state in the country. This decision can be traced back to 2000, when 12 of the 36 states in Nigeria, decided to enforce Sharia law in the country (Tisdall 2009). The *Boko Haram* members were mostly angry at the northern Nigerian states for introducing moderate Sharia codes that subsequently allowed the region to suffer from heavy corruption and severe poverty (Gargon and Bean, 2010). The solution in the sect's view therefore was to overthrow the secular Nigerian State and introduce strict application of Sharia law as a moral societal cleanser necessary for the creation of an Islamic state.

TERRORISM AND ITS IMPLICATION FOR NIGERIA'S SOCIO-POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Terrorism has serious implications for the security of the nation and its socio-political development. The Nigeria state is already insecure owing to the activities of various groups such as armed robbers, kidnappers and cultist among others but the coming on stage of terror groups has heightened this. The activities of these groups in the country particularly the Boko Haram group have continued to generate concern within academic and intelligence circles. Ever since the Islamist fundamentalist movement, the *Boko Haram* began to challenge the security of Nigeria, particularly after the September 11 terrorist attack in New York, US defence and intelligence officials have focused on such Islamic groups in Nigeria and their potential to threaten US national security. One assessment conducted jointly by the Department of Defence and USAID in 2006 concluded that it 'found little evidence that there is an active and growing terrorist threat in northern Nigeria' (Onuoha 2012). Despite this, the threat posed by terrorism in Nigeria is real. The presence of terrorist groups in the country portends danger for Nigeria because the country is not safe from transnational terrorism. With international terror networks such as the al-Qaeda within global reach and the changing security environment in West Africa occasioned by the emergence of terror groups such as Qaeda in the land of Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) operating across the Sahara Desert in Mauritania, Morocco, Mali and Niger, there is growing fear among Western diplomats that a Nigerian sleeper terrorist cell may be emerging (Fabiya, 2008 and Walker, 2009). Nigeria's porous borders with Niger Republic, where al- AQIM is operating, have actually heightened such fears. In addition, the expression of interest in June 2010 by AQIM to assist the *Boko Haram* in staging attacks on Nigeria further complicates the emerging terrorist landscape in Nigeria. Also in an interview with Al Jazeera on 14 June 2010, AQIM leader Abu Musab Abdal-Wadoud claimed that his group has been talking to the *Boko Haram* and intends to supply it with weapons to 'defend Muslims in Nigeria and stop the advance of a minority of Crusaders' (Stratfor2010). He further noted that al-Qaeda has an interest in sub-Saharan Africa for 'its strategic depth that would

give it a bigger scope for manoeuvres.' Already there is a report of a growing link between both groups which prompted the US government to announce a ransom of \$23 million to help in capturing five leaders of militant groups spreading terror in West Africa and Nigeria. The ransom placed on Shekau was \$7 million for recently (2013) calling on Islamist nations of Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iraq known for acts of terror to support the sect in creating an Islamist state in Nigeria. Though at this point it cannot be convincingly demonstrated to what extent the *Boko Haram* has any formal links with transnational jihadists, it may not be long before this becomes fully blown as the Nigeria environment characterised by poor governance, low economic output and general frustration among the people provides an enabling environment highly conducive for this. An American scholar recently warned that there is a platform of certain Islamist movements which provide extremist ideologies in Africa that can also create an incubator for international terrorists. If not properly engaged, he argues, 'Africa's active Islamist movements pose a serious danger to security at the individual, national, and international level' (Devlin-Foltz in Onuoha 2012).

CONCLUSION

Terrorism is increasingly being recognized as a threat to Nigeria's foreign and domestic security. The government no longer shies away from calling the Boko Haram a terrorist group following devastating terrorist activities by the sect going on in the country. The threat of terrorism is not just perceived but real and continues to discourage foreign investors while threatening the security and unity of the nation. The benefits which accrue from a democratic government such as freedom of speech, right to life and education are being jeopardized by heartless killings of those who dare to speak out and innocent girls who 'dare disobey' the sect's warning to leave school and go and get married. Furthermore, people cannot freely go about their businesses for fear of bomb blasts. The government must take necessary steps to ensure the security, stability and unity of the country. In view this, the following are recommended:

The country's economy must be revamped and put on a sound footing with the eradication of corruption in all its ramifications. Effective poverty alleviation programme must also be put in place while improvement in welfare of Nigerians, especially young people through provision of jobs is necessary. There should also be an inclusive government devoid of ethnic cleavages. When people have faith in their government and feel a sense of belonging, there will not do anything to sabotage it.

The use of thugs during elections should be discouraged as evidence has shown that some of them are recruited as terrorists when there are no longer jobs for them to do after elections. The rise of Niger Delta militancy and the current Boko Haram sect is a case in point.

Furthermore, every family has a role to play in ensuring that family members are not involved in acts of terrorism. Teachings on patriotism, the fear of God and love and respect for people of other faiths would go a long way to achieve this.

Also, religious leaders should socialize their members on the need for love and tolerance of and respect for other faiths while unwise utterances about other religions which could cause tensions and eventual recourse to terror should be avoided.

In addition, there should be collaboration among security agencies like the State Security Service, the Police, the Armed Forces, the Civil Defence as well as the involvement of more groups beyond uniformed forces while government should train special anti-terrorist squad which could be created out of the Army, Air force, Navy and Police to complement the efforts of the National Intelligence Agency and State Security Service (SSS) in fighting terrorism.

Security awareness and sensitization programmes should be embarked upon for the public. The Nigeria Television Authority (NTA) often does this after its news and this should be emulated by other television stations and the media in general. Awareness should also be extended to institutions of learning as well as governmental and non-governmental establishments. This way, the public would be involved more and more in the fight against terrorism. In addition, security organizations should involve the public and see it as their ally in intelligence gathering.

Finally, fighting terrorism requires collective effort by all Nigerians; it should not be left for the security agents only. Every Nigerian must see security as a collective responsibility and therefore be willing to volunteer information whenever the need arises.

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