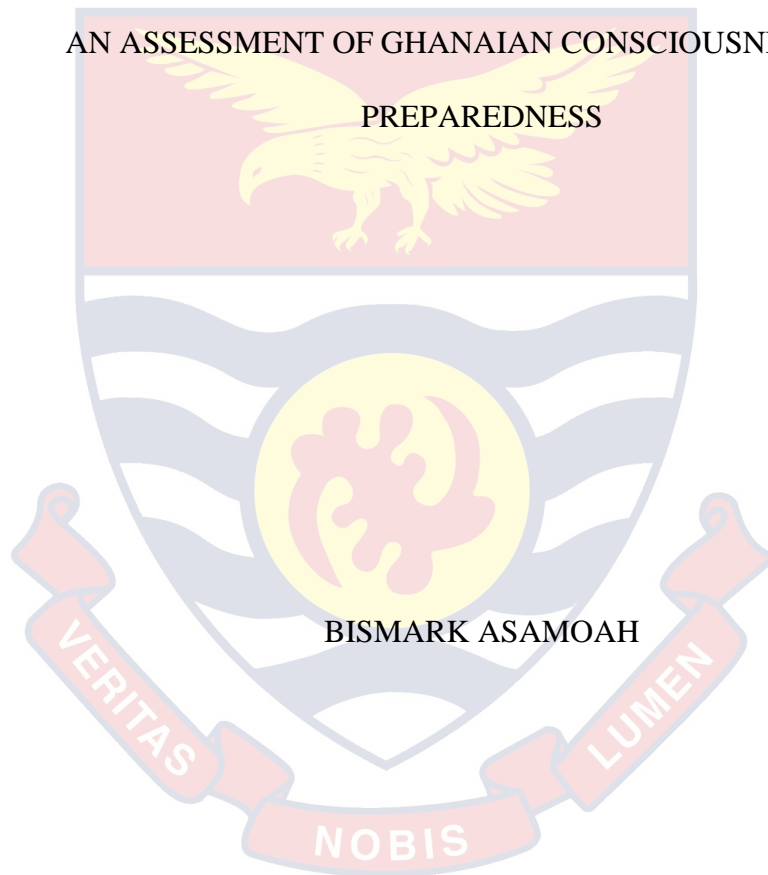


UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY TERRORISM AND NATIONAL SECURITY:

AN ASSESSMENT OF GHANAIAN CONSCIOUSNESS AND
PREPAREDNESS



BISMARCK ASAMOAH

2019

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY TERRORISM AND NATIONAL SECURITY:

AN ASSESSMENT OF GHANAIAN CONSCIOUSNESS AND
PREPAREDNESS

BY

BISMARCK ASAMOAH

Thesis submitted to the Centre for African and International Studies, Faculty
of Arts, College of Humanities and Legal Studies, University of Cape Coast,
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Master of Philosophy
degree in International Studies

JULY 2019

DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature Date

Name:

Supervisor's Declaration

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Principal Supervisor's Signature Date.....

Name:

Co-Supervisor's Signature Date

Name:

ABSTRACT

The dawn of the twenty-first century has been marred by the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States and brought to light the unexpected global debacle, terrorism. Most countries began to map out remedies and national policies to address the situation. Military spending shot up as many countries sought to resource their armies to guard against future terrorist attacks. However, the unconventional nature and continuous attack on civilians and public spaces increased efforts to create public awareness and consciousness among the civilian populace. This research, therefore, sets out to investigate the level of consciousness and preparedness of the Ghanaian populace about the threat of terrorism in public spaces. Drawing upon the United Kingdom's "Prevent Strategy," this research opines that respondents are not conscious of the threat of terrorist attacks in public spaces. Owing to the ever-growing threat of terrorism and increase in death tolls of the ordinary citizenry in most terrorist attacks, especially in parts of the African continent, this work finds relevance in assessing how conscious the populace is about the schemes of terrorists and signs that could lead to terrorism. Furthermore, as countries bordering Ghana have all felt the brunt of terrorism, the research engages the citizenry on their knowledge of terrorism threats in public places. The mixed survey method, with questionnaires and interviews, was used to collect primary data to achieve this objective. The research found that the majority of the respondents lacked the requisite knowledge to detect the signs that could lead to terrorism. The research recommends that a thorough awareness and consciousness creation campaign be launched and maintained throughout the country. Public spaces should be fitted with emergency directives to safeguard citizens from any terrorist attacks.

KEYWORDS

Terrorism

Security

Consciousness

Awareness

Public Spaces

Preparedness



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my unflinching appreciation first to the Almighty God for his mercies and abundant grace that saw me through this programme and to my parents and siblings for their immeasurable support and care that kept me going.

My genuine and eternal gratitude goes to my supervisors, Dr Tony Talburt and Prof. Wilson K. Yayoh, for their duteous and thorough reading of the work and incalculable comments that have made this work a reality.

I cannot forget to chronicle the pivotal roles of all the other lecturers at the Centre for African and International Studies during my Master's programme- Dr Alex J. Wilson, Mr Douglas F. Nnuroh, Dr Emmanuel Saboro, Mr Matthew Q. Alidza and Dr Martin Q. Amlor for harnessing the potentials in me to full use and instilling in me a mind, poised and potent enough, to think critically and analyse issues to fit anywhere in the world of work. The financial support of the Samuel and Emelia Brew-Butler-SSG/GRASSAG, UCC Research Grant toward the success of this thesis cannot be overlooked. My sincere thanks go to them.

Finally, suppose honour is due him whom honour is due. In that case, I cannot help but acknowledge with gladness of heart my good friends- Samuel Nani, Victor Kojo Dei, Ekuia Arhinfoa Ansah, Yaw Adjei-Gyamfi, Joycelyn Nkrumah, Efua Boatemaa, Gifty Kwapong and Juliet Amagyei-Antwi- for their inspiration and all those who in diverse ways contributed their quota in making this work a success. To the University of Cape Coast, though I was allowed to study for a degree, I found a place of solace and comfort. For this, I am thankful.

DEDICATION

To my family and the National Union of Presbyterian Students-Ghana, UCC



TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
DECLARATION	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
KEYWORDS	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
DEDICATION	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
LIST OF ACRONYMS	xii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
Aim of Research	1
Background to the Study	2
Statement of the Problem	3
Research Objectives	5
Research Questions	5
Significance of the Study	5
Limitations	8
Delimitations	8
Hypothesis of the Research	8
Methodology of the Study	9
Theoretical Framework	12
Organisation of the study	19
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	20

Definition of Terrorism	20
Terrorism from Within: Growing Threats of Terrorism and Political Instability, Volatility, Porous Borders	24
Lone Wolf Terrorism	26
Terrorism in West Africa	31
Conclusion	40
CHAPTER THREE: ORIGIN AND NATURE OF GLOBAL TERRORISM	
A Brief History of Terrorism	41
Nature of International Terrorism	48
Causes of Terrorism	52
AU Plan on Terrorism	53
The United Kingdom “CONTEST” Plan on Terrorism	56
Nigeria and Counter-Terrorism	62
Ghana’s Efforts Toward Preparedness	66
CHAPTER FOUR: RESPONSES FROM SECURITY AND SECURITY EXPERTS	
Analysis and Discussions	80
CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION OF RESPONSES FROM THE GENERAL PUBLIC	
Demographic Characteristics of Respondents	92
Survey Results	95
Conclusion	123
CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION	
	124

Summary of the Study	124
Summary of Findings	125
Conclusions	131
Recommendations	132
REFERENCES	136
APPENDIXES	157



LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1 Gender of Respondents	92
2 Age range of respondents.....	93
3 Heard of Boko Haram	98
4 In which country does Boko Haram operate?.....	99
5 Which of these countries experienced terrorism in the last 5 years? 100	
6 Level of agreement on border porous around Ghana.....	101
7 Level of agreement on Ghanaians not terrorism conscious	102
8 Level of agreement on factors necessary for terrorism in Ghana	103
9 What is the Ghana emergency number?	104
10 Have you engaged in any evacuation, safety, fire drill?	105
11 If yes, how long has it been?.....	106
12 How awareness has been increased by recent events	108
13 Recent terrorist attacks influence consciousness	109
14 Terrorist attacks influence when travelling.....	112
15 You consider terrorism or security before attending events	112
16 Do you consider security/terrorism when renting a property	115
17 Decision on whether a building or place is safe or secure	116
18 Security ratings on buildings	117
19 What do you do when you see a bag lying idle in your area, workplace?.....	118
20 Level of agreement on emergency procedures clearly stated	121
21 Level of agreement on public spaces prone to terrorism	122



LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1	A pie chart illustrating the location of respondents	94
2	9/11 was a terrorist incident in the USA	97
3	Assessment of how you feel about recent terrorist activities.....	109
4	A pie chart illustrating terrorism or security as a reason for the choice of hotel or bus terminal	114
5	Level of agreement on the use of metal detectors.....	120
6	Level of agreement on the use of surveillance camera	121



LIST OF ACRONYMS

AQIM	- Al-Qaida in the Maghreb
AU	- African Union
AUC	- African Union Convention
CBRNE	- Chemical, Biological, Radiological, Nuclear and Explosives
CCTV	- Closed-Circuit Television
CONTEST	- Counter-Terrorism Strategy
CSOs	- Civil Society Organisations
CTITF	- Counter-Terrorism Implementation Taskforce
ECOWAS	- Economic Community of West Africa States
GTI	- Global Terrorism Index
ISIS/ISIL	- Islamic State in Iraq and Syria and the Levant
ISWAP	- Islamic State West Africa Province
MEND	- Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta
MI5	- Military Intelligence Section 5
MOJAO	- Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa
NACTEST	- National Counter-Terrorism Strategy
OECD	- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
RUF	- Revolutionary United Front
SADC	- Southern African Development Community
SPSS	- Statistical Product for Social Sciences
UCC	- University of Cape Coast
UK	- United Kingdom
USA	- United States of America

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Aim of Research

This research aims to assess the level of consciousness and preparedness of the Ghanaian populace to the threat of terrorism in public spaces. Drawing upon examples such as the “Prevent Strategy” in the United Kingdom and the global fight against terrorism championed by the United States after the September 11, 2001, twin tower attacks in the United States, this study takes as its starting point the view that public spaces, such as stadia, shopping malls, churches and mosques, schools, markets, transports terminals in Ghana could be the areas of possible future terrorist attacks. These public spaces have been chosen because they constitute areas where terrorist organisations target for maximum impact to receive the attention they seek. This study assesses the safety measures in public spaces in light of possible terrorist activities and the level of awareness and preparedness in Ghana.

This goes to support the fundamental argument of this research that, looking at the lethality and ad hoc nature of modern or twenty-first-century terrorism, there is the need to whet the consciousness of the general public of Ghana. Owing to the growing insurgency of Boko Haram in Nigeria, Al-Shabab in Somalia, Al-Qaeda in Mali and the Maghreb regions, and recent attacks in bordering Togo, Cote d’Ivoire and Burkina Faso, Ghana could be sitting on a time bomb if the citizenry is not educated and sensitised about the threats and realities of terrorism and certain basic personal obligations individuals have.

This study posits that there seems to be a lack of awareness or consciousness about terrorism and security risks in Ghana from the sample population studied.

Background to the Study

Security in the twenty-first century has, and continues to be, an issue that most governments take very seriously. The carefully orchestrated September 11th, 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States further heightens the whole matter concerning how states view and deal with terrorism. Most security analysts and pundits (Carmody, 2005; Ewi & Aning, 2006; Obi, 2006) indicate that this event forever changed the international security landscape. For example, Bremer's (2001) concise assertion that the Third World War began on September 11, 2001, shows how serious the events were.

Terrorism has been described as one of the greatest challenges affecting the modern world. Indeed, scholars like Bysyuk (2010) asserts that terrorism affects almost all spheres of the state, from economics, security, politics, to religion. Thus it continues to be a bane to nation-building. Nwanegbo and Odigbo (2013) identify security as a pillar upon which significant growth could be attained and maintained. Moreover, the twenty-first-century world is marked by a plethora of terrorist threats. Unlike the twentieth century that was predominantly engulfed with the ideological Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union, the turn of the twenty-first century presents an even more unsafe world at risk of the lethal effects of terrorism (Cronin, 2003). Although efforts to counter terrorism have proved to be successful in some respects, there still are several issues that persist regarding how to eradicate or better respond to terrorism.

Terrorism has undergone a gradual change in how it is carried out. Hoffman (1997) claims that in the past, terrorist groups were branded mostly as a group of people who were members of a structured organisation with a strict command structure and had been given some form of elementary training in the techniques and tactics of terrorism. Such groups, Hoffman intimates, engage in machinations as a full-time vocation, living covertly while constantly plotting terrorist attacks who, at certain times, were contracted by a foreign government (Hoffman 1997).

However, the “new terrorism” as Tucker (2001) puts it, is said to be more networked, ad hoc, lethal, and dangerous. In the wake of the twenty-first century, Cronin (2003) established four trends that feature in modern terrorism:

an increase in the incidence of religiously motivated attacks, a decrease in the overall number of attacks, an increase in the lethality per attack, and what seem to be the growing targeting of America and her allies, resulting in the September 11th 2001 attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York and the Pentagon in Virginia (Cronin 2002: 42).

Statement of the Problem

The alarming rate at which terrorism is increasing globally continues to be a matter of concern to almost every government and its citizenry. The situation becomes more frightening when existing conditions like poverty, diseases, hunger, and corruption, perceived as incubators of terrorism, are rife in West Africa generally and Ghana to be specific (Botha, 2008; Sosuh, 2011). It is no surprise that some parts of the West African sub-region are under the siege of terrorism from groups such as Boko Haram and al-Qaeda in Nigeria and Mali.

There is no doubt that Ghana appears not to have experienced any acts of terrorism, but its location in the sub-region makes it unsafe from terrorist

attacks, especially due to some warning signals and terrorist situations in bordering countries (Babb, 2019; Bongne, 2016). For example, early this year, several cases of terrorist attacks were reported in Burkina Faso, where churches were set ablaze (BBC, 2019). Several civilians were killed in a raid in the northern part of Burkina Faso (France24, 2019).

Consequently, with terrorist attacks occurring in bordering countries, the Ghanaian military has conducted several simulation exercises to test their readiness and ability to quell any terrorist attacks should there be any. The “Exercise Home Shield” in December 2018 (Gyamfi, 2018) and the “ABRONOMA 2016” (Abdullai, 2016) are two instances of simulation exercises held by the military to test its readiness for terrorism. The question to be considered is about the readiness of the citizenry. It is worthy of notice that most terrorists do not launch attacks on the military but on the citizenry to gain attention from the government, and this has proven to be true in most countries that suffered terrorist attacks like Nigeria, Somalia, Kenya, Mali, Burkina Faso, among others (Crenshaw, 1981). However, if Nigeria, which has suffered terrorism, is still confronted with terrorist attacks and lapses in security consciousness, then the situation in Ghana needs serious attention and is worth investigating.

Therefore, it is necessary to assess the consciousness and knowledge of the citizenry, investigate the policies and mechanisms available in Ghana to forestall any future incidence of terrorism, and the preparedness of the citizens to deal with terrorism in a worst-case situation.

Research Objectives

The objective of this research is premised on four key issues:

- i. to find out the level of knowledge and security consciousness of people about terrorism.
- ii. to assess the preparedness of the populace for terrorism in the event of it happening.
- iii. to ascertain how terrorism has affected the behaviour of the populace
- iv. to assess the security and safety measures in various institutions against terrorism.

Research Questions

The research sets out to provide answers to the following questions:

- i. What is the level of knowledge and security consciousness of the populace about terrorism?
- ii. What is the level of preparedness of the populace toward terrorism?
- iii. How has terrorism affected the behaviour of the populace?
- iv. What security measures have been put in place in public spaces against terrorism?

Significance of the Study

The study is relevant for several reasons. First, it is conducted when terrorism has become a major global issue and, in particular, the West African sub-region. Given the nature and trend of modern terrorism, Ghana's geographical location and events put it at risk of a possible terrorist attack, hence, the need to conduct the research.

Also, the work finds relevance in the sense that politically volatile states surround Ghana. Bordering states, such as Cote d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Togo and other countries in Africa like Mali, Nigeria, and Somalia have all felt the brunt of terrorism and political instability. The activities of Boko Haram in Nigeria, Cameroun and Chad, al-Shabab in Somalia, Al-Qaeda in the Maghreb regions and Mali, demonstrate the need for serious attention to be given to the possibility of similar attacks in Ghana. Owing to these incidents, there is a case for research into assessing the consciousness of the populace about terrorism and security to guard against any spillovers from other countries.

Besides the above reasons, the free movement of people and goods across borders creates another avenue for research of this nature. At a time when the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS) is putting measures in place to eliminate limitations among member states to promote trade, the issue becomes more alarming when passport details and luggage of individuals are not always properly checked, thereby creating the possibility of terrorists migrating into the country.

Moreover, there have been warnings from the United Kingdom and Canada about a probable terrorist attack on the country earlier this year (Graphic Online, 2019). This makes this study relevant in providing citizens with the need to be conscious about their vicinity. Therefore, it is necessary to conduct a survey to assess the level of the populace's consciousness about the prevention and possibility of terrorist attacks to forestall any consequences.

Furthermore, the 2017 Global Terrorism Index (GTI) opined that from 2015 to 2016, attacks against civilians increased by 17 per cent. Most scholars have confirmed that the ordinary civilian has mostly been the points of attack

by terrorists who seek to get their messages through to the government. Thus, so long as terrorism continues to thrive, civilians will continue to suffer the brunt of attacks. The matter is even made worse when the number of civilian deaths from terrorism increased from 6% a decade ago to 56.5% of all total deaths in 2017 worldwide (GTI, 2017). In the event where bombings and armed assault characterise the modes of attack, one can be sure that civilian deaths would be experienced. These are the reasons this research concentrates on assessing public consciousness of terrorism to prepare the populace's minds against any possible imminent attacks.

It is anticipated that the study will contribute to the existing literature on Ghana's preparedness toward pre- or post-terrorist situations in Ghana. Therefore, the study seeks to raise general awareness and contribute to academic debates about terrorism and security issues in Ghana.

This study is also relevant because, although Ghana has not had any situation of a terrorist attack, recent evidence suggests that civilians are at the centre of terrorist attacks and hence should be given the required education about terrorism to be able to look out for such attacks in public spaces where terrorists seem to focus on gaining maximum impact and attention.

In addition, the study could serve as a reference for higher education experts seeking to study this issue further in response to any particular requests from appropriate government departments. And awareness creation and policy formulation. Therefore, the government could map out clear policies that would see to sensitising the public and clearly stating the role that citizens have to play to avoid a terrorist attack and measures to take any possible attack.

Limitations

In a quest to arrive at research findings, several challenges had to be faced and overcome. First, data gathering became quite hectic as several senior security personnel the researcher sought to interview were either unavailable or unwilling to respond to interview questions. A section of those willing to respond also had to be followed around before they responded to the questions, which delayed the completion of work. Despite these challenges, the researcher found other resource persons who could equally respond to the researcher's questions, thereby ensuring that the work did not breach any issues regarding validity to render the study unreliable.

Delimitations

Several works that have been done on terrorism in Ghana have focused on the preparation of the military toward countering terrorism and measures to adopt in the event it happens. However, this study assesses terrorism awareness and consciousness of the populace or the citizenry in public spaces but concentrates on the University of Cape Coast campus in the country's Central Region, some churches and bus terminals and thus did not include the counter-terrorism preparation of the security services. This, therefore, helps to contextualise and focus the research, thereby adding to its specificity without any over-generalisation.

Hypothesis of the Research

The study seeks to demonstrate that most Ghanaians are not conscious of the threat of terrorism to Ghana, which poses a security challenge to the country.

Methodology of the Study

This section discusses the means through which the collection and analysis of data were conducted. It details the research design, population, data sources, data collection instruments and the sample and sampling technique.

This study employed the mixed research method because it allowed the researcher to integrate several methods and permitted data collection that would be synergistic compared to only the qualitative or quantitative method. Mixed method research is the process and procedures for collecting, analyzing, and inferring quantitative and qualitative data in a single study, based on priority and sequence of information (Greene, Caracelli, & Graham 1989). Thus, it allows for findings in one method to support the findings of the other, thereby, helps to neutralise the limitations and biases of using the qualitative and quantitative methods as separate entities (Neuman, 2010).

The survey research design was given priority in this study because it lends itself a credible design to assess the behaviour of a large number of people (Mathiyazhagan & Nandan, 2010:43; Owens, 2002; Visser, Krosnick & Lavrakas, (2000). Thus, to assess the level of consciousness and preparedness of Ghanaians about terrorism, the survey research design was relevant for helping to arrive at the conclusions of this thesis.

The more common ways used to collect data for surveys are questionnaires and interviews. Questionnaires were used because large amounts of information can be collected from many people in a short period and in a relatively cost-effective way (Hughes, 1981). On the other hand, as noted by Lune and Berg (2016), interviews were adopted because they facilitate obtaining direct explanations for human actions through a comprehensive

speech interaction. The results of the questionnaires can usually be quickly and easily quantified by either a researcher or through the use of a software package. Data were pooled from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data for this study consisted of in-depth interviews of security personnel, counter-terrorism policy documents of the United Kingdom and Nigeria and governments documents like the Ghana Anti-Terrorism Acts of 2008 and 2013. The semi-structured interview guide gathered relevant data from the respondents due to its flexibility in allowing the researcher to seek clarification and get extra data to grasp issues fully. Thus, in using the semi-structured interview, the researcher had the leisure to probe the interviewee to give further details on a response or follow a line of inquiry stated earlier by the interviewee (Mathers, Fox, Hunn, 1998).

In selecting the respondents for the interviews, purposive sampling was employed. Purposive sampling was used to select persons who were much knowledgeable in matters relating to security especially, terrorism and its related crimes. Other security personnel from the University of Cape Coast (UCC) Security Section were also purposively selected to respond to questions. Data from interviews were recorded and transcribed to allow for an easy understanding of the data. Content analysis was used to analyse data from the interviews. It was used because it lets you see and reveal the content within a communication source, in this case, the data from the interview (Lawrence, 2014). It also allows you to discover the content differently from the ordinary way of reading a book (Lawrence, 2014). For easy analysis, the data were grouped into similar responses and coded in words. Thus, examining and categorisation was the main frame for the data analysis of the interviews.

To get respondents to answer the survey questionnaire, the researcher employed the Simple Random Sampling technique. Individuals were randomly selected from University of Cape Coast lecture halls, University of Cape Coast shuttle terminal and from student church settings in the University of Cape Coast by using a random-number table provided by Lawrence (2014). Thus, making every member of the population likely to be chosen (Thompson, 2012). The University of Cape Coast has a regular student population of about twenty-five thousand. From the available literature, the type of analysis a researcher wants to conduct determines the sample size chosen for the study. Sample Size Calculator (2014) calculates the sample size as:

Sample Size = (Distribution of 50%) / ((Margin of Error% / Confidence Level Score) Squared).

Thus, from the formula above, with a population of about 25,000, an error margin of 5 per cent and a confidence level of 95 per cent, the sample size to be employed for the survey should be 379. However, of the 379 questionnaires distributed, the researcher recovered 250, a number that still makes the results scientifically valid.

As stated earlier, for the survey, a total of 250 people was sampled to answer thirty survey questions that bordered on areas in the objectives stated above. The survey data were entered into the Statistical Product for Social Sciences (SPSS), where graphs and tables derived from the SPSS data were descriptively analysed.

Concerning ethical standards, letters of introduction given to the researcher from the Centre for African and International Studies, University of Cape Coast, were sent to the institutions where the researcher needed

information. With a valid identification card and a letter of introduction, the researcher sought the consent of the individuals to be used as respondents for the interviews. In an attempt to maintain the research participants' confidentiality, privacy, and anonymity, except for those who agreed for their names to be used in the main text, the interviewees were assured of their anonymity. Respondents of the questionnaire too were assured of their anonymity in the short paragraph before the main questionnaires. This was done to protect their identity by volunteering to provide vital information to facilitate the study. In addition, consent was sought from interview respondents to record the interview sessions. The one on one interviews were done with three security experts from the Counter-Terrorism Department- Ghana Police Headquarters; Directorate of the Legal, Consular and General Services- UCC; and Security Section- UCC and ten other security personnel from the security section of UCC. Their response was presented, discussed and analysed in chapter four.

Secondary data consisted of books, scholarly articles, and reports like the Global Terrorism Index reports from 2016 to 2018. The study also had to gather relevant data from online news portals, political leaders' public speeches, and some non-scientific websites to support some claims. These data helped set the tone for the research by giving a background to the work and making a comparative analysis with some of the responses from the primary data to ascertain the populace's awareness and consciousness about terrorism.

Theoretical Framework

This section discusses the theoretical standpoints relating to the theory of Orthodox Terrorism Theory, particularly Realism and Idealism and the Just War theory.

Realism

As one of the orthodox theories in international relations, realism plays a critical role in understanding terrorism. Realism has a long history and it dominated the study of international relations from the end of the Second World War until the early 1970s (Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2013: 54). As an international political theory, realism traces its scholarly roots to the early Greek historian Thucydides and his version of the Peloponnesian wars between Athens and Sparta (431-404 B.C.E.) and particularly, the sixteenth-century political thoughts of the Italian theorist, Niccolo Machiavelli, and the seventeenth-century English philosopher, Thomas Hobbes (Kegley and Wittkopf, 2006: 33). As Nicholson (2002) succinctly captures it, the theory argues that “states are the key or dominant actors in the international system. Second, states pursue power and do it both in the sense of trying to get powerful positions at the expense of rivals and by defending themselves against encroachments of these rivals and third, states act in the context of an international system lacking central government” (Goldstein and Pevehouse 2013: 56), thus, states egoistically pursue their national interests, pertinent among them, national security (Klarevas, 2004:). Largely, adherents of realism maintain that states have the “omnipotent legitimacy and brand any challenge to state authority as illegitimate” (Bayo, 2012: 17). Hence, to realists, terrorist groups are seen as non-state actors who unlawfully contest the state's authority. Within the framework of international politics, it is assumed that states would always feel insecure about other countries. Thus, they always use military force to deter other states and keep their interests which constitute their core aim in their foreign policy (Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff 1996; Kegley and Wittkopf, 2006).

From a realist standpoint, the state controls the legitimate use of force, and terrorism is carried out by non-state actors only (Blakeley, 2009). Prominent realist scholar Bruce Hoffman has defined terrorism as an ‘act perpetrated by a sub-national or non-state entity’ (Hoffman 1998). Other realist scholars like Caleb Carr defines terrorism as “warfare deliberately waged against civilians to destroy their will to support either leaders or policies that the agents of such violence find objectionable” (Carr, 2003). Walter Laqueur describes terrorism as “deadly violence perpetrated by unidentified amorphous non-state groups, who often bear no relation to their country of origin and who claim no responsibility for their actions. They intend to kill as many people as possible, predominantly non-combatants and their blind lethal violence are typified by hate, aggression and anger” (Laqueur, 2000). Based on these definitions, the occurrence of September 11th bombing gives Richmond (2003:299) the required motivation to dispute that “terrorism is carried out by violent non-state actors, sometimes funded by transnational criminal networks and renegade states, applying guerrilla warfare and acts of terror for secessionist or irredentist aims, motivated by ideological, political, economic, linguistic and cultural reasons, or purely for profit.”

A universal standpoint conceptualises the fight against terrorism at four levels: “national, regional, international and global.” The state's supremacy remains unrestrained and, definitely, a principal in battling terrorism at all four levels. Therefore, whatsoever role intergovernmental organisations play in the fight against terrorism has been transferred to them by states based on “the calculus of comparative advantage” (Ewi and Aning, 2006: 33). To the realist, the state is the only entity that can combat terrorism, but that is the bane of their

assertion in the global fight against terror. In this age, intelligence is key and nations have demonstrated that they need to share information to disable the works of terrorists and hence this viewpoint of realists do not stand. Thus, in collaboration with the public, the state can go a long way to quell any acts of terrorism. Furthermore, the realist position presupposes that the state cannot conduct any act of terrorism, which cannot be entirely true as evidence persists of state-sponsored terrorism (Bureau of Counterterrorism. United States Department of State, 2017).

Idealism

Studies in Liberal studies indicate nations can live within a steady and orderly international system and reject war as an inescapable product of international relations. As supporters of the idealist tradition, liberalism advocates that, though states are significant actors in international relations, several other actors operate in the global system and must be considered alongside state actors (Goldstein and Pevehouse 2013: 82). Whereas states may be considered sovereign, in truth, other actors such as “multi-national corporations, terrorist groups, non-governmental organisations, and other transnational actors are all important and relevant” (Walt, 1998). Liberalism believes that shared and increased economic interests and cooperation between states will foster economic interdependence and reduce the likelihood of conflict.

Idealists treat terrorists as criminals that threaten the limits in which international politics can become steady and peaceful (Fiala, 2002). Thus, terrorists do not want to promote economic and security collaboration and do not desire to create a world of economic interdependence. For idealists,

terrorists are criminals committing criminal acts, not central actors in the arena of international relations (Parker, 2003). This, therefore, gives credence to the point that international bodies are relevant to the fight against terrorism. States can identify a common enemy and pool resources and intelligence that enable them to face a common enemy than realism preaches.

Notwithstanding the apparent difference between Idealism and Realism, both thoughts emphasise the supremacy of states' interests within the international system and mean to attain benefits without caring whose "ox is gored in the global order" (Bayo, 2012: 18). The two theories support the opinion that terrorism is orchestrated by non-state actors only (Blakeley, 2009).

Just War Theory

The Just War theory in general or broad terms refers to the moral justification to kill or resort to lethal force. With its fundamental tenets rooted in theology, the theory was espoused by Saint Augustine of Hippo in the fifth century (Kaminski, 2015). However, the theory was given a broader definition in its scope in the thirteenth century by Saint Thomas Aquinas. Aquinas championed the basic principles to be met if war becomes the last resort (Fixdal and Smith, 1998). The Just War theory is broken into three aspects. However, the third one, *Jus post Bellum* (Justice after the war), has not been given attention as it applies to treating war criminals and fostering reconciliatory processes. The two- *Jus ad Bellum* (the right to go war) and *Jus in Bello* (right conduct within war) (Crawford, 2003) are the two central aspects examined in this study. *Jus ad Bellum* concentrates on the existing conditions before the war and what standards are to be achieved to make the use of violence acceptable. First, a just cause for resorting to war has to be established. Although, what

constitutes 'just,' is still not clearly defined, it is generally held that any act that supposes aggression is unjust, but rather, a self-defence course is seen as just (Crawford, 2003). Thus, one cannot be justified in the use of aggression since it is seen as not grounded on tangible reason. On the other hand, self-defence is justifiable since its use is seen as an attempt to counter an unwarranted attack.

Jus ad Bellum considers how war is civilised, non-detrimental to any of the parties. Therefore, the *Jus ad Bellum* acknowledges as necessary conditions the concepts of distinction (as to who are legitimate targets and combatants), proportionality (in the level and nature of violence used), humanity (in the treatment of casualties and avoidance of unnecessary suffering), and military necessity (legitimate military ends) (Calcutt, 2011). The rules are anticipated to avert needless suffering and devastation while not hampering the waging of war. The latter part of the *Jus ad Bellum* seems to have been utterly neglected by both terrorists and the state military in their activities in modern dispensation. Terrorists cause an incalculable amount of suffering to civilians when there is a bomb blast, gun or knife attack, which should not be the case according to the *Jus ad Bellum*. In a bid to counter terrorist attacks, the military also, more often than not, does not consider the safety of civilians in areas purported to harbour terrorists.

The other perspective, *Jus in Bello*, explains what conduct can be deemed acceptable during wars. *Jus in Bello* intimates that in the event of military invasion, the degree of civilian casualties should be proportionate to the reason for which the war is fought (Nagel, 1972).

Therefore, it becomes rational to ask whether terrorists undermine the Just War principle or theory in their quest to propagate their grievances and

whether the state and its security apparatus are justified to wage war on terrorist groups and institute counterterrorism policies.

It is worthy to note that modern-day warfare has swayed from the conventional mode to a large extent. As earlier stated, twenty-first-century terrorism has become more lethal, religious, etc. hence has made states adopt unconventional measures in dealing with terrorists. Indeed, terrorists, like Boko Haram, have resorted to the use of suicide bombs which have not only been used against their primary targets but civilians in general. The collateral damage that these terrorist organisations cause cannot be justified in any way or form. Among several methods, like negotiations, that terrorists can explore, they often rely on unjustifiable options which only aggravate society's hatred for them, a prominent feature of the frustration-aggression theory.

On the other hand, the declaration of war on terror by the erstwhile Bush administration goes to prove that both parties seemed not to have adhered to the conditions under the *Jus ad Bellum* principles. Thus, it was not clear the rationality that the US and its allies established to wage war on terrorism with the quest to invade Iraq under the pre-emptive stance of attacking them for a greater good, although it was evident that they wanted to appease their anger. It would later be realised that their entry into Iraq led to the creation of many embittered persons who would be recruited into terrorist groups and return to torment the world.

However, Lemennicier (2012) intimates that Western militaries and governments are increasingly becoming more responsive to the rhetoric of *Jus in Bello* as well as *Jus ad Bellum* “under the pressure of their respective public

opinion.” To him, the ethical reflection on the goals and the means of war play a crucial role in decisions that may lead to war (Lemennicier, 2012).

One situation that cripples the just war theory is which of the entities have the power to determine whether an impending war is justified or not and whether war is, indeed, the last resort to the situation at hand (Kaminski, 2015). This question still lingers in the minds of the US victims of 9/11 and who perhaps had no second thoughts when the country decided to invade Iraq because they saw it to be a just cause the country was fighting.

To understand the moral or how justified or not terror groups and state military or countermeasures are, it is important to look at them through the spectacle of the criteria spelt for just war by the *Jus ad Bellum*.

Organisation of the study

The study is arranged into six chapters. Chapter one constitutes the introduction and provides the aim and background of the study, statement of the problem, rationale, research objectives and questions, limitations and delimitations, methodology and organisation of the chapters. Chapter two is the literature review which seeks to explore available literature concerning the research Chapter three entails the history, origin and nature of terrorism globally, in Africa and then Ghana. A comparison of the various policies within and outside of Africa is examined. Chapter four presents data from the security personnel in UCC and some personnel from the mainstream security institutions. Chapter five looks at the data from the general public- church, University and bus terminal. Chapter six consists of the findings, summary, recommendations and conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter examines the main related literature on terrorism, taking into cognisance definitions of terrorism, the growing threats of terrorism against Ghana and the growing concern of lone wolf terrorism and terrorism in West Africa. Due to the nature of the subject and the need for up to date information, in some instances, the chapter uses information from newspapers and television news stations such as CNN, BBC, Aljazeera and other credible news outlets.

The Global Terrorism Index (2015) has suggested that the September 11 attacks on the United States in 2001 marked the beginning of increased attention on terrorism and the terrorist threat in the media, in politics, and in general public spaces. Certainly, twenty-first-century terrorism has altered the landscape of both national and international security. Besides the growing inquiry into the phenomenon of terrorism, a new interest in the study of terrorism and global security has developed. Since the September 11 attacks, several academic articles, books and research projects on terrorism have been completed resulting in an overwhelming 400 per cent increase (Global Terrorism Index, 2015). This shows the extent to which the September 11 attacks drew attention from all regions of the globe.

Definition of Terrorism

Defining terrorism is not a straightforward matter (GTI, 2018). It has inspired a few discussions among scholars, international bodies and the international community at large. The dominant part of the definitions that have received attention is framed within the context of the one defining it to give importance and suit their requests and needs (White 2011).

It is believed that about 212 definitions of terrorism exist across the globe (Simon, 1994). In a scientific science approach to recognise how best to characterise terrorism, scholars Schmid and Jongman (1988) of the University of Leiden (Netherlands) reported over a hundred academic and official definitions of terrorism and analysed them to distinguish their primary parts. They pointed out that the “concept of violence emerged in 83.5% of definitions; political goals emerged in 65%; causing fear and terror in 51%; arbitrariness and indiscriminate targeting in 21%; and the victimisation of civilians, non-combatants, neutrals, or outsiders in 17.5%” (Schmid & Jongman, 1988). A few definitions are briefly discussed.

The definition by Alex Schmid and Albert Jongman (1988) presents a good ground for this research. They define terrorism as:

an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group, or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal, or political reasons, whereby—in contrast to assassination—the direct targets of violence are not the main targets. The immediate human victims of violence are generally chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from a target population, and serve as message generators (Schmid & Jongman, 1988).

Hoffman defines terrorism as “...the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in the pursuit of political change...” (Hoffman 2006: 40-41). From the definitions above, it is clear that the individual or entity who commits or perpetrates the crime is not mentioned. Thus, where applicable, this definition makes it difficult to tag anyone as a terrorist because although their actions may provoke fear for political gains, they may not essentially be terrorists. Despite what might be expected, a

definition by Cronin (2003) endeavours to address the dispute about actors. To him, “terrorism is the pursuit of a political goal by a non-state actor, through the use of violence against civilians to spread terror” (Cronin 2003).

Nevertheless, Cronin’s definition, like that of the US Department of State, is lacking in terms of which parties constitute the actors of terrorism. It also tends to absolve the state of being actors of terrorism. The French Revolution of 1789 lends itself a credible example of state terrorism, although the leaders argued it was for a good purpose in their case.

Anim (2015) has emphasised that state terrorism, like non-state terrorism, is carried out for similar reasons. Nevertheless, the make-up of the entities is different. Like sub-national terrorism, states that participate in terrorism are purported to lend support and sponsorship to terrorists and their associated incidents. Thus, some terrorist activities receive the endorsement of states. The 2017 country reports on terrorism stipulate that countries such as Iran, the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, Sudan and Syria have been at the forefront of supporting state terrorism (Bureau of Counterterrorism. United States Department of State, 2017).

Moreover, the definitions above reveal certain actions, such as achieving political ends, that terrorists try to accomplish. Ghana’s Anti-Terrorism Bill defines a terrorist act as “an act or threat of action in or outside the Republic which constitutes an offence within the scope of an international counter-terrorism convention to which the Republic is a party.” It underscores that any of the ensuing “acts effected or performed in furtherance of a political, ideological, religious, racial, ethnic reason or for any other reason constitutes a terrorist act.” These include an action which: “involves serious bodily harm to

a person; involves serious property damage; endangers a person's life; creates a serious risk to the health or safety of the public; involves the use of firearms or explosives; involves the exposure of the public and the release into the environment of dangerous, hazardous, radioactive or harmful substances; toxic chemicals; or microbial or other biological agents or toxins; is prejudicial to national security or public safety; is designed or intended to disrupt a computer system or the provision of services directly related to communications, infrastructure, banking or financial services, utilities, transportation or other essential infrastructure; or is designed or intended to disrupt the provision of essential services.”

A terrorist act, according to the Ghana Anti-Terrorism Bill (2008), is

an act which is intended or by its nature and context may reasonably be regarded as being intended to intimidate the public or compel a person, a government or an international organisation to do or refrain from doing an act, and is made to advance a political, ideological or religious cause. It enlists some acts that do not comprise acts of terrorism: A protest, demonstration or stoppage of work which disrupts an essential service.

From the definitions above, it can be realised that fear and destruction of properties and lives run through. More so, for this work, Schmid and Jongman's (1988) definition fits into the main aim of the research and would be the main reference point.

The next section looks at the growing threats of terrorism and other security threats facing the West African region.

Terrorism from Within: Growing Threats of Terrorism and Political Instability, Volatility, Porous Borders

At the turn of the twenty-first century, one occasion that changed the international security system was September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States. This attack prompted an upsurge in resentment toward terrorism where most countries and regional blocs across the globe began to seek rigorous actions to reinforce their security apparatus against the menace of terrorism.

As has earlier been mentioned, Ghana has had no terrorism incidents. Although in 2009, the country was used as a transit point for a Nigerian, Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab, who was on a suicide mission to blow up a flight airborne for Detroit, USA (Tattersall, 2009), the plan failed. It, however, presented the country with the opportunity to fix security surveillance systems at its airports. Another incident that made headlines was the supposed recruitment of some Ghanaians into the rank and file of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIS/ISIL) in August 2015 (Citifmonline 2015; Ghanaweb 2015b; Global Risk Insights 2015).

Having gained the credential and compliment for being the first African country, south of the Sahara to gain its independence (Djaba-Mensah, 2010), Ghana, has over the years, been quite stable despite some incidents of political instability and rise in opposition violence and crime in neighbouring countries like Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Nigeria. It is in the light of these that this study acknowledges that Ghana sits right in the centre of unpredictable threats of terrorist attacks from such politically volatile countries, and to some extent, could provide a haven for terrorist groups or provide a recruitment base for various terrorist groups to commit vicious crimes.

In the post-independence period in West Africa, pockets of political and social instability in some countries were influenced by bad governance, mismanagement and corruption, accompanying poverty, illiteracy, unemployment and disease. The subsequent impact of these implies that countries end up engulfed by social unrest and internal conflicts.

Between the 1960s and 1990s, countries like Ghana, Nigeria, Mali, Burkina Faso, Togo and Sierra Leone all experienced numerous coup d'états (Sesay, 2009 cited in Bamba, 2014). There were several cases where military rulers expedited extra-judicial killings, disappearances, detention without trials and many other such human rights violations (Sesay, 2009 cited in Bamba, 2014). The vast array of brutality and terrorism experienced in many post-independent West African countries were executed by the state against a cross-section of society deemed to oppose the government in power. Instances could be made of Cote d'Ivoire, where *Ivorite*- a cultural identity for foreigners living in Cote d'Ivoire in 1995- was used to prevent some people from contesting the presidency and other inhumane acts of torture, annihilation and disappearances (Human Rights Watch, 2001). The acts were against tribes, ethnic groups or communities that hosted certain religious groups.

Some of these seeds of dissonance among various groups would later haunt and terrorise the respective countries. For example, the Liberian civil war that terrorised Liberians and Sierra Leone came about because of the Doe government discriminating and terrorising other ethnic groups that it saw as a danger to its government (Nmoma, 1997). This was a typical component in numerous West African nations with mostly authoritarian governments. For instance, Sani Abacha's military regime's confrontation with the Niger Delta

people added to the development of the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) (UNPO, 2006).

The last decade of the 20th century saw civil wars devastating several West African countries, including Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Mali and Côte d'Ivoire. For instance, the erstwhile Sierra Leonean rebel group Revolutionary United Front (RUF) amputation of limbs cannot be described in any other way than acts of terror (Rotary International, 2002 cited in Bamba 2014). The gouging of eyes with knives, smashing of heads and breaking of bones with hammers, and boiling of people in hot water by the RUF are still images of terror that remind us of the horrid situation at hand (Dufka, 1999).

From those mentioned above, it can be concluded that notwithstanding the erratic, violent acts that have occurred at various times in West Africa, the sub-region has not been particularly known for non-state terrorism until fairly recent times.

Lone Wolf Terrorism

An emerging development that has become one of the global concerns is the phenomenon called Lone Wolf Terrorism. McCauley and Moskalenko (2014) have maintained that after 9/11, attempts at disbanding al-Qaida and other global terrorist groups have been marked by this concept. Former US president Barrack Obama suggested the threat that Lone Wolf terrorism presents:

The risk that we're especially concerned over right now is the lone wolf terrorist, somebody with a single weapon being able to carry out wide-scale massacres of the sort that we saw in Norway recently. You know, when you've got one person who is deranged or driven by a hateful ideology, they can do a lot of damage, and it's a lot harder to trace those lone wolf operators (CNN, 2011).

Lone wolf terrorism involves terrorist attacks carried out “by persons who (a) operate individually, (b) do not belong to an organised terrorist group or network, and (c) whose *modi operandi* are conceived and directed by the individual without any direct outside command or hierarchy” (Spaaij, 2010:856). Lone wolf terrorists may recognise or empathise with extremist movements but, by definition, do not form part of these movements. Moreover, though lone-wolf terrorists may not be allied to any established terrorist group by definition, it does not imply they are not related to some type of extremist group. However, lone wolf attacks result from solitary action wherein there is an absence of direct influence or support of others or those sympathetic to the cause (Spaaij, 2010).

Individuals join terrorist groups for several reasons. A few look for vengeance, while others seek to join companions and relatives who are already members. Some join for excitement, status, or money. Thus, in joining such groups, the focus is lifted from the individual choices to accomplishing the groups' goals. Here, individuals are brought to sacrifice by the rewards and punishments as directed by institutions, organisations, and small groups (Cornes & Sandler, 1996).

In contrast, lone wolf terrorists can lose their lives in an attack with neither organisational nor small group support. It is worthy of asking how that is possible. It is a fact that statistical investigation into lone wolf terrorists has barely begun. In one study, which may be regarded as its first, Hewitt (2003) identified “27 lone actors US terrorists between 1955 and 2001 and suggested

that the rate of psychological disturbance was higher among the loners than among other US terrorists.”

The Final Report and outcomes of the Safe School Initiative focused on “37 incidents of targeted school attacks between 1974 and 2000, with a total of 41 attackers” (Vossekuil, Fein, Reddy, Borum & Modzeleski, 2002). The report coded 30 (81) of the 41 school attackers as having attacked alone. Not considered part of the 30, four attackers carried out their violence alone but were reported to have had some kind of assistance planning the attack (Vossekuil, Fein, Reddy, Borum & Modzeleski, 2002). A review of 74 assassination incidents in the United between 1949 and 1996 in “which 83 (46%) people had either attacked or tried to attack (54% intercepted in the vicinity of the target with a weapon), a prominent person in the United States” (Fein & Vossekuil, 1999), presents a worrying situation. From these statistics, it comes to reason that lone wolf terrorism seems to be gaining ground as incidents are on the ascendancy.

Four common attributes of killers and school attackers were identified as “grievance, depression, unfreezing, and weapons use outside the military” (McCauley and Moskalkenko, 2014). According to McCauley and Moskalkenko (2014), “grievance was coded from a perception of having been persecuted, bullied, threatened, attacked, or injured (school attackers) and any grievance at the time of the Principal Incident (assassins).” The pervasiveness of “grievance was high for both school attackers (81%) and assassins (67%).” “Depression, including despair or suicidal ideation, was coded for the great majority of school attackers (78%), and nearly half of assassins (44%) had this history.” “Unfreezing refers not to some kind of character or psychopathology but a

situational crisis of personal disconnection and maladjustment” (McCauley and Moskalkenko, 2014). Unfreezing was coded from a report of experienced or perceived major loss (school attackers) and accident/illness, loss of a relationship, or failure/loss of status (assassins). Loss of connection and status leaves an individual less to lose in radical action, including violence (McCauley and Moskalkenko, 2014). Nearly all school attackers (98%) were coded for unfreezing, and “almost half” of assassins showed unfreezing. Lastly, familiarity “with weapons was coded for both assassins and school attackers (with experience during military service excluded for assassins). Over half of assassins and school attackers showed a history of weapons use outside the military (71% and 63%)” (McCauley and Moskalkenko, 2014).

From the discussion above, it is evident that these four qualities propose the importance of means and opportunity. Grievance is a motive for violence, weapons experience provides a means, and depression and unfreezing lower the opportunity cost of violence as the perpetrator has less to lose (McCauley and Moskalkenko, 2014).

Indeed, recent studies of lone wolf terrorists reinforce these four characteristics. Spaaij (2010), Gill, Horgan and Deckert (2014), in their studies, have all confirmed the prevalence of these four traits among lone wolf actors.

Increasingly, these lone wolves have been at the centre of some of the most lethal acts of terrorism (Homeland Security Today, 2011). They apply a strategic approach that has been labelled “leaderless resistance” to imply that these people, whether individual or a very small unified group, engage in terrorism often on volition and without influence from any organised leadership

(Kaplan, 1997). History has been checked by changing warfare strategies originating from social, political, economic and technological factors.

Rid and Hecker (2009) argue in their work, *War 2.0: Irregular Warfare in the Information Age*, that extremist and terrorist groups in modern times do not need a huge following to survive over time. Thus, a comparatively low number of extremely motivated, partly self-recruited, and geographically distributed followers is enough to get the job done. This has brought about an extreme decrease in the number of individuals expected to wage a terrorist movement (Rid & Hecker, 2009).

Although the state's ability to monitor is substantial, individuals can still operate and commit violence without being detected. For instance, with no criminal record other than minor offences, Anders Behring Breivik secured firearms and fertilizer for making his bombs without raising suspicions. His attacks seemed to come as a surprise (Ritter & Amland, 2011).

Picking up intelligence on lone wolves have been exceptionally challenging. Whereas terrorists do not generally engage in phone calls and discussions that draw attention to their plots (Hashim, 2011), lone wolves often tend to be ideologically idiosyncratic, which often make them difficult to pigeonhole (Bakker & de Graaf, 2011). Additionally, though most terrorists are radicals, the vast majority of extremists are not terrorists. Therefore, it is crucial to distinguish persons who express extremist views from those who act upon ideological impulses. The British Counter-Terrorism Strategy, CONTEST, has noted that one way to foil lone wolf attacks is to collect information about active participants in extremist electronic chat rooms. However, with the United States strong stance on civil rights and liberties, this approach would be met with

resentment due to the country's free speech tradition enshrined in the First Amendment to the Constitution. On the flip side, European countries, for the greater good of their states, try to suppress some rights of individuals to deter them from engaging in acts that would be harmful to society (Michael & Minkenberg, 2007).

Some of the often-employed weapons of lone wolf terrorism are firearms, explosives, and armed hijackings, chiefly targeted at civilians, especially in public spaces. This opinion is true for both European and non-European countries and largely reflects the targets of international terrorist incidents in general.

Though lone wolves are introverted actors, they do not live in a void. Hence, by cooperating with affected communities, security agencies can be fed with intelligence to pinpoint who could be prone to becoming a terrorist. Education and awareness creation programmes could engage communities and encourage people to willingly provide information on possible terrorist plots (Bakker & de Graaf, 2011).

Terrorism in West Africa

Having been coined from the word "terror," terrorism has been associated with the French Revolution of 1789 (Pettiford & Harding 2003), whose premise was to cleanse the country of anarchy and establish a better society. Thus, the use of terrorism was seen as the solution to purge the country; and, in this sense, could be regarded as serving a good purpose at the time. Nevertheless, in recent times, the term terrorism has taken on a new meaning.

The African Union's (AU) Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism and the Ghana Anti-Terrorism Bill have clear points

as to what does and does not constitute terrorism. In Article 1 (3) (a), the AU convention defines terrorism as “any act which is a violation of the criminal laws of states 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 cause or may cause damage to public or private property, natural resources, environment or cultural heritage and is calculated or intended to:”

Intimidate, put fear, force, coerce or induce any government, body, institution, the general public or any segment thereof, to do or abstain from doing any act or adopt or abandon a particular standpoint, or to act according to certain principles; or disrupt any public service, the delivery of any essential service to the public or create a public emergency; or create a general insurrection in the state.

Article 3 of the same Convention declares that, irrespective of the provision made in article 1, “the struggle waged by peoples in accordance with the principles of international law for their liberation or self-determination, including armed struggle against colonialism, occupation, aggression and domination by foreign forces, shall not be considered a terrorist act” (AU, 1999).

It is worthy to note that the years preceding colonialism in Africa and West Africa specifically were interjected by numerous inter and intraclan, kingdom, chiefdom and state conflicts often in the quest to occupy large land areas and gain authority over other people. Although it could be argued that there was terrorism during slave raids, this is not the case (Perbi, 2001).

The Global Terrorism Index (2018) has suggested more than four West African countries, Nigeria, Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso, have made the first forty terrorist impacted countries in the world and featuring prominently is

Nigeria's Boko Haram, whose activities has earned the world's fourth most gruesome terrorist group after Al-Shabab.

Common elements featured in terrorism in West Africa have been Islamic with increasing levels in kidnapping targeting civilians and non-combatants. It is therefore not surprising to see the presence of Al-Qaida in the Maghreb (AQIM), Jama'atu Ansarul Musilimina Fi Biladis Sudan (Ansaru), Ansa Al Dine and Boko Haram in various West African countries; an indication that Islamic fundamentalists have now made West Africa one of their strongholds and that West Africa is becoming synonymous with Islamist extremism. Present-day terrorists use religion as their public face to gain sympathy from other Muslims.

Almost all terrorist groups in the region employ several Islamic maxims as their fundamental course. That of Boko Haram has gained popularity: "Western education is forbidden." Although some scholars have noted that most terrorist groups hide under cover of religion to chart their course, others have likewise indicated that the utilisation of Islam makes it easier for these groups to garner support from Muslims for what they do. Thus, they encourage other Muslims to join their jihad. This study argues that to unravel this issue, one would have to go deeper into the underpinning reasons terrorists would have to resort to the use of terror to push an agenda. Blair (2001); Sandler & Enders (2008); and Straw (2001) claim that crime of this nature does not obey boundaries and therefore, efforts should be put in place to collaborate with these countries to forestall any danger that Ghana stands to face in the future.

Aside from the threat of terrorism, the West African region continues to be plagued with arms dealing, religious fundamentalism, porous borders, failed

states, ethnic tensions, and poverty. Despite these, several terrorist cases have hit the region in recent times. Reference could be made to the bomb that exploded in Accra in 1964 in an attempt to assassinate Ghana's first president, Dr Kwame Nkrumah (South African History Online, 1962); a letter bomb that killed Dele Giwa in 1986, a renowned journalist (Ekpu, Agbese & Mohammed, 2016); bomb explosion at the Ilorin Stadium in Nigeria (Laro, 2002); just to mention a few. The period between 2000 and 2010 was named the deadliest terrorist decade in West Africa.

Africa has been labelled by Britain's former Prime Minister, Tony Blair, as "a scar on the conscience of the world" and has entreated the international community to give particular attention to Africa's humanitarian needs (Blair, 2001 cited in Abrahamsen, 2004). Africa is much involved in the battle against terrorism as it is considered a danger to Britain and the international community at large.

Even though there had not been any definite credible sources to demonstrate that the culprits of 9/11, the Al-Qaida, had associations in sub-Saharan Africa than it had to countries like the United Kingdom and elsewhere, the event was immediately absorbed into policy formulation on the continent, thus, African leaders began to take importance in various security policies and documents, education and its accompanying syllabus, etc. (Abrahamsen, 2004).

The 9/11 attacks came to be extensively understood to demonstrate that conflicts, unheeded to in one part of the globe, could defy borders and destroy a large number of lives on the other side of the globe (Abrahamsen, 2004). The Security Strategy of the United States of America, for instance, contends that "the events of September 11, 2001, presented a lesson that weak states, like

Afghanistan, can pose as great a danger to our national interest as strong states” (House, 2002: preface). The White House noted that these weak states posed a further danger to the United States’ core values: preserving human dignity and combating global terror (House, 2002:10).

It was not surprising when the British government supported the White House release that terrorism in the African region or elsewhere in the world was a call for worry as globalisation expanded and borders diminished and gradually became irrelevant. Consequently, in his speech to the Labour Party Conference soon after September 11, Tony Blair suggested that “Today, conflicts rarely stay within national boundaries” (Blair, 2001 cited in Abrahamsen, 2004).

A similar concern was made by the UK Foreign Secretary Jack Straw, who claimed that it “is no longer necessary to prove a direct link between a troubled faraway country and the order of our societies ... Six months ago”, he recalled, “no American could have proved a link between the chaos of Afghanistan and the safety of the thousands working in the World Trade Centre. Now, the changed Manhattan skyline is a constant reminder that “disorder abroad can threaten security at home” (Straw, 2001). Blair and Straw’s position go to support the issue that terrorism in West Africa is rife and that significant effort must be made to see to its end to lessen the risks presented the US and UK and their interests in their countries and that of abroad; not only western countries but Ghana and the West African sub-region more generally, surrounded by relatively unstable countries, need to be mindful of.

Just as Afghanistan’s chaos is regarded as underpinning the devastation that the US suffered, in the same manner, Africa’s disorder is assumed to threaten the West. Thus, for Straw, the West cannot sit unconcerned with the

war in Congo as though it is none of their business. It is their business because, as Blair pointed out, in the era of globalisation, interconnectedness and interdependence, conflicts rarely remain within national confines. Accordingly, the “lesson of September 11,” Straw argues, is that “we cannot ignore the world and hope that it will go away” (Straw, 2001). This point merits emphasis in that Ghana, though without previous terrorist incidents, is to be cautious that since they are surrounded by countries that have, in one way or the other, suffered at the hand of several terrorist incidents.

According to Blair, “the threat is chaos, because, for people with work to do, family life to balance, mortgages to pay, careers to further, pensions to provide, the yearning is for order and stability and if it does not exist elsewhere, it is unlikely to exist here” (Blair, 2001 cited in Abrahamsen, 2004). For Blair, it is the individuals who do not have any work or home loans to pay, careers to protect, who create “chaos.” This image that Blair tries to portray is most appropriate to describe the situation in Africa's sub-Saharan region. Statistics tend to support this claim that poverty and unemployment are more severe on the African continent than elsewhere, thereby helping to create the kinds of backgrounds that can be breeding grounds for radicalisation and terrorism (World Bank, 2016; ACET, 2016). Because of the global nature of terrorism, it is important to ensure that any crisis in one part of the world does not spread to another.

Recently, Foreign Office Minister, Chris Mullin has maintained that “there are a number of reasons why Africa should matter to us” (Mullin, 2004 cited in Abrahamsen, 2004: 679). First among them is moral, thus referring to “the war, famine, disease and unspeakable barbarity that have haunted that

tragic continent for much of the twentieth century.” Turning away from the ethical arguments, Mullin adds that “there are other practical reasons impossible to ignore, the most immediate of these is terrorism.” According to Mullin, it is a “little known fact that there have been more Al-Qaida attacks in Africa than anywhere else in the world. The fact that in parts of Africa, such as Somalia, entire societies have failed makes them a ready breeding ground for terrorism.” Besides, Mullin adjures, it “is also not widely realised that there are more Muslims south of the Sahara than in the Middle East.” “Fortunately,” he argues, “most of them are moderates and if we want them to stay that way, we cannot neglect Africa” (Mullin, 2004 cited in Abrahamsen, 2004: 679).

Mullin’s speech helps to support the idea that Africa remains a threat, providing potential refuge for terrorism to thrive and one which expedites radical Islam. These are clear indications of the extent to which Africa is increasingly seen as a threat, a place where terrorism thrives and a potential haven for radical Islam.

Several terrorist incidents have plagued the West African region in the past two decades. The level of damage and the resulting loss of life cannot be disregarded. Mbah (2018) revealed that the nine-year conflict with Boko Haram had claimed more than 20,000 lives, displaced two million from their homes, and spread to neighbouring countries, Chad, Niger, and Cameroon. In a period where Nigeria was nearing its elections, the growing situation of Boko Haram raised fears among the populace where suicide bombings and the burning of villages have seen a massive increase. The cause for fear was based on the fact that Boko Haram, on 26 April 2019, stormed a military base in North-Eastern Nigeria. The AFP News Agency (2019) states that Gunmen from the Islamic

State West Africa Province (ISWAP), the ISIL-linked faction of Boko Haram, attacked the base in Borno state late on Friday. According to the Agency, the troops put up a good fight but were outgunned and overwhelmed. Thus, the base fell to the ISWAP terrorist who made away with weapons, leaving several soldiers wounded.

Kidnappings continue to be on the ascendency in Nigeria. Five years on, from 2014, a hundred and twelve kidnapped Chibok School girls remained missing (Mbah, 2019). Mbah (2019) opines that life has been different for the community, haunted by the April 2014 kidnappings. Although government efforts have been able to recover many girls, a good number remain in the grasp of the militants (Mbah, 2019).

Niger has also seen its fair share of the Boko Haram menace. Ten individuals, in March 2019, were killed in an organised attack by suspected Boko Haram suicide bombers and shooters on the town in eastern Niger. Two suicide bombers, according to AFP News Agency, blew themselves, and shooters attacked civilians (AFP, 2019). The above is a clear case of casualties suffered on the part of civilians who had nothing to do with the conflict but were also killed because of their being there. The Boko Haram insurgency is not limited to ordinary civilians but also government officials. Sotunde (2019) records that the Borno State governor, Kashim Shettima, had his convoy attacked by suspected Boko Haram rebels, leading to the death of at least three people in February 2019. This presents a worrying spectacle that almost everyone in the country is not safe anymore.

Burkina Faso, a border country of Ghana, also suffered deadly attacks in 2016. Reports have it that a dozen soldiers were killed in Northern Burkina

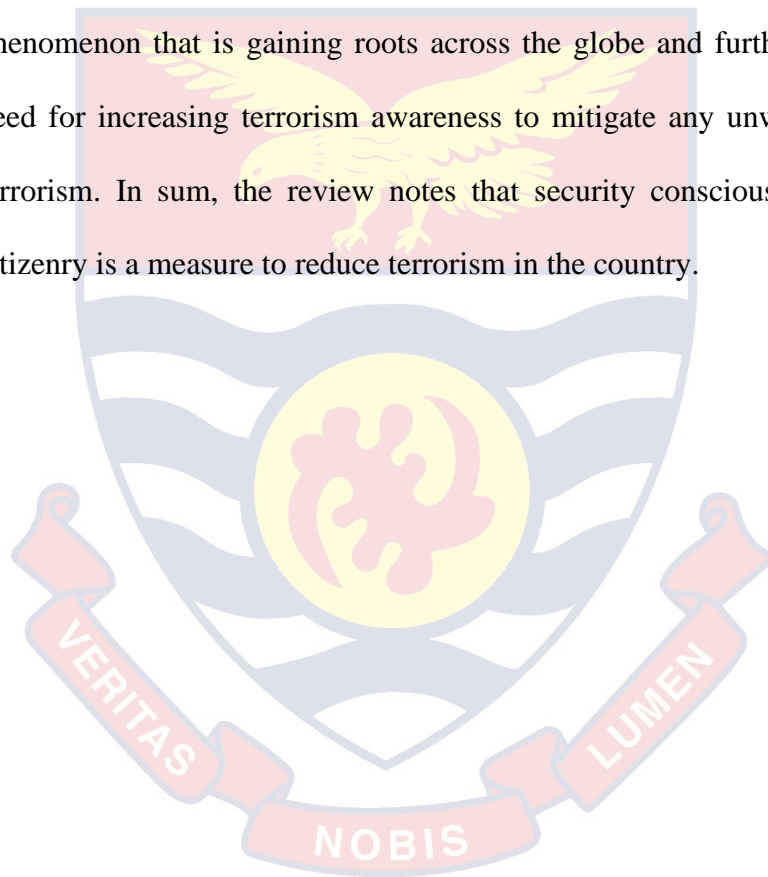
Faso by unidentified gunmen near the border of Mali. “The attackers were heavily armed with Kalashnikovs and rocket launchers” (AFP News Agency, 2016). “They opened fire at the depots, the tents and set fire to some of the vehicles” (AFP News Agency, 2016). Attacks in Burkina Faso were rare before a major strike by al-Qaeda-linked fighters on a hotel in the capital Ouagadougou killed 29 people in January 2019. One cannot overlook the recent church attacks in Burkina Faso as it corroborates the basis for this research that public spaces, like the church, are at risk of terrorist attacks and that the citizenry is to be sensitised to be conscious of their surroundings. In May 2019, it was reported that shooters stormed a church close to Titao, a town in Burkina Faso and killed four people (Le Priol, 2019). This was the fourth church attack in a month.

Ivory Coast had one of its gruesome terror attacks on March 13 when Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) terrorists stormed the beach of Grand Bassam and killed 19 people (Guitta, 2016). It appears that Burkina Faso was tipped by France of possible Jihadist attacks on beaches frequented by foreigners. This attack and several others perpetrated by AQIM goes to prove that they are a force to reckon. Kajee (2016) further confirms that AQIM has penetrated far beyond its origins in the Algerian hinterland. Indeed, Piet (2016) maintains that the attacks on Ivory Coast indicate a strategic shift by AQIM in the spread of fear and instability toward the south and destabilising the capitals of the countries.

Piet (2016) also argues that after spilling blood on the streets of Ouagadougou and Bamako in the past six months, the terrorists launched an attack on the Ivory Coast. This should be a wake-up call to Ghana, which borders Burkina Faso and Ivory Coast.

Conclusion

This review has examined several definitions of terrorism to help clarify the problem of consistency of the term. It has also elucidated the threat of terrorism from within the African continent, particularly West Africa. It brought to light that the coups and civil wars that occurred during the Cold War period were precursors to some terrorist cases visible on the continent today. Lone wolf terrorism was also examined. The review revealed that it had become a phenomenon that is gaining roots across the globe and further heightens the need for increasing terrorism awareness to mitigate any unwarranted acts of terrorism. In sum, the review notes that security consciousness among the citizenry is a measure to reduce terrorism in the country.



CHAPTER THREE

ORIGIN AND NATURE OF GLOBAL TERRORISM

This chapter provides a brief history of terrorism, considering its causes, various waves and characteristics. It also explores the Global Terrorism Index reports from 2014 to 2018 regarding the trends of terrorism, death ratios, deadliest terrorist groups and areas still prevalent with terrorism. This chapter also examines some counter-terrorism measures adopted by some countries in their bid to counter-terrorism.

A Brief History of Terrorism

Tracing the history of terrorism has been an arduous task for scholars. Like Pettiford and Harding (2003), most are sceptical when tracing the origin of terrorism. To them, one is met with the puzzle of what is or what is not terrorism to define the borders of terrorism and situate its history. Indeed, Pettiford and Harding (2003) identify this difficulty in the first chapter of their book, *Terrorism, the New World War*, as “A history of terrorism.” To them, using the idea of “A History” is only an attempt to draw the boundaries of a phenomenon that has long been in existence. They argue that terrorism has its roots before or during the French Revolution (Chojnowski, 2017). Likewise, some others consider terrorism to have originated from Palestine (Marsella and Moghaddam, 2005).

Consequently, Matusitz (2013) argues that terrorism is an old tactic and that accounts of terrorism existed before the word itself was invented. Certain artefacts found in Iraq, fifty miles south of Mosul, were linked to Assurnasirpal, the conqueror and king of Assyria (884–860 BCE), who imposed his authority

on conquered territories erecting stone monuments (Matusitz 2013). These stone monuments had the following written on them:

I built a pillar over against this city gate and I flayed all the chiefs who had revolted, and I covered the pillar with their skin. Some I walled up within the pillar, some I impaled upon the pillar on stakes... Many captives from among them I burned with fire, and many I took as living captives. From some, I cut off their noses, their ears and their fingers, of many I put out the eyes. I made one pillar of the living and another of heads (Matusitz 2013: 20).

Roux's *Ancient Iraq* captures Assurnasirpal's use of terror better (Roux 1966 cited in Matusitz, 2013). Several ancient writers supported tyrannicide, thus killing tyrants to perfect society and gratify the gods. Regicide, or the killing of kings, occurred quite recurrently during the Roman period. Perhaps, one of the renowned regicides in ancient Rome was the assassination of Julius Caesar in 44 BCE. Caligula and Galba, among other emperors, had violent deaths. Germanic tribes, in 9 CE, employed guerrilla tactics against marching Roman brigades. In the same year, a Germanic "freedom fighter," "Hermann the Cheruscan", also called "Arminius," abandoned the Roman army and organised "the great revolt of Germania." In a spectacle that would meet the eye and quest to resist Roman occupiers and rulers, Arminius' forces launched attacks on Roman legionnaires as they passed the deeply wooded region of Teutoburger Wald, which saw three Roman legions completely wiped out in the Battle of Teutoburger Wald in 9 CE (Schousboe, 2017). The Romans were forced out of Germania and back past the Rhine by this form of resistance. About 15,000 Roman soldiers were killed and hundreds more massacred after being taken, prisoners. These actions against the Romans would have been considered as forms of terrorism (Gibbon, 1974; Imre, Mooney & Clarke, 2008;

Laqueur, 2000 & Wells, 2003). This seems to confirm the statement that one man's terrorist is another's freedom fighter. This creates the perception that terrorism in the early days was used to better society to deal with non-conformists who did not serve the interests of society.

The Sicarii, a zealot-affiliated religious sect, existing between the period (66-73 CE), was one of the terrorist groups that fought against Roman occupiers in Palestine and Jerusalem (the City of David), who were regarded as Jewish traitors and Jewish moderates who "had sold their souls to Hellenistic influences" (Matusitz, 2013:8). The Sicarii stood against the law that Jews should pay taxes to Rome and refused to acknowledge the power of the Roman Emperor (Vitellius). They were convinced beyond doubt that violent acts were a means to an end to achieve political change. Hence, they were terrorists (Matusitz, 2013). For instance, after tactfully stalking a target's daily routine, the Sicarii were able to tell the right time to cut the target's throat. In fact, "Sica," the first four letters of the group's name, connotes "short sword." The Sicarii's most fundamental defence to achieve political and religious liberation was that all means to that end were legitimate. They, therefore, sought to show the world who they were but ultimately lost and committed mass suicide in Masada in 73 CE, which coincides with the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem by Titus, the Emperor's son (Ben-Yehuda, 1998 cited in Matusitz, 2013).

During the Middle Ages, in eleventh-century Persia, the Assassins were a religious faction engaging in terrorist acts against the empire of Saladin. They battled the armies of the Ottoman Empire. As Chaliand and Blin (2007) note, the murdering of Nizam al-Mulk, the Persian Grand Vizier of the dominant

Turkish Seljuq sultans in 1092, by the Assassins, was one of the topmost terrorist attacks in human history. Indeed, it is recorded that the main targets of the Assassins were high-ranking officials. The word “assassin” purportedly comes from the drug “hashish,” which some scholars believe al-Sabbah’s followers ate before committing acts of terrorism in the name of Allah. They, therefore, referred to themselves as “hashashins”—meaning “hashish eaters.” Many people died at the hands of the Assassins, including fellow Sunni and Christians. Suicide missions became customary, which led some frightened Crusade leaders to pay tribute to Assassin for their freedom. It is believed that stealthiness, disguise and surprise killings were adaptive characteristics of the Assassins. Therefore, it is believed that the word “assassination” was invented to describe this tactic. A major part of the Assassins’ belief was the paramount religious righteousness they attached to their cause and procedure.

To kill or be killed gradually came to be used later by some extremist groups inspired by Islam and was seen as an acceptable norm because it was done in the name of Allah, which could secure a place in paradise after the death of a member. According to the Qur’an:

Allah has purchased of the believers their persons and their goods; for theirs in return is the garden of Paradise: they fight in His cause, and slay and are slain: a promise binding on Him in truth through the Law, the Gospel, and the Qur'an: and who is more faithful to his covenant than Allah? Then rejoice in the bargain which ye have concluded: that is the achievement supreme (Qur’an 9:111).

Many Islamic terrorist groups we have today, ISIS, Boko Haram, al-Shabab, seem to accept this line of using this future reward to justify their deeds of terror. The Assassins were an influential group in the history of terrorism in the modern era (Anderson and Sloan, 2003; Lewis, 1967).

From the thirteenth to the nineteenth century, there was no shortage of worshippers of the Hindu Goddess, Kali, the destroyer, “the Thugs” of India, being no exception. Also referred to as Thuggees or the Thuggee cult (from which the English word thug is derived), the Thugs were noted for strangling sacrificial victims, often travellers, with a “phansi” (a noose) in the name of Kali. They further robbed, ritually mutilated, and buried them and used them as offerings to Kali. It is believed the estimated number of Thuggee victims was about 20,000 a year (Martin, 2017).

The most profound form of terrorism was recorded during the French Revolution in the 1790s. Pettiford and Harding (2003:32-33) point out that regardless of the ongoing philosophical debate about the morality of political violence throughout history, it is with the French Revolution and the Jacobin reign of terror from 1792 to 1794 that we can, and should, actually situate the beginnings of the modern use of the word “terrorism.” They claim terrorism started with the abuse of office and power rather than attempts to overthrow it. According to the renowned revolutionary French leader Robespierre, terrorism was “nothing but justice, severe and flexible” and that “it is, therefore, an emanation of virtue” and vital for forging a new society (Hoffman, 1998:16-17). Pettiford and Harding (2003:33) argue that it is almost a convention to date modern terrorism to the 18th century. The period reflected particular social, economic and political developments and that the word was popularly used after this point.

Hoffman (1998:183) believes that “a general theory for terrorism... is impossible because the phenomenon has so many different roots and manifestations.” Eighty years after the French revolution, in the Franco-

Prussian War (1870–1871), Germany faced sweeping resistance from the inhabitants in foreign territories it had occupied. The French guerrilla attacks and the unbalanced warfare during the Franco-Prussian War deeply bore the German General Staff. French and Russian peasants, protecting their homeland against the German soldiers, were considered terrorists, *franc-tireurs* or “free shooters” (Nabulsi, 1999 & Ticehurst, 1997, cited in Matusitz 2013).

Matusitz (2013) presents four waves or phases through which terrorism has evolved in modern times. According to him, the first wave was during the 19th and 20th centuries. The colonial wave characterises the second wave, confined within national geographical boundaries from 1921 till 1960. He adds further that the third wave was in the contemporary era, which saw international cross border terrorism beginning in the 1960s (Rapoport, 1988). September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks ushered the world into the fourth wave of terrorism. As Matusitz describes it, the fourth wave is also inundated with a plethora of religious justifications for killings, unparalleled gory tactics and weapons, and dependence on technologies of modernity. Therefore, the fourth wave denotes that terrorism has reached a global phase where the use of any weapon is justifiable. From the above waves, as discussed by Matusitz (2013), it is evident the first three waves fell within the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, where terrorism had reached its zenith or peak. The last or fourth wave was established due to the September 11, 2001 attacks in the US.

Pettiford and Harding (2003:35) underscore that terrorism during the 19th century had much more to do with individuals and groups who attempted to remove political opponents from power. They concede that it is during this time that “terrorism” arrives first as a word though, what it implied then, cannot

be compared to the situation we have today. To entrench their presence in Italy, the Carbonari, an eighteenth-century terrorist group in Italy, was characterised by bloodthirst, pitilessness and willingness to kill.

It was in the twentieth century that terrorism became an issue on the international scene. In 1934, the League of Nations took the first major step toward making terrorism highly illegal and punishable. In doing so, it drafted a convention for the prevention and punishment of terrorist acts (Sinclair 2004 cited Matusitz 2013). A few years later, Avraham Stern's Stern Gang, a militant Zionist group, began to make headlines. The group had a simple mandate: to oust the British authorities from Palestine, allow unrestricted immigration of Jews, and create a Jewish state. Operating in the British mandate of Palestine was a similar Jewish terrorist group, Irgun. Their impact was felt between 1931 and 1948. One of the well-acclaimed Irgun acts was the bombing of the King David Hotel (the headquarters of the British Forces in Palestine) in Jerusalem in 1946, killing ninety-one people (Hoffman, 1999).

Also, in the twentieth century, Indian terrorist attacks often resulted in the deaths of innocent bystanders, which is an aspect of terrorism that this work seeks to look at in that, if the innocent bystanders or civilians are conscious or well aware of their surroundings, the degree of innocent deaths could be reduced drastically. The Indian "Philosophy of the Bomb" as Laqueur (1987:47) cited in Pettiford and Harding (2003:38) opines:

Instil fear in the heart oppressors, it brings the hope of revenge and redemption to the oppressed masses. It gives courage and self-confidence to the wavering; it shatters the spell of the subject race in the eyes of the world because it is the most convincing proof of a nation's hunger for freedom.

Laqueur (1979:119) captures it succinctly that from the turn of the century to the 1960s, terrorism was the preserve of nationalist separatist movements. From the above, it can be inferred that most of what was regarded as terrorism in the 20th century were rather actions linked to gaining independence from colonial rulers. It is not surprising, therefore, that the African Union Convention (AUC) on the prevention and combating of terrorism were unambiguous in their definition of what terrorism is,

... the struggle waged by peoples in accordance with the principles of international law for their liberation or self-determination, including armed struggle against colonialism, occupation, aggression and domination by foreign forces shall not be considered as terrorist acts (Union, 1999).

Nature of International Terrorism

Terrorism has undergone several phases from the 18th to the twenty-first century. Beginning from the introduction of the word “terrorism” during the French revolution, it has become evident that the way terrorism was conducted has changed drastically. With the gradual transition from “Dagger to the bomb”, as Grob-Fitzgibbon (2004) describes it, terrorism, in recent times, continues to be a subject that scholars still contend. The 2015 Global Terrorism Index results indicate that terrorism continues to be on the rise. According to the 2015 report, the total number of deaths from 2014 reached 32, 685 thus, constituting an 80 per cent increase from 18, 111 in 2013. The 2016 Global Terrorism Index showed that deaths from terrorism decreased by 10 per cent in 2015 to 29, 376. The first decrease in deaths since 2010.

The 2017 report presents a positive finding in which there was a global decline in the number of deaths from terrorist attacks to 25,673 people. According to the Index, terrorism has fallen significantly in the epicentres of

Syria, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Nigeria, four of the five countries mostly hit by terrorism. This highlights the extent of the positive trends according to the number of people killed by terrorism, decreasing for the second successive year. According to this report, the largest improvement occurred in Nigeria, where terrorism deaths attributed to Boko Haram decreased by 80 per cent in 2016. However, amidst the highs recorded, Iraq experienced a 40 per cent increase in deaths in 2016.

The 2018 Global Terrorism Index results show that deaths from terrorism continue to be on a downward trajectory. It recorded that deaths from terrorism in 2017 were 18, 814, a 27 per cent reduction compared to 2016. In contrast to the 2017 report, Afghanistan had more deaths from terrorism than any other country in 2017, overtaking Iraq. The report also confirmed that irrespective of severe territorial and financial losses, Islamic State remained the deadliest terrorist group in 2017. It also adds that Egypt and Somalia had the greatest increases in deaths from terrorism, with fatalities increasing by 123 per cent and 93 per cent, respectively. With both countries in Africa, the situation raises the attention of surrounding countries. They tend to brace for terrorism or do everything to ward off terrorist attacks owing to the growing nature of terrorist activities and the way they are carried out in those countries. In the same vein, regional bodies like the African Union, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) have become worried about growing developments. To make matters even worse, the report indicates that al-Shabab, a terrorist group in Somalia, was attributed with the deadliest attack of 2017. This attack saw the killing of 587 people.

Identifying some characteristics of terrorists, the 2017 Global Terrorism Index records that relative deprivation has been one of the major drivers of terrorist recruitment as it leads to the creation of an “us vs them” mentality. Thus, the existence of extreme poverty provides grounds for many people to be absorbed by terrorist groups with whom they nurture and feed their hatred for the country in question and, thereby, willing to carry out deadly attacks on civilians.

The same report also identifies that in the last ten years, lone actor terror attacks have surged in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, increasing from one in 2008 to fifty-six in 2016. The United States has been the greatest victim of these attacks. Thus, individual attackers who acted not on the orders of any authority or group rose, as compared to previous years, a matter which goes to buttress the earlier point of deprivation. Although there may be no known terrorist groups in the country, it does not exempt Ghana from terrorist attacks, as individuals who feel aggrieved by government decisions, or are secret sympathisers of some radical terrorist groups, could just rise and commit terrorist crimes in the country, as seen in several western countries like the United Kingdom, USA, and France.

The 2017 Global Terrorism Index (GTI) shows that from 2015 to 2016, attacks against civilians increased by 17 per cent. Some scholars have confirmed that the ordinary civilian has mostly been the target of attack by terrorists to get their messages through to the government. Therefore, so long as terrorism continues to thrive, civilians will continue to suffer the brunt of attacks. This research seeks to identify that since the civilian is often a target for attacks, there

is the need for an assessment of the citizen's consciousness to prepare the minds of people, should it happen.

Another point in the 2017 Global Terrorism Index report is that, in the first 100 countries that suffered from terrorist attacks, about 29 of them were in Africa. The report also identifies that the four deadliest terrorist groups responsible for 59 per cent of all deaths in 2016 were the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), Boko Haram, al-Qa'ida and the Taliban. The 2018 GTI presents a new hierarchy of the top 4 deadliest terrorist groups: the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), the Taliban, Al-Shabab, and Boko Haram. These four were responsible for 10, 632 deaths, representing 56.5 per cent of total deaths in 2017. A decade ago, they were responsible for just six per cent of deaths, thereby being responsible for a significant upsurge in the lethal force of these terrorist groups.

Moreover, the 2018 Global Terrorism Index stipulates that bombings and armed assaults have been the most common form of terrorist attacks every year for the past twenty years. This raises a concern that the propensity of many other civilians being killed cannot be overstated in the event of a bomb attack. Because of this, this research seeks to argue that citizens become wary of their environment and even in the case of an attack to be able to respond appropriately.

An emerging hotspot of terrorism, the 2018 GTI suggested, was the Maghreb and Sahel regions of Northern Africa, where we have seen a resurgence of terrorist activity over the past two years, most predominantly of Al-Qa'ida. It adds that there were more than 9,000 members of terrorist groups in the area by March 2018.

Causes of Terrorism

The causes of terrorism vary according to the turn of global events. Scholars like Schmid (2005) have attributed the controversy surrounding the causes of terrorism to the lack of a universally accepted definition of the concept. However, several factors or reasons have been identified as the cause of the occurrence of terrorism. Indeed, scholars like Crenshaw (1981) have categorised the causal element of terrorism into two: Precipitants and Preconditions. Crenshaw (1981) states that the precipitant causes are the specific catalysts or phenomena that directly pave the way for terrorism. The preconditions, on the other hand, are situations that set the stage for terrorism.

Similarly, Mack (2003) also identified three levels of causation- immediate causes, proximate causes and deeper causes. Moreover, the European Commission (2008) also categorised the causes of terrorism into Root causes and Trigger causes. Botha's (2008) classification is not too different from that of the European Commission. She indicates that the fundamental causes of terrorism can be sub-divided into push and pull factors. Push factors are those conditions that breed support for terrorism- socio-economic conditions, level of education, religious ideologies and degree of financial support a terrorist or a terrorist organisation can get from a particular country. The pull factors are the levels of safety and ease of entry into and departure from a country, availability of protection, including the availability of weaponry in the said country, which provides the enabling environment for transnational terrorism to come into a country.

AU Plan on Terrorism

The transformation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) into the African Union (AU) in 2002 was no coincidence at a time when multilateralism and international cooperation were being challenged by the threat of terrorism (Ewi and Aning 2010). Since the post-9/11 period, the central concern of the Union has been to strengthen and implement existing counter-terrorism instruments adopted at the continental level in coordination with states and regional organisations (Ewi and Aning 2006: 32). The African Union (AU) has not been quiet on terrorism since as far back as the 1990s. However, the proclamation of the war against terror by former United States President, George W. Bush, meant that regional multinational organisations had to assume a new role that would include addressing terrorism in their various regions. With the promotion of collective security and common values in Africa being one of AU's main objectives, it meant that the AU was on course to achieve its mandate. The African Union argued that terrorism was a threat without borders and must be given the attention it deserves. President Denis Sassou N'Guesso of Congo (Brazzaville) could not have said it better that: "Faced with terrorism, we are all in the same boat and under the same threat" (Soussan, 2001). In this regard, under its Constitutive Act, the AU was tasked to play a prominent and leading role in the fight against terrorism on the continent (Ewi and Aning 2010: 33).

Two important provisions relating to terrorism which form the nexus of Africa's counter-terrorism regime were captured in the declaration on the code of conduct for the inter-African relations adopted by the 30th ordinary session

of the Assembly of Heads of States and Government held in Tunis, Tunisia, as follows:

We unequivocally condemn, as criminal, all terrorist acts, methods and practices, and resolve to step up our cooperation in order to erase this blot on the security, stability and development of our countries, which poses as much threat to us as arms racketeering and drug peddling (Declaration on the Code of Conduct for Inter-African Relations, 1994).

The second, which is quite long, says that the various Heads of State pledged to conform to international law in their quest to combat terrorism by “refraining from organising, instigating, facilitating, financing, encouraging or tolerating activities that are terrorist in nature” (Declaration on the Code of Conduct for Inter-African Relations, 1994).

As this research has espoused already, after the attacks in Kenya and Tanzania in August 1998, there was a general desire for a legal framework to protect civilians against certain forms of violent offences by individuals or states. Although this was a concern to be addressed, the Code of Conduct as adopted by OAU was silent on education as a means to make the citizenry conscious of their surrounding environment or to make them wary of inconsistent changes that may unravel in their immediate environment that could be a threat to them. One of the central arguments posited by this study is that education should be one of the means, aside from all the measures suggested in the document and the pledges made, to battling terrorism as the unprotected and less harmful civilian has, and continues to be, the target of most terrorist activities in the sub-Saharan region.

The concerns of the OAU about terrorism led to the adoption of the OAU Convention on Prevention and Combating of Terrorism at the Algiers convention in July 1999 by the 35th ordinary session of Heads of State and Government. The definition of terrorism in the convention, as Ewi and Aning (2006: 37) capture it, is one of the great achievements as it sets out to situate the historical experiences of the continent within the context of terrorism, as some activities of freedom fighters, like Nelson Mandela of South Africa, were deemed as terrorism. It was later conceded at the African Union High-Level Inter-Governmental Meeting in 2002 that the Convention lacked in certain respects as in implementation measures and adequate measures for the suppression of terrorism on the continent. It was, therefore, requested that a plan of action on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism be drawn up to provide a concrete expression for the commitments and obligations of African countries to combat terrorism and enhance their access to appropriate counter-terrorism resources (Union, 2002:2). Despite this, it still lacked the basic tenets that this research wants to explore. Its attention was still focused on border surveillance, illicit import/export and stockpiling of arms and explosives; there was little focus on educating the public to be conscious of their environment and public spaces.

It must be added that the AU has achieved many strides in other areas in establishing the African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism (ACSRT), whose headquarters is located in Algiers in pursuant to paragraphs 19 to 21 of the AU plan of action (Declaration adopted by the Second High-level Meeting, AU reference document). Again, the AU agenda 2063's Aspiration Five envisions an Africa free from armed conflict, terrorism,

intolerance and gender-based violence, which are major threats to human security, peace and development.

The United Kingdom “CONTEST” Plan on Terrorism

The British counter-terrorism strategy, CONTEST, published by the government in 2011, aims to reduce the threat of terrorism to the UK by stopping people from becoming terrorists or supporting terrorism (Revised Prevent Duty Guidance: for England and Wales). In the foreword of the British CONTEST- the UK’s main strategy document for counter-terrorism, the then UK Prime Minister, Theresa May, pointed out that in past years, terrorist attacks have been a stark reminder of the continued threat that terrorism poses to its people. She added that no matter the wing terrorists gained support from or are aligned to, their aim remains the same- to inflict harm, to inspire fear and in so doing, look to undermine the very fabric of society (HM Government of the United Kingdom, 2018).

Owing to the ever-increasing threat and sophistication of terrorist activities, the 2018 CONTEST is an update of the 2011 one that seeks to make the planning and orchestration of terrorism more difficult as “it has a greater focus on systemic coordination across the public sector, linking up not just the intelligence agencies but also local authorities, health providers and many others” (HM Government of the United Kingdom, 2018). This is something that Ghana, at the moment, lacks. There seems to be no national policy against terrorism except the Anti-Terrorism Act drafted in 2008 (Act 762) and revised in 2012. Moreover, Ewi and Plessis (2012) argue that Ghana and Nigeria are among the few states with specific anti-terrorism centres at the height of growing terrorism. However, their operations have not been felt in sensitising

the public about their state of consciousness for terrorism. Upon interviewing Supt. Adofiem, for this research, it was found that this assertion was true and that in Ghana, there is the Counter-Terrorism Department under the auspices of the Ghana Police Service. This is discussed in more detail in the next two chapters of this study.

According to the former Prime Minister, this revision would make it harder for terrorists to attack. She claims that to be effective in fighting terrorism; efforts must be twinned with practical measures to prevent extremism, to pursue those who would do them harm, to protect their country against attack, and to be properly prepared should the worst happen. Therefore, attempts at combatting terrorism should not be lip-service but a culmination of practical efforts to lay down strategic measures.

From the above, Theresa May is very conscious of the fact that terrorists, more often than not, target and maim civilians and that the level of consciousness and preparedness should be at its highest to quell, or be able to recover from it, should the worst happen (HM Government of the United Kingdom, 2018). Indeed, the *business dictionary* asserts that the preparedness of a business or, in this case, a country, connotes that one should be able to provide rescue, relief, rehabilitation and other services in the aftermath of the disaster and have the resources to sustain its essential functions without being overwhelmed.

Concerning the CONTEST, the Home Secretary, Sajid Javid, pointed out that though it is a reality that the strategy would not be able to stop every attack, it behoves their response “to be proportionate, inclusive and subject to strong oversight. They seek to work together with the police, security and intelligence

agencies, the private and public sectors, civil society, international partners and the public to make sure that terrorists cannot and will not change our way of life.” This helps to show how the UK is conscious of the damaging effects of terrorism and is ready to go to all lengths to crush it.

However, the executive summary of the 2018 CONTEST states that:

Our response to counter-terrorism is built on an approach that unites the public and private sectors, communities, citizens and overseas partners around the single purpose to leave no safe space for terrorists to recruit or act. CONTEST’s overarching aim remains to reduce the risk to the UK and its citizens and interests overseas from terrorism so that our people can go about their lives freely and with confidence (HM Government of the United Kingdom, 2018).

This opinion is in sync with the liberal democracies, which promote tolerance even in the face of cultural or political differences. Liberalism maintains that due to the pursuit of happiness by individuals, they are careful what actions they take to experience pleasure and not go through any pain that would hinder their happiness and, in a worse case, lose their lives.

The current UK National threat level is “Severe,” meaning the threat of a terrorist attack is likely. In 2017, there was a significant shift in the terrorist threat to the UK, with five attacks in London and Manchester that led to the deaths of 36 innocent people and injured many more. The police, security and intelligence agencies responded decisively, rapidly adapting their priorities and capabilities to break the momentum of these attacks. Since last year’s Westminster attack, the police, the security and intelligence agencies have successfully foiled a further 12 Islamist plots, and since 2017, have disrupted four extreme right-wing plots.

The new or revised CONTEST is one seen as well organised and comprehensive and that which should be benched and couched on the tested strategic framework of four “Ps” work strands: Prevent- to stop people from becoming terrorists or supporting terrorism; pursue- to stop terrorist attacks; protect- to strengthen protection against a terrorist attack and Prepare- to mitigate the impact of a terrorist attack.

About the possibility of a threat of terrorism from groups such as Al Qaida, Daesh, among others, which target crowded places to maximise the number of casualties, the UK adopts pragmatic measures to address the threat. The four “P” national work strands will, as stated by CONTEST, merge into a single local or overseas response as the UK focuses on improving frontline integration of its capabilities and people. Over the next three years, the UK looks to take the following priorities under each work strand. Although each strand has several points to address, a few points are examined briefly.

Prevent

Under the prevent strand, CONTEST focuses its activity and resources on those locations where the threat from terrorism and radicalisation is highest. It focuses on the UK’s online activity by preventing the dissemination of terrorist material and building strong counter-terrorist narratives to ensure no safe places for terrorists online. Moreover, CONTEST seeks to “build stronger partnerships with communities, civil society groups, public sector institutions and industry, to improve Prevent delivery and lastly, re-enforce safeguarding at the heart of Prevent, to ensure communities and families are not exploited or groomed into following a path of violent extremism.” Thus, the Prevent framework is bent on addressing radicalism by screening online materials and areas and individuals

at risk of being polarised by radicalism. A very important measure as technology and access to the internet is gradually becoming a global Human Right. Since online access continues to be a medium through which terrorists perpetuate the spread of hate messages and recruitment, it is in the right path that CONTEST'S Prevent employs to combat terrorism.

Pursue

Under the Pursue strand, CONTEST seeks to stop terrorist attacks happening in the UK and against its interests overseas by implementing a step-change in their domestic investigative capabilities by implementing MI5 and CT Policing's Operational Improvement Review recommendations. This focuses upon introducing new counter-terrorism legislation to disrupt terrorist threats in the UK in their earliest stages, taking account of the scale of the threat and the speed at which plots are now developing. Furthermore, in the National Security Strategy and Strategic Defence and Security Review 2015, CONTEST sets out to recruit and train "over 1,900 additional staff across the security and intelligence agencies. It also seeks to develop a series of multi-agency pilots to try ways to improve information sharing and enrich its understanding of the threat at the local level, including closed and closing subjects of interest." The CONTEST also ensures strong independent oversight of counter-terrorism work, including publishing annual reports by the Independent Reviewer of Terrorism Legislation, the Biometrics Commissioner and the Investigatory Powers Commissioner. In light of this, CONTEST proves ready to train people to aid the counter-terrorism movement.

Protect

In the UK's resolve to strengthen its protection against a terrorist attack in its jurisdiction or its interests overseas and to reduce its vulnerability,

CONTEST seeks to collate and analyse greater volumes of high-quality data to enhance its ability to target known and previously unknown persons and goods of potential counterterrorism concern. It also seeks to maintain the UK at the forefront of developing world-leading screening and detection technologies at the border, including behavioural detection, new detection techniques, data analytics and machine learning. This is one of the striking features of the CONTEST.

Moreover, CONTEST targets the insider threat by strengthening information-sharing about those working in sensitive environments in airports, to ensure that persons of concern do not have access to restricted environments.

In addition, Protect module resolves to strengthen security and resilience across the UK's transport network and other parts of the UK's critical national infrastructure that keep the United Kingdom running and provide essential services. It works in partnership with the aviation industry and international partners to deliver robust and sustainable aviation security in the UK and overseas and improve security at crowded places through closer, more effective working with a wider range of local authority and private sector responsible partners. As a result of the hijacking of four aircrafts to organise one of the heinous terrorist events in world history, 9/11, safeguarding of airports and the aviation community cannot be overstated. Finally, the UK's CONTEST enhances capabilities to detect terrorist activity involving Chemical, Biological, Radiological, Nuclear and Explosives (CBRNE) material and their precursors and control and safeguard these materials. Considering how populated transport stations like train stations, airports and bus terminals can be, it is no surprise the CONTEST placed importance on getting those places surveyed.

Prepare

To mitigate the impact of a terrorist incident by bringing any attack to an end rapidly and recovering from it, CONTEST will maintain the UK's investment in the capabilities of the emergency services to deliver a coordinated and effective response to terrorist attacks. This should ensure the UK is resilient and ready to respond proportionately and effectively to a wide range of Chemical, Biological, Radiological, Nuclear and Explosives (CBRNE) threats. Also, it will fully embed the Joint Emergency Service Interoperability Principles across the emergency services by 2020 to ensure that they can work together effectively in response to a terrorist attack and regularly test and exercise the multi-agency capabilities required to respond to, and recover from, a wide range of terrorist attack. Lastly, there are measures to improve support arrangements for victims of terrorism to ensure a comprehensive and coordinated response.

Nigeria and Counter-Terrorism

Nigeria has been bedevilled with terrorism for almost a decade. With Boko Haram primarily being the main agent of this terrorism, the Northern part of Nigeria and some parts of the capital in the south have felt the unlimited and eternal damage done by the radical group. Originally Jama'at Ahl us-Sunnah li'd-Da'wah wa'l-Jihad (the Group of the People of Sunnah for Preaching and Struggle) was code-named Boko Haram by non-members of the group because of its history. The name, "Boko Haram," is an amalgamation of two languages- Hausa (Boko) and Arabic (Haram). "Boko" denotes "Western education" in Hausa, whereas "Haram" translates "sinful or forbidden" in Arabic. Hence, the two words, Boko Haram would mean "Western education is sinful" (Murtada,

2013: 4). Speculations still surround the exact date Boko Haram emerged (Freedom, 2012); however, until Mohammed Yusuf arrived in 2002 (Onuoha, 2014), the group had a predominantly low profile. It is believed that the death of Yusuf led Abubakar Shekau (Jacinto, 2012) as the stimulus, motivating the current leadership of the movement.

Consequently, “the Boko Haram sect has also advanced the message of reform and purification of the Nigerian political system against Western values and culture, which it argues are the cause of corruption and economic hardship” (Iyekekpolo, 2016: 2213). Under the leadership of Shekau, the group has advocated for sharia law to be instituted and adhered to.

Attacks by Boko Haram have widened from churches and shops to politicians and the state security apparatus to the United Nations itself (Chothia, 2012). The battles between Boko Haram members and the members of the security forces in 2009 resulted in police stations, prisons, government offices, schools and churches being destroyed (Mantzikos, 2010: 59), whilst in 2011, more than 100 people were killed and thousands injured (CNN, 2019).

In a quest to eradicate or minimise the insurgency of this group, the Nigerian government has adopted the National Counter-Terrorism Strategy, shortened as NACTEST. The NACTEST framework consists of five objectives: forestall, secure, identify, prepare, and implement (NACTEST, 2014).

The first core of the forestall part of NACTEST is about “preventing terrorism in Nigeria by engaging the public through sustained enlightenment or sensitisation campaigns and deradicalisation programmes” (NACTEST, 2014: 16). This will be achieved through the promotion of good governance, prison deradicalisation, enhancing Small and Medium Scale Enterprises (SMEs) for

job creation, media campaigns and utilising the education sector, monitoring activities of religious organisations and capacity building in all areas of the criminal justice system to deter terrorism (NACTEST, 2014). This is an important aspect of the Nigerian strategy to increase public education and sensitisation campaigns to boost the level of consciousness of the Nigerian populace.

The second objective of NACTEST is Secure. The secure aspect focuses on “ensuring the protection of life and property, public and key national infrastructure/services including Nigerian interests around the world” (NACTEST, 2014: 16). This aspect of the NACTEST is intended to be achieved through strengthening border security, protecting critical national infrastructure and training security forces to respond to threats of terrorism (NACTEST, 2014).

The third objective of the NACTEST programme is Identify. The purpose of this objective of NACTEST is “to ensure that all terrorist acts are properly investigated, and terrorists and their sponsors are brought to justice” (NACTEST, 2014: 16). “Identifying” will be achieved through proper investigation and prosecution, co-operation on intelligence gathering amongst security agencies, Subscriber Identification Module (SIM) card registration, monitoring of cyberspace and controlling terrorism financing (NACTEST, 2014).

The fourth objective under the NACTEST is Prepare. The core of this objective focuses on “preparing the populace so that the consequences of terrorist incidents could be mitigated” (NACTEST, 2014: 16). The objective is envisaged to be achieved through the agencies specially trained to respond to

direct damages caused through terrorist acts, identifying potential risks that Nigeria could face due to terrorism, and assess the effects thereof (NACTEST, 2014). This objective is relevant, and it disagrees with Kafe's (2013) assertion that the government has intentionally kept issues of terrorism on a low key as a matter of national security. This research believes that informing the populace about the threats would better enable them to deal with it when it happens than keep them in the dark. The government should be willing to share some of these things with the populace whose responsibility it is for them to protect. For instance, the United Kingdom government takes the education of its citizens as one of the best ways to counter terrorism or extremism (Agnew, 2018). The government is convinced that by providing the citizens with the right counterterrorism education, they can instil in them the underpinning values of society- respect, fairness and tolerance. The government of the Netherlands is still committed to educating its citizens about step by step measures to take before and during a disaster, in this case, a terrorist incident (Government of the Netherlands, 2019).

The final objective under the NACTEST programme is Implement. The core of this objective is “devising a framework to effectively mobilise and sustain a coordinated cross-governmental population-centred effort” (NACTEST, 2014: 16). The National Coordinator's office on counter-terrorism has been created to coordinate all agencies and participate in international co-operation in implementing NACTEST (NACTEST, 2014). The roles of agencies in the NACTEST include curbing terrorism financing, creating awareness, investigations, arrests, prosecutions, and military operations. The Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria, National Orientation Agency and

National Broadcasting Commission, along with Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and other relevant agencies, all promote awareness (NACTEST, 2014). This seems to be one of the limitations on the part of the Ghanaian media. They do not promote education on counter-terrorism and sensitise the public about being conscious of their environment. Through the Criminal Act of 1960 (Act 29), the president, Dr Kwame Nkrumah, criminalised terrorism.

Ghana's Efforts Toward Preparedness

Mindful of the mind-boggling level of terrorist attacks and imminent risks that West Africa faces, Ghana has made concerted efforts to mitigate the occurrence of any attacks. Kafe (2013) suggests that measures to forestall terrorism go as far back as the reign of Ghana's first president, Dr Kwame Nkrumah. There appears to be no lack of international instruments that Ghana has sanctioned or agreed to battle international terrorism. Ghana, for instance, is a signatory to various United Nations' Conventions and Protocols, some of which include the "Convention on offences and certain other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft (1963); Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft (1970); Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation (1971); Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents (1973); International Convention against the Taking of Hostages (1979); and Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material (1979) among a host of others under the umbrella of the African Union and Economic Community of West African States" (Kafe, 2013)

In the international community's continuous commitment to counter-terrorism and its pending threats, these conventions and protocols have been

passed and adopted. It is, therefore, fitting that the various party states to these protocols domesticate and implement these measures to prevent acts of international terrorism as adopted at the multinational level. From the abovementioned, it can be deduced that Ghana, a member of these protocols and conventions, has shown evidence of its readiness and willingness to counter international terrorism.

Besides the abovementioned points, the nation needs to make different arrangements to counteract and plan for terrorism. In 2016, in a gathering to review the ongoing terrorism upsurge in neighbouring nations like Mali, Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso, the National Security Council explained that Ghana faces a possible terrorist attack. In the wake of this, the National Security Council resolved to review its anti-terrorism readiness, joint administrations tasks and different measures to guarantee the wellbeing of its citizens. They, in any case, encouraged that the public should remain “vigilant, cautious and curious” (Ministry of Communication, 2016). The question, however, is through what means are the ordinary Ghanaians to learn how to be vigilant? That has been one of the issues the country has faced. If various institutions with the mandate to sensitise the public are lagging in their duties, there is a cause for worry.

Again, the armed forces have assured the general public that they are prepared to deal with terror attacks. Addressing the media, in February 2018, after a field training exercise, the commanding officer of the 64th Infantry Regiment, Lt Col Fiifi Deegbe, noted that such exercises would be organised to enable the unit to implement its special mandate of counter-terrorism (Ansah, 2018). They further assured the public that they should be at peace because everything was under control after the over four-hour real-life simulation

exercise at the Accra Mall. Before this time, the Canadian and UK governments had issued a terror alert to its citizens travelling to the country (Ansah, 2018). Therefore, the simulation exercise assured the public that enough measures had been put in place to avert terrorism.

Adding his voice to the terrorism threat, Nana Akufo-Addo, President of the republic, opined that “Ghana, in principle, cannot be exempt as a potential target, so the security preparedness for our country is an extremely important matter” (Africa news, 2018). He made this statement while answering questions from journalists after his one year in office, hinting that he was certain about the preparedness of the Ghana Police Service to deal with any security threat.

Kidnapping has progressively become a major strategy for most terrorist groups in West Africa and, quite recently, a phenomenon that is gaining prominence in Ghana. Even though the cases recorded in Ghana have had no terrorist inclinations, it still raises fears that beg to address. Until now, most of the kidnappings by terrorist groups were targeted at Westerners, often for ransom. Studies suggest that terrorist groups have accrued millions of dollars from payoffs made from kidnapping (Jesús, 2013). The *New York Times* records that between 2008 and 2013, Europeans paid a total of \$91.5 million in ransom to AQIM. Extra data attests that kidnappings of Europeans, Canadians and Americans for ransoms between 2003 and 2012 by the Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa (MOJAO) and AQIM amounted to over 500 million dollars (Jesús, 2013).

David S. Cohen, former US Treasury Department’s Under-Secretary for Terrorism and Financial Intelligence, underscored that “Kidnapping for ransom

has become today's most significant source of terrorist financing" (Walters, 2014).

More recently, supporting the earlier claim, kidnappings by Boko Haram has not been restricted to citizens of Western countries but also Nigerians, Cameroonians and expatriate workers from other parts of the world alike. Christians, Muslims, rich and poor have all been targets of Boko Haram. For instance, the group kidnapped over 200 schoolgirls from Chibok in the Borno State of Nigeria (Abubakar, 2014) and the wife of the Deputy Prime Minister of Cameroon in the early part of 2014 (Reuters, 2014).

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on giving an account of a history of terrorism, some causes, characteristics and trends of terrorism. Furthermore, it has examined some counterterrorism policies of countries like the UK and Nigeria and institutions like the African Union. Taking into due cognisance some features of their counterterrorism policies. The next chapter focuses on the presentation and discussion of data from interviews with security experts in Ghana.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESPONSES FROM SECURITY AND SECURITY EXPERTS

This chapter analyses the various responses from interviewees- uniformed police personnel and security experts- on their knowledge, awareness and consciousness about terrorism in Ghana. The responses are juxtaposed against existing literature which helps to contextualise the analysis of the data better. Thirteen security officers were interviewed. There were responses from the Ghana Police Counter Terrorism Unit at the Ghana Police National Headquarters, the Intelligence Officer of the University of Cape Coast security section, the Director for Legal, Consular and General Services, University of Cape Coast (UCC) and ten security personnel of the University of Coast Security Section. The respondent from the Counterterrorism Unit was selected because of the in-depth knowledge they have on the issue of terrorism.

The Director of Legal, Consular and General Services of the University of Cape Coast's direct relationship with the Security Section of the University makes him a relevant respondent for this study. Aside from that, his expertise in matters relating to security, in general, were important in providing essential data for this chapter. The security personnel contacted were randomly selected from the University Security Section at the various security checkpoints on the university campus.

They were asked about the nature of security threats and their understanding of what constitutes a security threat. Mr Moses M. Abnory, the Director for Legal, Consular and General Services at the University of Cape Coast (UCC), said that a security threat is simply lack of care (*Interview, Abnory, March 26, 2019*). That is, the disregard for simple basic safety

precautions. Similarly, Superintendent (Supt) Raymond Adofiem, Counter Terrorism Unit Director, Ghana Police Headquarters, asserted that to understand what constitutes a security threat, one must look at what security itself is. To him, security cuts across every aspect of human life- economic life, political life, social life, religion and everything, hence anything that threatens the achievement of any of these aspects or areas is a security threat (*Interview, Adofiem, March 13, 2019*). Therefore, people should be able to go about their daily activities without fear. Some security personnel interviewed confirmed that crimes by individuals, conflicts among groups, winner takes all attitudes, unfairness, etc., constituted security threats.

When asked whether they knew of specific terrorist incidents such as 9/11 or the possible cause of terrorism, the responses were varied. Supt Adofiem stated that he had witnessed three terrorist attacks in Egypt but hinted that Boko Haram presented a clear picture of what could happen to Ghana if the necessary actions are not done to counter-terrorism (*Interview, Adofiem, March 13, 2019*). He added that Burkina Faso's situation would be very difficult because it is getting interwoven with their politics, and anyone who wants to cling to power would have to resort to the use of terrorism (*Interview, Adofiem, March 13, 2019*). Moreover, Mr Abnory stated that the Al-Shabab backed attacks on the Kenyan mall were gruesome, adding that if America with all of its "sophistication" could be hit, then it would be necessary for Ghana to brace itself and make adequate preparations to avert such an attack (*Interview, Abnory, March 26, 2019*)

Mr Frempah, an Intelligence Officer at the University of Cape Coast, stated that his worse ever example of terrorism was the "9/11", which,

according to him, saw “2987 dead.” Thus, the degree of civilian casualties that day made the world wake up to the extent to which terrorists could alter the very fabric of society. A cross-section of the security personnel expressed a similar view or sentiment. Mr Frempah, for example, claimed 9/11 had raised the terrorism awareness level of Ghanaians to the reality of its lethality. This was supported by Supt. Adofiem who pointed out that 9/11 woke us up to watch out, but we have since not learnt the lessons because we are still complacent (*Interview, Adofiem, March 13, 2019*). He underscored that *landguardism*, *vigilantism* and *gangsterism* remained security threats and possible terrorist threats to the country if not given the attention and legislation it deserves. As an example, Mr Frempah hinted that the UCC graduation presented a worrying situation where if there were an attack, it would be symbolic of the entire country being attacked because being a cosmopolitan space, people from all walks of life gather there (*Interview, Frempah, February 27, 2019*).

Mr Abnory noted that causes of terrorism include: religious fanaticism, pure discrimination, conflict over resources and survival (*Interview, Abnory, March 26, 2019*). Mr Frempah corroborated that terrorists want to make themselves popular and the government unpopular that is why they engage in terrorism and claim responsibility for their attacks (*Interview, Frempah, February 27, 2019*).

Varying responses were received from respondents when asked whether there is a threat of terrorism to Ghana and whether Ghana should be worried about terrorism. Aside from one security guard who stated that there was no threat of terrorism to Ghana, all the others agreed how much Ghana, over the

years, has become a potential terrorist target in the West African sub-region. For example, Supt. Adofiemi said it was only a matter of luck that is sparing Ghana from terrorist attacks. Mr Frempah also concurred that one could not underestimate terrorists because they can strike anywhere at any time. Mr Abnory agreed and added that terrorism, like natural disasters, do not give any warning; before you know, it is with you and called for stringent measures to be put in place to avert the happening of any such event (*Interview, Abnory, March 26, 2019*). A security officer at UCC shared this view. Mr Abnory intimated that serious efforts should go into educating and sensitising the public to be wary of the reality of terrorism and some of its precursors (*Interview, Abnory, March 26, 2019*). This response was reinforced by one other security officer who bemoaned a Ghanaian citizen having joined ISIS. Some others said the inadequate supply of technological gadgets contributes deeply to the concern of security threat to the country and added that unscrutinised immigration posed further threats. Therefore, although a good initiative, the ECOWAS convention on the free movement of people and goods still needs redress to check people as they cross into other areas strictly.

Security training on the prevention of terrorism, including fire and emergency drills, has been a major component of counter-terrorism policies like the “Prevent strategy.” Asked whether respondents had been trained in the prevention of terrorism and whether they had engaged in it or engaged the general public on such drills, the response was mixed. Mr Frempah noted that the UCC security section had not had any training on the prevention of terrorism on campus but was quick to add that some retirees, who are now with the section, had had some form of training from their previous service in the

military (*Interview, Frempah, February 27, 2019*). He, however, expressed concern because the security section is the frontline staff in the prevention or neutralisation of any such event. If they had not received such training, it is a cause for concern.

Similarly, Mr Abnory also pointed out he had received general security training and crime prevention, which included terrorism awareness. He added that this training has helped him gain in-depth knowledge about the security section and work directly with them (*Interview, Abnory, March 26, 2019*). Supt Adofiem was quick to illustrate the numerous training he has received as a Director of the counter-terrorism Unit under the aegis of the Ghana Police Headquarters. He, nevertheless, noted that aside from the numerous training, he would rank his level of training at five out of ten. A situation, he said, this was so because he had not found answers to some critical questions about terrorism. Conversely, he noted that several drills had been held to test the readiness of the security services to counter-terrorism in Asutuare, Akyease and Bolgatanga under several operation codenames but bemoaned the continuous over prioritisation given to the nation's capital where even a drill to be held in the Northern Region requires that security personnel are sent from Accra to the north (*Interview, Adofiem, March 13, 2019*).

Additionally, some security officers on campus also confirmed that they have, in one way or the other, received some level of training in the prevention of terrorism. One of them said that “they had been trained to scan the environment.” Nonetheless, three other security officials confirmed that they had not received any training in the prevention of terrorism, and one mentioned

that they have been trained to “prevent crime by all means and protect the institution, especially, the students and staff.”

Policies shape the way a country or an institution approaches a situation or an event. It gives a sense of direction to what the institution or country seeks to achieve in the future. Many industrially developed countries have well-drafted foreign policies that determine how they deal with other countries. They also have counterterrorism policies with clearly outlined directives to help the security forces, civilians, and government judiciously address terrorism. In light of these, respondents were asked whether they were aware of any terrorist/security policies, safety procedures for evacuation at UCC, Cape Coast or Ghana and if there are measures put in place to deal with terrorism in the country or UCC to be specific. Their response was wide-ranging. Supt. Adofiem stated that Ghana has a Counter-Terrorism Act (Act 762) and an accompanying Act that addresses money laundering. To him, Ghana is not short of laws to control or prevent terrorism; rather, Ghana lacks the commitment to put in and implement measures to deal with the ever-growing potential of the country becoming a terrorist target. In the face of all this lack of commitment, Supt Adofiem noted how resilient his Unit has been in trying to work to concretise their presence and mandated role through some form of education and security awareness programmes. However, they have not been able to cover the whole country (*Interview, Adofiem, March 13, 2019*).

Mr Abnory stated that UCC had put together a document called *Campus Security and Fire Safety Policy* which seeks to empower the Security Section and equip them in a way to be able to do and conduct their business without infringing on the law. Although the document is pending approval from the

University Council, he emphasised that beyond this, they have had some training on consciousness and procured some equipment like CCTV (*Interview, Abnory, March 26, 2019*).

All the other security personnel at UCC indicated that they had not sighted any terrorism policy of the University. Most claimed that no incidence of terrorism had been recorded in UCC or Ghana.

In the event of a terrorist attack or any security breach, the quick response of the security and emergency services is key to diffuse the attack to bring the situation under control. Aside from this, the ability of the emergency services to coordinate and cooperate is equally as important as the response time. In view of these, respondents described how fast the emergency service could get to some public spaces, whether their institutions have contact with the police and other emergency institutions, and the level of coordination between the police and other emergency services. All the security personnel in UCC confirmed that they have contact with the police service, with most indicating the means of communication being “through mobile phones.” They added that the police take about 25 minutes to reach campus, depending on the situation at hand and how free the road leading to the point of the incident is. They noted that they “have very good coordination” with the police. Mr Abnory, in particular, noted that they have 24/7 contact with the police and fire service. He added that UCC falls under the purview of the Cape Coast Regional Police Command. Hence, they take campus security very seriously (*Interview, Abnory, March 26, 2019*). He indicated that the response time for security to respond to urgent calls was relative because it depended on several factors. However, Supt. Adofiem explained that the police have a response time of 15 minutes. He noted

that within 15 minutes, everybody should put on whatever they need and start moving. He concurred with Mr Abnory's claim that the distance determines movement from where they were to where an incident has occurred. Supt Adofiem said that Ghana is not at risk because we do not have the resources or the capable staff, but because of hypocrisy and complacency (*Interview, Adofiem, March 13, 2019*).

The crucial roles metal detectors and scanners play in reducing or preventing terrorism, or other criminal cases cannot be overstated. Their use in public spaces and during public gatherings has barred or averted many terrorist and criminal events than meets the eye. However, their use in Ghana in public spaces is very low. Respondents were asked whether the country or UCC needs metal detectors and if they have received training on using these devices.

Whether there are emergency alarm systems to alert the public in the event of an attack, all the respondents agreed that there need to be metal detectors in public spaces. Supt Adofiem went further to maintain that it should not only be metal detectors but also walk-through detectors to detect weapons, explosive detectors, etc. within public spaces (*Interview, Adofiem, March 13 2019*). He, however, cautioned that though these things are necessary, it is important that the needed training and sensitisation are taught. Mr Frempah said that a handful of personnel from the Security Section had received training in using the metal detectors due to its limited quantity (*Interview, Frempah, February 27, 2019*).

Although some respondents expressed concern about the side effects of the radiations from continuous use of these detectors, a cross-section of them dispelled such claims that they have passed the quality test, and there is no need

for those concerns, Mr Abnory noted on a lighter note that the benefit of installing them is much better than the effects of installing them. Seven other security personnel noted that they have received training on the use of metal detectors and called for the main gates to departments, lecture rooms and the University itself to have walkthrough detectors (*Interview, Abnory, March 26, 2019*). Supt Adofiemi and Mr Abnory noted that although this equipment is quite expensive, they are worth the sacrifice. Supt Adofiemi warned that if we fail to invest in these measures, we will pay a high cost of the effects of not investing (*Interview, Adofiemi, March 13, 2019*). He noted that if we pay now, Ghana benefits a lot from it- tourism, foreign investment, international goodwill and international patronage because the state is safe.

Supt Adofiemi explained that when Ebola became a growing epidemic in the sub-region, the government quickly purchased body heat detectors for use at the airport (*Interview, Adofiemi, March 13, 2019*). Mr Frempah, however, stated that apart from the metal detectors, the few working CCTV cameras in key areas of the University plays a crucial role in the prevention and effecting of arrests as the video feed aids the security section (*Interview, Frempah, February 27, 2019*). Concerning the alarm systems, Mr Frempah noted that the university has none but hinted that maybe they could be acquired (*Interview, Frempah, February 27, 2019*). Mr Abnory added that he is quite sceptical about the use of alarm systems. To him, the propensity of misuse and its accompanying cause of unwarranted creation of fear and panic needs thinking through before they are installed in such an environment. However, he averred it is a good initiative (*Interview, Abnory, March 26, 2019*).

On whether respondents thought lecturers and teachers/staff should be given terrorism awareness training, Mr Abnory stated that they should even be given security awareness training in general. Supt Adofiemi noted that civic education should be part of education, just as we have English, science and maths being core subjects. The subject of terrorism should be made an integral and core requirement in training qualified teachers to train others. Mr Frempah's response was similar and mentioned lecturers have more contact hours with students. If they have foreknowledge about terrorism, they would be able to help students by instilling that knowledge in them to be more conscious of their surroundings (*Interview, Frempah, February 27, 2019*).

However, Mr Frempah lamented the general disregard for matters on security in the university, especially among students. He noted that they used to post security tips on the notice boards, but students began to tear them from the boards, leaving those of other entertainment programmes there (*Interview, Frempah, February 27, 2019*). He added that efforts had been made to insert security tips in the student handbook, and students have not even read them, and many do not even know the page that it can be found. He added the lack of seriousness to security issues confirming that during orientation for fresh students in the halls, getting more than 50 people in attendance meant great success for the programme (*Interview, Frempah, February 27, 2019*). Mr Abnory opined that the security section and the Directorate for Legal Consular and General Services of the UCC are having a sensitisation programme for the university under the various colleges (*Interview, Abnory, March 26, 2019*). He noted that they want to get the students closer through this sensitisation programme "because they are the majority of the population and, therefore, if

the students get to understand that their lives on campus depend on how secure the campus is, and partner with the few security experts available, we would promote good sanity on campus.” Hence, it is imperative that lecturers, students and all stakeholders think security, and once we are all thinking about this, the enemy or the criminal would not have much room to operate. The data from security personnel at UCC also suggested that lecturers and staff should be given terrorism awareness training. Six of them noted that “should in case terrorism occurs, these trainees can help evacuate the victims safely.” Another also mentioned that “for them to know and help in times of need,” it is important to be given terrorism awareness training.

Analysis and Discussions

Eight respondents said that a terrorist threat is a subset of a security threat. Superintendent Raymond Adofiem made an important point where he underscored that anything that hindered people from going about their daily businesses and interaction with each other and their environment constitutes a security threat and needs to be given utmost attention. Similarly, Mr Abnory corroborated the assertion of Supt. Adofiem, declaring that lack of care was the main component of a security threat. Some scholars have noted that to ask the question of what security is, seems quite trivial because it is something that is experienced and can be measured in a given period. Thus, it is difficult to give a substantive explanation for security as it includes a myriad of components. However, it is a crucial issue concerning possible terrorist threats.

Indeed, Von Boemcken and Schetter (2016) maintain that a general definition of security would be conceived to be the absence or at least unlikelihood of threats to a certain object. This corroborates what was stated by

Supt Adofiem. Furthermore, Baldwin (1997:13) defines security as a low probability of damage to acquired values. Likewise, Krause and Nye (1975:330) identify security as the absence of acute threats to the minimum acceptable levels of the basic values that people consider essential to their survival. All of these definitions support what the respondents mentioned concerning the concept. They argued that security permeates the people's economic, political, and social life, not excluding religion. Therefore, any threat to achieving these aspects or areas is a security threat (*Interview, Adofiem, March 13, 2019*).

Buzan (1991:432) has explained that:

Security is taken to be about the pursuit of freedom from threat and the ability of states and societies to maintain their independent identity and their functional integrity against forces of change, which they see as hostile. The bottom line of security is survival, but it also reasonably includes a substantial range of concerns about the conditions of existence.

Like Supt Adofiem indicated, security spans every aspect of life. Stone (2009) identifies five security threats: political, military, economic, societal and environmental threats. Stone's five threats support Adofiem's assertion that security is something that permeates the very fabric of life. Thus, anything that seems to undermine the existence of any of these areas is or can be considered a security threat. Similarly, since all these sectors comprise living things and properties, Mr Abonry's assertion that anything that threatens life and properties is a potential risk to security stands true.

Terrorism, on the other hand, is one of the growing security threats. As has been iterated in earlier chapters of this research, the beginning of the twenty-first century gave heightened attention to the concept of terrorism. Although the

concept had been in existence from time immemorial, many came to the full realisation of the damage that terrorism can cause after the 9/11 incident. Thus, countries began to make preparations to counter it and protect their interests in the international community.

Nine respondents gave varying answers regarding the causes of terrorism. Religious fanaticism, political ideology, discrimination, poverty, among others, were the most frequent responses. However, Supt Adofiem emphasised that one of the glaring threats to Ghana that is often overlooked, which can lead to terrorism, is the three *isms* that have gone a notch higher in their activities: *vigilantism*, *Landguardism* and *Gangsteerism*. He explained that these three are gradually leading Ghana to the point of terrorism, and if proper measures are not taken, “we would have it soon.” He iterated that *gangsterism* has been a development in the *Zongo* (Muslim dominated area) communities and has been on the ascendency in recent times. *Landguardism* gained attention earlier this year as its activities raised fears among people in various communities about their safety. The issue of Vigilantism issue in this country cannot be overemphasised. Political parties’ use of vigilantes has been seen to undermine the democratic tenets this country has for so long prided itself in. The recent Ayawaso West Wuogon by-elections is a credible example of this. Although a commission of inquiry was set to look into the disturbance and submit its report, plus the government’s call for the two major political parties to disband these vigilante groups provides optimism toward disbanding these vigilante groups. A willing and conscious effort, devoid of political sentiments, is required to deal with this looming danger, especially when nearing an election year.

Respondents underscored several lessons that can be learnt from the 9/11 incident. Supt Adofiem noted that complacency and hypocrisy were among the key reasons why the US was “hit” on that day and advised well-meaning countries, Ghana included, to be on guard against such untoward behaviours and be proactive in their counter-terrorism approach to be able to withstand the growing wave of terrorism that is crippling economies and turning some countries into failed states and wastelands.

Mr Abnory noted that Ghana could not be too comfortable with the increasing terrorism cases in neighbouring countries. Moreover, earlier research by Bamba (2014) opines that porous borders and the proliferation of weapons remain examples of Ghana's threats to lead us to terrorism (Bamba, 2014). In John Mahama’s address to the UN General Assembly in September 2014, the President lamented the vastness of the African continent, the teeming numbers of unemployed youth and widespread poverty make the continent vulnerable to terrorism. The President’s picture to describe Africa is true for Ghana as well (Mahama, 2014).

Several respondents noted that to guard against this threat, Ghana’s borders should be staffed collaboratively with the immigration service of its neighbours. Coordination and cooperation should exist between the security service personnel there. Sharing of information and intelligence should not be withheld from one another. Mr Abnory also suggested that more should go into education and awareness creation. This point is important as there is evidence of this deficiency in knowledge about the activities of terrorists in the sub-region. Again, Nigeria is a case in point. Prof. Ladan’s presentation on *Security*

Awareness: A National Challenge paints an important image of awareness creation. According to him,

Security awareness is a process of developing a culture of alertness, individual and collective consciousness, and readiness to forestall, pre-empt, protect and defend our social, economic, cultural, political, educational, environmental, territorial and foreign policy interests against perpetrators of crime and abuse of power as well as the drivers of insecurity such as corruption, socio-economic and political imbalances injustices, bad governance, illiteracy and proliferation and misuse of Small Arms and Light Weapon (Ladan, 2013).

Ladan (2013) opines that since crime, including terrorism, undermines the state, destroys a nation's social and human capital, and interrupts investment, security awareness should be raised to address it. He further called for a need to educate all stakeholders about Nigeria's security vision. He added that education fosters peace and tolerance and refers to it as the backbone of security.

At the Ghana Police National Headquarters, Supt Adofiem noted that he sends his staff for training. He noted that he capitalises on his units' good relationship with the military to have joint training. Mr Frempah also noted that a new training programme had been rolled out at the UCC Security Section to train recruits in using some gadgets like metal scanners. However, he lamented the inadequate numbers of metal detectors they have, which makes their work difficult.

From the responses provided by the security officials, it was quite obvious that nine respondents indicated that Ghana did not have a counterterrorism policy. Mr Abnory noted that if Ghana has not got a counter-terrorism policy, how much more a university. However, he quickly pointed out that the UCC

has prepared a policy pending approval from the university council. Mr Frempah supported this claim as he indicated that if there is one, he has not seen it. However, Supt Adofiem was quick to add that aside from the fact that Ghana has not got a well-defined counterterrorism policy, there are several Acts that Ghana has adopted on terrorism that guide the country in dealing with terrorism. He mentioned the Anti-Terrorism Act (Act 762), the Anti-Money Laundering Act, and the Economic Organised Crime Act (Act 802), among a host of other acts. It must be added that Ghana is a signatory and has assented to several international conventions and protocols on terrorism, which have been mentioned in the preceding chapter. Most countries have put up robust counterterrorism policies. In like manner, Ghana can draft one that gives a clear path as to who does what, the model of education and what roles stakeholders have to play to avert terrorism or contain it in the event it happens. Nigeria's NACTEST and Britain's Prevent are a few that have gained credibility and wide support for their well-articulated nature.

The US Homeland Security Operational Analysis Centre research brief has maintained that terrorism prevention policies and programmes aim to reduce the risk of terrorism through the application of various tools and approaches other than the traditional and law enforcement tools of arrest, incarceration and prosecution (Jackson, Rhoades, Reimer, Lander, Costello, & Beaghley 2019). The research brief further states that educating community members to recognise warning signs of radicalisation to violence, building an effective partnership between law enforcement agencies, civil societies, and social services is consistent with their National Counter-Terrorism Strategy. This is a measure Ghana needs to learn from to make the education of its public a priority

to be able to guard against terrorism or, better still, bring them up to speed on the varying strategies employed by terrorists, especially in public spaces. This was one issue that security officials regarded as important, as through education, the entire population could be more sensitised to the issue of terrorism and security.

Concerning evacuation drills and emergencies, Supt Adofiem pointed out that there have been several live terrorist drills at various centres in the country. He mentioned the one in Bolgatanga, which saw personnel drawn from all security and emergency services in the country to undergo the exercise. This is a move from which public awareness could be increased to safeguard the lives of the country. In the end, Supt Raymond noted that they realised that there was a gap in coordination which was quite worrying. However, he noted that the lack of attention to coordination policies was the major reason for this cause. He noted that there were policies that touch on coordination among the security and emergency services in an emergency like terrorism and other natural disasters. There are, however, conflicts in the performance of roles since it is not clear who does what, which makes it difficult to decipher. The United Nations Counter-Terrorism Implementation Taskforce (CTITF) publication series in 2011 examined this issue of interagency coordination. Titled *Interagency Coordination in the Event of a Terrorist Attack Using Chemical or Biological Weapons or Materials*, the document notes that in the era of nuclear and biological terrorism, no one agency can be left with the mandate to bear all responsibility for the response to these threats at the international level (United Nations' Counter-Terrorism Implementation Taskforce, 2011). It adds that coordination among all concerned agencies and entities is of utmost importance.

Suppose the UN is calling for coordination among agencies at the international level. In that case, it is imposing on Ghana, as a country, to make more concerted efforts toward deepening coordination among the various emergency agencies to prepare to respond and or avert the occurrence of any incidents of these kinds.

The main trend or pattern from most of the respondents was that they were uncertain of any evacuation procedure for the University of Cape Coast. However, it was mentioned that a document the University has put together pending approval by the University Council, which he indicated, would help empower the security section once it is operationalised. However, in countries with a history of terrorist activities, such procedures are commonplace. This research maintains that it is unnecessary to wait for this policy document to be adopted before such drills are run, especially on a large public space such as a university campus. The view here is that such exercises and drills are important to make students aware and be on their guard.

Virginia Tech University's emergency preparedness and terrorism awareness training present a well-planned document that practically explains what to do in an emergency, emergency management, phases of emergency management, terrorism awareness, among several areas (Virginia Tech Office of Emergency Management. 2012). The Virginia Tech University office of emergency management maintains that building a culture of emergency preparedness throughout the Virginia Tech Community and enhancing and improving the disaster resilience of the University is a key priority (Virginia Tech Office of Emergency Management. 2012). The office posits that they work closely with the university employees, students, local community, state and national partners to develop an all-hazards approach, sustain and improve

individual preparedness, departmental readiness and university resilience. In the light of recent lone wolf activities in universities, one cannot be too careful. Indeed, the Universities in Ghana and the government should prioritise ensuring that areas where people would naturally congregate-schools, train stations, airports, bus terminals, shopping malls, etc.- are well organised with all the emergency directives clearly spelt out to aid citizens.

Metal detectors and scanners continue to be one of the frontline equipment for detecting metal made explosives and weapons that can be used to commit heinous acts of terrorism. Recently, camera surveillance has gained prominence as a measure for counter-terrorism and public security agencies in many countries, and so they invest large amounts of money in this technology (Stutzer & Zehnder, 2013:1). There is no doubt that respondents' responses to the need for metal detectors were positive owing to the rise in terrorist acts of shooting and numerous explosions in many countries. While a few respondents raised the concern of cost, Supt Adofiem stated that security is expensive but must be bought. He noted that the cost would be more than not having the equipment in place to forestall such terrorist activities. Based on surveillance of the UCC, one is met with large auditoriums and lecture theatres not having even Closed-Circuit Television (CCTV) cameras let alone walk through metal detectors. Mr Abnory noted that though the university's core mandate is not to provide security, efforts are made to bargain for resources to the Security Section to increase security on campus.

A study conducted by the Centre for Health and Homeland Security at the University of Maryland states: "The foremost method of deterring and responding to those kinds of [terrorist] attacks is the use of CCTV. The price

tag is high, but worth it” (Greenberger, 2006: 8). In the same vein, the French Interior Minister Alliot-Marie announced: “France will triple its number of video surveillance cameras by 2009 as part of its fight against terrorism and street crime” (Reuters 2007). In the 2005 London bombings, video surveillance played a key role in helping to arrest the perpetrators since the surveillance footage captured them. This situation indicates that in our bid to counter-terrorism, conscious efforts should be made to get this surveillance in place to deter people from even engaging in such activities. In the US, the invasion of privacy by surveillance has become a matter of contention among citizens and security agencies and governments more because of their democratic ideals (Albanese, 1984). Despite this continuous disagreement, the overall safety of the country's citizenry is taken into consideration and given the utmost importance.

Supt Adofiem raised concerns about the side effects of the scanners and metal detectors. However, Mr Abnory stated that if they have been able to pass the quality test, there is no case in that argument. However, the National Research Council (1996) explained that exposure to radiation and electric and magnetic fields associated with passenger screening devices are not expected to cause adverse health effects in passengers. They add that radiation levels used by these screening devices are far below the levels that have been linked to health effects. They maintained that passenger screening devices operate using radiation and electric- and magnetic-field levels well below the maximum allowable exposure levels established to protect public health. The Health Physics Society's Fact Book (2011) also corroborates the earlier claim that metal detectors use low-intensity magnetic fields to detect metallic objects.

They conclude that exposure to these low-intensity magnetic fields does not cause biological damage (Health Physics Society, 2011), regardless of its repeated exposure.

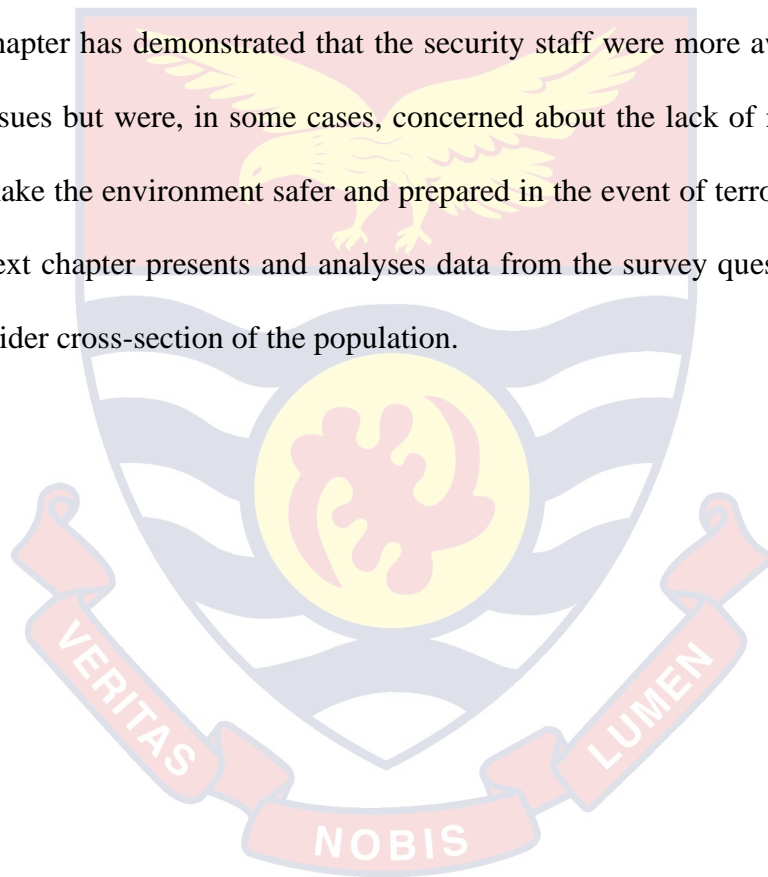
Eight of the respondents noted that it would be important to have teachers and lecturers undergo some terrorism awareness training in various universities. Some claimed that since they are with the students often, they would be in the best position to educate them on some basic awareness issues and identify, report, and refer students who exhibit any untoward acts, be it radicalism or sudden isolationism, among others. Others also believed that security awareness or terrorism awareness training should be made an integral part of the training of teachers. The Tony Blair Institute makes a clear case for Global Change. The Institute's second recommendation in the 2016 report *titled Education and Security: A global literature review on the role of education in countering violent religious extremism* states that governments need to urgently invest in and improve teacher training to be able to support teachers in discussing sensitive, controversial and polarising issues in the classroom (Ghosh, Manuel, Chan, Dilimulati & Babaei, 2016:7). This is a good call to the government to include terrorism awareness training in the curriculum for training teachers as their knowledge will go a long way to aid the educational system and the country in the long run.

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on responses from security personnel in the Ghana Police Counter Terrorism Unit and security experts in the University of Cape Coast. The transcribed responses were part of the first section of the chapter, followed by the discussions and analysis. Several potent points and

issues were raised by respondents and have been discussed in the analysis section.

From the responses by the security experts, it can be concluded that a good majority of them know about terrorism and its related issues. More so, Ghana stands to have a share of terrorism if appropriate measures are not taken. Moreover, the education of the citizenry cannot be downplayed if the country is to make any strides to preventing the occurrence of terrorism. Above all, this chapter has demonstrated that the security staff were more aware of the main issues but were, in some cases, concerned about the lack of resources to help make the environment safer and prepared in the event of terrorist activity. The next chapter presents and analyses data from the survey questionnaire from a wider cross-section of the population.



CHAPTER FIVE
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION OF RESPONSES FROM THE
GENERAL PUBLIC

This chapter presents an analysis of the data gathered from the respondents through a survey questionnaire divided into two parts. The first presents demographic details of the respondents, whereas the second section provides a descriptive analysis and results of the data. It further discusses these findings with the existing literature. Tables, bar graphs and pie charts from the Statistical Product of Social Sciences (SPSS) software have been provided to illustrate the findings and analyse the responses to the research questions asked. It demonstrates that despite the higher education levels of the respondents, their knowledge, awareness and consciousness level provides enough ground and lays claim to the aim and hypothesis of this work that the need for a substantial education, awareness and consciousness campaign on terrorism would be a step in the right direction to mitigating terrorism in Ghana.

Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

The first section of the questionnaire examined the respondents' bio-data concerning their gender, age, educational level, profession and nature of the place of residence.

Gender of respondents

Table 1: Gender of Respondents

	Your Gender	
	Frequency	Valid Percent
Male	134	53.6
Female	116	46.4
Total	250	100.0

Source: Field survey (2019)

From table 1, it is apparent that one hundred and thirty-four (134) out of the total number of two hundred and fifty (250) respondents representing 53.6% were males while one hundred and sixteen (116) respondents representing 46.4% of the total number of respondents were females.

Fifty-eight respondents representing 23.2% of the total number of respondents were within the age range of 18-20 years, the age range 21-30 makes up 66.4% representing 166 respondents. Twenty-three respondents, representing 9.2%, fell within the age range 31-40. 0.8% (2) and 0.4% (1) of the respondents fell within the ages of 41-50 and above 50, respectively. Those within the ages of 21-30 were the majority of the respondents, followed by those within the ages 18-20 and 31-40, respectively. The least were those within the ages of 41-50 and above 50 categories respectively.

Table 2: Age range of respondents

Age Range	Frequency	Valid Percent
18-20	58	23.2
21-30	166	66.4
31-40	23	9.2
41-50	2	.8
Above 50	1	.4
Total	250	100.0

Source: Field survey (2019)

With a focus on university students, the population and the sample drawn were all university students studying to attain their tertiary degrees. It, therefore, presents a case that the sample can be said to be literate since most of them had either attained tertiary education or were enrolled in tertiary institutions and thus, were expected to have an appreciable level of understanding and awareness of terrorism. It is, therefore, worrying that most

of the answers given demonstrated ignorance- regarding matters relating to the safety of citizens in public spaces.

Similarly, from the figure below, it is evident that most of the respondents, 115 (62.0%), lived in urban areas, 64 (25.6%) of them lived in Sub-Urban areas, whereas the last group of respondents 31 (12.4%) lived in the rural areas.

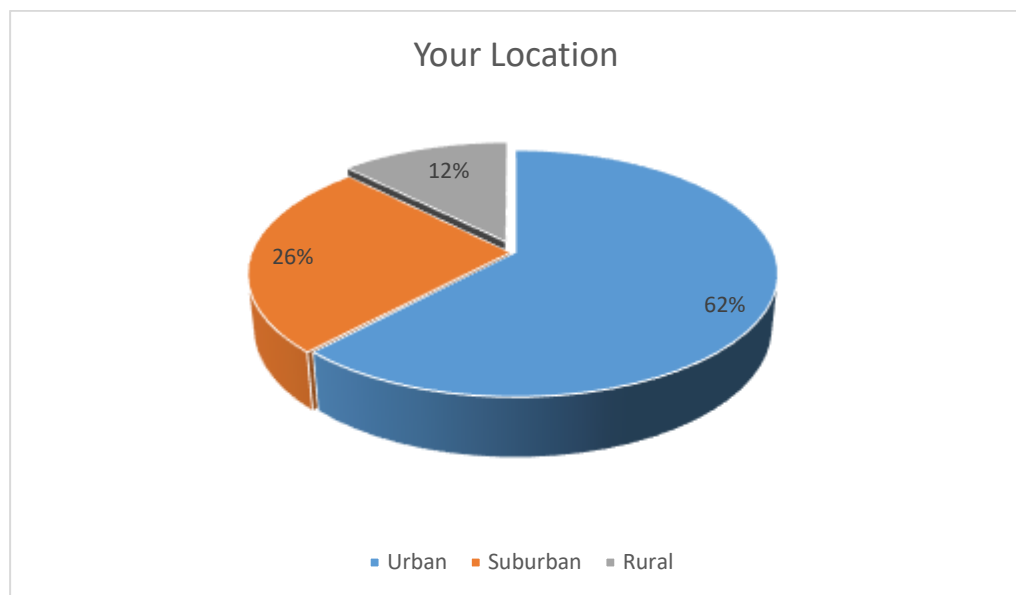


Figure 1: A pie chart illustrating the location of respondents
Source: Field survey (2019)

With the majority of the world becoming more urban, the data confirms Schleicher's (2013) assertion that almost half of the world's population lives in urban areas. The quest to have better education and better living standards, coupled with employment opportunities, make urban society a much-desired place to live (Schleicher, 2013; Quartey, 2009: 73). Indeed, the Ghana Statistical Service (2014: 13) has confirmed that internal movement in Ghana was unabated after independence concerning rural-urban migration. It adds further that in the 1960s, approximately 23% of the population could be called urban, which later increased to over 43% in the year 2000 (Ghana Statistical Service,

2014: 13). Quite unfortunately, it is in these urban areas that terrorists seem to target to maximise their impact through damages from attacks.

Survey Results

This section presents and analyses the data from the questionnaire under the four research questions that this research sought to find answers to.

Research Question 1: What is the level of knowledge and security consciousness of the populace about terrorism?

The main research objective for this research question was to determine people's level of knowledge and security consciousness about terrorism. As has already been postulated, this research seeks to assess respondents' level of consciousness and preparedness about terrorism. Of the total 250 respondents surveyed, 17 (6.8%) mentioned the September 11 incident in the United States in 2001 as the terrorist incident they knew about. Others also, 86 of the respondents representing (34.4%), noted Boko Haram as the terrorist group they were aware of. Four respondents, representing 1.6%, also mentioned the al-Shahab Kenya attacks. The recent Christ Church attacks in New Zealand was not left out of the list as 8 (3.2%) respondents mentioned it as the terrorist event they are aware of. 68 (27.2%) respondents answered they did not know a terrorist group or any terrorist incident. ISIS/ISIL was mentioned by 9 respondents, representing 3.6%. Kidnappings in Takoradi and general kidnappings constituted a response of 9 (3.6%) respondents, and Paris shootings received a response from 2 (0.8%) respondents. Some of the other responses that came up include vigilantism, suicide bombings, robbery, the overthrow of Gadafi, Financing of weapons, Capitalism, Ayawaso by-election, Coups in Cote d'Ivoire, 1948 riots, Al-Qaida, Boti falls, among several others received 1 (%)

response each. It can be deduced that Boko Haram's insurgency in the sub-region has attained popularity over the years, and it is not surprising that the majority of the respondents mentioned that particular group

Furthermore, the currency and gruesome nature of the Christchurch Mosque attacks in New Zealand earlier in 2019 was so well publicised that respondents were quite knowledgeable about it. Not forgetting the work of ISIS in the Middle East and some parts of Libya owing to education, mass media reportage and access to the internet. Some respondents mentioned kidnappings in Takoradi, a city in Ghana, as cases where terrorism occurred. However, there has not been any official document to confirm that these kidnappings are in any way related to terrorism (Army U. S., 2008). Although the United States' army document on hostage-taking and kidnapping describes hostage-taking and kidnapping in certain respects and contexts as terrorism, it becomes difficult to link this one to instances of terrorism. It can, therefore, be concluded that due to technology and mass media, most people have access to information about terrorist attacks across the globe. That notwithstanding, others did not know of terrorist incidents or were not properly informed about their occurrence.

Similarly, the September 11 events in the United States of America (USA) would go down in history as one of the most significant events where the heart of Western democracy, liberty, freedom, and sophistication was hard hit.

Asked whether 9/11 was a terrorist incident in the USA, it was evident from the data that respondents either had not heard or did not know about 9/11 having happened in the USA. 95 (38.0%) of the respondents answered "yes," that they had heard about the incident and where it happened. 21 (8.4%) of the

respondents answered “no” that 9/11 did not occur in the USA. The final group, 130 in total, representing 33.6% of the respondents, were unsure about 9/11 and where it occurred. This result raises questions of concern, especially where 9/11 remains one of the well-publicised events in history and for most respondents to be on the fence on where the event happened.

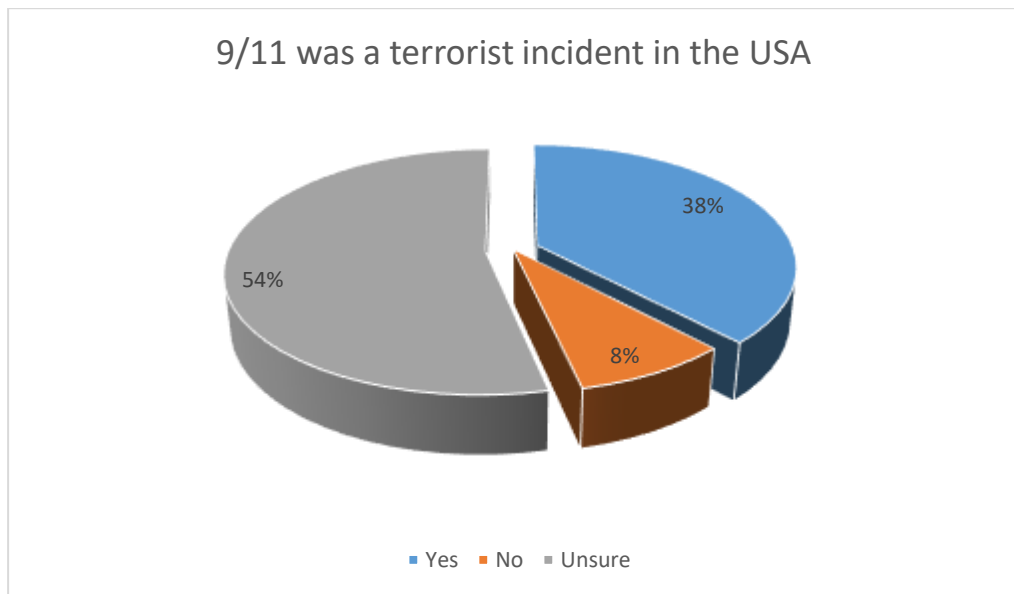


Figure 2: 9/11 was a terrorist incident in the USA
Source: Field survey (2019)

Still in congruence to the research question above, Boko Haram remains one of the deadliest groups in the sub-Saharan region. The Global Terrorism Index (GTI) 2018 confirms that Boko Haram ranked fourth in the most casualties of civilian life death in 2017 (GTI, 2018: 15). To find out whether respondents were aware of Boko Haram and which country they operate, table 3 below indicates that respondents were very aware of Boko Haram's insurgency in the sub-region. Of the 250 respondents surveyed, 244 (97.6%) answered they had heard of Boko Haram. 3 respondents, representing 1.2%, indicated that they had not heard of Boko Haram and 3 other respondents, representing 1.2%, also indicated that they were unsure if they had heard of

Boko Haram. This result is not so surprising, considering the level of education of most of the respondents and that of their place of residence. The response is shown in table 3 below.

Table 3: Heard of Boko Haram

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	244	97.6
No	3	1.2
Unsure	3	1.2
Total	250	100.0

Source: Field survey (2019)

Looking out for the country in which Boko Haram operates, responses were varied. 220 respondents, representing 88.0%, noted that Boko Haram operated in Nigeria, and an additional 2 (0.8%) respondents seemed to be quite specific that Boko Haram operates in the Northern part of Nigeria. 6 respondents, representing (2.4%), did not give response for their answers. 6 (2.4%) respondents' response was not applicable since they either had not heard of Boko Haram or were Unsure whether they had heard of Boko Haram. Similarly, 4 (1.6%) of the respondents noted no idea which country Boko Haram operated from. 3 (1.2%) other respondents underscored that Boko Haram operates in Nigeria and Cameroun. 2 (0.8%) declared that Boko Haram operates in Mali. However, 2 (0.8%) of the respondents indicated that Boko Haram had its operation in the Arab countries, corroborating what a respondent noted that Boko Haram operated in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Some other responses that came through and had only 1 respondent mentioning them were Ghana, Nigeria and Ghana. With some respondents mentioning Iraq and that of the Arab countries and some also not even having an idea of where Boko Haram operates raises a question of worry to be

discussed. This shows that the majority knew the group and where they were from, but a minority did not. Careful not to second guess the data. Table 4 below explains the data above.

Table 4: In which country does Boko Haram operate?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Afghanistan	1	.4
Arab Countries	2	.8
Ghana	1	.4
Iraq	1	.4
Libya	1	.4
Mali	2	.8
N/A	6	2.4
Nigeria	220	88.0
Nigeria and Cameroun	3	1.2
Nigeria and Ghana	1	.4
No Idea	4	1.6
No response	6	2.4
Northern Nigeria	2	.8
Total	250	100.0

Source: Field survey (2019)

The West African sub-region is inundated with several cases of terrorism. Ghana's bordering countries are no exception. To assess the respondents' level of knowledge, the study sought to find out which of the following West African countries had experienced cases of terrorism over the last five to ten years: Nigeria, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, Burkina Faso, Senegal, Liberia, Togo, and Sierra Leone. From table 5, 228 respondents, representing 91.2%, selected Nigeria as having experienced terrorism over the past five to ten years. This result does not come as a surprise. The rate at which the Boko Haram situation is making news headlines in the West African Sub Region is alarming, and thereby the information about their deeds is abounding. Hence respondents were very sure about them. Among Nigeria was Liberia and Sierra

Leone, with 60 (24.0%) and 49 (19.6%) respondents, respectively. From the listed countries, respondents' responses were as follows:

Table 5: Which of these countries experienced terrorism in the last 5 years?

Countries	Frequency	Valid Percentage (%)
Nigeria	228	91.2
Cote d'Ivoire	42	16.8
Mali	32	12.8
Burkina Faso	48	19.2
Senegal	23	9.2
Liberia	60	24.0
Togo	18	7.2
Sierra Leone	49	19.6

Source: Field survey (2019)

Media reports on terrorism, over the years, suggest that terrorism incidents in Liberia and Sierra Leone have been on the low for the past five to ten years despite terror threat alerts from the United Kingdom government warning its citizens to be wary when going to such countries. The other response, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, Senegal and Mali have all had snippets of terrorist attacks over the last few years. However, it was alarming that respondents did not choose Burkina Faso right after Nigeria because it has been in the news for the past few months. It could be that respondents were not well informed about the situation in the northern border nation.

Moreover, to fully grasp respondents' level of knowledge and security consciousness, the causes of terrorism were sought. Causes of terrorism remain wide, with responses being varied. Notable among the responses were unemployment, unbalanced government policies, religion, corruption, desire for power, discontent among masses, civil wars, ethnic conflicts, inadequate security personnel, illiteracy and poverty. One striking cause mentioned by a respondent was carelessness. Carelessness has been one cause of terrorism in

recent years. The mere disregard for certain security breaches in public spaces is just mind-boggling- no concern for idle bags in public spaces, no awareness about persons surveying unauthorised or public buildings, etc. All of these could be noted as causes of terrorism.

Again, porous borders have been a cliché on the lips of many Ghanaians over the years. Although some researchers have done studies that confirm that Ghana’s borders are porous (Kafe, 2013; Bamba, 2014 & Anim, 2015), this study sought to find out from respondents whether this assertion still lingers. Asked if borders around Ghana are porous, the majority of the respondents 87 (34.8%) “Agreed” and 77 (30.8%) “strongly agreed” that Ghana’s borders are porous. 19 (7.6%) respondents “strongly disagreed”, and 16 (6.4%) respondents “agreed” that Ghana’s borders are porous. Nevertheless, 51 (20.4%) of the respondents were indecisive and remained “neutral” on their assertion about whether Ghana’s borders are porous or not. Table 6 below confirms the earlier claim:

Table 6: Level of agreement on border porous around Ghana

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Strongly Disagree	19	7.6
Disagree	16	6.4
Neutral	51	20.4
Agree	87	34.8
Strongly Agree	77	30.8
Total	250	100.0

Source: Field survey (2019)

Various countries employ varying terrorism consciousness approaches to safeguard their communities. They seek to educate their citizens about basic security tenets regarding detecting certain security breaches and misdemeanours that could destabilise society's tranquillity and peace. For this research, to

ascertain respondents' level of knowledge and security consciousness, respondents were asked to confirm their level of agreement about Ghanaians not being terrorism conscious. From table 7 below, it was evident that respondents agreed that Ghanaians are not terrorism conscious. From the data, 69 (27.6%) respondents “strongly agreed”, and 71 (28.4%) of the respondents “agreed” that Ghanaians are not terrorism conscious. This result was not surprising in the face of petty disregard for security measures in the country.

Table 7: Level of agreement on Ghanaians, not terrorism conscious

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Strongly Disagree	29	11.6
Disagree	17	6.8
Neutral	64	25.6
Agree	71	28.4
Strongly Agree	69	27.6
Total	250	100.0

Source: Field survey (2019)

Also, 29 (11.6%) respondents “strongly disagreed”, and 17 (6.8%) of the respondents “disagreed” with the assertion that Ghanaians are not terrorism conscious. Finally, following right behind the majority “strongly agree” group were “neutral” on Ghanaians not being terrorism conscious. 64 (25.6%) of the respondents maintained this position.

Earlier research in Ghana has demonstrated that factors necessary for terrorism to occur in Ghana are glaring. The works of researchers such as Anim (2015) and interviews with some security experts have corroborated this statement. This study sought to determine respondents' level of agreement on whether factors necessary for terrorism in Ghana are glaring. The results are presented in Table 8:

Table 8: Level of agreement on factors necessary for terrorism in Ghana

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Strongly Disagree	19	7.6
Disagree	31	12.4
Neutral	89	35.6
Agree	68	27.2
Strongly Agree	43	17.2
Total	250	100.0

Source: Field survey (2019)

Respondents “agreed” and “strongly agreed” to a staggering 68 (27.2%) and 43 (17.2%) approval that factors necessary for terrorism to occur in Ghana are evident. However, 19 (7.6%) and 31 (12.4%) respondents “strongly disagreed” and “disagreed”, respectively to the fact that factors necessary for terrorism to occur in Ghana are tangible. On the contrary, 89 of the respondents, representing 35.6%, maintained a “neutral” position on their agreement to whether factors necessary to instigate terrorism is evident in Ghana. The staggering number of unemployed graduates, vigilantism on the rise, political intolerance, lack of education, among others, adds to the study's central thesis that many Ghanaians are not prepared or sufficiently conscious regarding the threat of terrorism in the country.

Research Question 2: What is the level of preparedness of the populace toward terrorism?

The main objective of this research question is to assess the preparedness of the populace for terrorism in the event of it happening. Preparation for terrorism is a multi-layered venture that comprises several branches. One’s ability to prevent, endure and still operate after a terrorist attack forms part of the preparedness, and that is exactly what this research question sought to measure. In the event of an emergency, in this case, a terrorist attack,

the ability to reach the security or emergency services is key to mitigating the attack to save lives and properties. The renowned 911 presents itself as a ready example when it comes to dealing with an emergency crisis. The researcher decided to put the Ghana police emergency number to the test by asking respondents what the number was, and these were the results that came through.

Table 9: What is the Ghana emergency number?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
191	125	50.0
192	21	8.4
911	104	41.6
Total	250	100.0

Source: Field survey (2019)

Of the 250 respondents, 125, representing 50.0% of the respondents, answered “191” as the Ghana Police emergency number. 104 (41.6%) respondents answered “911” as the Ghana Police emergency number. 21 respondents, representing 8.4%, answered “192” as the Ghana Police emergency number. Though more than half of the respondents gave the right answer, of “191,” the succeeding majority were those who answered “911.” Though “911” is not an African emergency number, from the data, it is clear that half of the respondents would have called the wrong emergency number in the event of an emergency which would rather lead to further disaster since the emergency would not be reached on time for them to even to respond.

Similarly, emergency evacuation drills ought to be part of daily routines to get the citizenry in a state of readiness to deal with an attack if it occurs. Not knowing where to turn or which exit to use could lead to several deaths, which the terror attack itself would not have necessarily caused but due to ignorance.

To find out the level of preparedness of the populace, respondents were asked if they had engaged in any evacuation, safety or fire drill.

Table 10: Have you engaged in any evacuation, safety, fire drill?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	51	20.4
No	199	79.6
Total	250	100.0

Source: Field survey (2019)

From the data presented in the table above, it is evident that from the total 250 respondents sampled, 51 (20.4%) of the respondents stated that they have engaged in some form of evacuation drills. A staggering 199 respondents, representing 79.6%, responded “no” that they have not engaged in any form of evacuation exercises or drills. This response provides a situation to worry about. The United Kingdom’s Security Minister, Ben Wallace, has maintained that simulation exercises happen at varying intervals every year to ensure that emergency services and government are ready to respond to any attack should it happen (Home Office, 2018). This does not mean Ghana has not had any simulation drills. The “Exercise Home Shield” in December 2018 (Gyamfi, 2018) and the “ABRONOMA 2016” (Abdullahi, 2016) are all examples of Ghana’s efforts toward preparedness. However, in the face of growing lone wolf terrorist attacks in the form of knife, bomb, and car attacks, the British public will be given first aid training for terrorist attacks relating to knife, bomb and shooting attacks (Dearden, 2018). The police chiefs insist that the public is expected to maintain the “Run, Hide and Tell” protocol as they comprise the greatest counter-terrorism measures after which the appropriate first aid measures would be deployed (Dearden, 2018).

Respondents who answered “yes” were asked to indicate how recent they had that evacuation drill or exercise. Out of the 51 who answered that they have engaged in evacuation drills, 23 (45.1%) respondents indicated that they had their evacuation exercise over the past 1 to 3 years. 15 of the respondents, representing (29.4%), noted that they had their evacuation drill in the past 3 to 5 years. 13 of the respondents, representing (25.5%), maintained that they had their emergency drill more than 5 years ago.

Table 11: If yes, how long has it been?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
1-3years	23	9.2
3-5years	15	6.0
More than 5years	13	5.2
No response	199	79.6
Total	250	100.0

Source: Field survey (2019)

This research intimates that evacuation drills should be organised at least once every year to make citizens extra conscious and aware of evolving trends of terrorism.

Research Question 3: How has terrorism influenced the behaviour of the populace?

The main objective of this research question was to ascertain how terrorism has affected the behaviour of the populace. With terrorism increasing in almost all continents of the world, it is expected that behaviours and attitudes of the citizenry toward it would change for the positive. This notwithstanding, this research question sought to find answers to whether respondents have had their behaviour affected in any way.

In the wake of multiple security breaches and all forms of events that border the country's security, respondents were asked how their awareness of security has been raised or affected by robbery, terrorism, vigilantism, and violent crime. On a scale of 1-5 where 1=lowest, 2= low, 3= Moderate, 4= High and 5= Highest, respondents identified how much the above-listed security threats have affected their awareness. These indicators were used because Ghana has seen rising rates in their occurrence in the past three to five years.

On the issue of robbery, 22 (8.8%), 41 (16.4%), 62 (24.8%), 52 (20.8%) and 73 (29.2%) answered “lowest,” “low,” “moderate,” “high” and “highest” respectively as having informed their security awareness. Thus, the greatest number of respondents noted that robbery had been the greatest influence on their security awareness. Concerning terrorism, 41 (16.4%), 50 (20.0%), 66 (26.4%), 49 (19.6%) and 44 (17.6%) answered “lowest,” “low,” “moderate,” “high”, and “highest” respectively as having informed their security awareness. Concerning terrorism, the majority of the respondents said that terrorism has moderately influenced their security awareness. As a result, it has not boosted their awareness levels.

Similarly, on Vigilantism, 22 (8.8%), 27 (10.8%), 92 (36.8%), 57 (22.8%) and 52 (20.8%) respondents answered “lowest,” “low,” “moderate,” “high” and “highest” respectively as having informed their security awareness. Those who answered or indicated moderate as their main responses formed the majority in this group. Though vigilantism has attained wide publicity in the past 3 to 5 years in Ghana and has been condemned by members of the political divide, it was surprising to have respondents indicating that vigilantism has moderately affected their level of security awareness. However, following the

“moderate” majority was the “High” group, on violent crime, 16 (6.4%), 40 (16.0%), 69 (27.6%), 79 (31.6%) and 46 (18.4%) respondents answered “lowest,” “low,” “moderate,” “high” and “highest” respectively as having informed their security awareness. The data is represented in table 12 below:

Table 12: How awareness has been increased by recent events

Answer choices	Lowest (%)	Low (%)	Moderate (%)	High (%)	Highest (%)
Robbery	22 (8.8)	41 (16.4)	62 (24.8)	52 (20.8)	73 (29.2)
Terrorism	41 (16.4)	50 (20.0)	66 (26.4)	49 (19.6)	44 (17.6)
Vigilantism	22 (8.8%)	27 (10.8)	92 (36.8)	57 (22.8)	52 (20.8)
Violent Crime	16 (6.4)	40 (16.0)	69 (27.6)	79 (31.6)	46 (18.4)

Source: Field survey (2019)

Likewise, to arrive at answers for the research question on how the behaviours of the respondents have been affected, the survey asked how respondents felt about crime over the last five years, and respondents’ views were somehow fairly distributed. A majority of the respondents, 138 (55.2%), noted that they have become more concerned about crime and terrorism over the past 5 years. 37 (14.8%) respondents also noted that they have been less concerned about crime or terrorism over the past 5 years. 30% of the respondents, representing 75 respondents, were unsure whether they have been in any way influenced by terrorism or crime over the past years. This result presents a disturbing image of how some people in Ghana feel about citizens’ attitudes toward terrorism or crime.

The past few years have seen some defining moments in the world as a result of terrorism. According to the Global Terrorism Index (2018), although terrorism cases have seen a downward projection, the lethality of the attacks cannot be ignored as many civilians continue to die at the hands of terrorism. Although not a significant number, 37 respondents (14.8%), were less

concerned about terrorism and crime cases. It can be deduced that these people had not, or did not give any critical attention to basic security directives or measures and stand to be victims of unlikely terrorist or crime situations since they refused to or were not attentive to glaring events that could easily lead to terrorism or crime.

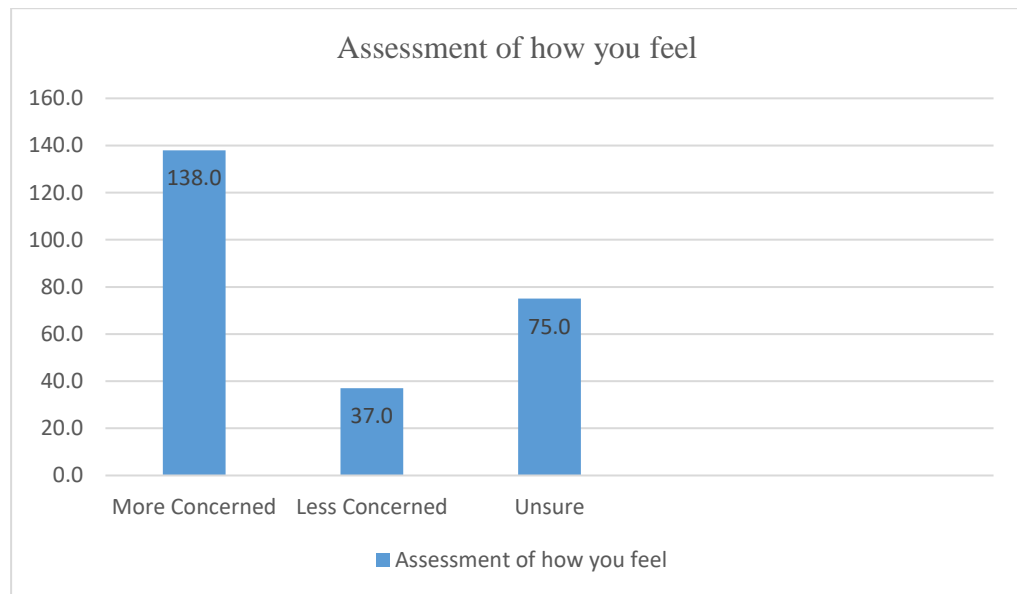


Figure 3: Assessment of how you feel about recent terrorist activities

Source: Field survey (2019)

In the wake of terrorist attacks in the West African sub-region, the survey sought to find out from respondents how these terrorist attacks have influenced their level of consciousness about terrorism and find in extension how their behaviour has been affected by terrorism.

Table 13: Recent terrorist attacks influence consciousness

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes, have influenced	91	36.4
Yes, have not influenced	72	28.8
No	45	18.0
Unsure	42	16.8
Total	250	100.0

Source: Field survey (2019)

From table 13 presented above, 91 (36.4%) of the respondents noted that, indeed, their consciousness level and behaviour had been greatly influenced by recent terrorist events. This could be exhibited in their vigilance in public spaces or crowded areas, etc. 72 (28.8%) of the respondents stated that though their level of consciousness has been raised, it has not influenced their behaviour. 45 (18.0%) of the respondents stated that recent terrorist events had not influenced their level of consciousness and behaviour in any way whatsoever. Some of the respondents were unsure of the influence terrorist events have had on their level of awareness and behaviour in recent years.

Although most of the respondents noted that recent terrorist attacks had influenced their level of consciousness and behaviour, this still presented a disturbing picture. Suppose the security services in the country are doing their best to secure the country. In that case, it behoves the citizenry to be also conscious and have a change in behaviour to be able to support the security in fighting terrorism but to remain unchanged in the face of recent terrorist attacks like those in New Zealand, Sri Lanka, Mali, Burkina Faso, Nigeria calls for drastic measures to be taken to get the citizenry to become conscious as it has always been said that security is a shared effort and that means a more concerted and stringent approach is needed to address this.

Those who replied that recent terrorist events had influenced their level of consciousness Of the 163 (65.2%) out of the total 250 respondents who answered that their level of consciousness and behaviour had been influenced by recent terror attacks (91 respondents) and those (72 respondents) whose level of consciousness only has been influenced by recent terror attacks, 92 of them, representing (47.5%), did not give reasons for how or what shows their level of

consciousness and behaviour has been shaped by recent terror attacks. That leaves 71 (43.5%) respondents who gave varying responses about how recent terror attacks have influenced their level of consciousness. Prominent among the responses was that they are careful about interacting with strangers; some also noted that they are very wary of their environment in public spaces, some others averred that in recent times, their appetite for learning more about basic security details had been whet; some of the respondents noted that they had developed some security mind-sets. Others underscored that they avoid lonely places at very late hours. Another noted that they go to places where they think security is good and become very vigilant and careful when travelling. However, one respondent said that nothing has changed about his behaviour because Ghana has not experienced any terrorist attack.

To determine whether respondents' behaviour has been influenced by terrorism in the sub-region, they were asked whether terrorist attacks in pockets of the continent influence them when travelling or planning to travel. Of the 250 respondents surveyed, 126 (50.4%) of them answered "yes." 36.0% of the respondents, representing 90 respondents, answered "no." The remaining 34 (13.6%) were unsure about their answers. Table 14 below throws more light on the situation. It can be inferred that the vast majority of the respondents take some precautions when they are about to travel. The United Kingdom, over the years, has tightened training for citizens who want to travel outside the country in dealing with any terror situation. However, it can be said that the responses were split on how recent events have influenced their consciousness when they plan to travel.

Table 14: Terrorist attacks influence when travelling

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	126	50.4
No	90	36.0
Unsure	34	13.6
Total	250	100.0

Source: Field survey (2019)

Like the preceding question, 34 (13.6%) respondents were unsure whether they consider the possibility of terrorist activity when they are going to a major event or concert. 116 (50.4%) of the respondents answered “yes” that they consider the possibility of a terrorist attack when they are going for any event. 100 (40.0%) of the respondents answered “no.” Further information is presented in the table below:

Table 15: You consider terrorism or security before attending events

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	116	46.4
No	100	40.0
Unsure	34	13.6
Total	250	100.0

Source: Field survey (2019)

From the data, it is clear that though the majority (116 respondents) claimed to consider terrorism and security before going for a programme or an event, the remaining respondents’ position still presents a cause for worry. The “no” and “unsure” groups made up more than half of the total respondents. Events and other programmes in public spaces continue to be targeted at terrorists. If those going there are not concerned about their safety or how secured the venue is, then that could mean that in the event of the attack, many could die out of ignorance and not necessarily by a flaw in the security set up of the place. Individuals are responsible for their safety, and hence, personal

efforts should be made to ensure that security should be resonating in our minds wherever we go.

Attacks in Hotels in Nairobi and Sri Lanka still demonstrate that hotels associated with the establishment or symbols of westernisation are often areas where terrorist attacks have resulted in large numbers of casualties. Al-Shahab and ISIS respectively claimed both attacks. On this score, to find out how recent terrorist events have influenced respondents' behaviours in choosing a hotel, bus terminal, or mall was necessary. As shown in Figure 4 below, the data demonstrate that a large majority of the respondents, 114 (45.6%), noted that terrorism and security form a major influence on their choice of a hotel, bus terminal, or mall. 55 (22.0%) of the respondents said that terrorism and security play a minor role in the determination to choose any hotel, mall or bus terminal. 61 of the respondents, representing 24.4%, said terrorism and security did not influence their choice of a hotel, mall or bus terminal. 20 (8.0%) respondents answered they were unsure whether terrorism or security influences their choice of hotel, mall or bus terminal.

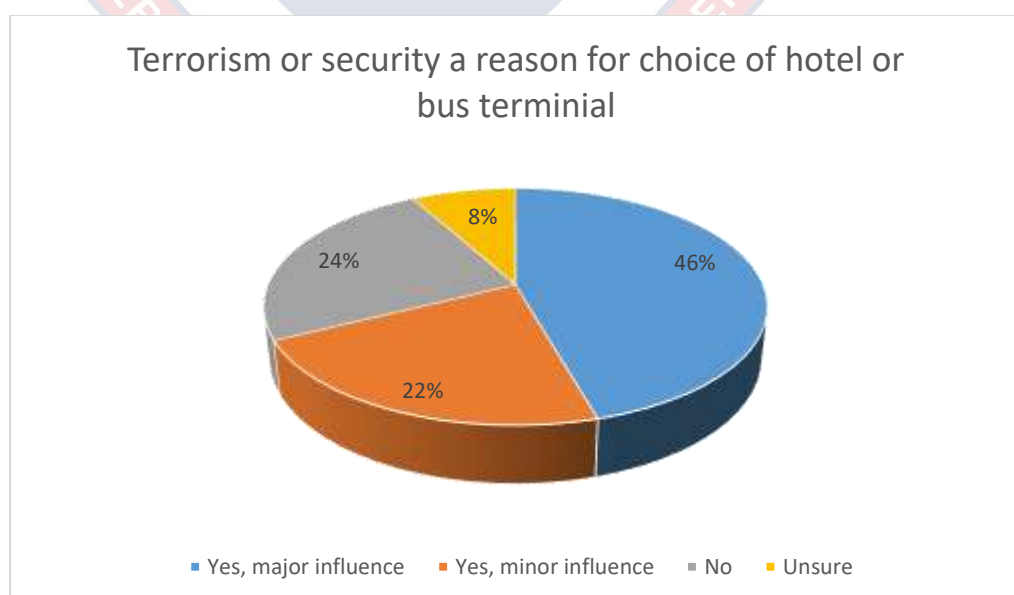


Figure 4: A pie chart illustrating terrorism or security as a reason for the choice of hotel or bus terminal

Source: Field survey (2019)

Article 6 and 17 of the Ghana Anti- Terrorism Act (Act 762) is clear on its position that persons who knowingly give their property to persons to rent or rent a house to commit a terrorist act are all liable to having committed a terrorist attack or having corroborated in the attack. Therefore, to determine how respondents' behaviours have been influenced by terrorism, they were asked whether they consider security or terrorism when renting a property. From the response received, 120 (48.0%) respondents answered that security or terrorism plays a significant role in their choice when renting a property. 55 (22.0%) of the respondents noted that although there is some kind of influence of terrorism or security, it is on a minor scale. 43 (17.2%) declared that terrorism and security did not influence their choice of a property when renting one. However, 12.8% of the respondents, representing 32 respondents, were "Unsure" whether terrorism or security influences their choice of a property when renting. The table below gives further explanation.

From table 16 below, it is evident that the majority of the people are careful about renting properties; the remaining who are not influenced are still quite a number. When it comes to security, everybody must be conscious and aware of their surroundings. Any rejection of basic security awareness directives could spell doom for others. The United States Homeland Security *iWatch* programme is a great platform to make citizens aware of their surroundings and report anything suspicious they see to the programme. Thus, making all responsible for their security and that of others.

Table 16: Do you consider security/terrorism when renting a property

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes, significant influence	120	48.0
Yes, minor influence	55	22.0
No	43	17.2
Unsure	32	12.8
Total	250	100.0

Source: Field survey (2019)

To identify the possible media through which respondents' behaviour about terrorism would be informed, they were asked to indicate which of the following would inform their decisions about a safe and secure public place or building. Ranging from media reports, official government or police communications, crime statistics, previous incidents at a location, general appearance or first impressions, visible security measures to the word of mouth, respondents were asked to select any of them. From the survey, participants depended on various resources in determining whether a place or building was safe and secure. Nonetheless, "media reports" was the most popular response, with participants judging a place or building on media reportage about the place. This implies that many people depend so much on the media to provide safety precautions about buildings and public spaces because they trust that the media would not give any false information and that the media is so prevalent and easily available in recent times. It, therefore, behoves the media to be very active in ensuring that they put the right information and details about a public space through thorough interrogation. This was followed by "visible security measures" and then "awareness of previous incidents" to have occurred at a location.

The survey suggests that participants, either knowingly or otherwise, would judge a public space or building as safe based on the prospects of an event happening and the deterrent effect of the local environment, thus, “visible security measures.” “Official government or police communications” and “crime statistics” were not far behind. Table 17 below presents a summary.

Table 17: Decision on whether a building or place is safe or secure

Answer Choice	Frequency	Valid Percentage (%)
Media reports	154	61.6
Official government/police communications	118	47.2
Crime statistics	123	49.2
Previous incidents at a location	131	52.4
Visible security measures	134	53.6
Word of mouth	78	31.2

Source: Field survey (2019)

Similarly, respondents were asked which public places they would be inclined to use if they had good security ratings. The list of places included Hotel, Office, Sports avenue, Entertainment venue, School, University, Restaurant, Shopping mall, Hospital, Airport, Bus station, Church or Mosque. Participants recognised the locations with usually high crowd concentrations (university, hotel, church/mosque, airports, sports venues, and stations) as places they would be more persuaded to use if a “security rating” were attributed to them. This result is not surprising given the attention people pay to such locations. Though hotels may not harbour many people, they are places people consider “home away from home”, and it is in the right place for people to demand at least the same level of security that they do from their residence.

Table 18: Security ratings on buildings

Answer Choices	Frequency	Valid Percentage (%)
Hotel	143	57.2
Office	99	39.6
Sports Avenue	100	40.0
Entertainment Avenue	78	31.2
School	121	48.4
University	159	63.6
Restaurant	60	24.0
Shopping Mall	100	40.0
Hospital	111	44.4
Airport	120	48.0
Bus Station	89	35.6
Church/Mosque	126	50.4

Source: Field survey (2019)

The use of suicide bombs to commit heinous terrorist attacks is not new. Boko Haram in the Northern Province of Maiduguri, Nigeria and bordering countries like Chad and Cameroun; the ISIS claimed Sri Lanka attacks, among a host of others, were more of suicide bombs. Moreover, many of these bombs have been carried out by leaving bags in isolated areas in several public spaces- Churches, malls, public transport, auditoriums, etc. It is not surprising that most public spaces in some other countries have surveillance cameras to detect any bags or suspicious objects in public spaces to curtail any kind of attack. At the detection of such an event of a bag left at an airport or stadium, they quickly seal the place from public use until the bag's content is properly checked and disposed of. To determine how respondents' behaviour has been influenced, they were asked their reaction when they see a bag lying idly in their area, workplace, mall, or any public space.

Table 19: What do you do when you see a bag lying idle in your area, workplace?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Walk Pass	180	72.0
Call the police	62	24.8
Pick it and throw away	8	3.2
Total	250	100.0

Source: Field survey (2019)

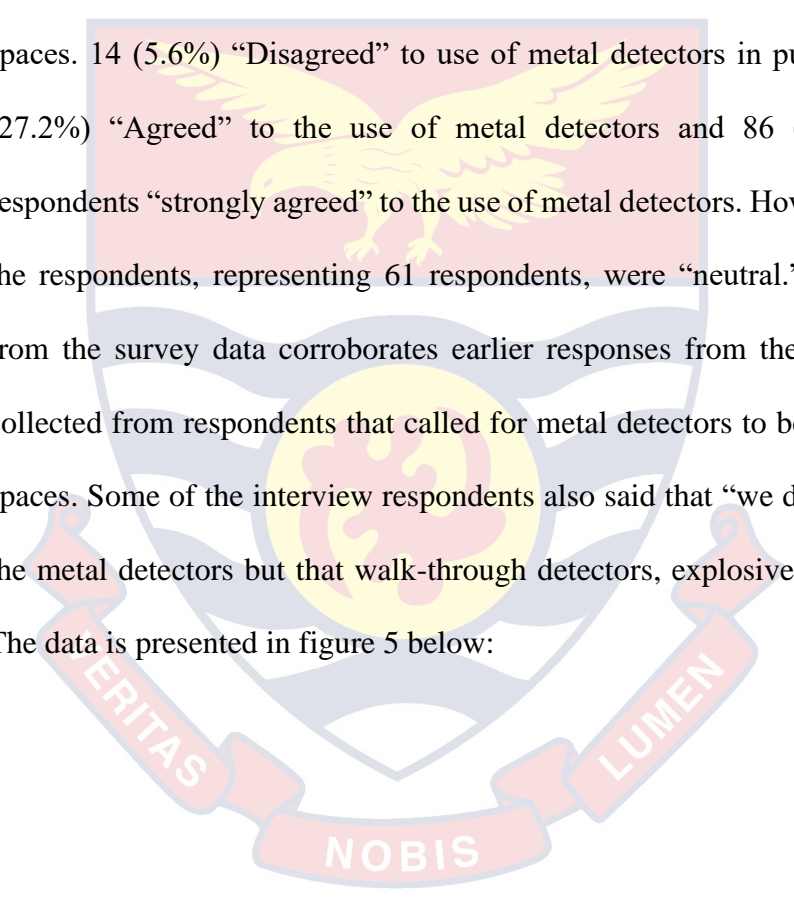
From table 19 above, a majority of the respondents, 180 (72.0%), indicated that they would “walk pass” if they found a bag lying idly in their area, workplace, mall or any public space. 62 of the respondents, representing 24.8%, indicated they would “call the police” when they see such a situation. 8 (3.2%) answered they would “pick up or take up” the bag and throw it away. It would be agreed that walking past and picking it to throw away still poses threats to the public, both directly and indirectly. However, those were the responses that got the most answers from respondents. Walking past a bag and not drawing the attention of the security to it could lead to serious damage if it is a bomb that is set to detonate with time. Picking it up and throwing it away still spells doom for the one who handles it. In such situations, the bomb squad are called in to seal off the place and look into the possible options to be able to decipher whether it is a threat to the public or not. The research underscores that to imbibe these qualities into the citizenry, education should play a central role followed by policies in this regard.

Research Question 4: What security measures have been put in place in public spaces against terrorism?

The main objective of this research question was to assess the security and safety measures in various institutions against terrorism. To arrive at

responses for this research question, respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement to some statements. On a Likert Scale of 1-5 where 1= strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3= neutral, 4= agree and 5= strongly agree, respondents indicated their level of agreement.

First, respondents were asked whether they support the use of metal detectors in public spaces. From the total responses received, 21 (8.4%) of the respondents “strongly disagreed” with the use of metal detectors in public spaces. 14 (5.6%) “Disagreed” to use of metal detectors in public spaces, 68 (27.2%) “Agreed” to the use of metal detectors and 86 (34.4%) of the respondents “strongly agreed” to the use of metal detectors. However, 24.4% of the respondents, representing 61 respondents, were “neutral.” This response from the survey data corroborates earlier responses from the interview data collected from respondents that called for metal detectors to be used in public spaces. Some of the interview respondents also said that “we do not only need the metal detectors but that walk-through detectors, explosive detectors”, etc. The data is presented in figure 5 below:



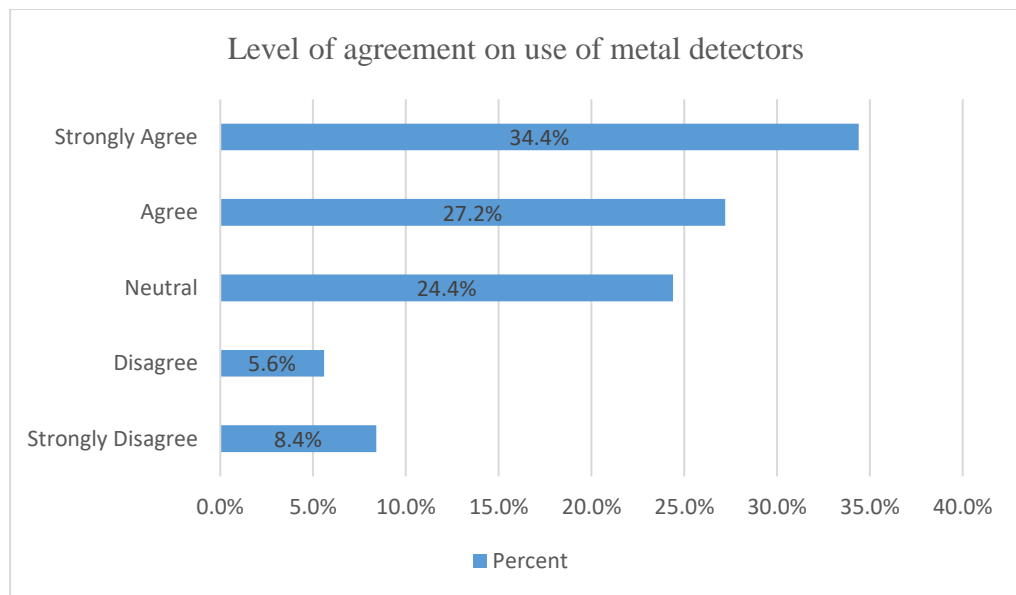


Figure 5: Level of agreement on the use of metal detectors

Source: Field survey (2019)

Similarly, respondents were asked whether they support the use of surveillance cameras in public spaces. 14 (5.6%) and 7 (2.8%) of the total respondents answered they “strongly disagreed” and “disagreed” with the use of surveillance in public spaces, respectively. Meanwhile, 71 (28.4%) and 132 (52.8%) of the respondents underscored that they “agreed” and “strongly agreed” to the use of surveillance cameras in public spaces. However, 26 of the respondents, representing 10.4%, were “neutral” in their position on the use of surveillance cameras in public spaces. However, Greenberger (2006) confirms that CCTV is one of the foremost deterrence and top means of responding to acts of terrorism. Thus, the importance of metal detectors cannot be overstated in the current dispensation. This is presented in the figure below:

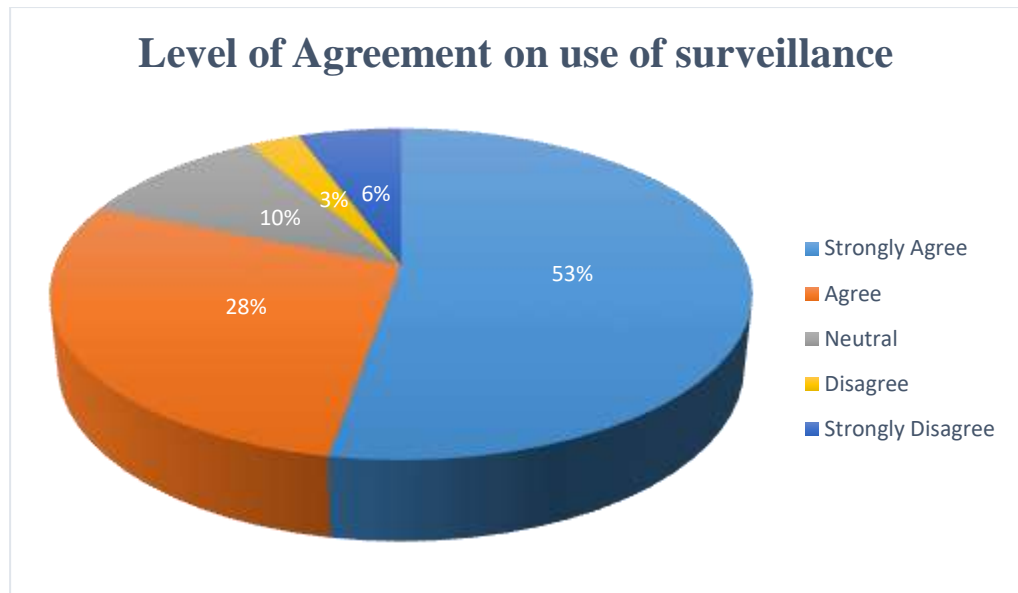


Figure 6: Level of agreement on the use of surveillance camera

Source: Field survey (2019)

The ability to evacuate the public or users of public space in the case of an emergency cannot be overestimated in the quest to reduce the number of possible casualties. The role of clearly stated emergency procedures in public places can be a step towards avoiding or reducing casualties to both citizens and security personnel. In this light, respondents were asked whether they agreed that emergency procedures were clearly stated in public spaces.

Table 20: Level of agreement on emergency procedures clearly stated

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Strongly Disagree	10	4.0
Disagree	30	12.0
Neutral	40	16.0
Agree	57	22.8
Strongly Agree	113	45.2
Total	250	100.0

Source: Field survey (2019)

From table 20 above, it is evident that the majority of the respondents “strongly agreed” that emergency procedures are clearly stated in public spaces.

113 (45.2%) respondents represented this. 57 (22.8%) of the respondents “agreed” that emergency procedures had been clearly stated in public spaces. Consequently, 10 (4.0%) and 30 (12.0%) of the respondents respectively “strongly disagreed” and “disagreed” with the statement that emergency procedures had been clearly stated in public spaces. 40 of the respondents, representing 16.0%, maintained a “neutral” position on the statement. Although most respondents “strongly agreed” that emergency procedures are clearly stated in public spaces, some existential proof in some universities, malls, and other public spaces does not confirm this assertion. It is not surprising that combining those who were “neutral,” “disagreed”, and “strongly disagreed” to this assertion would be more than those who “strongly agreed.”

Largely linked to terrorism glaring in Ghana is whether public spaces could be prone to terrorism.

Table 21: Level of agreement on public spaces prone to terrorism

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Strongly Disagree	29	11.6
Disagree	30	12.0
Neutral	67	26.8
Agree	74	29.6
Strongly Agree	50	20.0
Total	250	100.0

Source: Field survey (2019)

From table 21, a majority 74 (29.6%) and 50 (20.0%) “strongly agreed” and “agreed”, respectively, that public spaces in Ghana are at risk of terrorism. 29 (11.6%) and 30 (12.0%) of the respondents “strongly disagreed” and “disagreed” respectively to the statement that public spaces in Ghana are prone to possible terrorism. On the flipside, 67 of the respondents, representing 26.8%,

remained “neutral” and did not associate themselves with either side of the agreement. It can be inferred from the data that respondents believe public spaces in the country are prone to possible terrorist attacks though, the number of respondents who were “indecisive” and “disagreed” was quite significant. Several reasons could account for these assertions- the lack of surveillance cameras in most of these areas, the lack of vigilance of public space users, the lack of metal detectors in most public spaces, etc.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed respondents’ responses to the survey conducted. Using tables and figures, the results were represented to allow for the data to be discussed. We can deduce the following key points regarding peoples’ preparedness for terrorist attacks from the foregoing analysis. First, the majority of the findings confirmed the aim of this study that education and awareness creation is requisite to affect the lives of the citizenry to guard against terrorism and its viciousness. This is because it was realised from the findings that the majority of the respondents who have heard about terrorism did not consider it an influence on the behaviour.

Additionally, the chapter demonstrates that respondents needed significant education and training on emergency numbers and emergency procedures in public spaces. The data further demonstrates that the majority of the respondents had not engaged in any form of emergency procedures or drills and would find themselves wanting at the event of a terrorist attack because they would be caught between decisions and may suffer deaths or injuries that could have otherwise been avoided.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter presents the summary and conclusion of the research. It further proffers recommendations for key stakeholders, policymakers and senior staff in the security sector to consider in their businesses to ensure the entire country is engaged in a groundbreaking terrorism and security consciousness movement. The research set out to assess the level or extent of Ghanaian consciousness concerning the possible or potential threat of terrorist attacks arising in the country in the twenty-first century.

Summary of the Study

The research was hinged on four specific objectives. The first was to establish people's awareness about terrorism and examine the public's security consciousness. The second objective was to assess the preparedness of the populace against terrorism in the event of it happening. Thirdly, it sought to ascertain how terrorism has affected the behaviour of the populace. Fourthly, the study sought to assess the security and safety measures in various institutions against terrorism. Several key documents that examined lone wolf terrorism, international conventions, articles, news portals, government reports, and several others were critically scrutinised to achieve these objectives.

The research used the survey mixed methods approach; thus, both qualitative and quantitative methods were employed. The study made use of both interviews and survey questionnaires. Some of the key people interviewed included: Mr Moses M. Abnory, the Director for Legal, Consular and General Services of the University of Cape Coast; Superintendent Raymond Adofiem, the National Director, Ghana Police National Counter-Terrorism Department

and Mr Moses Kofi Frempah, an Intelligence Officer and a Senior Security Officer at the UCC Security Section. Another ten security officials from the UCC security section were selected for the survey interviews. The survey method was chosen because it lends itself as a credible research design to assess the behaviour of a large number of people. Hence, the simple random sampling method was employed where each member of the population was considered a potential sample. 250 people were sampled from the University of Cape Coast lecture halls, the University of Cape Coast shuttle terminal, and the student church setting in the University of Cape Coast. These places were chosen because they are public spaces where people would naturally congregate for various purposes.

The data gathered from the interviews were analysed comparatively with the content from the wider literature. The survey questions were analysed with the use of Statistical Product for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The SPSS is an analysis software that is used to analyse statistical data and aids in easy interpretation of the data entered. The software allows for easy identification of the variables and analysis of the data, thus aided the researcher to code the data and interpret them, using tables and graphs to arrive at the findings.

Summary of Findings

The study demonstrated that the socio-demographic qualities of the respondents from the survey, their location, age, sex and educational level should be a reason for them to be well informed about issues regarding awareness of terrorism in the twenty-first century, especially since most of the respondents lived in urban areas and had attained tertiary education or were already enrolled in a tertiary institution.

From the study, it was evident that the majority of the respondents were very much aware of some terrorist events and organisations. Boko Haram and the 9/11 events in the US were the most popular responses with 34.4% and 6.8%, respectively. It could be deduced from respondents' subsequent response that media reportage of terrorist attacks in the sub-region of Africa led to these results.

Moreover, the research found that the majority of the respondents, 26.4% were indifferent about terrorism in recent times. Thus, they were not concerned in any way with the increase in terrorism cases in the sub-region. This is cause for serious worry, as bordering countries to Ghana in the West African sub-region like the political instability in Burkina Faso could easily spill into the country. It is, therefore, important that citizens become wary and be highly conscious of their environment to help mitigate untoward behaviours that could trigger terror attacks.

In addition, the study showed that Boko Haram had gained popularity in the sub-region as the vast majority of the respondents, 97.6%, noted that they had heard about the terrorist group's activities in the region. As to where they operated was a matter of contention. However, the majority of respondents noted that they operate in Nigeria, for some of the respondents to state that they operate in some Arabian countries like Iraq and Afghanistan and another, Ghana, demonstrate that some people are not in tune with terrorist activities relatively close to their own country. Some others who answered they had heard about them also did not know where they operate.

The research also found that most respondents were not influenced by terrorist events over the past five years. Though the majority 138 (55.2%) of the

respondents alluded to becoming more concerned about terrorism over the past 5 years, 75 (30%) of them were unsure of the influence terrorism has had on them over the past five years.

Furthermore, the study showed that though the majority of the respondents, 126 (50.4%), have had their behaviour influenced by recent terrorist attacks when travelling, a still significant number of respondents, 90 (36.0%), were of the view that their behaviours have not been influenced in any way or form. Therefore, many of them did not seem to care about the causes of terrorism or its signs when travelling to other places in the country. This suggests that many of the respondents, after leaving the comfort of their home, would become susceptible to terrorist attacks because they do not heed any of its warnings or signals. Other people in countries like Singapore would not take lightly because they are taught to note those signals and report accordingly.

The research found that 50.4% of the respondents considered their security or issues about terrorism before attending a major event, concert, or festival. Although the majority considered terrorism and security issues before attending an event, a significant minority were not bothered about security or the propensity for a terrorist attack to occur at any event they attend or otherwise. This mindset must be changed if Ghana is to make any positive strides in the fight against terrorism public spaces in the country.

The study found that most respondents indicated that terrorism and security would influence their choice of a hotel, shopping mall, or bus terminal. However, a significant minority who do not have terrorism or security influencing their decision of mall, and those who were unsure terrorism or security informs their decision of a hotel or mall or bus terminal, is a cause for

concern. This is a worrying feature because bus terminals, malls, hotels, among others, are public spaces, and with the recent attacks on public spaces, one cannot be extra careful when accessing such environments. The public needs to be better educated regarding the need to be more vigilant in such public spaces.

The study further found that respondents depended on media reports to tell whether a place is safe or secured. The mass media, television, radio, internet, social media, among others, played a significant role in shaping their thoughts about whether a place was secured or not, especially for younger people who formed the majority of the respondents. The survey revealed that an overwhelming 154 (61.6%) relied on media reports to make such decisions. It is, however, unfortunate that the media has not risen to the task to play this role as it is expected to educate and inform the public on which places could be potential targets for terror attacks. Second to the media reports, an additional factor was visible security measures and signs of previous incidents at the place.

On which public space respondents would be more inclined to use if they had good security ratings, the research revealed that the university, hotel and church/mosque respectively would be the first three places they would be inclined to use. Though Ghana has not had any terrorism issues in universities like the US, or hotel attacks like Kenya, and church/mosque attacks like that in Nigeria and New Zealand, respondents were quite aware of the harm caused by these events.

From the study, the approval rate for using metal detectors, surveillance cameras and clearly and visible emergency procedures was very positive. These results could be from respondents' knowledge about their importance in mitigating terrorism and preserving human life and property.

Although the 9/11 incident in the US is as popular as the term itself, the study revealed that a significant number of the respondents, 151 (42%), still did not know where it happened. This was a surprising finding, given the majority literate population sampled for the study. Therefore, it suggests that even for the majority of urban-based respondents who are believed to be well informed about terrorist attacks, one cannot make firm conclusions on their awareness about terrorism and its related matters.

The study showed that regardless of the insidious prevalence of terrorism cases in Ghana's border country, Burkina Faso, the majority of the respondents were not generally aware of the possible growing threats. Nigeria was the most selected among the list, followed by Liberia, Sierra Leone and then Burkina Faso. It would be agreed that Liberia and Sierra Leone have not been in the news for matters relating to terrorism in the past few years, and it is quite surprising that respondents selected those countries before that of Mali, and especially Burkina Faso who has been at the epicentre of terrorism cases in the West African Sub-region.

Though the causes of terrorism are replete in the international media and are well documented, respondents revealed that carelessness, unemployment, illiteracy, poverty, unbalanced government policies are some of the causes of terrorism. Carelessness was most striking among the responses that respondents relayed. Respondents were quite aware that the lack of carefulness and neglect of the warning and glaring signs of terrorism exposes the public to terrorism. What is surprising about this response was that despite some awareness regarding the lack of knowledge, the respondents did not seem to be concerned, probably because no major incident of terrorism has occurred in Ghana.

Addressing this poor attitude towards security and terrorism must be a major priority in schools, which is one strategy employed by other governments such as the UK and Israel, where they have a history of terrorist attacks.

Another shocking revelation from the study showed that more than half of the respondents could be potential victims of terrorism, or their behaviour could endanger the lives and safety of others. The study revealed that 188 (75.2%) of the 250 respondents would either pick up and throw away a bag lying idle in a public space or simply, but dangerously, walk past it. A behaviour that should not be condoned.

The study also found out that of the 250 respondents surveyed, 125 (50%) correctly selected the correct Ghana police emergency number in the event of a possible incident. The remaining 50%, in the event of a terrorist attack, would have called the wrong number, thinking they had called the police to help salvage the situation but only to delay whatever response that should have come earlier. The study also identified that 911 would probably be dialled by most of the respondents due primarily to its popularity and usage, even on television screens and polarised media networks.

Finally, the study identified that over 70% of the respondents had not engaged in any form of evacuation or emergency drills. Thus, from the results, it is clear that many people would not even know where to turn or which emergency mechanism to employ during a terrorist attack. All these are part of the emergency procedures that many of the populace are not aware of; hence, in the event of a terror attack in a public space, civilian casualties could be many, not necessarily because of the magnitude of the terrorist attack but because of the ignorance about how to deal with a gun, knife, and chemical bomb attack.

This result further corroborates the fact that even out of those who answered they had engaged in some form of emergency or evacuation drills, half of them had theirs between 3-5 years and more than 5 years ago.

Conclusions

The attention given to terrorism awareness by the international community, spearheaded by the United States and other western countries, has seen several phases over the years. What we see today is evidence of the importance given to terrorism. As terrorist attacks have moved away from conventional methods to unconventional ones, the use of the military to forestall its occurrence is becoming rather dormant though still important. A more gradual shift of attention has been the importance placed on securing public spaces, which, have over the years, been the point of attraction for terrorist attacks and educating the public on what to do during such attacks. It is not surprising that the US, UK, and some countries in Asia give critical responsiveness to educating their citizens to be very vigilant and observant and report any suspicious actions or activities to the necessary authorities immediately they see one. In this regard, robust systems and quick emergency response teams have been developed to see these measures' success.

The same cannot be said about Ghana in many respects. Though efforts have been geared to have such systems in place and build a sense of consciousness and awareness about terrorism in the event of its increasing atrocities in the West African Sub-region, this is not the general practice or experience in Ghana, and much more needs to be done. This study concludes that terrorism consciousness among the sampled respondents is fairly average and that much needs to be done to increase the awareness and consciousness

level of the populace, which confirms the proposition in the hypothesis. Fortunately, many countries have taken the lead ahead of Ghana, and the country can learn and adopt some of their practices into their security apparatus to help prevent terrorism or reduce its impact in the event it happens. In this instance, prevention is better than cure. Being prepared is the way forward for the country to mitigate terrorist attempts. It is necessary to add that the citizenry must be aware of their surroundings and abreast with these through good education and advocacy.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of the survey conducted, the following recommendations are made:

1. The research submits that the Ministry of Education, in collaboration with the Ghana Education Service, should draw a programme to include terrorism awareness and consciousness training into the curriculum of both students and teachers to become aware of their environment. It is also suggested that universities should develop a general university-wide course for terrorism awareness to be taught for a semester for all students. There should also be a terrorism awareness week in schools to boost the awareness campaign about terrorism. More so, terrorism awareness clubs should be formed in schools to champion this course.
2. It is also recommended that the National Commission for Civic Education and the Ministry of Information and stakeholders design and maintain a national terrorism awareness and sensitisation campaign to get the citizenry aware of the growing threat of terrorism. This could be undertaken in conjunction with terrorist experts and academics and through detailed

academic studies on the subject. In this regard, the current study and other relevant studies on terrorism in Ghana could be presented in academia for critical assessment. The Ministry of Finance should set aside a part of the national budget to implement this large-scale terrorism awareness creation and the gadgets needed to mitigate any terror attacks in public spaces.

3. It is also recommended that academia conduct further research to explore how institutions with mandates to educate the public can see to launching the education campaign, what resources they need, and the best methods to use to achieve this goal.
4. In collaboration with the Ministry of Interior and the Ghana Police Counter Terrorism Department, the study recommends that the National Communication Authority devise some acronyms or anecdotes as simple, easy to memorise stages to employ during a gun, knife or chemical bomb attack. It further recommends that the University of Cape Coast undertake its responsibilities and implement its security programme on campus.
5. It is further recommended that all public spaces, especially, Malls, Event Venues, Hospitals and the like should be fitted with surveillance cameras and where applicable, metal detectors should be installed to ward off potential attacks, or at least to help authorities use video evidence in gathering intelligence in the event of terrorist attacks. The study recommends that emergency directives be clearly and boldly inscribed and fitted in all public spaces to allow easy evacuation during an attack. It also recommends that citizens be educated to trust these directives to get them to safety and not rush and cause any stampede, which could even lead to deaths. In this regard, steps should be taken to enforce regular evacuation

drills. Furthermore, security staff on campus must be fully trained on terrorism preparedness.

6. The research suggests that the Ghana police and other emergency services' put up a campaign to educate the public to call the right emergency numbers in the event of a terrorist attack or the event someone wants to make a report of suspicious activity. This recommendation is made on the premise that most respondents selected "911" as the Ghana Police Emergency Number.
7. The study also recommends that a plan of action be drawn to engage the populace in emergency and evacuation drills and simulation exercises, at least once every year. This should begin from the various schools and extended to the other parts of the country. It further recommends that estate and city developers have in mind emergency exits that are easy to access to avoid any stampede issues in the event of a terrorist attack.
8. The Counter-Terrorism Unit, now Department, under the auspices of the Ghana Police Service and other Counter Terrorism Units under other security agencies should be resourced to carry out their constitutional mandates.
9. The Interior and National Security Ministries should institute counterterrorism offices in various public spaces and institutions to implement anti-terrorism measures and allocate funds for their work at the various institutions.
10. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration should liaise with the country's security apparatus to be enrolled unto international intelligence agencies to be abreast with new terrorism trends and educate the public in that respect. It adds further that there should be a collaboration

between local and international security intelligence agencies to bolster their knowledge about terrorism.



REFERENCES

Primary Sources

In-depth Interviews

Superintendent Raymond Adofiem, Counter-Terrorism Department, Ghana Police Headquarters, Accra. Interviewed, 13-03-2019.

Mr Moses M. Abnory, Director, Directorate of Legal Consular and General Services, University of Cape Coast. Interviewed, 26-03-2019

Mr Moses Frempah, Intelligence Director, Security Section, University of Cape Coast. Interviewed, 27-02-2019.

10 Security Officials from the Security Section, University of Cape Coast.

Secondary Sources

Abdullai, I. (2016). Full-Scale Emergency Simulation Exercise at Kotoka International Airport today. Retrieved from <https://www.yfmghana.com/2016/07/30/full-scale-emergency-simulation-exercise-at-kotoka-international-airport-today/> on 15 June 2019.

Abrahamsen, R. (2004). A breeding ground for terrorists? Africa & Britain's 'war on terrorism'. *Review of African Political Economy*, 31(102), 677-684.

Abubakar, A. (2014). As many as 200 girls abducted by Boko Haram, Nigerian officials say. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2014/04/15/world/africa/nigeria-girls-abducted/index.html> on 27-6-2019.

AFP News Agency (2016). Deadly attack targets army base in Burkina Faso. Retrieved from <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/12/deadly->

[attack-targets-army-base-burkina-faso-161216164208144.html](#) on 3

May 2019

AFP News Agency (2019). Boko Haram storm military base in northeastern Nigeria. African News. Retrieved from

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/04/boko-haram-storm-military-base-northeastern-nigeria-190427162501857.html> on 3 May 2019

AFP News Agency (2019). Civilians killed in suspected Boko Haram attack in Niger town. Retrieved from

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/03/10-civilians-killed-suspected-boko-haram-attack-niger-town-190327144532205.html> on 3 May 2019

African Centre for Economic Transformation, ACET (2016). Unemployment in Africa: no jobs for 50% of graduates. Retrieved from

<http://acetforafrica.org/highlights/unemployment-in-africa-no-jobs-for-50-of-graduates/> on 3 May 2019.

African News (2018). Increased Vigilance against terrorist threat in Ghana's capital. Retrieved from

<https://www.africanews.com/2018/01/18/increased-vigilance-against-terrorist-threat-in-ghana-s-capital//> on 19 November 2018.

Agnew, T. (2018). Higher education is at the heart of the UK's counter-terrorism efforts. Retrieved from

<https://www.timeshighereducation.com/blog/higher-education-heart-uks-counter-terrorism-efforts> on 24-3-2019.

Albanese, J. (1984) Justice, Privacy, and Crime Control, New York:

University Press of America

Anderson, S. & Sloan, S. (2003). *Terrorism: Assassins to Zealots*. Lanham: Scarecrow Press

Anim, E. (2015). *Ghana's vulnerability to the threat of domestic and transnational terrorism: real, emerging or imagined?* (Master's thesis, Norwegian University of Life Sciences, Ås).

Ansah, M. (2018). "We're ready for terror attacks"- Armed Forces. Retrieved from <https://citinewsroom.com/2018/02/ready-handle-terror-attacks-armed-forces/> on 15 November 2018.

Army, U. S. (2008). US Army TRADOC G2 Handbook No. 1.06 Kidnapping and Terror in the Contemporary Operational Environment.

Babb, C. (2019). Terror Attacks on the Rise in Burkina Faso. Retrieved from <https://www.voanews.com/africa/terror-attacks-rise-burkina-faso> on 21-6-2019.

Bakker, E., & de Graaf, B. A. (2011). Preventing lone wolf terrorism: Some CT approaches addressed. *Perspectives*, 5, 8.

Baldwin, D. A. (1997). The concept of security. *Review of international studies*, 23(1), 5-26.

Bamba, R. A. M. Z. E. Y. (2014). *The Emerging Threats of Terrorism in West Africa: An Analysis of Ghana's Response* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Ghana).

Bayo, O. A. (2012). Research on terrorism: An overview of theoretical perspectives. *Asian Journal of Research in Social Sciences and Humanities*, 2(9), 11-27.

- BBC (2019). Burkina Faso church attack: Priest among six killed. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-48246715> on 21-06-2019.
- Ben-Yehuda, N. (1998). Where Masada's defenders fell. *Biblical Archaeology Review*, 24, 32-39 (Ben-Yehuda, 1998 cited in Matusitz, 2013).
- Blakeley, R. (2009). *State terrorism and neoliberalism: The north in the south*. London: Routledge
- Bongne, F. R. E. D. (2016). *Perception of Residents of Accra And Tema of the Link Between International Migration and Terrorism* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Ghana).
- Botha, A. (2008). Challenges in understanding terrorism in Africa: A human security perspective. *African Security Studies*, 17(2), 28-41.
- Botha, A. (2008). Challenges in understanding terrorism in Africa, cited in Wafula Okumu and Anneli Botha (eds.), *Understanding terrorism in Africa: Building Bridges and Overcoming Gaps*, (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2008); pp. 7-18.
- Bremer, L. (2001). A New Strategy for the New Face of Terrorism. *The National Interest*, (65), 23-30. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42895474>
- Bureau of Counterterrorism. United States Department of State. (2017). Country Reports on Terrorism 2016, (July), 447. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004>
- Buzan, B. (1991). New patterns of global security in the twenty-first century. *International affairs*, 67(3), 431-451.

- Bysyuk, V. (2010). Impact of 9/11 terrorist attacks on US and international tourism development. *Bachelor Thesis, Modul University, Vienna, Austria.*
- Calcutt, B. (2011). Just war theory and the war on terror. *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 6(2), 108-120.
- Carmody, P. (2005). Transforming globalization and security: Africa and America post-9/11. *Africa today*, 97-120.
- Carr, C. (2003). *The lessons of terror: A history of warfare against civilians.* Random House Incorporated.
- Chojnowski, L. (2017). The Origins and Waves of Terrorism. *Zeszyty Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Finansów i Prawa w Bielsku-Białej*, 4.
- Chothia, F. (2012). Who are Nigeria's Boko Haram Islamists? *BBC News*, 11 January 2012
- Citifmonline (2015). Two Ghanaians join ISIS. Retrieved from <http://citifmonline.com/2015/08/28/two-ghanaians-join-isis-national-security-co-ordinatorconfirms/> on 3 May 2019
- CNN (2011). Obama: Biggest Terror Fear is the Lone Wolf. Retrieved from <http://security.blogs.cnn.com/2011/08/16/obama-biggest-terror-fear-is-the-lone-wolf/> on 3 May 2019
- CNN (2019). Boko Haram Fast Facts. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2014/06/09/world/boko-haram-fast-facts/index.html> on 23-5-2019.
- Cornes, R., & Sandler, T. (1996). *The Theory of Externalities, Public Goods and Club Goods* (2nd Ed.) Cambridge University Press.

Crawford, N. C. (2003). Just war theory and the US counterterror war.

Perspectives on Politics, 1(1), 5-25.

Crenshaw, M. (1981). The causes of terrorism. *Comparative politics*, 13(4),

379-399.

Cronin, A. K. (2003). Behind the curve: Globalization and international

terrorism. *International security*, 27(3), 30-58.

Dearden, L. (2018). British public to be given knife, bomb and shooting first

aid training for terror attacks. Retrieved from

<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/terror-attack-first-aid-training-shooting-knife-bomb-injuries-medical-emergency-a8547596.html> on 15 June 2019.

Declaration on the Code of Conduct for Inter-African Relations (1994)

Djaba-Mensah, S. (2010). The UN Charter and Decolonisation. Retrieved

from <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/features/The-Un-Charter-Decolonization-180228> on 3 May 2019

Dougherty, J. E., & Pfaltzgraff, R. L. (1997). *Contending theories of international relations: a comprehensive survey*. Adison Wesley Publishing Company.

Dufka, C. (1999). *Getting Away with Murder, Mutilation and Rape: New*

Testimony from Sierra Leone (Vol. 11, No. 3). Human Rights Watch.

Dukes, K. (2017). Qur'an 9:111.

<http://corpus.quran.com/translation.jsp?chapter=9&verse=111>

Ekpu, R., Agbese, D. & Mohammed, Y. (2016). Dele Giwa's assassination:

The verdict of history. Retrieved from

<https://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/10/dele-giwas-assassination-the-verdict-of-history/> on 3 May 2019

- European Commission (2008) European Commission under the sixth framework programme, Concepts of Terrorism Analysis of the rise, decline, trends and risk. Deliverable 5; Workpackage 3, 2008
- Ewi, M. A. & Plessis, A. D. (2012). Counter-terrorism: international law and practice. In De Frias, A. M. S., Samuel, K. & White, N. (eds) *Criminal Justice Responses to Terrorism in Africa: The Role of the African Union and Sub-Regional Organizations*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ewi, M., & Aning, K. (2006). Assessing the role of the African Union in preventing and combating terrorism in Africa. *African Security Studies*, 15(3), 32-46.
- Fein, R. A., & Vossekuil, B. (1999). Assassination in the United States: An operational study of recent assassins, attackers, and near-lethal approachers. *Journal of Forensic Science*, 44(2), 321-333.
- Fiala, A. (2002). Terrorism and the philosophy of history: Liberalism, realism, and the supreme emergency exemption. *Essays in Philosophy*, 3(3), 2.
- Fixdal, M., & Smith, D. (1998). Humanitarian intervention and just war. *Mershon International Studies Review*, 42, 283312.
- France24 (2019). Jihadists kill 17 civilians in raid north of Burkina Faso, says defence minister. Retrieved from <https://www.france24.com/en/20190620-burkina-faso-islamic-state-terrorism-isis-isil-jihadist> on 21-06-2019.

Freedom, O. (2012). Boko Haram: Nigeria's Extremist Islamic Sect. *Doha:*

Al Jazeera Centre for Studies.

Chaliand, G., & Blin, A. (Eds.). (2007). *The history of terrorism: from antiquity to al Qaeda* (Vol. 33). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ghana Anti-Terrorism Bill (2008)

Ghana. Statistical Service. (2014). *2010 population and housing census report: Migration in Ghana*. Ghana Statistical Service.

Ghanaweb. (2015b). Ghanaian girl joins ISIS. Retrieved from <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/Ghanaian-girl-joins-ISIS-378244> on 3 May 2019

Ghosh, R., Manuel, A., Chan, W. A., Dilimulati, M., & Babaei, M. (2016). Education and security: A global literature review on the role of education in countering violent religious extremism. Tony Blair Institute for Global Change. E-publication. Available online: https://institute.global/sites/default/files/inline-files/IGC_Education%20and%20Security.pdf (accessed on 16 January 2019).

Gibbon, E. (1974). *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire* (Vol. 5). New York: AMS Press;

Gill, P., Horgan, J., & Deckert, P. (2014). Bombing alone: Tracing the motivations and antecedent behaviours of lone-actor terrorists. *Journal of forensic sciences*, 59(2), 425-435.

Global Risk Insights. (2015). *Keeping Islamic State out of Ghana*. Retrieved from

<http://globalriskinsights.com/2015/09/keeping-islamic-state-out-of-ghana/> on 15-06-2018.

Goldstein, S. J., & Pevehouse, J. C. (2013). *International Relations*. Toronto: Pearson Canada, Inc.

Government of the Netherlands (2019). *Before and during a disaster*.

Retrieved from <https://www.government.nl/topics/counterterrorism-and-national-security/before-and-during-a-disaster> on 24-3-2019

Graphic Online (2019). *Terrorists likely to attack Ghana - UK warns nationals*.

Retrieved from <https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/terrorists-likely-to-carry-out-attacks-in-ghana-uk-warns-nationals.html>

Greene, J. C., Caracelli, V. J., & Graham, W. F. (1989). Toward a conceptual framework for mixed-method evaluation designs. *Educational evaluation and policy analysis*, 11(3), 255-274.

Greenberger, M. (2006). The need for closed circuit television in mass transit systems.

Grob-Fitzgibbon, B. (2004). From the dagger to the bomb: Karl Heinzen and the evolution of political terror. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 16(1), 97-115.

Guitta, O. (2016). The re-emergence of AQIM in Africa. Retrieved from <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2016/03/emergence-aqim-africa-160320090928469.html> on 3 May 2019

Gyamfi, D. O. (2018). Security Agencies demonstrates Ghana's readiness to combat terrorism. Retrieved from <http://www.faapa.info/blog/security->

[agencies-demonstrates-ghanas-readiness-to-combat-terrorism/](#) on 15 June 2019.

Hashim, A. S. (2011). *Terrorism as an Instrument of Cultural Warfare: the meaning of Anders Breivik*. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 3(8), 1-6.

Health Physics Society (2011). Airport Screening. Retrieved from http://hps.org/documents/airport_screening_fact_sheet.pdf on 20-5-2019

Hewitt, C. (2003). *Understanding terrorism in America: From the Klan to al Qaeda*. Psychology Press.

Hoffman, B. (1997). Terrorism and WMD some preliminary hypotheses. *The Non-proliferation Review*, 4(3), 45-53.

Hoffman, B. (1998). *Inside Terrorism* (London: Victor Gollancz).
Juergensmeyer, Terror in the Mind of God, 9.

Hoffman, B. (1999). *Inside Terrorism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Hoffman, B. (2006). *Inside Terrorism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Home Office (2018). Terrorism response tested in national multi-agency exercise. Retrieved from

<https://www.gov.uk/government/news/terrorism-response-tested-in-national-multi-agency-exercise> on 15 June 2019.

Homeland Security Today (2011). Napolitano Says Lone Wolf Terror Threat Growing. Retrieved from <https://www.hstoday.us/daily-briefings-newsletter-dhs-wnb-dhs-today/napolitano-says-lone-wolf-terror-threat-growing/> on 3 May 2019

Hughes, J. A. (1981). *Data collection in context*. Longman.

Human Rights Watch (2001). Côte d'Ivoire: Politicians Incite Ethnic Conflict.

Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/news/2001/08/28/cote-divoire-politicians-incite-ethnic-conflict> on 3 May 2019

Imre, R., Mooney, T. B., & Clarke, B. (2008). Responding to Terrorism.

Political, Philosophical and Legal Perspectives, Burlington, Farnham, England: Ashgate;

Index, G. T. (2016). Institute of Economics and Peace.

Index, G. T. (2016). Institute of Economics and Peace.

Index, G. T. (2017). Institute of Economics and Peace.

Index, G. T. (2018). Institute of Economics and Peace.

Iyekekpolo, W. O. (2016). Boko Haram: understanding the context. *Third World Quarterly*, 37(12), 2211-2228.

Jacinto, L. (2012). The Boko Haram terror chief who came back from the dead. Retrieved from <https://www.france24.com/en/20120111-terror-chief-boko-haram-imam-shekau-youtube-nigeria-goodluck-jonathan-al-qaeda-oil> on 25-3-2019.

Jackson, B. A., Rhoades, A. L., Reimer, J. R., Lander, N., Costello, K., & Beaghley, S. (2019). Building an Effective and Practical National Approach to Terrorism Prevention. Homeland Security Operational Analysis Centre

Jesús, C. E. (2013). Kidnappings as a terrorist instrument of AQIM and the MUJAO. *Paix et sécurité internationales: revue maroco-espagnole de droit international et relations internationales*, (1), 161-166

Kafe, A. M. Y. (2013). *Preventing International Terrorism in Ghana: Realities and Challenges* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Ghana).

- Kajee, A. (2016). An attack on Ivory Coast was inevitable. Retrieved from <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2016/03/attack-ivory-coast-inevitable-160314100048554.html> on 3 May 2019.
- Kaminski, J. (2015). *The Morality of Counterterrorism. A Just War Theory Analysis of US Counterterrorism after 9/11*. GRIN Verlag.
- Kaplan, J. (1997). Leaderless resistance. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 9(3), 80-95.
- Kegley, W. C., & Wittkopf, E. R. (2006). *World Politics: Trend and Transformation* (10th ed.). Belmont: Thomas Learning, Inc.
- Klarevas, L. (2004). Political realism. *Harvard International Review*, 26(3), 19.
- Krause, L. B., & Nye, J. S. (1975). Reflections on the economics and politics of international economic organizations. *International organization*, 29(1), 323-342.
- Laqueur, W. (1979). The anatomy of terrorism. *Ten Year of Terrorism: Collected Views*, 9.
- Laqueur, W. (1987). *The Age of Terrorism*. New York: Little Brown
- Laqueur, W. (2000). *The new terrorism: Fanaticism and the arms of mass destruction*. Oxford University Press on Demand.
- Laqueur, W., & Alexander, Y. (Eds.). (1978). *The terrorism reader: a historical anthology* (p. 271). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Ladan, M. T. (2013): The Criminal Justice System and the New Security Challenges in Nigeria. In *Peace and Security as Imperative for National Development* (Edited by Golwa, J.H.P) Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Abuja and UNDP at pp. 46 to 58.

- Laro, A. (2002). Nigeria: Eleven Arrested Over Bomb Blast in Ilorin.
Retrieved from <https://allafrica.com/stories/200211200062.html> on 3
May 2019
- Lawrence, N. W. (2014). Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative
approaches. Pearson Education Limited: Edinburgh
- Le Priol, M. (2019). The fourth church attack in Burkina Faso within a month.
Retrieved from <https://international.la-croix.com/news/the-fourth-church-attack-in-burkina-faso-within-a-month/10187#> on 20-7-2019
- Lemennicier, B. (2012). Classical Just War Theory: A Critical View. In
Libertarian International Spring Convention.
- Lewis, B. (1967). *The Assassins: A Radical Sect in Islam* (London: Phoenix,
2003). *First published*.
- Lune, H., & Berg, B. L. (2016). Qualitative research methods for the social
sciences. Pearson Higher Ed.
- Mack, J. E. (2003). Deeper Causes: Exploring the Role of Consciousness in
Terrorism. *IONS Noetic Sciences Review*, 11-17.
- Mahama, J. (2014). Statement to 69th Session of the United Nations General
Assembly on 25 September, 2014. Retrieved from
https://www.un.org/en/ga/69/meetings/gadebate/pdf/GH_en.pdf on 21
March, 2019.
- Mantzikos, I. (2010). The absence of the state in northern Nigeria: The case of
Boko Haram. *African Renaissance*, 7(1), 57-62.
- Marsella, A. J., & Moghaddam, F. M. (2005). The origins and nature of
terrorism: Foundations and issues. *Journal of aggression, maltreatment
& trauma*, 9(1-2), 19-31.

- Martin, G. (2017). *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, perspectives, and issues*. SAGE publications.
- Mathers, N. J., Fox, N. J., & Hunn, A. (1998). *Using interviews in a research project*. NHS Executive, Trent.
- Mathiyazhagan, T., & Nandan, D. (2010). Survey research method. *Media Mimansa*, 4(1), 34-45.
- Matusitz, J. (2013). *Terrorism and communication*. Sage Publications Inc.
- Mbah, F. (2018). Nigeria's Buhari rattled by Boko Haram attacks as polls loom. Retrieved from <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/11/nigeria-buhari-rattled-boko-haram-attacks-polls-181130134916199.html> on 3 May 2019.
- Mbah, F. (2019). Nigeria's Chibok schoolgirls: Five years on, 112 still missing. Retrieved from <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/04/nigeria-chibok-school-girls-years-112-missing-190413192517739.html> on 10-5-2019
- McCauley, C., & Moskalkenko, S. (2014). Toward a profile of lone wolf terrorists: What moves an individual from radical opinion to radical action. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 26(1), 69-85.
- Michael, G., & Minkenberg, M. (2007). A continuum for responding to the extreme right: A comparison between the United States and Germany. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 30(12), 1109-1123.
- Ministry of Communication (2016). National Security Council Steps Up Counter-Terrorism Measures. Ghana
- Murtada, A. (2013). *Boko Haram Movement in Nigeria: Beginning, Principles and Activities in Nigeria*.

- Nabulsi, K. (1999). *Traditions of War. Resistance, Occupation, and the Law*.
Oxford: Oxford University Press
- NACTEST. (2014). *National Counter-Terrorism Strategy (NACTEST)*. Office
of the National
Security Adviser.
- Nagel, T. (1972). War and massacre. *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 123-144.
- National Research Council (1996). *Airline passenger security screening: new
technologies and implementation issues*. National Academies Press.
- Neuman, W. L. (2010). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and
Quantitative Research
Approaches*, 4thEd. USA: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Nicholson, M. (2002). *International Relations: A Concise Introduction* (2nd
ed.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Nmoma, V. (1997). The civil war and the refugee crisis in Liberia. *Journal of
Conflict Studies*, 17(1).
- Nwanegbo, C. J., & Odigbo, J. (2013). Security and national development in
Nigeria: The threat of Boko Haram. *International Journal of
Humanities and Social Science*, 3(4), 285-291.
- OAU (Organisation of African Unity) (1999). *Convention on the prevention
and combating of terrorism*, Algiers. Retrieved from
[https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/7779-treaty-0020 -
_oau_convention_on_the_prevention_and_combating_of_terrorism_e.
pdf](https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/7779-treaty-0020_-_oau_convention_on_the_prevention_and_combating_of_terrorism_e.pdf) on 30-5-2019.
- Obi, C. I. (2006). Terrorism in West Africa: Real, emerging or imagined
threats? *African Security Studies*, 15(3), 87-101.

Okumu, W., & Botha, A. (2007). Understanding terrorism in Africa: Building bridges and overcoming the gaps.

Onuoha, F. (2014). Boko Haram and the evolving Salafi Jihadist threat in Nigeria. *Islamism, politics, security and the state in Nigeria*, 158.

Owens, L. K. (2002). Introduction to survey research design. In *SRL fall 2002 seminar series* (pp. 78-105).

Parker, R. (2003). Terrorism and the Assumptions of Classical Liberalism.

Available at:

<http://www.parapundit.com/archives/000970.html>

Perbi, A. (2001). 'Slavery and the Slave Trade in Pre-Colonial Africa.' Paper Delivered on April 5, 2001, at the University of Illinois.

Pettiford, L., & Harding, D. (2003). *Terrorism: The new world war*. Leicester: Arcturus Publishing Limited.

Quartey, P. (2009). *Migration in Ghana: a country profile 2009*. Switzerland: International Organization for Migration.

Rapoport, D. C. (1988). Introduction. In David Rapoport (Ed.), *Inside the Terrorist Organizations* (pp. 2–10). New York: Columbia University Press

Reuters (2007). France to Strengthen Video Surveillance System. October 12.

Available at

Reuters (2014). Boko Haram kidnaps wife of Cameroon's vice PM. Retrieved from

https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/cameroon/10994299/Boko-Haram-kidnaps-wife-of-Camerouns-vice-PM.html?wgu=272965_16644_15617527549949_b79c5a3fcf&wgexp

[ry=1569528754&WT.mc_id=tmgoff_paff-4551_suboffers_basic_planit&utm_source=tmgoff&utm_medium=tmgoff_paff-4551&utm_content=suboffers_basic&utm_campaign=tmgoff_paff-4551_suboffers_basic_planit](https://ir.ucc.edu.gh/xmlui/ry=1569528754&WT.mc_id=tmgoff_paff-4551_suboffers_basic_planit&utm_source=tmgoff&utm_medium=tmgoff_paff-4551&utm_content=suboffers_basic&utm_campaign=tmgoff_paff-4551_suboffers_basic_planit) on 29-5-2019

- Richmond, O. P. (2003). Realizing hegemony? Symbolic terrorism and the roots of conflict. *Studies in conflict and terrorism*, 26(4), 289-309.
- Rid, T., & Hecker, M. (2009). *War 2.0: Irregular Warfare in the Information Age: Irregular Warfare in the Information Age*. ABC-CLIO.
- Ritter, K & Amland, B. H. (2011). Suspected Norway gunman/bomber reportedly has extreme right-wing views, but no links to radical groups. Retrieved from https://www.cleveland.com/world/2011/07/suspected_norway_gunman_bomber.html on 3 May 2019.
- Roux, G. (1966). *Ancient Iraq*. Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books.
- Sandler, T., Arce, D. G., & Enders, W. (2008). Copenhagen consensus 2008 challenge paper: terrorism. *Copenhagen: Copenhagen Consensus Center*. Retrieved March, 12, 2020.
- Schleicher, A. (2013). The Urban Advantage in Education. Retrieved from https://www.huffpost.com/entry/the-urban-advantage-in-ed_b_3223564 on 14-6-2019.
- Schmid, A. & Jongman, A. (1988). *Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, and Literature*. Amsterdam: North Holland, Transaction Books.

- Schmid, A. P. (2005). Root causes of terrorism: some conceptual notes, a set of indicators, and a model. *Democracy and Security*, 1(2), 127-136.
- Schousboe, K. (2017). Battle of Teutoburg Forest. *Ancient History Encyclopedia*. Retrieved from <https://www.ancient.eu/article/1010/> on 22-3-2019
- Simon, J. D. (1994). *The Terrorist Trap*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Sosuh, M. M. (2011). Border security in Ghana: challenges and prospects. KAIPTC Occasional Paper (32)
- Sotunde, A. (2019). Suspected Boko Haram attack on Nigeria Governor's Convoy. Retrieved from <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/02/suspected-boko-haram-attack-kills-nigeria-polls-190213162826392.html> on 3 May 2019
- Soussan, A. (2001). Faced with terrorism, we are all in the same boat, an interview with Denis Sassou N'Guesso, *African Geopolitics*, 3-4, Summer-Fall 2001. See electronic version: <www.africangeopolitics.org/show.aspx?articleid=3081> p 1 (8 March 2004).
- South African History Online (1962). Assassination attempt on Kwame Nkrumah, first prime and later president of Ghana. Retrieved from <https://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/assassination-attempt-kwame-nkrumah-first-prime-and-later-president-ghana> on 3 May 2019
- Spaaij, R. (2010). *The Enigma of Lone Wolf Terrorism: An assessment*. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 33(9), 854-870.

- Stone, M. (2009). Security according to Buzan: A comprehensive security analysis. *Security discussion papers series, 1*, 1-11.
- Straw, J. (2001), 'Africa Matters', The Independent on Sunday, London, 3 February; 2002, 'Failed and Failing States', speech to the European Research Institute, Birmingham, 6 September; www.fco.gov.uk
<http://www.fco.gov.uk>
- Stutzer, A., & Zehnder, M. (2013). Is camera surveillance an effective measure of counterterrorism? *Defence and Peace Economics*, 24(1), 1-14.
- Sample Size Calculator. (2014). Survey Monkey.
- Tattersall, N. (2009). Nigeria Says Plane Bomber Began Journey in Ghana. Retrieved from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-security-airline-nigeria/nigeria-says-plane-bomber-began-journey-in-ghana-idUSTRE5BU33J20091231> on 3 May 2019.
- Thompson, S. K. (2012). *Sampling (3rd Ed.)*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons Inc.
- Tucker, D. (2001). What is new about the new terrorism and how dangerous is it? *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 13(3), 1-14.
- Union, A. (2002). African Union high-level inter-governmental meeting on the prevention and combating of terrorism in Africa.
- United Nations' Counter-Terrorism Implementation Taskforce (2011). *Interagency Coordination in the Event of a Terrorist Attack Using Chemical or Biological Weapons or Materials*. New York: United Nations.

UNPO (2006). Ogoni: The Niger Delta Crisis. Retrieved from

<https://unpo.org/article/4076> on 3 May 2019

House, W. (2002). *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (Washington, DC: The White House).

Virginia Tech Office of Emergency Management (2012). *Emergency preparedness and terrorism awareness training*.

Visser, P. S., Krosnick, J. A., & Lavrakas, P. J. (2000). Survey research. In H. T. Reis & C. M. Judd (Eds.), *Handbook of research methods in social and personality psychology* (pp. 223-252). New York, NY, US: Cambridge University Press.

von Boemcken, M. & Schetter, C. (2016). Security. What Is It? What Does It Do? *3 Treaty Monitoring Based on Geographic Information Systems and Remote Sensing*, 13.

Vossekuil, B., Fein, R. A., Reddy, M., Borum, R., & Modzeleski, W. (2002). *The final report and findings of the Safe School Initiative*. Washington, DC: US Secret Service and Department of Education.

Walt, S. M. (1998). International relations: one world, many theories. *Foreign policy*, 29-46.

Walters, G. (2014). Underwriting Jihad: Paying Ransom, Europe bankrolls Qaeda Terror. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/30/world/africa/ransoming-citizens-europe-becomes-al-qaedas-patron.html> on 12-01-2019

Wells, P. S. (2003). *The battle that stopped Rome: Emperor Augustus, Arminius, and the slaughter of the legions in the Teutoburg Forest*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

White, J. R. (2011). *Terrorism & Homeland Security* (7th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

World Bank (2016). While Poverty in Africa Has Declined, Number of Poor Has Increased. Retrieved from <http://www.worldbank.org/en/region/afr/publication/poverty-rising-africa-poverty-report> on 3 May 2019



APPENDIXES

Appendix A

CENTRE FOR AFRICAN AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RESEARCH

TOPIC: TWENTY FIRST CENTURY TERRORISM AND NATIONAL SECURITY: AN ASSESSMENT OF GHANAIAN CONSCIOUSNESS AND PREPAREDNESS

Introduction: The research seeks to assess the level of consciousness and preparedness of the Ghanaian citizenry with reference to terrorism in public spaces.

This questionnaire is part of a study on the above topic. I will be very grateful if you answer all the questions to the best of your ability. This study is purely for academic purposes and your responses to the questions are relevant to the outcome of the study and hence will be confidential. You can be rest assured that your anonymity.

This voluntary survey should take about 5-10 minutes. Thank you.

Section A: SOCIO DEMOGRAPHICS

1. Sex?
 - a. Male []
 - b. Female []
2. Which of the following age groups do you belong?
 - a. 18-20 []
 - b. 20-30 []
 - c. 30-40 []
 - d. 40-50 []
 - e. Over 50 years []
3. What is your level of education?
 - a. Junior Secondary []
 - b. Secondary []
 - c. Tertiary []
4. What is your profession?
5. How would you describe the location where you live?
 - a. Urban []
 - b. Suburban []
 - c. Rural []

SECTION B: QUESTIONS ON TERRORISM CONSCIOUSNESS AND PREPAREDNESS

6. State any terrorist event you are aware of.

.....

7. How has your awareness about security been influenced by the recent events below?

Where 1 is the lowest and 5 is the highest (Please Tick)

Answer choices	1	2	3	4	5
Robbery					
Terrorism					
Vigilantism					
Violent Crime					

8. i. Have you ever heard of Boko Haram?

- a. Yes []
- b. No []
- c. Unsure []

ii. If Yes, which country do they operate?

.....

9. What is your assessment of how you feel in the following statements?

- a. I am more concerned about terrorist activities now than 5 years ago []
- b. I am less concerned about terrorist activities now than ago 5 years ago []
- c. Unsure []

10. i. Have recent terrorist attacks in West Africa and other regions of the continent made you more security conscious when using public spaces?

- a. Yes, and they have influenced my behaviour []
- b. Yes, but they have not influenced my behaviour []
- c. No []
- d. Unsure []

ii. If yes, in what way?

.....

11. Have recent terrorist attacks across the continent influenced your behaviour when travelling elsewhere within the country?

- a. Yes []
- b. No []
- c. Unsure []

12. Do you consider security or terrorist activities a reason that influences whether you will attend a major event/concert/festival?
- a. Yes []
 - b. No []
 - c. Unsure []
13. When travelling away from home, is security or terrorist activities a factor that influences your choice of hotel/Mall/Bus Terminal?
- a. Yes- major influence on my decision []
 - b. Yes- minor influence on my decision []
 - c. No []
 - d. Unsure []
14. Do you consider security or terrorist activities a factor that influences your decision when purchasing or renting a property?
- a. Yes- significant influence on my decision []
 - b. Yes- minor influence on my decision []
 - c. No []
 - d. Unsure []
15. Which of the following would inform your decision on whether a place or building is safe and secure? Please tick as many as apply
- a. Media reports []
 - b. Official government/ police communications []
 - c. Crime statistics []
 - d. Previous incidents at a location []
 - e. General appearance/first impressions []
 - f. Visible security measures []
 - g. Word of mouth []
 - h. Other (Please specify) []
-
.....
.....
16. If buildings had a security rating, like other agencies, which of the following places would you be more persuaded to use if they had a good security rating? Please tick as many as apply.
- a. Hotel []
 - b. Office []
 - c. Sports avenue []
 - d. Entertainment venue []
 - e. School []
 - f. University []
 - g. Restaurant []
 - h. Shopping mall []
 - i. Hospital []
 - j. Airport []
 - k. Bus station []
 - l. Church/mosque []

For questions 17-22, indicate your level of agreement by ticking one that applies where **Strongly Disagree-1, Disagree-2, Neutral-3, Agree-4, Strongly Agree-5**

Item	1	2	3	4	5
17. I support the Use of metal detectors in public spaces					
18. Use of Surveillance cameras in public spaces					
19. Emergency procedures clearly stated in public spaces					
20. Border porous around Ghana					
21. Ghanaians not terrorism conscious					
22. Factors necessary for terrorism in Ghana are glaring					
23. Public spaces in Ghana are prone to terrorism					

24. 9/11, was a terrorist incident in the USA?

- a. Yes []
- b. No []
- c. Unsure []

25. Which of the following West African countries have experienced terrorist attacks in the last 5-10 years? **Please tick as many as apply.**

- a. Nigeria []
- b. Cote d'Ivoire []
- c. Mali []
- d. Burkina Faso []
- e. Senegal []
- f. Liberia []
- g. Togo []
- h. Sierra Leone []

26. What are some causes of terrorism?

.....

.....

.....

.....

27. What do you do when you see a bag lying idly in your area, workplace, school, mall, transport yard, etc?

- a. Walk pass []
- b. Call the police []
- c. Pick it and throw away []

28. What is the Ghana Police emergency number?

- a. 191 []
- b. 192 []
- c. 911 []

29. Have you engaged in any evacuation, safety or fire drill?

- a. Yes []
 - b. No []
30. If yes, how long has it been?
- a. 1-3 years []
 - b. 3-5 years []
 - c. More than 5 years []

Thank you.



Appendix B

CENTRE FOR AFRICAN AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

OPEN-ENDED SURVEY FOR SECURITY STAFF, AGENCIES AND EXPERTS

TOPIC: TWENTY FIRST CENTURY TERRORISM AND NATIONAL SECURITY: AN ASSESSMENT OF GHANAIAAN CONSCIOUSNESS AND PREPAREDNESS

Introduction: The research seeks to assess the level of consciousness and preparedness of the Ghanaian citizenry with reference to terrorism.

This questionnaire is part of a study on the above topic. I will be very grateful if you answer all the questions to the best of your ability. This study is purely for academic purpose and your responses to the questions are relevant to the outcome of the study and hence will be confidential. You can be rest assured that your anonymity is fully assured.

This voluntary survey should take about 15-20 minutes. Thank you.

Section A: Socio-Demographics

1. Sex?
 - a. Male []
 - c. Female []
2. Which of the following age groups do you belong?
 - a. 20-30 []
 - b. 30-40 []
 - c. 40-50 []
 - d. Over 50 years []
3. What is your Level of education?
 - a. Junior Secondary []
 - b. Secondary []
 - c. Tertiary []
4. What is your profession (Rank)?
5. How would you describe the location where you live?
 - d. Urban []
 - e. Suburban []
 - f. Rural []

SECTION B: Level of knowledge about terrorism

1. What constitutes a security threat?
.....
.....
.....

.....
.....
2. Do you know of any terrorist incident?

- a. Yes []
- b. No []
 - i. If yes, give some examples

.....
.....
3. Do you think there is a terrorist threat in Ghana/UCC?

- a. Yes []
- b. No []
 - i. Whether Yes or No, State your reason?

.....
.....
4. What's the difference between a terrorist threat and a security threat?

.....
.....
5. Have you been trained on prevention of terrorism?

- a. Yes []
- b. No []
 - i. If yes, what level of training have you received?

.....
.....
6. Do you think Ghana/UCC should be worried about terrorism?

- a. Yes []
- b. No []
 - i. Give your reason whether Yes/No

.....
.....
7. "9/11"- what does it mean to you?

.....
.....
8. What are some causes of terrorism?

SECTION C: Preparedness and consciousness assessment

9. Are you aware of any terrorist/security policies at UCC, Cape Coast or Ghana?

a. Yes []

b. No []

i. If yes what does it say about terrorism?

.....
.....
.....
.....

ii. If No, why?

.....
.....

10. Do we have contact with the police?

a. Yes []

b. No []

i. If Yes, through what means?

.....
.....

ii. If No, why?

.....
.....
.....

11. How fast can the police and emergency services get to this space (mall or this stadium, church or University)?

i. Do you consider it good enough?

a. Yes []

b. No []

ii. State your reason whether Yes or No

.....
.....
.....

12. Do you think we need metal detectors/scanners?

a. Yes []

b. No []

i. State your reason if Yes/No

.....
.....
.....

13. Have you received any training on the use of metal detectors/scanners?

a. Yes []

b. No []

i. State your reason if Yes/No

b. No []

i. If yes, how? If no, Why?

.....
.....
.....
.....

19. Do you think lecturers and teachers/staff should be given terrorism awareness training?

a. Yes []

b. No []

i. Please state your reason whether Yes or No.

.....
.....
.....

20. What is the level of coordination between the police and the UCC Security Unit?

.....
.....

THANK YOU.

