

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.34137/jilses.607110>

Geliş Tarihi: 19.08.2019

Received: 19.08.2019

Kabul Tarihi: 09.12.2020

Accepted: 09.12.2020

Makale Türü: *Araştırma Makalesi*

Research Type: *Research Article*

Wara, Y. A. (2020). The Roles of Civil Society Organizations in Fighting Terrorism: A Comparative Analyses between Nigeria and Tunisia. *The Journal of International Lingual Social and Educational Sciences*, 6(2), 167-182.



The Roles of Civil Society Organizations in Fighting Terrorism: A Comparative Analyses between Nigeria and Tunisia*

WARA, Yusuf Abubakar¹

Abstract

Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) otherwise known as the “third sector” have become gargantuan tools for societal peace, progress and stability. Through collaborations and alliances, they are able to intervene in resolving critical problems affecting a given community especially where government’s hand could not have reached. One of the areas where Civil Society takes a bold step in modern society is fighting terrorism. They help in eradicating the menace of terrorism through awareness, damnation, motivation, appraise, rehabilitation, partnership, indoctrination and co-ordinational approaches. Thus, the objective of this paper is to adopt functional approach to critically compare the roles of CSOs in fighting terrorism between Nigeria and Tunisia. The article place more emphasis on content analysis to tests the hypothesis that a country with vibrant CSOs is more likely to eradicate terrorism than the one that has not. The article also responds to question that: how effective are the CSOs’ anti-terrorism policies in the two countries? This research found out that even though Tunisia has more coordinated CSOs than Nigeria, the roles of the CSOs in both countries is not significant enough to help in getting rid of terrorism. So, there is need of more practical approach such as mediation, espionage or infiltration which this research recommends to the global Civil Societies.

Keywords: Civil Society, Terrorism, Roles, Nigeria, Tunisia

Terörizmle Mücadelede Sivil Toplum Kuruluşların Rolü: Nijerya ve Tunus Karşılaştırması

Öz

“Üçüncü sektör” olarak da bilinen Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları (STK), toplumsal barış, ilerleme ve istikrar için devasa bir araç haline gelmiştir. İttifakı ve birliği yoluyla STK’lar özellikle devletin ulaşmadığı yerlerde toplumdaki temel problemlere çözüm bulmaya katkı sağlamaktadırlar. Günümüz toplumunda STK’ların en önemli rolü terörizmle mücadelesidir. Farkındalık, lanetlenme, motivasyon, değerlendirme, rehabilitasyon, ortaklık, doktrinleştirme ve koordinasyon yaklaşımları ile terör tehdidini ortadan kaldırılmasına yardımcı olmaktadır. Bu araştırmada işlevselcilik kuramı kullanılarak Tunus ve Nijerya’da terörün ortadan kaldırılmasında STK’ların rolleri karşılaştırmalı bir şekilde analiz edilecektir. Makalede içerik analizi uygulanarak verimli STK’lara sahip olan ülkelerin terörün ortadan kaldırılmasında verimli STK’lara sahip olmayan ülkelere göre daha başarılı olabileceği hipotezi test edilecektir. Makalede şu soruya da cevap verecektir: STK’ların iki ülkede terörle mücadele politikaları ne kadar etkili? Araştırma bulgularına göre, Tunus’taki STK’lar Nijerya’dakilerden daha verimli olmasına rağmen her iki ülke de terör ile mücadelesinde yeterli kadar adım atmamışlardır. Dolayısıyla, bu araştırmanın küresel Sivil Toplumlara önerdiği arabuluculuk, casusluk ve veya sızma gibi daha pratik bir yaklaşıma ihtiyaç olduğudur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sivil Toplum, Terörizm, Roller, Nijerya, Tunus

* Bu makale Uluslararası JILSES Kongresinde (Ankara, 2019) sunulan sözlü bildirinin genişletilmiş versiyonudur.

¹ Mr. Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli Üniversitesi, wara98@yahoo.com, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3410-6113>

Introduction

Undoubtedly, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) have been playing numerous roles in eradication of terrorism and curbing its menace around the world. In most times, CSOs partner with security agencies in obtaining and releasing relevant information that will give a clue to tackling the most unfortunate nagging problem in the society. Generally, Civil Society is non-governmental, private, voluntarily organized associations or institutions of the people, through which they try to secure their needs, desires and objectives (Brown, 2009: 3). Such desires and objectives ranges from humanitarian assistance to health provisions, supporting fiscal transparency, educational services to cultural development, business empowerment to peace building (Okonjo-Iweala & Osafo-Kwaako, 2008:10). The term Civil Society is used to collectively refer to the voluntary organizations, corporate bodies, socially active groups, and firms working in each society. "Civil Society is the set of intermediate associations which is neither the state nor the family, but which plays an active and positive role in social, economic, and cultural activities." According to Andrew Heywood, "Civil society refers to "a realm of associations, business, interest groups, classes, families and so on (Sam, 2014)."

In this century, the roles of these realm of associations begins to take a bold step towards getting rid of a cumbersome global hiccup term "terrorism." Within the scope of diplomacy; Civil Society have assumed important responsibilities in the fight against terrorism by providing a room for interaction from public to government, from government to public and within the circles of general public in the concerned society (Rosand, Alistair, & Jason, 2008: 14). It is important to note that Civil Society takes different approaches compare to government in fighting terrorism in a society. These approaches includes awareness creation against terrorism- that is awareness approach, damnation approach, motivation approach, appraise approach- assess the performance of the security agents in such a way they do not affect the ordinary citizens, rehabilitation approach- process of giving aid to those who suffer from the act of terror, partnership approach, indoctrination approach- a process of transforming and reintegrating the terrorists into the society and coordination approach –an act of forming a strong relation with other CSOs around the world with major aim of finding a lasting solutions to the problems of terrorism in the society (Ostrauskaite, 2018: 22).

Within the above ambits, this article shall adopt a functional approach to explain the roles of several CSOs in the fight against terrorism in the two countries. However, adopting qualitative approaches of data analysis we shall outline the significant roles some rigorous CSOs are playing with the major aim of tackling terrorism in the society. The major aim is for the CSOs to give their contributions towards making the general society peaceful, stable and hence development.

Content analysis, shall be the prime method to interpret and compare the vital roles of the major CSOs in both countries. We shall place more emphasis on content analysis a method which uses a qualitative data analysis to analyze research systematically and reliably from which generalization can be made in relations to our findings (Bengtsson, 2016: 9).

This research work shall systematically and reliably interpret, analyze and distinguish the roles of CSOs towards fighting terrorism in Nigeria and Tunisia base on effectivity and significant outcomes. We shall point out which of the two countries' CSOs are playing effective role in resolving the most unfortunate inhuman activities of terrorism in the society. We shall state the major obstacles of CSOs in carrying out this relevant functions and make some suggestions that will make them more active and vibrant in elimination of terrorism in their immediate society.

Clarification of Concepts

Terrorism

Terrorism is what we describe as an act of terrifying the general society through wanton destruction of lives and properties in the targeted environment. Some researchers of terrorism try to give a universal acceptable definition of the concept. For example, according to Walter Laqueur terrorism is the illegitimate use of force to achieve a political objective by targeting innocent people. Another researcher that is Fernando Reinares distinguishes three traits that define terrorism for the purpose of academic study. Firstly, it is an act of violence that produces widespread disproportionate emotional reactions such as fear and anxiety which are likely to influence attitudes and behavior. Secondly, the violence is systemic and rather unpredictable and is usually directed against symbolic targets. Thirdly, the violence conveys messages and threats in order to communicate and gain social control (Bruce, 2013:27). Generally, the definition of terrorism encompasses three significant terminologies namely, violence, target and threat (UNODC, 2018: 1). In other words, terrorist create violence in a target community in order to produce threat to the member of that society with aim of achieving certain selfish interest. Boko Haram terrorist in Nigeria is a typical example of such groups. Another example of this kind of illegal violence groups can be found in Tunisia where Katiba Uqba ibn Nafi (KUIN), that is affiliated with al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb

(AQIM), and the Islamic State–linked Jund al-Khilafah-Tunisia (JAK-T) are in combat with Tunisian security forces (Herbert, 2018).

The definition of terrorism can take several dimensions depending on who and where the definition is given. While Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) defines terrorism as “the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives” the terrorist groups see themselves as “freedom fighter and liberators”, “armies or other military organizational structure”, “self-defense movements”, “righteous vengeance” ex cetera (Bruce, *ibid*: 2013).

It is generally true that the definition of the concept of terrorism is difficult to define; just as the menace it produces is difficult to curtail or resolve. Whatever definition that may be given on whatever position, the concept of terrorism is simply any act that creates fear in minds of the people. It encompasses several actors that include but not limited to violence, harm, and threats; randomness or indiscriminate violence; political motivation; the targeting of civilians, non-combatants and so-called innocents; and deliberate attempts to publicize the acts of terror (Stuurman, 2019: 1). Are all terrorist acts. We have seen several other organization given numerous approaches to state what terrorism is actually is and what it’s not. The UN General Assembly Resolution 49/60 (adopted on December 9, 1994), titled "Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism," contains a provision describing terrorism: Criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them (UNR, 1996).

Another important organization gives another clear definition of terrorism. According to the Arab Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism which was adopted by the Council of Arab Ministers of the Interior and the Council of Arab Ministers of Justice in Cairo, Egypt in 1998. Terrorism was defined as: Any act or threat of violence, whatever its motives or purposes, that occurs in the advancement of an individual or collective criminal agenda and seeking to sow panic among people, causing fear by harming them, or placing their lives, liberty or security in danger, or seeking to cause damage to the environment or to public or private installations or property or to occupying or seizing them, or seeking to jeopardize national resources (Svare, 2012: 99).

In spite of the difficulties in defining terrorism, the concept can be well understood if looked upon three significant features. Firstly, violence that includes all sorts of deliberate attack on the people with several aims that includes but not limited to creations of fear and wanton destructions. Secondly, terrorism is an action that target civilians, this make them to draw national and international attention. Another important attributes of terrorism is motivation, they are motivated by political and or religious objectives albeit falsely.

Functionalism

Functionalist approach or perspective which is generally known as functionalism, as a sociological concept has its origins in the works of Emile Durkheim, who was especially interested in how social order is possible or how society remains relatively stable (Crossman, 2018). Because of the fact that functionalism focuses on the macro-level of social structure it interprets each part of society in terms of how it contributes to the stability of the whole society. In this regards, the roles of clusters of CSOs in both Nigeria and Tunisia will be interpreted to determine the level of their contributions to the stability of the two countries in relations to fighting terrorism.

As Durkheim envisioned society as an organism, and just like within an organism, each component plays a necessary part, but none can function alone (Little, 2012). So is the role of CSOs in the fight of terrorism around the world. They are part and parcel of the society; as a component of the society they play necessary roles in solving the problems affecting the entire society. In the modern era Civil Society take a giant step towards eradicating the contemporary problems around the globe. They function not only in the area of poverty alleviation, corruption eradication but also in the fight of terrorism.

The Roles of Civil Society in Fighting Terrorism in Nigeria and Tunisia: A Comparative Analysis.

In the two countries terrorism has become a troubling issue in recent times. Terrorists have led to destruction of lives and properties in the two countries thereby costing the government a huge lot of resources to tackle them. As the government is doing its best to eradicate terrorism, so the Civil Society are leaving no stone unturned to help in getting rid of the menace, therefore it’s not left behind. CSOs in both countries are playing vital roles in the fight against the radical act of terrorism. In this regards, the roles of these giants that is the CSOs, are aim at both eradicating the nagging problem of terrorism and ensuring peace and unity in the society. Some of the significant roles played and are still been played by the CSOs in the fight against terrorism are in the following areas:

Awareness Approach

This is a fantabulous approach of Civil Society in the quest to quench terror in a given community. They create awareness and sensitize the general public about terrorists' activities. It is an approach that aims at enlightening the populace and even the security agencies on the menace and maneuvers of terrorist groups that helps in preventing the wanton attacks of terror. In Nigeria several CSOs help in enlightening the general public on possible terror attack across the nation and educating the villagers on the dangers and negative effects of terrorism, so that they will not sympathize with them and be motivated to join the deadly groups as it's usually done. On the forefront of this selfless function is Youth Coalition against Terrorism (YOCAT) established in August, 2010. YOCAT is a volunteer-based youth-led organization in northern Nigeria working to unite youth against violent extremism in north-eastern Nigeria. It is a coalition of over 600 students, teachers, development workers, and most importantly, all dedicated young activists. The founder of the association states that: "In less than six years of YOCAT establishment, it has organized many peace education programs in northern Nigeria to raise awareness that terrorism is not a real part of our precious cultural and religious heritage. Because most terror-groups recruit villagers, YOCAT volunteers visited many villages to meet with their youth organizations to explain the negative effects of terrorism and to offer skills training to unemployed youth, counter-radical peace education for students, and counselling services to the victims of terrorism, so that frustration and hopelessness would not force them to join the terrorists. Since we launched our Security Awareness Campaign in November, 2014; recruitment of young villagers as terrorists has reduced significantly in Nigeria. Many young people are now collaborating with security agencies to defeat Boko Haram terrorists" (Buba, 2019). Significantly YOCAT in Nigeria is doing extraordinary functions in weakening the appeal of violent extremism in north-eastern Nigeria. They achieve this through organizing enlightenment and empowerment programs for young people, and amplifying the voices of the victims of terrorism.

Similarly, albeit little difference in Tunisia some non-governmental groups have been taken several approaches to curtailed terrorism in the country. Such functions include: Awareness campaigns for students in the field of citizenship, protection against polarization and prevention of extremism, training programs for stakeholders on early responses to violent extremism and radicalization and research on the terrorism phenomenon with special focus on supporting academic efforts to better understand the roots of radicalization in young people (Sawahel, 2018). However, the Tunisian Cities Search for Common Ground (SFCG), a non-profit organization has organized several anti-violent extremism programs that gingered the local NGOs to action such as the "Youth & Skills" NGO in Bizerte that is currently expanding its intervention on countering and preventing violent extremism CVE and related activities. The organization has obtained funding for a new project which focuses on delivering informational sessions on violent extremism in order to improve youth resilience towards extremist narratives. Moreover, the organization has initiated the "Kafae" (Skills) regional network which brings together CSOs from the region dedicated to awareness-raising activities on VE, where joint actions on student dropout and other sources of terrorisms are currently being discussed (Deman, 2017:16).

Analyzing the situation of the two countries, while long-term youth unemployment coupled with religious ideology is identified as some of the major reasons for terrorism in both countries, excessive use of force on civilians by the security personnel is also feeding terrorism. Whereas in Tunisia, university graduates make up the largest proportion of local Tunisian terrorists (Sawahel, 2016), in Nigeria large chunk of terrorists are young villagers whom the epileptic economic, social and political conditions of the country make them easy prey for extremism. This makes anti-terrorism awareness creation approach in Nigeria more cumbersome than in Tunisia, because enlightening the uneducated villagers who formed the large chunk of terrorists in Nigeria is more difficult than enlightening the university students who make up the largest proportion of local Tunisian terrorists.

Damnation Approach

Damnation is another strategy CSOs adopt to help in fighting terrorism in a particular community, society or country. They use all the available means of communication in the affected society to condemn and curse the activities of terrorists. This approach helps in discouraging the terrorist's sympathizers from joining the gang. It is a method that contributes to the collective actions against terrorism.

In Nigeria several CSOs damned and call to collectively condemn crimes committed by Boko Haram, rescue abducted girls and women by the terrorist group, and bring perpetrators to justice. For example, Women's Consortium of Nigeria (WOCON) released an oral statement which call for a more practical and unanimous condemnation and action against Boko Haram in 2015. Apart from WOCON several other CSOs across the country such as Self School Initiatives has been doing the same. Moreover, the African Women's Development and Communication Network (FEMNET) and the West African Civil Society Forum (WACSOF) have once issued statements condemning Boko Haram's actions, and calling for collective support, at all levels, in fighting terrorism (sic) (Burt, 2016).

In Tunisia the Civil Society is at forefront in condemning the terrorists' activities across the nation. In 2015 several CSOs, regional and International Organizations condemned in the strongest terms the terrorist attack on the coastal city of Sousse in Tunisia, on Friday, 26 June 2015 resulting in the death of at least 38 people and wounding at least 39 others (Chilengi, 2015). In such condemnation the Civil Society also use the opportunity to pinpoint the negative effects of terrorist's activities in a given community. For example, the National Trade Union Center UGTT, which has played a pivotal role in Tunisia's transition to democracy, issued a strong statement condemning the attack, pledging the support of working people in the fight against terrorism. The UGTT also called on people to join a sit-in in front of the national parliament on the deadly day, to pay homage to the victims, defy the terrorist's objective to undermine morale, and show their commitment to the fight against terrorism (ITUC, 2015).

Such call by the UGTT has played a vital role in curtailing terrorist activities in the society, as it ensures a kind of collective action against terror; this is because community members were motivated to condemn and organized protests whenever there is a terrorist attack in their area as rightly observed: "Tunisians actively condemn Islamic extremism. Terrorist attacks within the country are often followed by massive counter protests of people marching against violence and in solidarity with the victims. Following an attack on the Tunis Bardo Museum that claimed the lives of 21 tourists and one Tunisian national on March 18, 2015, thousands of Tunisians gathered outside the Museum chanting "Tunisia is free! Terrorism out" (Counterextremism, 2002). In all these CSOs are the champions that motivate and encourage the folks to act against terror.

In both Nigeria and Tunisia, CSOs' condemnation role is somewhat limited and ineffective as such function has not yielded significant result considering the continuous happenings of the acts of terror especially in Nigeria. This may be due to limited finance, lack of training and proper coordination. For, this reasons CSOs in both countries need to adopt some effective strategy that would encourage, motivate and empower the general public to boldly stand against terror.

Motivational Approach

As Gaskia rightly observed: "Countering violent extremism is really about building community resilience and creating safe communities" In other words, vibrant non-military anti-terrorist approach such as that of the CSOs need to be built upon trust in such a way that the general public and the security forces will see reason beyond doubt that there is need to give contribution and to fight ardently against terrorists respectively. While the security forces need to be motivated, the general public need to be encourage to support the fight against terrorism. This is where the CSOs need to fill the vacuum, they have to ginger the general public to collectively act against terror and also motivate the security personnel in raising their morale by given awards and assisting the family of the martyrs.

In Nigeria several analysts have argued that "**The soldiers are less motivated than the Boko Haram insurgents**" (Obasi, 2015). In any way, this is an indication that both the government and non-governmental organizations such as the Civil Society have not done enough in motivating the security forces in the fight of Boko Haram. Obasi rightly observed that there was a time when "soldiers and units refuse to fight because they are ill-equipped; and some commanders complain that they lack logistics, including helicopters they need to deploy and reinforce their troops in remote locations and evacuate them speedily, if necessary. Part of this problem of equipment is due to corruption in procurement processes and poor maintenance of assets on ground. The cumulative effect of all these is that morale is low. The soldiers are less motivated to fight than the insurgents." Of course, the root of this less motivation is not even military welfare or even taken care of their family, but 'under-equipped' as an analyst observed "the major problem the soldiers have is they don't have the equipment to fight," (Robertson, 2015).

In the case of Tunisia, some civil society groups appear to be making promising efforts in motivating the military in the fight against terrorism with the major aim of restoring peace and order in the society. In Tunisia after 2011 Arab Springs several CSOs are concerned with addressing 'terrorism' or 'violent extremism' (Lola Aliaga & Tricot, 2018). As a result they took giants steps such as calling of police reforms which encourage and strengthen the security forces towards ensuring a lasting peace countrywide (Bouguerra, 2014: 6).

Appraisal Approach

Around the world, CSOs are also known for assessing the performance of the security agents in such a way they do not affect the ordinary citizens. It was on this regards that violent attacks on the part of law enforcement and military units have led to international accusations of human rights abuses, to make the matter worst perpetrators of such act are not brought to justice (AmnestyInternational, 2019). In Nigeria several times, the security forces were accused of extra-judicial killings and tormenting the common man under the auspice of fighting terrorism. The police handling of the operation against members of the Boko Haram sect has raised issues of human rights. The capture and extra judicial killing of the sect leader, Mohammed Yusuf, his deputy and the suspected financier of the group, Buji Foi, has brought much criticism in the direction of the police. The Police were rather reckless, shooting at will. Certainly, in upholding the law, the Police must not be seen engaging in jungle tactics (The

Guardian, 2009). Human rights activists, amnesty group, Femi Falana, President of West African Bar Association, WABA, and several other CSOs condemned the killings describing it as another of the numerous cases of extrajudicial killings by the police (Ojo, 2010: 52). However, as they rightly observed with the killings whatever information that could have been extracted from the sect leaders through interrogation and investigation has now been lost and moreover it will make the war against terror cumbersome and burdensome because there will be no one to hold responsible as the situation it is today.

In Tunisia a wide variety of crimes, from extrajudicial killings, torture to corruption have been experienced in the society especially before the Jasmine revolution. This nagging situation is not only limited to Nigeria and Tunisia, in almost all the developing countries today are experiencing the same unfortunate issues (AmnestyInternational, 2020). Owing to the loopholes and hanky-panky situations in the legal system and weakness of the national institutions, the security forces commit acts of extrajudicial killings of the ordinary citizens in a tiny dispute especially when ordered by the political class. This kind of acts have led to erosion of the image of the security forces thereby making call of the collective efforts against terror difficult in the society. As the spate of police brutality and related issues filled the post-revolution Tunisia sometimes in 2018 the Human Right Watch had to slam police brutality and slow reform in Tunisia. It was learnt that during a wave of protest in January 2018 against the rising cost of living police carried out night raid in which some claimed there were 930 arrests and some investigated that 23 men were arrested in Tebourba in connection with the protests, several people suffered ill treatment and even torture in police custody (Belhassine, 2018). The end result of these nastic activities is making the folks to find it very difficult to differentiate between the national security forces who are meant to protect them and the terrorists who attack them rampantly. These rendered the war on terror to be unsuccessful and difficult to handle. The CSOs have a lot to do in condemning such acts and ensuring justice is done to the ordinary citizens affected.

Rehabilitation Approach

The process of giving aid to those who suffer from the acts of terror in cash and kind is what this article termed as rehabilitative function of Civil Society in fighting terrorism. Helping and aiding the victims of terrorism both among civilian and security forces serves as a motivating factor to have collective efforts against terrorists in a society. It also encourages security forces and gives them “strong morale” to fight terror in combatant. In Nigeria, even though most CSOs were somewhat lethargic in this function. Some few others under the principle of compensation, rehabilitation and restitution have managed to help the victims of terror achieved their needs, expectations and priorities (based on what they wanted punishment of the terrorists or compensation). On the fore front of this efforts are Ms. Hamsatu Alhaji Nashe Allamin Founder, Voices of the Voiceless People and a member of Nigeria Stability and Reconciliation Program (NSRP) and the Federation of Muslim Women’s Associations in Nigeria. Allamin through her NSRP held the first press conference after the abduction of nearly 300 schoolgirls by Jama’atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda’awati wal- Jihad (JAS), commonly known as Boko Haram- in Maiduguri six days later- effectively launching the Bring Back Our Girls Campaign. She also implemented a project on countering violent extremism, focused on restoring social norms, changing the narrative of apathy toward the West, and developing a module for teaching peace and setting up peace clubs in Islamiya School in the state of Borno. Allamin is also the country representative of the Network of Women Activists Against Violent Extremism, an affiliate of the International Civil Society Action Network (Allamin, 2014). Her organization work tirelessly to ensure the release of the Chibok girls and rehabilitating them into the society. She and her team as well as several other CSOs have advised the government to sponsored the education of the girls rescued to the university level. On the other hand, the CSOs in Nigeria have carry out a massive campaign so that the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPS) can be taken care of at their various camp adequately. But the situation in Nigeria’s refugee camps is still not up to the standard of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), this is due to the massive corruption affecting the process of rehabilitating the victims of Boko Haram. Sometimes in 2016 the House of Representative in Nigeria investigated alleged diversion of funds and materials meant for Internally Displaced Persons (IDPS), especially the alleged use of 270 million Nigerian Naira just to clear grass by the office of the Secretary to Government of the Federation (SGF) (Vanguard, 2016). Such kinds of unethical behaviors have frustrated the several rehabilitation efforts in Nigeria.

In Tunisia, the situation may be a little bit better as there is a coordinated effort to assist the victim of terror in the society. Civil Societies, government and International Organizations come together to organize seminar with sole aim of ironing out issues on how to assist the victims of terrorism. A seminar took place on 12-14 May 2015 in Tunis. The UNODC (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes) Terrorism Prevention Branch seized a particularly apt moment to deliver this capacity building training and a new draft counter-terrorism law that is currently being debated in the Tunisian Parliament, will serve as a basis for addressing the issue of victims of terrorist acts in Tunisia for the first time (UNODC, 2019). Such kinds of well-organized parley with local and international bodies ensure the successes of assisting the victims of terrorism in Tunisia. It brought together both government and non-governmental bodies to deal on issues of rehabilitating the victims of terror through training

and new policy implementation. On the 12-14 May 2015 this kind of specialized training was addressed to some 30 Tunisian criminal justice and law enforcement officers responsible for defining and implementing policies and measures to support victims of terrorism. The event capitalized on both the presence of judicial and law enforcement personnel, as well as, for the first time and upon UNODC invitation, representatives of SOS Terrorisme - a Tunisian civil society organization dealing with victims of terrorism established in the aftermath of the terrorist attack in Tunis in March 2015 attended. Interagency coordination was thus ensured between representatives of judicial, law enforcement institutions and civil society (UNODC, 2019). Just like its affiliated agencies around the globe SOS Terrorisme in Tunisia carries out general functions to assist the victims of terror such as listens and supports them, informs and guides them, offer medical and social assistance to them and helps them in obtaining judicial proceedings.

Partnership Approach

Civil Society around the world formed a strong alliance and partner with one another to share ideas and expertise in order to address their focal problems. CSOs working in anti-terrorism areas, usually partner with their counterpart around the world through several programs and anti-terror activities so as to have a robust approach of countering terrorism.

In Nigeria the Network of Women Activists Against Violent Extremism affiliated to the International Civil Society Action Network are successful in campaigning massively for the rescue of abducted Chibok girls as well as rehabilitating them. However, in the areas of countering violent extremism, Nigerian CSOs participated in the network ("Partnership Against Violent Extremism", PAVE) consisting of CSOs and government representatives on a common agenda for peace and security. A number of specific topics have been identified for in-depth focus for future work and joint agenda activities between CSOs and government acting as the springboard for tangible working projects (Knoope, 2019).

In Tunisia Civil Societies, government and International Organizations come together to organize seminar with sole aim of ironing out issues on how to assist the victims of terrorism. This approach was significant in countering violence extremism in the country. Search for Common Ground, a US based organization has partnered with many CSOs in Tunisia with the sole objectives of increasing the engagement of diverse stakeholders (including civil society, youth, women, religious leaders, schools and universities, local governments, and the police and army) in community-level dialogue to identify push and pull factors for Tunisians who support violent extremist or join as foreign fighters, so as to strengthen the capacity of diverse stakeholders to implement initiatives within their communities to counter violent extremism (Bala, 2017).

Indoctrination Approach

This is yet another important but critical role to play by CSOs in helping to curtailed the terrorists' activities in a society. It is a process of transforming and reintegrating the terrorists in to the society. Member of terrorists' organizations who changed their mind to give up terrorism and return to their normal life need a serious assistance that will make them get reintegrated back to the society and the right organizations to do this are the CSOs.

In Nigeria, Conciliation Resources has been working with local partner organizations – The Kukah Centre, Borno Coalition for Democracy and Progress in Borno State and Hope Interactive in Yobe State to ensure a peaceful and diplomatic ways of putting an end of the nagging terrorist incidents in the north eastern Nigeria. They have carried out several approaches that include researches that give recommendation on how to ensure peace and unity in the region through negotiation, reintegration, rehabilitation or humanitarian interventions (KukahCenter, 2018: 2). In one of the interview conducted by the Conciliation Resources West Africa in the north eastern Nigeria over 60 per cent of the interviewee felt that engaging in negotiations with Boko Haram should be part of a holistic approach to resolving the conflict. One senior military official in Yobe State said: We have done as much as we realistically can now. The only way to bring an end to this conflict once and for all is to now engage the remnants of Boko Haram in dialogue (ConciliationResources, 2018). It was for this reasons that the aforementioned organization continues to call for reintegration of the Boko Haram remnant into the society, but this call it's not without its challenges as some member of the society will never accept a repentant terrorist as their own. Janet Adama Mohammed the West Africa Program Director at Conciliation Resources advocates that for reintegration to be a success it's vital that local communities are consulted on who is returning and when, and how the process will take place. Lasting peace is possible in Nigeria, as long as local people are listened to and included (ConciliationResources, 2018)

In order to ensure an all-inclusive indoctrination policy, the Kukah Centre in Nigeria developed Demobilization, Deradicalisation, Rehabilitation and Reintegration (DDRR) framework which addresses all the challenges faced by reconciliation and negotiation programs adopted by Nigerian Government as it engages various agencies and organizations into the process. However, it is societal focal program that aims to facilitate the process of transitional justice, prepare communities for the eventual reintegration of both perpetrators and the victims. By so

doing the framework tends to address the root causes of the violent extremism (Barkindo, 2018: 4). The framework was the best of its type as it is very flexible and adaptable to any conflict situation as it encompasses the entire society including the roles to be played by state and non-state actors such as the Civil Society Organizations.

The entire framework was based on four significant approaches of indoctrination of violent groups. Such approaches include **demobilization** which entails programs that prevent the proliferation of small and light weapons. The second approach is **deradicalisation**; which is a non-linear process that seeks to promote mental and physical desistance from act of violence (Barkindo, *ibid*: 7). A significant method of deradicalisation is dissociation where the links between ex-combatants and violent extremist groups are cut through myriad processes. The third approach is **rehabilitation** process that is organized to improve the social and economic status of ex-combatants. The final approach is **reintegration** which can be a range of programs that deal with the process of reinserting demobilized and rehabilitated violent extremist groups, victims and affected communities back to society (Barkindo, *ibid*: 15).

If this kind of framework if transparently implemented it will go a long way in not only ensuring successful indoctrination policy, but it will also help in significantly ending the act of terror in the society. Although several agencies are involved in the process it is obviously achieving little success this may not be unconnected with colossal corruption in the Nigerian society and other related offences that are rampant in the country's communities.

In Tunisia since April 2017 many of the foreign fighters who have travelled to fight in Iraq, Syria and Libya have returned back to Tunisia (Ajala, 2019: 187-9). The bigger challenge facing the country is how to identify these foreign fighters and rehabilitate them. Several Civil Societies have called for robust reintegration policy of foreign fighters such as establishing a local support system for returnees' social, economic, or psychological needs which is an essential component in the prevention of recidivism (McDonnell, 2018). It was assumed that a total of 800 foreign fighters out of about 7000 have returned back to Tunisia from Syria, Iraq and Libya that are needed to be retaken into the society accordingly. It was opined that non-governmental actors need to be empowered to assist in rehabilitation efforts for those who cannot or should not be immediately convicted on terrorist charges. Such rehabilitation should include psychological care, jobs training, and religious counselling.

In this line several CSOs in collaboration with Hedayah-regional entity for countering violent extremism have organized or participated actively in organizing workshops for foreign fighter returnees in Tunisia. For example, from 27 – 31 March 2017, Hedayah facilitated a workshop organized by the National Counter Terrorism Commission of Tunisia in Tunis, Tunisia. The workshop was part of the wider Returning Foreign Terrorist Fighter (RFTF) program in collaboration with the Government of Tunisia on the topic of community-based reintegration programs for returnees. Participants included relevant media organizations, CSOs as well as members of the National Counter Terrorism Commission and focal representatives in key ministries (Hedayah, 2017). Rescue Association of Tunisians Trapped Abroad (RATTA) is another important organization that is working non-stop to ensure that foreign fighter returnees are integrated back to the society, but with the strict penitentiary policy taken that showed 800 returnees imprisoned and only 200 set free under judicial supervision out of the 1000 foreign fighter returnees according to Tunisian Institute of Strategic Studies (ITES) (Efe-epa, 2019), the ideal reintegration policy is not yielding significant result in the country and therefore there is an urgent need for several action to be taken place.

Coordination Approach

Coordination is another major anti-terrorist approach needed to be taken by CSOs with the sole aim of cracking down terrorism in the society. It's an act of forming a strong relation with other CSOs around the world with major aim of finding a lasting solution to the problems of terrorism in the society. In other words, it means forming a strong working relationships between different CSOs both at center and periphery in order to put hands together to have collective effort against a particular nagging issue such as terrorism.

Through these kinds of collaboration amongst CSOs in Nigeria, as of June 2016, a civil society umbrella group known as the Coalition for a New Nigeria has assisted a government board of inquiry to determine the identities of those involved in the continuing attacks in the northeast of the country (Leach; 2016: 12).” The organization offers several assistant that help in taken some remarkable action against terror in the region. In Nigeria several CSOs work in alliance with others on conflict resolution, countering violent extremism (CVE), de-radicalization, education, inter-religious dialogue, as well as social and economic development (Knoope, 2019). In line with this, a network known as Partnership Against Violent Extremism (PAVE) is formed which consist of CSOs and government representative working together for peace and security.

Another typical example of such partnership against terror that CSOs are involved in the region is the United States funded and implemented Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership (TSCTP) which is a multi-faceted, multi-year effort designed to build the counterterrorism capacity and cooperation of military, law enforcement, and civilian

actors across North and West Africa. The partners include Algeria, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, **Nigeria**, Senegal, and **Tunisia**. (Sales, 2018).

In both Nigeria and Tunisia such kinds of coordination, partner and alliances have in some way contributed to reducing the *growth* of terror in both societies. For example, *TSCTP has built capacity and cooperation despite setbacks caused by a restive political climate, terrorism, ethnic rebellions, and extra constitutional actions that interrupted work and progress with select partner countries* (Sales, **ibid**: 2018) like Nigeria and Tunisia. These setbacks that are retarding the CSOs efforts in counter terrorism roles may include but not limited to lack of expertise, closing space for CSOs, problems of funding and lack of unity and collective efforts.

Comparative Analysis, Recommendations and Conclusions

Focusing on the eight major approaches stated above CSOs have done and are still carrying out some remarkable functions towards bringing an end of violence extremism in both Nigeria and Tunisia. But looking at the situation report in both countries we observed some CSOs in one country are doing better in one area than their counterpart and vice versa. For instance, in the area of awareness creation CSOs in Tunisia found it easier to create awareness against violence extremism because large chunk of foreign fighters is drawn from university students and graduates who have no jobs and in very bad economic conditions compared to the situation in Nigeria where CSOs have to struggle to find out totally unknown terrorist who are mostly villagers living in the forest.

According to former Tunisian Prime Minister Habib Essid, Tunisians are primarily drawn to jihadist groups for ideological and economic reasons. He went on to explain: “They didn’t have jobs... They couldn’t have a normal life....and there’s a lot of lobbying out of this extremism that are looking after those people, and offering them money and activity.” The Salafi jihadist group Ansar al-Sharia in Tunisia (AST) claims to have recruited as many as 70,000 Tunisians since its formation in February 2011, according to a January 2014 *Economist* report. AST has successfully attracted new members through *dawa* (Islamic missionary work). As one student supporter of AST said: “They welcome people, they perform charitable works that the state doesn’t do: caravans bringing food aid, assistance, clothes, in every corner of the country in the poor neighborhoods.” (Counterextremism.com, 2002). It is this gaps the government created that the CSOs have to filled.

Having identify these the CSOs in Tunisia similar to their counterpart in Nigeria are able to organize seminars, workshop and television programs aim at convincing the youth to disengage themselves from terrorist activities. However, they also carry out several aid and assistance programs to assist the less privilege especially the jobless youth in the society, more over they advise the government to form several social assistance programs. In Nigeria most of these social programs hardly includes terrorists, although it may discourage youth from falling into the trap of terrorists’ recruiters, terrorists’ activities are still ongoing and their number on increase as Leach rightly observed “Boko Haram gained strength as it was responsive to the perceived marginalization of much of the public in the northeast in the absence of strong, representative government and institutions of civil society” (Leach, 2016: 10). On this note we may conclude that there is no strong or and enough CSOs to carry out successful awareness campaign against terror in Nigeria compare to Tunisia.

Looking at the damnation approach, the CSOs in both Nigeria and Tunisia are performing fabulous jobs in condemning the acts of terror in the society. But even with what they are doing terrorists’ activities still remains an issue in the two countries as such there is lot to be done.

In the motivational functions it’s difficult to say that the CSOs in the two countries are not doing enough, but those in Tunisia seems to be more active in this regards because of their collective calling of police transformational programs that has enhanced the entire police force. In Nigeria the situation is quite different due to the fact that **“The soldiers are less motivated than the Boko Haram insurgents”** from time to time the soldiers complain about lack of necessary military equipment to tackle insecurity. However, calling for police reform in Nigeria during the recent end SARS (Special Anti-Robbery Squad) protest remain unsuccessful as even many are asking has #EndSARS failed? without meeting their stated five demands? (Ward, 2020).

The appraisal function is yet another area that CSOs have to assess the security forces anti-terror activities in such a way it does not affect the ordinary citizens. In both countries police brutality, military torture, intimidation, rape and even extra-judicial killings have been recorded and still on the rise. For example, some human rights groups alleged terrorist suspects detained by the military were denied their rights to legal representation, due process, and to be heard by a judicial authority. The CSOs in the two countries only condemned such activities without taken any significant step that will ensure the punishment of those that erred within the security circles. Without punishing those engaged in brutalizing civilian and fighting for the right of the common people such extra-judicial activities will continue which is the case in both Nigeria and Tunisia (Sales, 2018).

The CSOs in both countries have taken a major step in ensuring rehabilitation of the terrorist's victims in two countries. CSOs in Nigeria have taken several steps that ensure the released of Chibok abducted girls and rehabilitating them just as done to some terrorists' victims in Tunisia, for example voice of the voiceless people, an organization founded by Hamsatu Allamin a strong human right activist has severally pushed for the proper taken care of the victims of terror (Allamin, 2015). In spite of these efforts lack of proper coordination, absence of an ideal CSO that solemnly focus on the victims of terrorism and massive corruption in the government mode of operandi has led to poor handling of the victims both within civilians and security personnel (Ogbonnaya, 2020). In Tunisia due to the presence of SOS Terrorisme that carries out general functions in assisting the victims of terror such as listens and supports them, informs and guides them, offer medical and social assistance to them and helps them in obtaining judicial proceedings; rehabilitation of victims of terrorism, rehabilitating roles of CSOs seems to be more effective there than in Nigeria.

When we look at the level of partnership amongst the several CSOs in both countries; we will observed that the rate of unionism amongst Tunisian CSOs is higher compare to that of Nigeria. As Leach rightly observed the military and federal police have faced difficulty strengthening ties with civil society in Nigeria. Both have a widespread reputation for corruption and brutality that has been difficult to overcome" (Leach, 2016: 12). In the same vein Sales pointed out that interagency cooperation and information sharing was limited in Nigeria (Sales, 2018). These kinds of nagging problems made it very difficult for CSOs to function effectively as an agent of anti-terrorism in Nigerian society. Conversely, in Tunisia thanks to the proper coordination between agencies, it recorded tremendous successes in fighting violent extremism as Sales claimed that the collaboration and cooperation between security forces, private security, and hotel staff has notably improved with training provided by 159 international partners in Tunisia (Sales, 2018)

On the indoctrination approach in Nigeria and Tunisia there is a great effort to reintegrate terrorist back to the society on the principles of negotiation, reintegration, rehabilitation or humanitarian interventions. The call of several CSOs in Nigeria has made the Government of Nigeria to carry out closed-door hearings in front of civilian judges for more than 1,600 suspected supporters of Boko Haram and ISIS-WA. According to a government statement, 600 suspects were arraigned in the initial proceedings. Of these, 45 pled guilty to various charges and were sentenced to between three and 31 years in prison, 468 persons were ordered to undergo a de-radicalization and rehabilitation program before being released, 34 cases were dismissed, and 28 cases were remanded for trial in civilian courts elsewhere in the country (Sales, 2018).

In Nigeria Kukah Centre developed Demobilization, Deradicalisation, Rehabilitation and Reintegration (DDRR) framework which addresses all the challenges faced by reconciliation and negotiation programs adopted by Nigerian Government engages various agencies and organizations into the process. On the similar vein in Tunisia Hedayah and Rescue Association of Tunisians Trapped Abroad (RATTA), Tunisian Plus, We Youth, Association Dance Theater Music, Al Karama Association, Tunisian Organization for Social Cohesion, The International Institute for Human Development and IIDebate have organized several workshops and training programs, provide capacity-building trainings to women and youth setting up social and solidarity economic initiatives for foreign fighter returnees (Demam & Ouni, 2019: 6-10). The approach is favorable in Tunisia compare to Nigeria because it is easier to find out foreign fighter returnees and bring them together for workshops and training compare to members of Boko Haram in Nigeria who are mostly in the forest.

For coordination approach both countries' civil societies have allied with several others around the world with sole aim of Countering Violent Extremism (CVE). In Nigeria, with direct support from the British Department for International Development, adopted a Policy Framework and National Action Plan for Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism. The Policy Framework adopts a "Whole-of-Government" and a "Whole-of-Society approach." It encourages the active participation of Ministries, Departments and Agencies of Government, as well as critical stakeholders from different sectors of the civil society (Musa, 2018: 2). However, the framework was in accordance with relevant UN policy and developed in coordination with various ministries and CSOs. Under this framework, the government launched an Action Plan for Demobilization, Disassociation, Reintegration, and Reconciliation (Sales, 2018). Similarly, the government of Tunisia has made counterterrorism a top priority, and Tunisia continued to cooperate with the international community, including the United States, to professionalize its security apparatus (Sales, 2018). However, in the past Tunisia co-sponsored UN Security Council resolution 2396 on returning and relocating foreign terrorist fighters (Sales, 2018). Although the CSOs in the two countries have done significantly well in this area of coordination, there is still the need to do more because of the existing fact that terrorism still remains one of the greatest hiccups of the countries development.

As a result of the fact that despite the efforts of the CSOs, terrorism remains a gargantuan grudge in both Nigeria and Tunisia, this article suggests that there is more to be done owing to that recommends the followings:

Infiltration approach is what this article consider more practical than all the aforementioned eight. This is a giant effort that need to be taken by Civil Society to clandestinely penetrate terrorists through silence agents in order to get their entire mode of operandi, styles of their activities, pre and post actions and inactions as well as the names of their sponsors. They can do this through espionage that entails mingling with terrorist organization secretly in order to acquire the required information for the necessary action to be taken. Cambridge Dictionary defines *infiltration as an action to secretly become part of a group in order to get information or to influence the way that group thinks or behaves*. In this way, CSOs can recruit expert who will secretly become part of the terrorist organizations for the purpose of acquiring the required information needed by the entire stake holders to curtail terrorism. This kind of approach is vital and bitter because of its dangerous nature so it must be done with the knowledge of the local security agencies. Through secret agents within the terrorists camps the sponsors of terrorism and those who offer all kinds of assistance to them could easily be identified including how they get their weapons, food, vehicles and money. Finding out sources of income of the terrorist organization and blocking them means an automatic ending the terrorist itself because no organization can survive without any financial capability.

It is for the above reason this article critically argued that one of the major anti-terrorist approach is finding its sources of income and assistance and stopping them. Think of it, in both Nigeria and Tunisia terrorist organizations are able to recruit several members because of the assistance they offer to the destitute youth in the society-capitalizing on the massive unemployment and chronic poverty among the youth. The CSOs working in fighting terrorism can and should take this function seriously because identifying the mode of operandi, who and who are engaged in the group as well as the sources of their income and take necessary action accordingly means breaking the back bone of the terrorist organizations. These terrorist groups have backing and support of all kinds from invincible hands and it is for this reason they became *immortals*, those who engaged in terrorists' attacks cannot sponsor themselves and without those sponsors they are *moribund* as a result I ventured to declare that not only in any developing country such as Nigeria and Tunisia, even in United States and in United Kingdom AK 47, explosive devices, car bombs, dirty bombs, Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs), Rocket Propelled Grenades, Surface-to-Air Missiles and vehicles were never and can never be poor-man's arsenals of mass destructions.

A second advantage of infiltration method is that it can give the CSOs the opportunity to change the mindset of the terrorist organizations by influencing their members through their secret agents within them. The agents can intelligently apply de-radicalization policy while within the groups, they can also create disunity and conflict within the members of the terrorist organization that will make the members attack themselves and subsequently a total disorganization and lack of unity among them. Such method if it succeed will eventually create a total discomfort among the members and make them to give-up terrorism.

Having identify the real terrorists through infiltration methods or other means the CSOs can embark on mediation approach. They can reconcile between the terrorist and the government. The reason why most of the reconciliation policies of countering violence extremism failed is because they are mostly done without identifying the real terrorists.

Deducing from all we have discussed from the first page of this article, we can conclude that in the contemporary world Civil Society Organizations have become a giant instrument of not only societal development but also societal peace and unity. They drew experts from the first sector (government) and the second sector (companies) to form a formidable force with sole aim of intervening in rectifying or assist in solving some set albeit vital issues affecting societies that both first two sectors could not resolve. One of these issues is terrorism which in almost all the countries affected by it have numerous CSOs that are working effectively to see to its end. Despite the efforts of the local CSOs within these countries to help in fighting terrorism, this article believes that there is still more to be done. On this note, in addition to the eight approaches discussed, the article recommends some few critical ways that are more practical and more problem solving.

Terrorism is a contagious pandemic, its vaccine is highly needed, and that vaccine is Civil Society.

Kaynakça

- Ajala, I. (2019). Tunisian terrorist fighters: a grassroots perspective. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, 11(2), 187-9.
- Allamin, H. (2014). The Woman Who Talks With Boko Haram. *Womenpeacemakers*: <https://womenpeacemakers.atavist.com/the-woman-who-talks-with-boko-haram#chapter-2125302>
- Allamin, H. (2015, April 15). Open Discussion Paper on Violence. *Women Peace Security.org*: https://www.womenpeacesecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/NGOWG-Statement_Debate_Sexual-Violence_Allami_April-2015.pdf
- Akengin, H. Sağlam, D. Ve Dilek, A. (2002). İlköğretim 4. Ve 5. Sınıf öğrencilerinin sosyal bilgiler dersi ile ilgili görüşleri. *M.Ü. Atatürk Eğitim Fakültesi Eğitim Bilimleri Dergisi*, Sayı 16, ss. 1-12.
- AmnestyInternational. (2019). *Nigeria 2019*. Amnesty.org: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/africa/nigeria/report-nigeria/>
- AmnestyInternational. (2020). *Police Viilence*. Amnesty.org: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/what-we-do/police-brutality/>
- Bala, A. (2017). *Bottom-Up Approach to Countering Violent Extremism in Tunisia*. Search for Common Ground SFCG. Tunis: Search for Common Ground Tunisia .
- Barkindo, A. (2018). *National Policy Framework on Demobilisation. Deradicalisation. Rehabilitation. Reintegration (DDRR) Part One*. The Kukah Centre: www.thekukahcentre.org
- Belhassine, A. (2018, Feb 19). *Human Right Watch Slams Police Brutality and Slow Reform in Tunisia*. May 10, 2019 tarihinde Justiceinfo.net: <https://www.justiceinfo.net/en/reconciliation/36486-human-rights-watch-slams-police-brutality-and-slow-reform-in-tunisia.html>
- Ben Hamad, F. (2020, 08 18). *Tunis-based rights groups sound alarm over police violence against women*. Observers.france24.com: <https://observers.france24.com/en/20200818-tunis-police-violence-towards-women>
- Bengtsson, M. (2016). How to plan and perform a qualitative study using content analysis. *NursingPlus Open*, 9.
- Bengtsson, M. (2016). How to plan and perform a qualitative study using content analysis. *NursingPlus Open*, 11-13.
- Bouguerra, B. (2014). *Reforming Tunisia's Troubled Security Sector*. Rafik Hariri Center for the Middle East.
- Brown, D. (2009, December). The Effectiveness of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) within Civil Society. *A Master's Thesis submitted to The Faculty of the Master of Science in International Studies Program In Candidacy for the Degree of Master of Science in International Studies*, 3. St. John Fisher College.
- Buba, I. A. (2019). *Youth Coalition Against Terrorism*. Oneyoungworld: <https://www.oneyoungworld.com/profile-main/87101>
- Burt, B. (2016). *The Crisis in Nigeria*. Responsibilitytoprotect.org: <http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/crises/crisis-in-nigeria>
- Chilengi, J. (2015, Jun 29). *ECOSOCC Statement condemning terrorist attack in Tunisia*. AU: <https://au.int/en/newsevents/27451/ecosocc-statement-condemning-terrorist-attack-tunisia>
- Counterextremism. (2002, April 11). *Tunisia: Extremism & Counter-Extremism*. Counterextremism.com: <https://www.counterextremism.com/countries/tunisia>
- Crossman, A. (2018, September 24). *Understanding Functionalist Theory*. ThoughtCo: <https://www.thoughtco.com/functionalist-perspective-3026625>

- Demam, H. (2017, Aug). *Bottom-Up Approach to Countering Violent Extremism in Tunisia* . Search for Common Ground Tunisia : https://www.sfcg.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Final_External_Evaluation_Report_on_Bottom-Up_Approaches_to_CVE_Project_-_SFCG_Tunisia.pdf
- Demam, H., & Ouni, B. (2019). *Tunisia CVE Prison Project*. Search for Common Ground-Tunisia. Narrative Quarterly Report.
- Efe-epa. (2019, March 20). *Prison or reintegration, dealing with Tunisia's returning foreign fighters*. Efe.com: <https://www.efecomm.com/efe/english/world/prison-or-reintegration-dealing-with-tunisia-s-returning-foreign-fighters/50000262-3930342>
- Ezenagu, R. N. (2016). The Role of Civil Societies in the Fight Against Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria: An Assessment of Non-Governmental, Community Based and Faith Based Organizations. *Department of Sociology/Anthropology, University of Nigeria, Nsukka*, s. 10.
- Gill, P., & et al. (2008, March 22). *Methods of data collection in qualitative research: interviews and focus groups*. Nature.com: [https://www.nature.com/articles/bdj.2008.192#:~:text=There%20are%20a%20variety%20of,interviews%20\(individual%20or%20group\).&text=However%2C%20the%20most%20common%20methods,are%20interviews%20and%20focus%20groups](https://www.nature.com/articles/bdj.2008.192#:~:text=There%20are%20a%20variety%20of,interviews%20(individual%20or%20group).&text=However%2C%20the%20most%20common%20methods,are%20interviews%20and%20focus%20groups).
- Hedayah. (2017). *Returning Foreign Terrorist Fighters Workshop in Tunisia* . Hedayah Center: <http://www.hedayahcenter.org/activites/758/2017/760/returning-foreign-terrorist-fighters-workshop-in-tunisia>
- Herbert, M. (2018, 6 28). *Carnegie Endowment For International Peace*. The Insurgency in Tunisia's Western Borderlands: <https://carnegieendowment.org/2018/06/28/insurgency-in-tunisia-s-western-borderlands-pub-76712>
- Ingram, G. (2020, April 6). *Civil society: An essential ingredient of development*. Brookings.edu: <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/up-front/2020/04/06/civil-society-an-essential-ingredient-of-development/>
- ITUC. (2015, 03 19). *ITUC Condemns Tunisia Terror Attack*. Ituc-csi: <https://www.ituc-csi.org/ituc-condemns-tunisia-terror>
- Knoope, P. (2019). *Civil Society Engagement: Nigeria* . International Centre for Counter Terrorism: <https://icct.nl/project/civil-society-engagement-nigeria/>
- KukahCenter. (2018). *Through our eyes People's perspectives on building peace in northeast Nigeria*. London: Conciliation Resources.
- Leach, J. D. (2016). Boko Haram: Diverging Approaches to Fighting Insurgency. *Journal of Politics and Democratization*, 1-2.
- Little, W. (2012). Society and Social Interaction. W. Little içinde, *Introduction to Sociology – 1st Canadian Edition*. B.C. Open Textbook project.
- Lola Aliaga, O., & Tricot, K. (2018). *Counter-terror in Tunisia: a road paved with good intentions?* Saferworld.org: <https://www.saferworld.org.uk/long-reads/counter-terror-in-tunisia-a-road-paved-with-good-intentions>
- McDonnell, A. (2018, Sept. 27). *Building more community networks to combat violent extremism may help Tunisian authorities develop a holistic, long-term strategy to rehabilitate returning fighters*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: <https://carnegieendowment.org/sada/77358>

- Musa, Y. (2018, June 28-29). *United Nations High Level Conference On Counter Terrorism*. un.org.counterterrorism: <https://www.un.org/counterterrorism/ctitf/sites/www.un.org/counterterrorism.ctitf/files/S3-Nigeria.pdf>
- Obasi, N. (2015, Jan 18). *The soldiers are less motivated than the Boko Haram insurgents*. International Crisis Group: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/nigeria/soldiers-are-less-motivated-boko-haram-insurgents>
- Obi, N. N. (2018). Civil Society Organisations and Peacebuilding: A Functional Perspective. *International Journal of Social Sciences and Management Research* , 4(6), 25.
- Ogbogu, C. J. (2016). Nigeria's Approach to Terrorist Rehabilitation. *International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research*, 8(4), 16.
- Ogbonnaya, M. (2020, Feb. 4). *Has counter-terrorism become a profitable business in Nigeria?* . Institute For Security Studies Africa: <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/has-counter-terrorism-become-a-profitable-business-in-nigeria>
- Ojo, E. O. (2010). Boko Haram: Nigeria's extra-judicial state. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa* , 12(2), 52.
- Okonjo-Iweala, N., & Osafo-Kwaako, P. (2008). The Role of Civil Society Organizations in Supporting Fiscal Transparency in African Countries. *Result For Development*, 10.
- Ostrauskaite, R. (2018). *The Role of Civil Society in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism and Radicalization that Lead to Terrorism*. Vienna: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe.
- Resources, C. (2018, May). *Powerful new report on Boko Haram insurgency shows importance of listening to communities*. Conciliation Resources: <https://www.c-r.org/news-and-views/news/powerful-new-report-boko-haram-insurgency-shows-importance-listening-communities>
- Robertson, N. (2015, January 15). *Nigerian military disorganized, under-equipped in battle against Boko Haram*. CNN: <https://edition.cnn.com/2015/01/15/africa/nigeria-military-families-boko-haram/index.html>
- Rosand, E., Alistair, M., & Jason, I. (2008). *Civil Society and the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy: Opportunities and Challenges*. Center on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation
- Sales, N. A. (2018). *Country Reports on Terrorism 2017*. United States Department of State , Bureau of Counterterrorism. Washington: United States Department of State Publication
- Sam, D. (2014). *Civil Society: Meaning, Features and Role of Civil Society*. Preserve Articles: <http://www.preservearticles.com/2014051433460/civil-society-meaning-features-and-role-of-civil-society.html>
- Sawahel, W. (2016, November 11). *Terror groups attract university graduates – Study*. University Worldnews: <https://www.universityworldnews.com/post.php?story=20161108094641289>
- Sawahel, W. (2018, Nov. 23). *In wake of bombing, plan to fight extremism on campuses*. Universityworldnews: <https://www.universityworldnews.com/post.php?story=20181122074541376>
- Smith-Spark, L. (2020, Oct 22). *Why Nigerians are protesting police brutality* . Edition.cnn.com: <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/10/21/africa/nigeria-sars-protests-police-explainer-intl/index.html>

- Stuurman, Z. (2019, Sept. 24). *Terrorism as Controversy: The Shifting Definition of Terrorism in State Politics*. E-International Relations: <https://www.e-ir.info/2019/09/24/terrorism-as-controversy-the-shifting-definition-of-terrorism-in-state-politics/#:~:text=The%20definition%20states%20that%20terrorism,or%20compelling%20a%20person%2C%20a>
- Svare, D. (2012). Homeland Security Organization in Defence Against Terrorism: The Universal Framework for the Criminal Justice Response to Terrorism. J. Charvat içinde, *Homeland Security Organization in Defence Against Terrorism* (s. 99). Amsterdam: IOS Press.
- TheGuardian. (2009, August 11). Boko Haram: Matters Arising (Editorial Comment). Lagos.
- UNODC. (2018). *Counter Terrorism: Introduction to International Terrorism*. Vienna: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)
- UNR. (1996). *The Terrorism Prevention Branch United Nations Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention Vienna International Centre*. Vienna: United Nations Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention (ODCCP).
- Vanguard. (2016, Oct 06). *Reps cry foul over use of N270m to clear grass at IDPs camps*. Vanguardngr: <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/10/reps-cry-foul-as-sgf-lawal-allegedly-used-n270m-to-clear-grass-at-idps-camps/>
- Ward, A. (2020, Oct 26). *#EndSARS isn't just about police brutality. It's about the future of Nigeria*. Vox.com: <https://www.vox.com/21529010/endsars-nigeria-protests-police-explained>

Extended Abstract

Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) otherwise known as the number three sector aside government and private sectors are rigorously participating in resolving the set of problems affecting every society they operate. CSOs are so important that they do not only render social services, they also offer rescue roles in the period of any pandemic such as Lassa fever, Ebola and Covid-19. CSOs are essential ingredients of development as they complement government roles in nation building in all aspects such as health, education, social and security. In a country blessed with peace and stability, civil society fills the space untouched by government and the private sector. In a fragile and conflict-ridden country, it plays an even more important role of providing services normally the responsibility of the state and business and can lay the foundation for reconciliation (Ingram, 2020). In other words, CSOs play critical role in peacebuilding in conflicting communities, as cited in the works of Obi, Ndifon Neji (2018), CSOs have emerged as central forces in peacebuilding and are tremendously contributing in societal peace and security that includes fighting terrorism. For instance, the literature (Barnes 2005; van Tongerene at al. (2005); Douma and Klem (2004); Harpviken and Kjellman (2004), identifies the roles of civil society in peacebuilding to include: (i) promoting reconciliation; (ii) engaging in non-violent forms of conflict management and transformation; (iii) directly preventing violence; (iv) building bridges, trust and interdependence between groups; and (v) monitoring and advocating in favor of peace, and against human rights violations and social injustices (Obi, 2018: 25). It was on the assumption of peacebuilding role which CSOs are resilient actors that this research tends to analyze and compare what CSOs are doing in fighting terrorism between Nigeria and Tunisia.

This study was carried out using content analysis in accordance with the qualitative research method through textual analysis (Gill & etal, 2008). The qualitative content analysis encompasses the study of documents on a particular field and analysing them to make an inductive judgement. In this research relevant literatures were studied on a significant stages of data analysis. Firstly, decontextualization was done in which relevant text were read to obtain basic information of what the CSOs are doing in the two countries to fight terrorism. Secondly, recontextualization is done to sort and filter the information collected from relevant texts in order to remain with most needed (Bengtsson, 2016: 11-13). After filtering out the data then the third stage of where the data are categorize into headings according to the countries is ascertained, such headings includes awareness, damnation, motivation, appraise, rehabilitation, partnership, indoctrination and co-ordinational approaches to fighting terrorism by Civil Society. In the last stage, on the phenomenological and hermeneutical- based studies the research adopts functional approach to comparatively explain the roles of CSOs in fighting terrorism between the two countries. The article tests the hypothesis that a country with vibrant CSO is more likely to eradicate terrorism

than the one that has not. The article also responds to question that: how effective is the CSO's anti-terrorism policies in the two countries?

The effectiveness as well as the relevant of the roles played by CSOs in fighting terrorism in the two countries were comparatively analyzed. It was revealed that in both Nigeria in Tunisia CSOs have played and are still playing vital roles in curtailing the menace of terrorism. However, this research found out that the awareness role of CSOs in fighting terrorism is more effective and recorded a great successes in Tunisia than in Nigeria. This is due to the fact that in Tunisia, university graduates make up the largest proportion of local Tunisian terrorists (Sawahel, 2016), but in Nigeria large chunk of terrorists are young villagers whom the epileptic economic, social and political conditions of the country make them easy prey for extremism. This makes anti-terrorism awareness creation approach in Nigeria more cumbersome than in Tunisia.

Although condemnation and renouncing of terrorists and their activities by CSOs are noticed in both countries (Ezenagu, 2016: 10), such functions especially in Nigeria have not yielded the significant results, as there is lethargy from the populace to collectively stand against terrorism. Is more like to say that the Nigerian society is much more perturbed by police brutality than the terrorists' terror activities. With the exception of 'Bring Back Our Girls' protest which was even challenging the government than the terrorists, there is no any significant collective castigation on terrorism like the 'EndSARS' protest that occurred in Nigeria.

In term of motivating the security personnel, In Nigeria several analysts have argued that **"The soldiers are less motivated than the Boko Haram insurgents"** (Obasi, 2015). This is an indication that both the government and non-governmental organizations such as the Civil Society have not done enough in motivating the security forces to fight Boko Haram. In Tunisia after 2011 Arab Springs several CSOs are concerned with addressing 'terrorism' or 'violent extremism' (Lola Aliaga & Tricot, 2018). As a result they took giants steps such as calling of police reforms which encourage and strengthen the security forces towards ensuring a lasting peace countrywide (Bouguerra, 2014: 6).

This research also found that even though CSOs are criticizing the security forces whenever thy use excessive power, In both countries wide variety of crimes, from extrajudicial killings, harassment, violence against women, torture to corruption by security personal have been experienced (Ben Hamad, 2020), (Smith-Spark, 2020). For this reason there is still much to be done. Excessive use of power by security personnel on the citizens renders the collective effort against terror obsolete. For a country to successfully fight terror there must be collaborative effort, which must include civil-military and civil-police cordial relationships.

This research also realized that the CSOs in both countries have participated in rehabilitation of the terrorist's victims in two countries. CSOs in Nigeria have taken a giant step that ensure the released of Chibok abducted girls and rehabilitating them just as those in Tunisia. However, In Nigeria and Tunisia there is a great effort by CSOs to reintegrate terrorist back to the society on the principles of negotiation, reintegration, rehabilitation or humanitarian interventions. Through partnership and coordination with other CSOs at both domestic and international level CSOs in the two countries have performed greatly in assisting the fight of terrorism. They have also adopt indoctrination approach which aim at rehabilitating the born-again terrorists in to the society. To achieve this a method of (3Rs) was adopted in Nigeria which means Reconciliation, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction (Ogbogu, 2016: 16).

In spite of the numerous roles played by CSOs in fighting terrorism in the two countries, this research found that CSOs in Tunisia have performed and are performing much better than their counterparts in Nigeria. This may be due to the difference in the nature of the terrorists and civil space for the Civil Society in the two countries that could be another topic of interest. The research also found out that in both countries there is still much to be done. Owing to that the research presents an infiltration techniques which means penetrating into the inner circles of the terrorist organizations in order to obtain relevant information such as their mode of operandi, sponsors, weapons' depots, hiding places, connections et cetera that would help in eradicating them.