

RELIGION IN PEACE AND CONFLICT: SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF THE BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY ON THE NIGERIAN SOCIETY.

OKEKE, BRIGHT EDMOND B.A. (HONS), MSC., BUS. MGT. & Entr.
brightedmond@gmail.com
+2348038945449.

Abstract

Religion, peace, and conflict are three phenomena that can be indicated to be interwoven. Every religion claim to preach peace while in actuality most conflicts around the world are religiously influenced especially in the Middle East and Nigeria subjectively. This is because religion can play a role as a source of conflict and also a path to peace. There are several religions in existence in Nigeria, some of which are exploited by some privileged few for political gains due to some violent concepts attached to the teachings of such religion.

As Huntington (1996) predicted, given the collapse of communism, the main contention and controversy in the world would revolve around religion. The religious tension in present-day Nigerian society tends to fulfill the logic of the above statement. In the past decades, Nigeria has experienced radicalism in Islamic sects. Notable among them is the Boko Haram sect. This group of Islamic faithful has resulted in the use of violence and terror in the quest for realizing their selfish ambitions which have been asserted by some scholars to be the Islamization of the Nigerian nation starting from Northeastern Nigeria by institutionalizing sharia law in the country.

The issue of the Boko Haram insurgency amasses great concern to the Nigerian government due to the continued killings, destructions, and bombings by the Boko Haram sect.

The vastly consequential implication on the surge of this radical plague is the dearth of socio-economic development in Nigeria which is extensively felt in the North. Illiteracy, increased unemployment rate, poverty, and political cum religious bias have been used as a catalyst to drive the rising membership of this group and in aiding religious extremism. The consolation of getting caught in the act is when arrested, members would only be expected to denounce membership, afterward tagged repentant and freed by the government of the day. This results in rejoining of the sect while the attack and trend continue.

The activities of this sect in the name of religion have implications for the country and its development. This paper aims to investigate the role of religion in promoting peace, motivating and resolving conflict, the avenue made available by Boko Haram for its members and supporters to negatively express their frustration through religious indoctrination and pervasiveness especially in the northeastern part of Nigeria and the socio-economic implication of Boko Haram on the development of the Nigerian society.

To achieve this, the study will examine the emergence and activities of the Boko Haram sect and its socioeconomic implication on development in Nigeria, the possible solution to the Boko Haram menace, measures to take in avoidance of emergence of a similar group, and also recommend possible ways to control insurgency and improve socio-economic development in Nigeria.

The adopted method of analysis for this study is the descriptive method. Due to the nature of the study, the secondary sources of data collection will be utilized. Therefore, relevant documents, texts, magazines, news publications, internet publications, newspapers, journals, documentaries, and organizational records shall be consulted. This study derives ideas from religion, history, philosophy, geography and psychology, the current state of affairs, peace studies, and conflict resolution.

The findings from the study indicate that Religion plays a vital role in maintaining peaceful coexistence, instigating and resolving conflict especially in a pluralistic society like Nigeria. It also revealed that Boko Haram is a radicalized Islamic sect that seeks the establishment of an Islamic state in Nigeria. It further shows that Boko Haram has socio-economic implications on the development of Nigerian society especially in the northeastern part of Nigeria where they have refuge.

The research recommends that to curb insurgency in Nigeria, government agencies, non-governmental agencies, private sectors, public sectors, and the international community should help to rebuild destroyed

infrastructures, sensitize the youths while ensuring that the captured Boko Haram members face the wrath of the law to serve as a deterrent to the people. The security agencies should also be well equipped with state-of-the-art equipment and well trained for intelligence gathering to help win the fight against insurgency. Furthermore, there should be favorable policies put in place to attract foreign investors and proper security measures put in place to protect the investments in Nigeria. There should also be measures put in place to ensure that the Nigerian youths are well trained and empowered for employability and self-employment.

Keywords: Peace, Conflict, Religion, Socio-economic, Boko Haram, Nigeria.

Introduction

Boko Haram [often translated as western education is forbidden] has become widely known for its fundamentalist and militant actions around the world. Astonishing the theory of secularism, religion has a strong and growing significance as a source of identity for many people in Nigeria especially among the government and elected officials. This is most commonly reflected in the views that religious differences and fanaticism are central to many recent conflicts in Nigeria.

While Boko Haram was established in the early year 2000 under the leadership of Muhammad Ali and later Muhammad Yusuf, its activities were relatively peaceful. Boko Haram intensified its activities after the year 2009 and became more aggressive. The Islamic group was proscribed by the US government, declared a Foreign Terrorist Organization. The insurgent, at first focused on opposing Western education against which all its teachings were channeled. Its interest later became political which was to create an Islamic state and establish Sharia law in Nigeria. The Boko Haram group clashed many times with the Nigerian Police in 2009. Since then, the group has grown to become a serious national and international concern.

The group intensified its activity in August 2011 when it bombed the United Nations building in Abuja and killed about 23 people in the process. It has increased and sustained its insurgency especially in the Northeastern States of Nigeria. Furthermore, the group has continued killings, abductions, and the bombing of different locations which includes religious sites, schools, markets, and major places, mainly in the North.

This research asserts that religion can encourage peace, instigate conflict, resolve conflict and also facilitate peace-building. In the light of this statement, this study updates the Nigerian people on the various influences of religion in peace and conflict, the dangerous effect of religious bigotry, extremism on national development. This study unravels the primary cause of Boko Haram and exposes its socio-economic implication on the Nigerian populace while expressing the need for people to reject the anti-development ideologies of Boko Haram, especially in the northeast.

Conceptual clarifications

Religion:

Karl Marx, the German philosopher who is the founder of Marxism theory had a personal view on religion. According to Marx (1976), he saw religion primarily as the soul of the soulless condition, the “opium of the people” that had been useful to the ruling classes since it gave the working classes false hope. Here, religion is seen as hindering human development and harmful as it can prevent necessary revolution. This can be said to be true when associated with the religious motivations of Boko Haram in Nigeria.

Nevertheless, according to Wilfred (1962), “we have learned more about ‘the religions; but this has made us perhaps less.....aware of what it is wemean by ‘religion’”.

There are many definitions of religion by various scholars but as it stands, there is no universally accepted definition of religion.

Mckinnon (2002) asserts that scholars have found it difficult to develop a consistent definition, with some giving up on the possibility of a definition.

In as much as there has been no universally accepted definition of religion, it has been an integral part of people and societies from the origin and it has also influenced peace and or fostered conflict.

According to the United States Institute of Peace report in 2008, “no major religion has been exempt from complicity in violent conflict”. It further stated that “with so much emphasis on religion as a source of conflict, the role of religion as a force in peacekeeping is usually overlooked”.

In reality, religion can help in maintaining peace and as well in some circumstances may trigger conflict depending on the content of the particular religion. This includes theologies, doctrines, values, scriptures, and beliefs. Considering that religion provides people with sources of identity, law, and order, morality, and societal link; when exploited, adherents go to any level to protect that which they see as the very essence of living.

The division of the country Nigeria along ethno-religious lines, the thoughts by a certain religious group as being superior to the others, and the inability of certain ethno-religious groups to tolerate the others is a motivation for the religiously influenced crises and conflicts in Nigeria. The research ascertains the claim that some members of a certain ethno-religious group are in actuality members and proponents of the Boko Haram sect.

Peace and Conflict:

Peace is a term that is synonymous with the everyday activities of humans but yet a term that has no universally acclaimed definition. The Cambridge dictionary defines peace as freedom from war and violence, especially when people live and work together happily without disagreement. Hence, defining peace as the absence of disagreement. There are numerous theories of peace in various fields of study, and religions. However, these various definitions have one viewpoint in common which comprises the absence of war.

Etymologically, the Anglo-French term *Pes* itself comes from the Latin *pas* meaning “peace, compact, agreement, treaty of peace, tranquility, absence of hostility, harmony” (Wikipedia, 2019).

A conflict is a clash of interests. The basis of conflict may vary but, it is always a part of society (Wikipedia, 2019). Conflict may take various dimensions. It may be personal, racial, political, local, or international. There is no single universally accepted definition of conflict. However, all conflict involves disagreement about something which is of importance to the conflicting parties.

Socio-economic effects of the Boko Haram insurgency:

In Nigeria, the Boko Haram menace has been a problem that started as an aftermath of the killing of Mohammed Yusuf who was the leader of the Islamic sect. This insurgency has continued to take a huge toll on the social and economic development of the Nation and has also engaged many scholars in an attempt to determine its emergence, ideology, growth, motivation, causes and implication, and solution.

The Boko Haram sect has intensified its operations in Nigeria especially in the northeast despite the military actions which have been taken by the Nigerian government to salvage the situation. Several perspectives on this menace have emerged from historians, social scientists, peace and conflict professionals, academic consultants, and the international communities. Consequently, the importance of further exploring the Boko Haram impasse and its socioeconomic implication to the Nigerian nation cannot be over-emphasized.

Eme and Ibietan (2012) assert that *Jama’atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda’ awati wal-jihad* better known as Boko Haram is an Islamic terrorist group that has a strong operational base in the northeastern states of Nigeria. They further asserted that the primary purpose of the sect is to end the secular system of governance in Nigeria and introduce sharia law to Islamize Nigeria.

Contrarily, Agbiboa (2013) states that the crisis and insurgency in the northeast of Nigeria is a result of the inclusion of religion into a long brew of grievances against unfair distribution of power and resources and also against corruption.

Furthermore, he stated that religious terrorist groups have anti-modern objectives of returning the society to an ideal version of the past and these terrorists are anti-social, anti-progressive, and anti-democratic which gives them the ability to invoke total commitment by employing different kinds of violence in expressing their grievances.

Nevertheless, Lister (2012) asserts otherwise. He states that the foot soldiers of the Boko Haram sect are disgruntled youths who have been financially motivated by unscrupulous northern politicians to cause mayhem in the country for selfish ambitions. This was possible due to the poor socio-economic state of these disgruntled youths.

Moreover, Onuoha (2014) believes that the northern youths enlisted into Boko Haram due to the prevalence of poverty in Nigeria. Cook (2013) also supports the above-stated position.

Awojobi (2014) further stated that the prevalence of poverty especially in the northeastern part of Nigeria motivated youths to enlist into the Boko Haram sect.

Since the Boko Haram insurgency began in 2009, the poverty rate in Nigeria has increased especially in the northeastern parts of Nigeria.

Boko Haram is a radicalized Islamic sect that seeks the establishment of an Islamic state in Nigeria. The membership of this sect is facilitated by ignorance, illiteracy, poverty, frustration, and the unemployable state of most of the youths in the northeastern part of Nigeria. Thus, it has a religious affiliation and its religion is Islam, they operate on the ideologies which vehemently oppose anything with a western origin including educational empowerment, clothes, and foreign facilities, and also promote anti-development cultures through terror.

The term “Socioeconomic” is an adjective that relates to both economic and social factors (Yourdictionary, 2019).

Furthermore, these characteristics can include social and economic standing, level of education, current profession, and ethnic background or heritage (Investopedia, 2019).

Socioeconomics concerns itself with how economies are shaped by social processes. It also analyzes how societies progress, stagnate, or regress because of their local, regional, or global economy (Wikipedia, 2019). According to a report by the world poverty clock in 2018, Nigeria has overtaken India as the country with the most extremely poor people in the world. It further stated that 86.9 million Nigerians live in extreme poverty. This represents 50 percent of Nigeria’s 180 million populations. This was made further possible by the devastating socioeconomic effect of Boko Haram which rendered thousands if not millions of people homeless, cashless, hungry, and hopeless.

There exists a notion that shows the killings, kidnapping, and bombing by the sect and their general activities has constituted a fear phenomenon that has halted investments and has become hindrances to the socio-economic development of Nigeria especially in the northeast where Boko Haram activities are intensified. A socio-economic of the works on the subject matter shows that the researchers agree that the Boko Haram insurgency amidst their heinous crimes against humanity hampers socio-economic development in Nigeria.

Theoretical framework

The framework of this study is the theoretical perspective of frustration-aggression theory known as the frustration-aggression–displacement theory. This theory was propounded by John Dollard and his colleagues. It states that frustration leads to aggression but when the source of the frustration cannot be challenged, an innocent target becomes a recipient of the aggression.

To exemplify the theory, If a man is humiliated by his employer at the office and the humiliated fellow couldn't respond for the fear of forfeiting the employment, the said fellow may convey his frustration to his family expending violence on the household.

Miller and Sears (1941) reformulated the hypothesis to suggest that while frustration creates a need to respond, some form of aggression is one possible outcome. This means that while frustration leads to actions that may or may not be aggressive, any aggressive behavior is a result of frustration.

According to Zillman (1979), this makes frustration not sufficient but a necessary condition for aggression. This hypothesis attempts to explain the cause of the Boko Haram violence.

According to the reformulation of the Yale group, "frustration produces instigation to several different types of response, one of which is aggression. They defined frustration as the "condition which exists when a goal response suffers interference" while aggression is defined as "an act whose goal response is to injure an organism".

With regards to this research, history has it that elites from the northern part of Nigeria have produced more national leaders than any other part of the country. Irrespective of this fact, the majority of the northern youths have refused to welcome education and civilization due to some Islamic teachings and therefore remain unemployable. The poverty and deficiency rate in the region has been reported to be so high while quite a multitude of them have been ravaged by numerous health challenges due to their refusal to accept immunizations and the impoverished state of the medical facilities in the region.

This has created discontentment, frustration, and tensed environment with the people willing to rebel and uphold anarchy seeing the elected leaders have no plans to improve the society.

Furthermore, the issue of religion, poverty, and underdevelopment has been widely upheld as the fundamental cause of the Boko Haram insurgency.

Ford (2007) indicated that "poverty is the major cause of conflict in Africa". Fearon (2004) further stated that "poverty helps to sustain conflict once it's started." On the issue of how religion facilitates Boko Haram activities, Ghamidi (2001) asserts that "there is a consensus among Islamic scholars that the concept of Jihad will always include armed struggle against wrongdoers". The term wrongdoers as mentioned here are determined by the Boko Haram sect for the justification of their heinous actions.

Consequently, it can be argued that with the knowledge of the concept of jihad in connection to arms struggle, frustration induced by deprivation, poverty, and unemployment which is as a result of non-acceptance of education and civilization is the motivating factor that led to the aggression by Boko Haram sect over the years.

Conclusion

This paper presents the socio-economic implication of the Boko Haram menace to Nigerian society while highlighting the role which religion plays in stimulating peace as well as inspiring conflict. This contributes insight into understanding the Boko Haram philosophy and ideology which is entirely religious cum politically motivated. The religious sentimental appeals of the group assist them in recruiting members and sympathizers to sustain its operations.

Nevertheless, many narratives have existed and are being applied to ascertain the emergence, operations, sustenance, transformation, and the existence of the Boko Haram impasse in Nigeria. This study discovered that the primary mission of the sect to an extent is to establish an Islamic state and exterminate all western ideologies, direct and indirect colonization.

Furthermore, this study has shown that Boko Haram has religion while highlighting the role of religion in peace and conflict. The study has also shown that religion when positively applied exploits a vital role in maintaining peaceful coexistence, instigating and resolving conflict especially in a heterogeneous population like Nigeria.

Precisely as affirmed above, Boko Haram is a radicalized Islamic sect that seeks the establishment of an Islamic state in Nigeria. The membership of this sect is facilitated by ignorance, illiteracy, poverty, frustration, and the unemployable state of a majority of the youths in the northeastern part of Nigeria. Hence, the sect's religion is Islam. They operate on the ideologies which vehemently oppose everything western including educational empowerment, outfits, and foreign installations while promoting anti-development complexities.

The socio-economic indications of Boko Haram on the development of the Nigerian society especially in the northeastern part of Nigeria where they operate with ease cannot be overemphasized. Among these implications is the scaring of foreign investors by kidnapping and murdering investors who dare to come and also the devastation of existing infrastructures.

However, the emergence of the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria has further indicated that Muslims in the nation do not form a homogeneous guise rather they are divided into numerous micro and macro movements that display various religious, social, cultural, political, and ideological exposures. Consequently, being a Muslim does not invalidity make one a member of Boko Haram.

References

- Adesoji, Abinbola (2010), The Boko Haram Uprising and Islamic Revival in Nigeria, In *Africa Spectrum*,45,2,95-108.
- Agbiboa, E. D. Peace at Daggers Drawn? Boko Haram and the State of Emergency in Nigeria. (2013). *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*. vol. 37. no. 1. pp. 41 – 67.
- Agbiboa, E. D. Why Boko Haram Exists: The Relative Deprivation Perspective (2013). in Cook, D. *Boko Haram: A New Islamic State in Nigeria*, (2014). James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy. p.5.
- Agbiboa, E., D. Boko-Haram and the Global Jihad: Do Not Think Jihad is over. Rather Jihad Has Just Begun, (2014). *Australian Journal of International Affairs*. vol.68. no4. pp. 400 – 417.
- Albert, I., O. Explaining A Security Dilemma: Nigeria-Chad relations in the Context of Boko Haram Crisis". *Ife Journal of International Affairs*, (2015). vol.1. no.1. pp. 1 – 19.
- Amsel, A. (1962). Frustrative non reward in partial reinforcement and discrimination learning: Some recent history and a theoretical extension. *Psychological Review*, 69(4), 306–328. doi:10.1037/ h0046200.
- Amsel, A. (1992). *Frustration theory: An analysis of dispositional learning and memory*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Anderson, C. A., & Bushman, B. J. (2002). Human aggression. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 53(1), 27–51. doi:10.1146/annurev.psych.53.100901.135231.
- Ani, C., Nwaoga, C.T., Rev. Fr. Chrysanthus, Ogbozor. Religion, Violence, Poverty and Underdevelopment in West Africa: Issues and Challenges of Boko Haram Phenomenon in Nigeria, (2014). *Open Journal of Philosophy*, 2014. (Published online, February 2014 in SciRes <http://www.scrip.org/journal/ojpp>).
- Archer, J. (1988). *The behavioural biology of aggression*. Great Britain: Cambridge University.

Asiwaju, I. A.A. Terrorism and African Border Governance in Sturies, S. (Eds). Reflections on Nigeria's Foreign Policy, (2015). Friedrich Ebert Stiftung: Society for International Relations Awareness, Abuja, Nigeria. pp. 23 – 32.

Ayodeji, A., Abimbola, O. and Adenipekun, L. Boko Haram Insurgency in North- Eastern Nigeria and its Implications for Security and Stability in West Africa Sub-Region, (2014). International Journal of Development and Conflict, ol. 4. pp. 102 – 107.

Bandura, A. (1977). Self-efficacy: Toward a unifying theory of behavioral change. *Psychological Review*, 84(2), 191–215. doi:10.1037/0033-295X.84.2.191

Barongo, J.R. (1980). Understanding African Politics: The Political Economy approach. In the Nigerian Journal of Political Science, December 1980, vol.2 No. 2. Department.

Berkowitz, L. (1968). The study of urban violence: Some implications of laboratory studies of frustration and aggression. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 11(4), 14–17. doi:10.1177/000276426801100405

Berkowitz, L. (1978). Whatever happened to the frustration-aggression hypothesis? *American Behavioral Scientist*, 21(5), 691–708. doi:10.1177/000276427802100505

Berkowitz, L. (1983). Aversively stimulated aggression: Some parallels and differences in research with animals and humans. *American Psychologist*, 38, 1135–1144. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.38.11.1135 .

Berkowitz, L. (1984). Some effects of thoughts on anti- and prosocial influences of media events: A cognitive-neoassociation analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 95(3), 410–427. doi:10.1037/0033-2909.95.3.410 .

Berkowitz, L. (1989). Frustration-aggression hypothesis: Examination and reformulation. *Psychological Bulletin*, 106(1), 59–73. doi:10.1037/0033-2909.106.1.59 .

Berkowitz, L. (1990). On the formation and regulation of anger and aggression: A cognitive-neoassociationistic analysis. *American Psychologist*, 45(4), 494–503. doi:10.1037/0003-066x.45.4.494 .

Boko Haram Activities Destroy the Economy of the North. Retrieved from <http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/how-boko-haram-activities-destroy-economy-of-the-north/> on 1/4/2019.

Burnstein, E., & Worchel, P. (1962). Arbitrariness of frustration and its consequences for aggression in a social situation. *Journal of Personality*, 30(4), 528–540. doi:10.1111/j.1467-6494.1962.tb01687.x

Buss, A. H. (1963). Physical aggression in relation to different frustrations. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 67(1), 1–7. doi:10.1037/h0040505

Buss, A. H. (1966). Instrumentality of aggression, feedback, and frustration as determinants of physical aggression. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 3(2), 153–162. doi:10.1037/h0022826

Buzuev, .A.(1986). Political Economy. Moscow: Progress.

Caprara, G. V. (1982). A comparison of the frustration-aggression and emotional susceptibility hypotheses. *Aggressive Behavior*, 8(2), 234–236. doi:10.1002/1098-2337(1982)8:2<234::AID-AB2480080239>3.0.CO;2-5

Captured fighter-Extremists from Chad, Niger and Cameroon fighting in Nigeria's Islamic uprising. Fox News, October 26, 2013.

Causes of violence. Retrieved from www.en.wikipedia.org on 1/7/2019.

Cohen, A. R. (1955). Social norms, arbitrariness of frustration, and status of the agent of frustration in the frustration-aggression hypothesis. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 51(2), 222–226. doi:10.1037/h0039947

Coleman, J. S. (1987). Microfoundations and macrosocial behavior. In J. C. Alexander, B. Giesen, R. Münch, & N. J. Smelser (Eds.), *The micro–macro link* (pp. 153–173). Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1990). *Flow: The psychology of optimal experience*. New York, NY: Harper Perennial.

David Rapport. *The Four in Attacking Terrorism: Elements of Grand Strategy*, (2004) Washington D.C. Georgetown University Press. p.46.

David, R. *Four Waves of Terrorism* (2004) Available at <http://international.ucla.edu/media/files/Rapopr- Four-Waves-of-Modern- Terrorism.pdf> Accessed on 19/05/2015.

Davitz, J. R. (1952). The effects of previous training on postfrustration behavior. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 47(2, Suppl.), 309–315. doi:10.1037/h0061972 de Gaay.

Deutsch, M. (1949). An experimental study of the effects of co-operation and competition upon group process. *Human Relations*, 2(3), 199–231. doi:10.1177/001872674900200301

Deutsch, M. (1993). Educating for a peaceful world. *American Psychologist*, 48(5), 510–517. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.48.5.510

Dill, J. C., & Anderson, C. A. (1995). Effects of frustration justification on hostile aggression. *Aggressive Behavior*, 21(5), 359–369. doi:10.1002/1098-2337(1995)21:5<359::AID-AB2480210505>3.0.CO; 2-6

Dollard, J., Miller, N. E., Doob, L. W., Mowrer, O. H., & Sears, R. R. (1939). *Frustration and aggression*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Economic implications of Boko Haram. Retrieved from <http://blog.policyng.com/read.php?rid=154> on 12/3/2019.

Ekekwe, E. (1986). *Class and State in Nigeria*. London: Longman.

Eme, O. and Ibietan, J. (2012). The Cost of Boko Haram Activities in Nigeria. *Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review*. Vol. 2, No.2. 10-32.

Ethnic Militias and Democracy in Nigeria. A Paper Presented by Laden Muhammad at a 3-day National Workshop on Ethnic Militias, Democracy, and national Security. At the National War College, Abuja.

Ethnic violence increased sharply since 1999, often fuelled by the emergence of
Fawole, W. A. *Nigeria's External Relations and Foreign Policy under Military Rule (1966-1999)*. Obafemi Awolowo University Press Ltd; Ile-Ife, Nigeria, (2003). pp. 66 – 67.

Feierabend, I. K., & Feierabend, R. L. (1966). Aggressive behaviors within polities, 1948–1962: A cross-national study. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 10(3), 249–271. doi:10.1177/002200276601000301

Fortman, B. (2005). Violence among peoples in the light of human frustration and aggression. *European Journal of Pharmacology*, 526(1–3), 2–8. doi:10.1016/j.ejphar.2005.09.035

Friedman, H. & Schustack, M. (2014). *Personality: classic theories and modern research* (5 ed.) Boston: Pearson.

General E. O., Alkali. Security Challenges and Prospects in Nigeria: Insurgency in the Northeast. A paper presented to Students of International Relations, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife on the Occasion of their Field Trip to the Nigerian Defence Headquarters Abuja on 18 March 2015.

Ghamidi , J (2001). *The Islamic law of jihad*. Mizan: Dar ul-Ishraq.

Gloria, J. (1984). Frustration, aggression, and the sense of justice. In A. Mummendey (Ed.), *Social psychology of aggression: From individual behavior to social interaction* (pp. 127–141). Berlin, Germany: Springer.

Gurr, T. R. (1970). *Why Men Rebel*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hoeffler, A. (2002). On the Incidence of Civil War in Africa. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.46, no. 1 : 13–28.

<https://dailypost.ng/2018/11/25/nigerian-army-releases-154-ex-boko-haram-members-society/> . Accessed on 10/2/2019.

<https://Punchng.com/Nigerian-army-releases-257-suspected-boko-haram-members/>. Accessed on 10/2/2019.

Huntington, S. P. (1996). *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. London: Simon and Schuster.

Ibrahim, S., Mustapha, M., Idris, B., Dudu, B., Mamman, A., Abubakar, K. M Onuoha, F. *Youths, Radicalisation and Affiliation with Insurgent Groups in Northern Nigeria*, (2014). CLEEN Foundation Monograph Series, No 20.

Isa, M.K., “Politics, Economy and Society: What Role for the Youth in Nigeria”. A Paper presented at the Official Launching of the Reformed Youth Alliance (RYA) of Nigeria. On 19th October 2002.

Jahanger, A. *Islamic Fundamentalism in Action: The Case of Iran*. *Middle East Council Journal Essay*, (1995). vol. 6 no 2. Available at <http://mepc.org/journal/middleeast-policy-archives/islamic-fundamentalism-action-case-iran>. Accessed 27 May, 2016.

James , F. (2004). Primary commodity exports and civil war. *Journal of conflict resolution*. Vol 49,9: pp 483-507.

Jega, Attahiru M. (2002). Tackling Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Nigeria. *Newsletter of the militant ethnic groups*. Retrieved from <http://www.idpproject.org>. accessed on 11th January 2019.

Jidefor, A. What do we really know about Boko Haram?, (2013) in I. Mantzikos (Ed.), *Boko Haram: Anatomy of Crisis*. E-International Relations (Bristol, UK). pp. 13 – 14.

Jundit Barna. *Insecurity in context: The rise of Boko Haram in Nigeria*, (2004). European Union Think Thank. p.23.

Leeds, C.A. (1978). *Political Studies*. Eastover: McDonalds and Evans.

Legitimate Authority. Colorado: Lynne Rienner.

Loimeier, R. The Developing of Militant Religious Movement in Nigeria, (2012) African Spectrum. vol.47. no. 2-3.

Martins, H. The Great North-South Divide in Nigeria, (2013). Nigeria Development and Finance Forum.

Marx, K. critique of Hegel's philosophy of rights. Maxist internet archive. Retrieved on April 28, 2019.

Matthew, H.K. (1999). Democracy and Civil Society in Nigeria. Ibadan: Spectrum.

Mckinnon, A. M. Sociological definitions, language games and the essence of religion. Methods and theory in the study of religion. (2002)vol 14, no. 1, pp61-83.

Miller, N. (1941). The frustration and aggression hypothesis. Psychological review. 48, (4) , pp 337 -342. Monograph Series, No. 1, Ile-Ife. Nigeria.

Nigeria's Poverty Level drops by 2.1 Percent in Two Years-World Bank". Leadership July 22, 2001.

Nigeria has become the poverty capital of the world. Retrieved from www.qz.com on 1/5/2019.

Obasi, N.K. (2002). Ethnic Militias, Vigilantes and Separatist Groups in Nigeria. Third Millennium Social Science academy of Nigeria. Vol. 5, No. 2.

Abuja: