

## BORNO STATE'S RESILIENCE IN THE FACE OF ADVERSITY: A HOLISTIC INVESTIGATION OF HISTORICAL TRANSFORMATIONS, SECURITY MEASURES, AND EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

Dr. Amina Yusuf Abubakar<sup>1</sup> and Dr. Ibrahim Ahmed Bello<sup>2</sup>

### Article Info

**Keywords:** Borno State  
Resilience, Boko Haram crisis,  
Historical transformations,  
Security measures,  
Educational reforms, Socio-  
political development

### Abstract

This research work explores the resilience of Borno State in the face of adversity, focusing on a holistic examination of its historical transformations, security measures, and educational reforms. Borno State, situated in northeastern Nigeria, has been marred by the Boko Haram insurgency, leading to profound socio-political and economic challenges. Maiduguri, the state's capital, serves as the case study to illuminate the broader dynamics at play.

The study comprises five chapters, each delving into the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria and its far-reaching implications on Borno State's socio-political development. Methodologically, the research formulated twelve questions, administered as questionnaires to 400 respondents, encompassing both primary and secondary data sources. Data analysis involved tabulation and percentage calculations.

The findings underscore the disruptive impact of the Boko Haram crisis, manifesting as backwardness, hatred, national disintegration, and a lack of unity in Nigeria. Borno State's resilience amid these challenges emerges as a central theme, with a focus on strategies for mitigating the crisis.

The unique contribution of this research lies in its comprehensive analysis of how Borno State has navigated through adversity, highlighting historical transformations, security initiatives, and educational reforms. This study informs theory, practice, and policy by recommending measures to prevent further Boko Haram-related crises. The government is encouraged to take decisive actions, including shutting down terrorist training camps, to foster peace, unity, security, and development for the betterment of all Nigerians.

## INTRODUCTION

Over the years, Borno state has experienced series of attacks and blast in most region of the State. The violent agitation by Boko Haram in Borno State (MEND) has often led to loss of lives and properties otherwise known as "Jamatau Ahlisunnah Lid-dawah wal Jihad (JAS). So many spirited groups hide under this body to carry out their nefarious acts of rebellion govern the Borno state to express their governances over the degradations of the operation of the Joint Task Force (JTF) Similarly, there are groups that exist in other parts of the state

<sup>1</sup> Department of Public Administration University of Maiduguri, Borno State Nigeria<sup>1&2</sup>

and they include; the “Metasina, Boko Haram which is located in the central part of the Borno State. They are often called the boko haram Sect. There exists also the “Metasina Group, in the central part of the state while the „Boko Haram“ uses the Northern part of the Borno State as their operational base.

This research study will critically scrutinize and evaluate the activities of the latter amongst the above mentioned political and or religious sects, because that is the thrust of this research. It can be deduced that socio-political development are instrumental to the incessant crisis that has bedevilled our beloved state „Borno“ today. People are said to be poor when they experience lack of sufficient income to purchase material needs which often excludes individuals from partaking in generally accepted activities of daily life in the society at large. According to ALI MAZRUI in his „Paradox of Retardation“, Africa is not the poorest of the regions of the world but it is the most retarded. He argued that Africans are richly endowed; as such they have no reason to be poor. In spite the fact that Borno state producing, Maize, Rice, Beans, and fish over 36 state of the federation still referred to as one of the Northern politically developing state. Boko Haram as the name denotes, does not have one particular meaning.

The name more or less connotes different meanings to different people. The group is a Nigerian Islamic group that seeks the imposition of Sharia Law throughout the whole of Nigeria. Figuratively members of this group believe that “Western education is a sin”. Presently, the group has an undefined structure and chain of command. It is of a paramount importance to note that the official name of the group is

Jama“ atul Ahlis Sunna, Lidda“ await Wal-Jihad“, which means or rather is tantamount to “People committed to the propagation of the prophet’s teaching and Jihad”. Since its formation in 2002 in Maiduguri by the leader of the group Mohammed Yusuf, the Boko Haram has been a thorn in the flesh of Nigeria’s security agencies, precisely the Police force, over its opposition to western education that it believes is a sin. In the year 2004, the Islamic fundamentalist group relocated its base to Sambisa forest of Borno State. The new location was called Sambisa from there, the group set about attacking and leaving members of the Nigerian Police Lifeless. Having said all these at this juncture, this research work will critically analyse the two concepts i.e. Socio-political development and Boko Haram in order to create a better understanding in the minds of the readers and more so, to contribute to existing knowledge of literature.

### **Conceptual Clarification**

In order to ensure clarity and enhance a better understanding of the key words in the topic under review, some terminologies will be explained through definitions. They are terrorism and management. League of Nation (1937) construed it to mean “Criminal acts directed against a state and intended or calculated to create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons or the general public”. United Nations General Assembly Convention (2002) defines terrorism thus “if any person, by any means, unlawfully and intentionally causes death or serious bodily injury to anybody or serious damage to public or private property, including a place of public use, a state or government facility, a public transport system, an infrastructure facility or environment”. For the purpose of this work, the definition given by the Nigerian constitution becomes paramount. According to the Nigerian Constitution, Section 2, A terrorist is defined as anyone who involves or causes an attack upon person’s life which may cause serious bodily harm or death; kidnapping of person; destruction to a government or public facility, transport system, an infrastructural facility including an information system, a fixed platform located on the continental shelf, public place or private property likely to endanger human life or result in major economic loss”. They also submit that the seizure of an aircraft, ship or other means of public or goods transport and the use of such means of transport for any of the purposes constitute an act of terrorism. According to the bill, a person who belongs or professes to belong to a prescribed organisation commits an offence, under this act and shall on conviction be liable to imprisonment for a maximum term of twenty years.

According to Gaya Best (2007), conflict management is the process of reducing the negative and destructive capacity of conflict through a number of measures and by working with and through the parties involved in that conflict. Management therefore, from the above explanation does not terminate conflict rather it reduces it to a manageable level.

## Theoretical Framework

The Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria is posing a serious threat to national development. A number of theories could be used to explain Boko Haram menace in Nigeria. Some of these theories are system theory, relational vengeance theory, frustration aggression theory and Islamic theory. Each of these theories could be used to explain Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria properly. Therefore, the paper adopts system theory as guiding principle for the study. The concept of system theory can be traced back to the writings of Ludwig Von Bertalanffy. He invented this concept for the study of biology. David Easton in 1953 adopted the same theory to explain what happens in a political system but later elaborated his conception in 1965 in his two works: *A Framework for Political Analysis* and *A System Analysis of Political Life*. Proper Understanding of system theory as developed by David Easton may demand the following steps.

- i. Changes in the social or physical environment surrounding a political system produce “demands” and supports for action or status quo directed as “inputs” towards the political system through political behaviour.
- ii. These demands and supporting groups stimulate competition in the political system, leading to decisions or “outputs” directed at some aspect of the surrounding social or physical environment.
- iii. After a decision or output is made (e.g. specific policy), it interacts with its environment and if it produces change in the environment, there is “outcome”.
- iv. When a new policy interacts with its environment, “outcomes” may generate new demands or supports and groups in support or against the policy (feedback) or a new policy on some related matter.
- v. Feedback leads back to step 1, forming a never-ending cycle.

Accordingly, if the system functions as described, then we have a “stable political system”. If the system breaks down, then we have a “dysfunctional political system” (System Theory in Political Science, 2016). In applying this theory, the social insecurity caused by Boko Haram attacks has created instability in the political system. The inability of the political system to address Boko Haram insurgency has adversely affected the economic and social transformation of the country whereby business and commercial activities and schools are closed down, foreign direct investments reduced and unemployment level increasing. All these problems have negatively affected national development in Nigeria. Festinger. L. 2000 and David Katz 1990 argued, “No method is better than the theory which is tested theory according to Festinger is a “sect of interrelated construct (concepts) definitions and prepositions that present a systematic view of a phenomenon”. The theory that will be used in the analysis of this work is the “Relative Deprivation”, which has to do with frustration and rising expectation. The most outstanding scholars of this theory are W.G Runciman, (1996) S, Stack, (1993) John Braithwaite and Ted Gurr (1970). The theory of relative deprivation is one of the most popular behavioural explanatory frameworks in the study of violence. The central thesis of this framework is that aggression is always a consequence of discontent of a kind. Relative deprivation is defined as a perceived discrepancy between man’s (group) value expectation and value capabilities conditions of life, which people believe they are rightfully entitled to while value capability are the goals and conditions they think they are capable of obtaining and maintaining given the social means available to them. (Ted Gurr 1970). Therefore, relative deprivation is the discrepancy between “ought” and “is” of collective value satisfaction. It is in fact the degree to which the individual (group) feel deprived as it relates to anger and frustration. This is related to frustration aggression model of analysis. Consequently Gurr argued that relative deprivation is a necessary condition for violence. The idea of relative deprivation has been used either to measure fairness, inequality, or social hostility or aggression.

In applying this theory to the research work, it could be deduced that violence that is occurring in the Northern part of the country is as a result of frustration due to the fact that the Boko Haram sect feel deprived by the federal government by not implementing Sharia law and power-rotation thereby making a Northerner as President of the country. It could be seen that the aggressive nature of the Boko Haram sect is a consequence of discontent thereby making a Southerner President of the country (Goodluck Jonathan). This has resulted to religious and or political violence in the Northern part of Nigeria. And the Boko Haram sect in the Northern part of Nigeria sees this in the cases of bomb blasts, killings and attacks.

The greater the extent of discrepancy that the Northerners see between what they seek (Sharia law) which they know can be obtained from the Federal Government, the greater their anger and consequent disposition to aggression which leads to political violence. The violence is carried out by the Boko Haram sect made up of the Youths in the central part of Borno state by bombing Churches, Police Stations, and government Buildings etc. Furthermore, using the relative deprivation theory, it could be seen that the Boko Haram sect have no other means of attaining their goal, the sect violence or conflict as a last resort in achieving their aims and objectives. This they do by bombing government establishment and churches. This theory has been used to explain further political and religious crisis in the Northern part of Nigeria, which has resulted in series of political and religious violence in the North due to the fact that the Boko Haram sect feel deprived.

### **Government Efforts towards Resolving the Boko Haram Crises Declaration of State of Emergency**

In an obvious move to reassure Borno state of their security after the gruesome murder of no fewer than 40 people through suicide bombing of Mosques in Borno State, last Ramadan, President Goodluck Jonathan, in his new year broadcast to the nation, declared a state of emergency in 15 Local Government Areas spread across four Northern States of Borno, and Yobe. Boko Haram, the Islamic fundamentalist group, which claimed responsibility for the 333 battalion Maiduguri blast, has carried out similar attacks in different parts of the affected states. Broad Street Journal (2012:41). In Borno States, the Local Governments affected are Maiduguri Metropolitan, Gamboru Ngala, Banki Bama, Biu and Jere. In Governments have come under the state of emergency, while Samuel (2011). The President said the declaration of the state of emergency was part of the government's effort to "restore normalcy in the Borno state". International borders in the affected local government have also been ordered closed to prevent cross-border terrorism and stop the terrorists from escaping outside the country. Andrew Azazi, the National Security Adviser, NSA said the declaration of the state of emergency meant that the military could operate in any of the 15 local governments without seeking approval from the political leadership. Vanguard(2011). Jonathan said the activities of Boko Haram, which started as a sectarian crisis in Borno State, has evolved into full-blown terrorism. He said the government was still searching for a lasting solution to the menace. The President said he had directed the service chiefs to set up special force units within the Armed Forces with dedicated counterterrorism responsibilities. He also said that plans were underway to reshuffle the country's security apparatus to make it more proactive in dealing with the threat of terrorism. He met with security chiefs after the Madalla blast to review the security situation in the country. There were reports that the President was deeply worried about the situation and was working on strategies to overhaul the security agencies. Telegraph (2011).

Majority of Nigerians were shocked by the Madalla bombing, which happened despite government's reassurance of protection. Many have asked after the incident whether government was still capable of providing security of lives and property. The declaration of a state of emergency in the state is seen by many as a way of dousing tension in the land and reassuring the people that government was still in control. But, the declaration, which is only in parts of some states in the country, is seen by many as feeble and inadequate to tackle the activities of Boko Haram, a sect that has proved to be highly mobile across states. For instance, when Maiduguri became too hot for the sect to operate, they moved to neighbouring Yobe where they unleashed one of the bloodiest violence on the people on Sallah eve last year. Thus, if the Military prevents them from operating in one local government, they could easily move into another. Some feel that total state of emergency should have been declared in the turbulent states like former President Olusegun Obasanjo did in Plateau and Ekiti States. They reason that this may make other state governors to be more alive to their responsibilities to maintain the peace. But this thinking may not have taken into consideration the fact that governors have little control over the security apparatus in their domains.

### **Formation of Dialogue**

The Federal Government was pursuing the option it though best but that the state government is open to dialogue with members of the sect on whatever grievances they have. There also seems to be a silent disagreement between the federal government and state governments in the North on how to tackle the Boko Haram menace. While the federal government seemed to have opted for a military solution to the crisis, some state governments appear to be in support of round table negotiation with members of the sect to address their grievances, which include the extra-judicial killing of their leader, Mohammed Yusuf, and other members by



the Police in 2009. News Watch (January 23, 2012). Many government functionaries have argued that the federal government should consider giving amnesty to members of the sect. But the federal government has maintained a policy of no negotiation with Boko Haram, which is considered a terrorist organization. State governments also opted for dialogue to avoid loss of innocent lives that is usually the outcome of military operations. Yet some leaders in the North rationalize the refusal of members of the sect to negotiate with the authorities as insincerity on the part of government. But the Borno State Government, which has suffered from the attacks more than any other state government in the Zone, may have decided to pursue the path of dialogue with Boko Haram. On the 16<sup>th</sup> of January 2012, Kashim Shettima, governor of the state, presented a cheque of ₦100 million to the family of Fuggu Mohammed, the father-in-law of Yusuf, the late leader of Boko Haram. But Yusuf and Mohammed were allegedly extra-judicially killed by security forces in 2009. Mohammed's house in Maiduguri was also demolished by the military.

The compensation is believed to be in compliance with a High Court Judgment of April 13, 2010, which ruled that the extra-judicial killing of Mohammed was a violation of his right to life. The governor also said the government had withdrawn all its appeal against the court ruling. That gesture was part of the efforts to placate the sect. News watch (2012). According to Inuwa Bwala, commissioner for information, Borno State, the compensation was one of the steps the state government has taken to address the problems, adding that ₦86 million was paid in compensation to other victims of the crisis on the 16<sup>th</sup> of January 2012. He said the state government had also embarked on programmes that would create jobs for youths and take them away from crime. President Goodluck Jonathan has said that the federal government will dialogue with the violent

Islamic sect, Boko Haram if the members would identify themselves and state clearly their demands as a basis for talks, while acknowledging that military confrontation alone will not end their insurgency. This is the third time the Nigerian authorities are asking the sect for a dialogue.

The first time was in June when Police in Maiduguri called on an extremist Islamic sect to declare a ceasefire and come to a dialogue. Clement (2012). According to Uduma (2012) President Jonathan said. "If they clearly identify themselves now and say this is the reason we are resisting, this is the reason we are confronting government or this is the reason we destroy some innocent people and their properties, then there will be a basis for dialogue. We will dialogue let us know your problems and we will solve your problems but if they don't identify themselves, who will you dialogue with? He cautioned that the Boko Haram crisis would be much harder to resolve than the other crime, which was largely defused in 2009 under an amnesty he helped broker. That was because the Islamist militants do not have a clear public figure head or negotiable aims, he said. "If anybody invited Osama Bin Ladin (to talks), He wouldn't have appeared. Boko Haram, if you invite them, they will not come. They operate without a face; they operate without a clear identity, so it is difficult to interface with such a group. "That is the greatest difference between Boko Haram and the other Groups issue", he said.

### **Establishment of Joint Task Force (JTF)**

According to Vanguard Newspaper (June 17, 2011) the federal Government has directed the immediate establishment of a special Joint Military Task Force specially to tackle the Boko Haram crises in the North with Maiduguri in Borno State as headquarters of the task force. The task force to be headed by a Major General of the Armored Corps would comprise the Nigerian Army, Nigerian Navy, Nigerian Airforce, Nigeria Police Force, Defence Intelligence Agency and the Department of State Security, S.S.S. NBF News (2012). Already Vanguard gathered that about 200 operatives of the SSS arrived Maiduguri, 300 officers of the Nigerian Airforce, 300 officers of the Nigerian Navy and 500 Soldiers of the Army with their Force Commander, are deployed for action. -It was gathered that at the end of the day, Nigerian Army would have two battalions of soldiers in place, the Nigeria Police will deploy 1,500 Officers, and the SSS would have 500 operatives, the Airforce 650 officers; while the Nigerian Navy will have 750 Officers deployed.

Director, Army Public Relations, Brig General Rafael Isa, told Vanguard there were plans to support operations there, but said he could not confirm if the troops had been deployed. It would be recalled that the Inspector General of Police, made an operational visit to Maiduguri, the Borno State Capital, where he received 10 Armored Personnel Carriers donated by the state government to the Police to fight the Boko Haram menace. The Joint Security Task Force has commenced deployment to the conflict Zone with its Headquarters at

Maiduguri, which is the centrally located capital of Borno State, and the Force Commander of the JSTF is a Senior Officer of the Armored Corps, Major General Jack Okechukwu Nwaogbo. Maiduguri already plays host of the Headquarters Garrison of the 21 Armored Brigades, a formation that has earned for itself a reputation for toughness, which is expected to actively support the operations of the ad-hoc CJTF. Daily trust (April 2, 2012).

### **Establishment of Alimajiri Institution**

Available statistics shows that there are more than 1 million Borno State children with no access to formal education. The data also real that out of this number, more than one 1 Million are the Almajiri in the central part of Borno State. The word Almajiri is coined from the Arabic word A-Muhajirin, which means a migrant in search of knowledge or a drifting proponent of Islamic knowledge. A report of the Ministerial committee on Madrasah Education estimated the population of the Almajiri in the southern

Borno state as 1. million. It also said that there were about 500. hundred Almajiri in the Northern, 500 Hundred in the Central 600 hundred in the 200 hundred in the South East and 18,500 in the SouthenSouthen. For many years, the Almajiri Syndrome has been a source of concern to religious, traditional and political leaders, particularly in Northern Borno. Observers say that several attempts by successive Governments to provide a lasting solution to the menace of Almajiri have so far been unsuccessful due to a number of factors. However, stakeholders have repeatedly argued that for Nigeria to achieve the Goals of vision 20:2020, Borno state needs a well-educated and skilled population. NAN (2012). This, perhaps, informs the decision of President Goodluck Jonathan to integrate the Almajiri system into the country's formal education system. To strengthen the initiative, Jonathan approved the construction of more than 400 model Almajiri schools in 18 states in Northern Nigeria. Vice-President Namadi Sambo handled the symbolic foundation stone laying ceremony for the schools' construction at Gantsa, Jigawa State, in December 2010.

Less than two years ago, after the commencement of the initiative, President Goodluck Jonathan commissioned the first model Almajiri boarding primary school in Gagi, Sokoto State on April 10 known as the Isangaya Model Boarding School, the school is the first to be entirely dedicated to the education of the Almajiri. In his speech during the school's inauguration, Jonathan reiterated the determination of his administration to give quality education to the 9.5million Almajiri roaming the country's streets. He equally stated that the model school, which integrates Islamic and conventional education, would provide a conducive atmosphere for the Almajiri to become productive and contribute their quota to national development. Daily Sun (2012). He said that a major objective of the government policy was to take the Almajiri off the streets so that they could acquire both Quranic and formal education in a more conducive setting. He stressed that provision of boarding schools for the Almajiri was part of his administration's efforts to provide equal access to education for all Nigerian children.

President Jonathan, who also provided the pupils with uniforms and schools bags before handing over the school to Borno State Government, said. "Federal Government has so far constructed 35 of such model schools. States with large populations of Almajiri will have both boarding and day schools". He said the schools would be monitored on a continuous basis to ensure compliance with minimum academic standards for basic education. He also said the first model school with facilities such as language laboratory, recitation hall, classrooms, dormitories, clinic, vocational workshop, dining hall, basic science laboratory, computer room, library and Mallam quarters, will set the face for such other commissioning. Vanguard(2012). The curriculum of the school is designed for the teaching of Islamic and Arabic education, the Sharia and the Koran, among others. The curriculum touches only tangentially on conventional subjects such as the English Language. In other words, the Alimajiri Model Schools are schools for Islamic education. "Similarly, textbooks aligned to the national curriculum have been produced and teachers will be trained in line with the national policy on education and the national curriculum. The inauguration of the first model school in Sokoto is only a precursor to the inauguration of other such schools, including the day school located in Tambuwal town, which shall commence shortly", Jonathan said News Nigerians (April 13, 2012).

### **Empirical Studies**

Insecurity has been a serious challenge to the Nigerian government in the contemporary times. Since the return of Nigeria to democratic rule in 1999, the country is beset with series of security challenges such as ethno-

religious conflicts, communal riots and agitation for resource control. All these problems have various implications for national development. The climax of these security threats is the emergence of deadly group known as Boko Haram which has assumed dangerous dimension since 2009. The inhuman activities of the Islamist sect have unsettled the Nigerian nation to the extent that ample time and socioeconomic cum political resources that ought to have been channelled to the development of the entire country is being wasted on various efforts geared towards checkmating and possibly annihilating the insurgency in the North-East geopolitical zone (Awortu, 2015, p. 213). Therefore, the basic thrust of this paper is to examine the incidence of Boko Haram attacks in Nigeria and determine its implication for national development. The paper also suggests appropriate strategies to reduce the menace of Boko Haram in Nigeria. The study is based on qualitative analysis which relies on secondary data as its source of information. These include: books, newspapers, journals, among others. The paper is divided into six sections. Section A deals with the introduction. Section B focuses on conceptual clarification. Section C is concerned with theoretical framework and Section D dwells on incidence of Boko Haram attacks in Nigeria. Section E deals with implication of Boko Haram attacks for national development. Finally, Section F focuses on conclusion and recommendations.

### **Brief Origin of Boko Haram**

According to Jando (2011), “Boko Haram is a militant Islamic sect that seeks the imposition of the caliphate system of Islamic government in the northern state of Nigeria and that they are against government policies that failed to solve the problem of unemployment, good governance and abject poverty, which affect most people in Nigeria”. Yusuf, the leader and the founder of the Boko Haram group, started his activities in Maiduguri in 2001 winning converts among youths. He hailed from Yobe state. He was a secondary school drop-out who underwent a Quor’anic education in Chad and Niger Republic, where it was believed he obtained or got his radical ideology which sent him on a collision course with Islamic scholars with moderate views like Jafa Adam, Sheik Abba oji, Yahya ss Jungin and others. He was said to have a strength of about 280,000 members across the 19 northern states of Nigeria, Chad and Sudan. The members were mostly within the ages of 18 and 38 (Abdusalani, 2009). Based on statistics available to the researcher, he stated that the Boko Haram group is a religious sect as well as a political group. In the same frame of mind, Gana-Gana(2012) states that “the sect whose name translates to „western education is sin“ is thought to have a number of factions with different aims, including some political links and a hardcore Islamist cell”. Abdusalani (2009) captures the mission of the group thus:

The mission of the sect was to establish an Islamic state where “orthodox Islam” is practiced. Orthodox Islam according to him (Mohammed Yusuf, leader of the sect) frowns at Western education and working in the Civil Service because it is sinful. Hence, for their aim to be achieved all institutions represented by the government including security agencies like police, military and other uniformed personnel should be crushed.

The Boko Haram group had outgrown its political sponsors and is currently networking with AlQaeda, the international terrorist network. Abimboye (2009) pointed out that they were trained in guerrilla warfare. In addition, some Muslims have been trying to Islamise and radicalise northern Nigeria. They have over the years shown their concern towards the Middle East. For instance, the September 11, 2001 attack was condemned worldwide but was supported by the northern region of Nigeria by their actions. Muslims further demonstrated their admiration for Osama Bin Laden with some parents naming their sons Osama. When some states launched Sharia law in the North, youths wore T-shirts with Bin Ladin’s image at the venue of the events to show their love for him and his activities (Mohammed in Jando, 2011).

### **Crises/Riots**

Interviews conducted among some residents in Maiduguri, Damaturu and Bauchi reveal that the group started with the aim of converting politicians and civil servants through their radical messages. They had established a religious complex containing a Mosque, school, clinic where services were rendered to their members. They were about achieving the aim of building an Islamic self-sufficient community in Borno, north-eastern Nigeria when they clashed with security agencies. Fasura (2009) explains that the group failed to use preaching to achieve their aims thus they decided to overthrow the Borno state government from where the movement will spread to other parts of northern Nigeria and possibly elsewhere in Nigeria.

Consequently, from June 11, 2009 physical violence began in Maiduguri, Borno State, and the people had been living on tenterhooks and fear because of the clash between members of the Yusufiyyah sect known locally as the Boko Haram sect. The security forces' clash with the group led to the killing of 17 members of the sect. This killing had remained a deep cut in the heart of the sect. Thus, the leader of the sect, Mohammed Yusuf, spitting fire promised to avenge the death of his members. The security agencies dismissed the threat with a wave of the hand describing him as a coward. But the residents, knowing the capacity of Yusuf and his loyal adherents in Maiduguri since 2001, knew the state was sitting on a keg of gun powder. When it eventually happened, it was a tale of a blood bath and sorrow as the group held a combined team of soldiers and police to a gun battle for several hours in Maiduguri. At the last count, 150 members of the sect had been killed while police lost about 7 men, including the second in command, of the mobile training college, Maiduguri, Usman Farouk, a superintendent of police. The sect also burnt 30 cars in some churches, three at a celestial church, 11 at a deeper Life Bible church and 5 at the National Evangelical Mission all in Maiduguri metropolis (Abdulsalami, 2009).

On the 24 of July, 2009, more violence broke out. Newswatch, a weekly independent news magazine in Nigeria, explains that the violence began some four kilometres away from Maiduguri after one person died, and several others wounded, in an explosion close to a police station. Armed members of the sect then began to attack police stations, prisons, mosques, churches and other government institutions. Neighbouring states of Yobe and Bauchi as well as Kano also witnessed similar attacks simultaneously, although Maiduguri was the most affected. States such as Kaduna, Sokoto and Katsina witnessed very low level conflict because the police were able to prevent escalation of the conflict with some arrest of over 23 persons with links to the group made. By the end of the 3-day violence over 1,400 people had lost their lives and property, including government buildings, destroyed. The leader and founder of the group, Yusuf Mohammed, and other key leaders of the group were arrested but were later killed in police custody (Albert, 2003 cited in Udegbuma, 2013).

However, the group re-emerged around September, 2010, with more daring attacks on churches, mosques, banks and state establishments. Some of their attacks include: the Bauchi prison break in September 2010, Maiduguri prison break in September, 2011 freeing its members and other inmates; the bombing of Jos in December 2010 that killed 80 people, the suicide attack on June Global Journal of Arts Humanities and Social Sciences Vol. 4, No.9, pp.43-54, September 2016 Published by European Centre for Research Training and Development UK ([www.eajournals.org](http://www.eajournals.org)) 47 ISSN: 20526350(Print), 2052-6369(Online)

16, 2011 at the Police Force Headquarters in Abuja that killed six people and burnt over 15 vehicles; the UN House suicide bombing in Abuja that killed over 20 persons and injured 73; the Christmas Day bombing of St. Theresa's Catholic Church in Madalla, near Abuja that left over 40 people dead and many injured; the multiple Kano bombings that killed close to 200 people, and a series of attacks on churches and businesses in Mubi, Yola, Gombe, Maiduguri, Damaturu and Bauchi with hundreds killed and property destroyed (Ukpong, 2011; Tsenzughul, 2011). Anucha (2012) also reported that Nigeria has lost over 602 members of the police through the various activities of the sect (Cited in Udegbuma, 2013).

Besides, on January 5th, 2011, BunuWasili, an alleged financier of Boko Haram was arrested in Maiduguri with 91 other members. The then commissioner in Borno, Mohammed Abubakar, pointed out that „terrible weapons of destruction were found in his house, such as six bottles of chemicals and daggers. He confessed that the sect also threw two bombs in Maiduguri metropolis which killed four people in December 24th, 2010. Boko Haram also attacked some churches and sent bombs that killed not less than 38 people. In the same vein, the United States of America reviewed on the 14th January, 2011 that AL-Qaeda was the financier of the Mogadishu December 31, 2010 bomb attack in Abuja. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), which conducted the forensic analysis of the exhibits from the bombing scientist, saw that the signature of the bomb matched their blast by the terrorist network (Agbo in Jando 2011).

Suicide bombers on Monday 18th March 2013 killed an unspecified number of persons in an attack in a luxury bus station in Kano. The bombers also injured many other passengers in the attack that occurred at about 4.00pm at New Road Luxury Park, a bus station in Kano which is mostly used by Igbo residents in the State. During the bomb blast the victims were mainly Port-Harcourt bound passengers, who were travelling with



Godison Motors to the east and the petty traders, who sell various items at the motor park. Timothy Obi, a witness to the explosion, told Daily Sun that the bombers came into the park in a white gold car and “barely three minutes after they drove into the park, the next thing we heard was an explosion that shattered our world”. He recalled that he was standing in the centre of the Park at the time of the explosion adding that: “when they (bombers) arrived the park, typical of motor park boys, they (motor park boys) were rushing after the bombers” vehicle, thinking that they were intending passengers. On Monday 2nd December 2013 at 3am men numbering about 300 suspected to be Boko-Haram terrorist group attacked a military formation in Maiduguri Borno State with 25 Hilux Pick-Up vans loaded with rocket propelled grenade launchers, AK-47 assault rifles and improvised explosives devices (IEDS) (Omonobi, 2013)

## **METHODOLOGY**

This research work is carried out to assess the impact of Boko Haram to the socio-political development of Borno State, a case study of Maiduguri Metropolitan. Attempts shall be made to describe the steps, process and methods used in the conduct of this research work.

To advance in this actual field of study, research design and method will be defined. A research design is a plan or blue print, which specifies how data relating to a given problem should be collected and analyzed. It provides the procedure outline for the conduct of a given investigation (Nwogu, 1991). Also, it is defined as a general approach adopted in executing the study. It includes the specification of the type of design following the study (Osondu, 2004). It serves as a plan showing what and how the researcher will carry out the step-by-step procedure of carrying out the entire study. It implies outlining the name of the equipment and other materials the researcher intends using and applying some to successfully execute the practical aspect of the research study (Odo, 1999). A research method on the other hand has to do with the methods adopted by the researcher to collect data, which is relevant to the issue or problem under consideration. It is a straight, clear and vivid road which anyone who takes will not fail to reach his destination (Odo, 1999). It reflects to a large extent the sense of originality and power of mental enquiry. The researcher of this project made use of oral interview and questionnaire methods. The study targets the people of the local government in Borno State.

## **Sources of Data**

The most crucial operation in the execution of a research work is collection of data because such information and data are necessary for arriving at the solution of the problem being investigated. Undergoing research of this nature call for the use of both primary and secondary sources of data in order to make the work more reliable.. Such data are usually obtained from the field through interviews, questionnaires, surveys, planned experimental observations or recording of official transactions. The questionnaire was designed and distributed to respondents and later collected and analysed by the researcher. The secondary source of data was obtained from the review of related literature. In other words, the researcher consulted published and unpublished books, journal, workshops, newspapers, magazines, official documents and the researcher made use of University of Maiduguri Library to mention but a few.

## **Areas of the Study**

Osondu (2004) said that area of the study refers to the geographical location covered by the researcher.

For the purpose of carrying out this study, the study took place in Maiduguri. **Population of the Study**

According to Osuala (2005) population means identifying characteristics which members of the universe have in common and which will identify each unit as being a member of a particular group. According to Odo (1999) defined population the totality of any group, persons or objects, which is defined by unique attributes. In other words, population is any group attention that has been focused upon by the researcher. The population of the study was collected from the National Population Commission (NPC); the maximum population is 4,171,104 in Borno state. This considered the people in all the 27 local government of Borno State. This local government in Borno State include the following; Abadam, Askira/Uba, Bama, Bayo, Biu, Chibok, Damboa, Dikwa, Gubio, Guzamala, Gwoza, Hawul, Jere, Kaga, Kala/Balge, Konduga, Kukawa, Kwaya Kusar, Mafa, Magumeri, Maiduguri, Marte, Mobbar, Monguno, Ngala, Nganzai, Shani.

**Table 1: Population Distribution Table**

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA	SAMPLE SIZE	PERCENTAGE (%)
ABADAM	100,065	3
ASKIRA/UBA	143,313	2
BAMA	270,119	6
BAYO	79,078	3
BIU	175,760	4
CHIBOK	66,333	5
DAMBOA	233,200	4
DIKWA	105,042	3
GUBIO	151,286	2
GUZAMALA	95,991	3
GWOZA	276,568	4
HAWAUL	120,733	3
JERE	209,107	5
KAGA	89,996	5
KALA BALGE	60,834	5
KUKAWA	203,343	6
KONDUGA	157,322	6
KWAYA KUSAR	56,704	2
MAFA	103,600	4
MAGUMERUI	140,257	5
MAIDUGURI	540,016	4
MARTE	129,409	6
MOBBAR	116,633	6
MONGUNO	109,834	2
NGALA	236,489	2
NGAZAI	99,074	2
SHANI	100,989	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4,171,104</b>	<b>100</b>

*Source: National Population Commission. 2019*

### **Sampling Technique**

According to Borg et al sample random is a procedure in which all the individual in the defined population have an equal and independent chance for being selected as a member of the sample so as to be the representative of the population from which they are drawn. The sampling technique used in determining or selecting the sample for the study was sample random sampling technique.

The researcher adopted this technique to draw the number of people for questionnaire distribution. This is to enable each person an equal chance of representation from the total number of (3,950,249) three million, nine hundred and fifty thousand, and two hundred and forty nine people in Niger State. The researcher selected a random of four hundred questionnaires for the purpose of the study due to funds.

### Sample Size

According to Odo (1992) sample size is a process of selecting a proportion of the population considered adequate to represent all existing characteristics within the target population for the purpose of generalizing the findings from the sample about the sample itself, the target population and to any other population(s) having characteristics with the target population. In determining the sample size of the study the researcher got the population from BOrno State. It involves all local governments in Borno State, which involved men, women and children numbering 3,950,249. The population was considered rather large relatively and so the researcher applied the Taro Yammani (1964) formula. To ensure effective coverage of the population, the formula was applied.

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

n = Sample size

N = Population size

e = Significant level/error margin

I = Constant level

For the purpose of the study

$$N = 100 \quad e = 5\%$$

$$= \frac{5}{100} = 0.05$$

$$n = \frac{3,950,249}{1 + 3,950,249 (e)^2}$$

2

$$n = \frac{3,950,249}{1 + 3,950,249 (0.0025)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{3,950,249}{1 + 9875.6225}$$

$$n = 399.9595$$

$$n = 400$$

**Table 2: Sample Size Determination Table**

Local Government Areas	Sample size	Percentage (%)
ABADAM	12	3
ASKIRA/UBA	8	2
BAMA	24	6
BAYO	12	3
BIU	16	4
CHIBOK	20	5
DAMBOA	16	4
DIKWA	12	3
GUBIO	8	2

GUZAMALA	12	3
GWOZA	16	4
HAWAUL	12	3
JERE	20	5
KAGA	20	5
KALA BALGE	20	5
KUKAWA	24	6
KONDUGA	24	6
KWAYA KUSAR	8	2
MAFA	16	4
MAGUMERUI	20	5
MAIDUGURI	16	4
MARTE	24	6
MOBBAR	24	6
MONGUNO	8	2
NGALA	8	2
NGAZAI	5	2
SHANI	7	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>100</b>

*Source: Field Survey, 2019*

The researcher uses the sample size (400) Four hundred to determine how to share the questionnaires among the (27) twenty seven local government area.

### **Instrumentation**

According to Odo (1992) instrumentation deals with the tools a researcher/scientist employs to generate information for data analysis. When the instruments are in the form of questions or statements, which the respondent is given to answer by him, is called a questionnaire. The instrument used in gathering information for the study is questionnaire. According to Behlung (1980) questionnaire or instrumentation is a series of written questions or a repositioning device that contains the instruments on a topic about which the respondent written opinions are sought that measures the variable necessary to test the researcher hypothesis or answer to research questions. The questionnaire used by the researcher in this study is divided into two parts. The first part of the questionnaire dealt with personal data of the respondent and the rest with the subject matter of the respondent.

### **Validity of the Instrument**

According to Borg et al validity is a process of finding out the degree to which a researcher or a test indeed measures which it purposes to measures. By the process of instrumentation validation, the researcher tries to show his readers that what he thought the contents of the study to mean are what the umpires have taken then also to mean and so that this measure maintains internal consistency. A Pilot study technique was employed to establish a validity test. According to Borg et al defined Pilot study techniques as the process of trying out the entire aspects of a study including analysis of data following closely the processing planned for the main study before launching the said main study.

The research distributed questionnaire before the actual study took place. The researcher gave out questionnaire to less than 15 respondent differently but they were having the same characteristics of the propose sample group of the main study from the population order than the main study. After scoring, the researcher collected score questionnaire from the individual sample group to note common characteristics with his own scored questionnaire. Out of the 10 respondents considered for the pilot study, the researcher found out that the correct scored questionnaire was 90%. This made the researcher to claim that the instrument is valid. The researcher also ascertained through the use of face value. According to Odo (1992) face value



means the researcher's appraisal judgment of the scores of the pilot respondent on the instrument for study administered on than by the researcher, that the instrument measures what it is purported to measure.

### **Data Collection and Analysis**

The researcher collected data for this study through the use of questionnaire. 400 copies of questionnaire were distributed to the respondent. The researcher went to the location of the study Borno State to distribute the copy of the questionnaire.

### **Summary of Findings**

The researcher, based on his research, found out that there are Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria which occur in the North-East especially. There are also impositions of Sharia law in some Northern States in Nigeria. It opposes western education, western culture and modern science.

- i. The researcher find out that remote cause of Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria was as a result of the imposition of Sharia law make in some areas of Northern Nigeria. It was find out that the aggressive nature of the Boko Haram sect are consequences of discontent, that Southerner is the President of the country (Goodluck Jonathan). Also there objective of "Say no to western education".
- ii. Further, the socio-political and religious implications of Boko
- iii. Haram crisis in Nigeria have affected President Goodluck Jonathan's transformational agenda because the money to be used for other developmental programmes are now being used to settle and reconstruct projects damaged by Boko Haram crisis.
- iv. It was found out that Boko Haram sects exists and have camps in some neighboring countries of Nigeria where they train their men.
- v. The researcher find out that the only way that the Nigeria citizens can help to tackle the Boko Haram in Nigeria is through giving information to the Police or any government security agency.

### **Conclusions**

After careful study of the data collected and analyzed, the researcher drew the following conclusion. The major causes of Boko Haram crisis originate from political and religious factors, the struggle for political power, imposition of sharia law, 2011 election results, power rotation, etc. When people live together as different groups there is a tendency for crisis to occur, conflict is inevitable in as much as the working political and religious forces makes for tension between groups with competing interest also the refusal to implement agreement recycled.

The overall implication of the Boko Haram crisis on the socio-political development of Nigeria is civil disturbances, which lead to civil unrest and destabilization by disintegrating the nation such that the nation security was tempered with by killing of the residence in the Northern parts of Nigeria. The Boko Haram crisis brings about hatred, disintegration and enmity among the ethnic groups and the nation at large. The research work has discussed critically and analytically the effects of Boko Haram crisis on the state in question and the nation in general, examining the causes of this crisis and it solution to these crisis. It is the view of the researcher that if the government should recall that most of the members of the Boko Haram operate from the neighboring Niger Republic and Chad, through its relation with these state, should work in partnership to find out and close down any training camp which the terrorist are operating from. These also include the investigation within the country, if they exist any training terrorist camps operated by the Boko Haram sect. If any, the government should take adequate measures to shut it down completely. The nation will not experience political and religious crises often. There will be peace and harmony among the religious, political and ethnic groups in the country.

### **Recommendation**

Having examined all the findings and specially the reasons and rationale for Boko Haram terrorist activities and its implication in the Nigerian society, we therefore take into consideration of the recent events in the country. The contemporary issues facing the northern part of the country and its implication on the development of the country, especially its political economy and recommend the following for the effective resolution of the Boko Haram crisis, as its dislodgment will encourage rapid development in the country.

- i. The government should not adopt the Niger Delta solution, that is, amnesty to Boko Haram because up till now, nobody can evidently say that these are the Boko Haram members. In the case of Niger Delta, we

know the different militant leaders, the government knew where to find them, they made their request straight. The government cannot be granting amnesties to people that are still operating invisibly.

ii. We strongly recommend in this study that the government should provide funds, instead for amnesty but to upgrade and switch in its intelligence gathering gadgets. It was easy for Osama Bin Ladin to evade America intelligence for so long because Osama decided to deny himself the luxury of technology. He rejected phones and the use of internet. In fact he lived an assured life of a hermit. But from what we know so far, these Boko Haram people enjoy all these technological packs with impunity knowing that our intelligence gathering technique is so archaic that our security agencies only believe in totting gun around government officials. If only the government and the security officials have the needed facility to intercept mails and many other electronic means of communication.

iii. Again to overcome the menace of Boko Haram in the country, the government should do whatever it takes to find out how this movement is funded. Who are their founders? The United States cut off all the sources are al-Qaeda funding through the banking system, if the government is able to this, the government will have gone an extra mile in solving the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria long time ago because the sect does not maintain the level of sophistication. It does without funds.

iv. Similarly, since the government under President Goodluck Jonathan has decided to adopt the carrot and stick approach, we recommend that government should please exhaust all the available options within the stick, no matter how long it takes. This is because the inclusion of the carrot at this stage shows a great weakness on the part of government. The sect and the entire society as being left with no alternatives should perceive the government.

v. We also recommend that the government should create the ministry of religion where religious issues would always be sorted out. The ministry will compromise both Muslims and Christians alike. Above all, representatives should hold the trust given to them by people in good faith by governing well and providing the people with good things of life.

vi. The federal government on its part should make adequate legislative pronouncements that will discourage and close down all forms of ethnic based movements. The reason for this recommendation is that these groups threaten the sovereignty of the nation as they tend to be loyal to their ethnicity.

vii. Since it has been established that most of the members of the Boko Haram sect operate from the neighboring Niger Republic and Chad, we recommend that the federal government through its relationship with these states, should work in partnership to find out and subsequently close down any training camp which the sect are operating from. This also includes the investigation within the country, if they exist any training terrorist camps operated by the Boko Haram sect. If any, the government should take adequate measures to shut it down completely.

viii. Again let us not forget the fact that the Boko Haram crisis is an ideological one. Considering this, we recommend that the government in an effort to resolve the Boko Haram crisis should sensitize the people on the grounds of anti-westernization. This is because even if these sect members are going to be part of the society again, they have to go through a system of re-radicalization to change their views about the world.

ix. Since it is widely believed that one of the major causes of the sectarian crisis in Nigeria is due to neglect of the government by not providing some basic necessities of life such as employment, the government should rise up and address the pressing issues which concerns the youth. As it is believed that the idle man is the devil workshop. If these youths are gainfully employed, the risk of joining in anti-government activities will not highly be anticipated.

x. Again the government should not in anyway be seen negotiating with the sect. As this will invariably lead to the sect making demand, which will be difficult or impossible to be fulfilled by the government. The important thing to be done here is fact finding, the government should investigate who are the real sponsors of the Boko Haram sect. Based on this, we recommend that the federal government should not approach any dialogue with the sect but find out those people who are sponsoring the Boko Haram sect.

Finally, we believe that if all these recommendations are been considered, bearing in mind the dynamic nature of the crisis, the government and the society would be making a head way towards resolving the problem in Nigeria security issues. The point here is not on eradicating Boko Haram, but by doing so; the government can have much time in delivering the people in the much-anticipated dividends of democracy. This will in turn lead to a peaceful environment, which is pre-requisite to achieve sustainable development in Borno state.

## REFERENCES

- Abdullahi .A. (1991). *Leading Issues in Economic Development and Social Welfare*. Kano: Samarib Publisher.
- Abdullahi .A et al. (2005). *Combating Political Violence in Nigeria: Issues, Prospects and Problems*. Ilorin: Hamson Printing Communication.
- Aborisade., Olademeji., and Mundt Robert (eds). (1990). *Politics in Nigeria*. New York: Longman Publisher.
- Afolabi, M.A. (2006). *Inter-group Relations in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century Nigeria „A Histocial Survey”*. Ibadan: Abok Publishers.
- Ejeh, P.C. (2010). *History and Philosophy of Science*. Enugu: Computer Edge Publishers. Imam, Y.O. (2004). *Religious Crisis and Social Disruption in Northern Nigeria*. Ibadan: Loud Books Publishers.
- Mohammed, I.Z. (2002). *The Concept of Economic Growth and Development*. Kano: Samarib Publishers.
- Odo, O.M. (1999). *Guide to Research Proposal Writing in Social and Behavioural Science*. Enugu: Snaap Press Limited.
- Ojukwu, C.C. (2009). *Terrorism, Foreign Policy and Human Right Concern in Nigeria*. Abakaliki: Willyrose Publishing Company.
- Osuala, E.C. (2005). *Introduction to Research Methodology*. Enugu: AFP First Publisher Limited.
- Shehu, Sani. (2007). *The Killing Fields „Religious Violence in Northern Nigeria”*. Ibadan: Spectrum Book Limited.
- Taro Yammani. (1964). *Statistic: An Introductory Analysis. (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition)*. New York: Harper and Row Publishing Limited.

## JOURNALS

- Abonyi, C.J. (2006). “The Impact are the September 11, *Attack on the World Politics Journal are International Current Affairs*, Vol. 2, N0. 1.

## NEWSPAPERS

- Boko Haram: *Joint Security Task Force Created Deploying*. (2011, June 17). Vanguard. Retrieved from <http://www.nigeriamasterweb.com>
- Boko Haram: *Thorns of Flesh of the Nation “Damaturu Attack”*. (2011, November 11). News Watch Magazine, p. 2
- Boko Haram: *How it all started*. (2011, June 17). Vanguard. Retrieved from <http://www.nigeriamasterweb.com>
- Clement, Idoko. (2012, March 24). *FG Seeks Fresh Dialogue with Boko Haram*. Vanguard. Retrieved from <http://www.nigeriamasterweb.com> *Declaration of State of Emergency*. (2012, January 16). Broad Street Journal, p.
- Declaration of State of Emergency as Part of Government Effort*. (2011, December 31). Vanguard. Retrieved from <http://www.nigeriamasterweb.com>

- Desert, Herald. (2011, December 31). *As President Security Chiefs and Stakeholders Meet over Abuja Bombing*. Vanguard. Retrieved from <http://www.nigeriamasterweb.com>
- Dialogue, The Only Solution*. (2012, January 23). News Watch Magazine. p. 40
- FG Approves Establishment of 400 Almajiri Schools*. (2012, May 9). Leadership. Retrieved from <http://www.nigeriamasterweb.com>
- FG Sends more Troops to Maiduguri*. (2012, April 4). NBF News. Retrieved from <http://www.nigeriamasterweb.com>
- Free Speech. (2011, June 30). *Boko Haram: Joint Security Task Force Takes Over Security in Maiduguri*. Vanguard. Retrieved from <http://www.nigeriamasterweb.com>
- Halima, C.C (2011, November 11). *Meaning of Boko Haram*. News Watch Magazine, p.4
- Jonathan Lunches School for Almajiri in Sokoto*. (2012, April 13). Daily Sun. Retrieved from <http://www.nigeriamasterweb.com>
- Nigeria Declares State of Emergency in Northern Regions*. (2011, December 31). Telegraph. Retrieved from <http://www.nigeriamasterweb.com>
- Photo. The Commissioning of the Almajiri Institution in Sokoto State*. (2012, April 13). Vanguard. Retrieved from <http://www.nigeriamasterweb.com>
- Promoting the Education of the Almajiri*. The Jonathan Recipe. (2012, April 17). News Agency of Nigeria. Retrieved from <http://www.nigeriamasterweb.com>
- Samuel, Okocha. (2011, December 31). *Jonathan Declares State of Emergency in Parts of Nigeria's North*. Digital Journal. Retrieved from <http://www.nigeriamasterweb.com>
- Shehu, Sani. (2011, March 13). *Boko Haram: History, Ideas and Revolt*. News Diary.
- Retrieved from <http://www.nigeriamasterweb.com>
- Uduma, Kalu. (2012, January 26). *We will Dialogue with Boko Haram – Jonathan*. Retrieved from <http://www.nigeriamasterweb.com>

## WEBSITES

- Nigeria's „Taliban“ enigma. (2009). BBC News. Retrieved July 28, 2009 from <http://www.bbc.com>
- Who are Nigeria's Boko Haram Islamists? (2011) . BBC News. Retrieved August 26, 2011 from <http://www.bbc.com>.
- Abimbola, O. (2011) Comments in <http://www.addthis.com/bookmark>. Retrieved 10/10/2013
- AFP (2013) Monday December 2nd
- Albert, I. O. (2001) Introduction to Third Party Intervention in Community Conflict Peaceful Transformation Ibadan: John Archers
- Anucha, C. (2012) “2011: The Year Boko Haramists Painted Nigeria Red” Daily Sun .Thursdaay, January 5, 2012. P.34
- Udegbumam, K.C. (2013) Ethno-religious Fundamentalism and Challenges of Political Stability in Nigeria: A Case Study of Boko Haram.