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**The Role of Diplomacy in the Security Situation in the North of Nigeria:
Case Study of Boko Haram**

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been used for any other academic qualification other than for this purpose. All published or unpublished work of other people used have been acknowledged.

Signature.....*Rhla*..... Date.....*June 2013*.....

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ABSTRACT

Nigeria, once a safe haven save for incidents from time to time, has suddenly been put under focus for insecurity; indiscriminate killings, kidnappings and other activities which are all products of local grievances. Insecurity has slowly built up from the Niger Delta in the South where oil is produced to the North.

A group under the cover of Islam called the Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-jihad [People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad] commonly referred to as Boko Haram [Western education is forbidden] emerged condemning everything that Western countries stand for especially Western education. The destruction of anything belonging to, and bodies associated to the West in Nigeria became their aim. Their fight and demands however shifted focus slightly as they also demanded that the entire country practice sharia law among other things. The group's mode of operation is well planned attacks using bombs, guns and other.

The pathway to resolving the crisis, as Nigeria is yet to come to terms with such insurgencies, has not been concrete. Diplomacy however may have a role to play in the situation as it will give room for the group to air its grievances. Whether diplomacy has so far helped, the methods used as well as what can possibly be improved are some of the things this study will examine.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter serves as an introduction to the entire study giving a brief look at the geography of Nigeria, how the economy functions and a history of the politics and how it is still run. Having set these factors out, a setting of the violence being reason for the study is then touched on and the chapter is concluded with the analysis of how this thesis will be carried out and what it sets out to achieve.

1.1 Background

Nigeria, situated in West Africa is the most populous country in Africa with an estimated population of about 160 million people. It is also probably the most culturally diverse in the continent, with over 450 ethnic groups and languages. The country has 36 states which are divided into 6 geopolitical zones as follows:

- North Central - Benue, Kogi, Kwara, Nasarawa, Niger, Plateau and Abuja (the Federal Capital)
- North – East - Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba and Yobe
- North – West - Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto and Zamfara
- South – East – Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo
- South – South – Akwa-Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo and Rivers
- South – West – Ekiti, Lagos, Ogun, Ondo, Osun and Oyo



Nigeria is bordered by Chad, Niger Republic, Cameroon and Benin Republic. Nigeria enjoyed a cordial relationship with these neighbours as according to Monogabay (1991), “the guiding principle of Nigeria's regional foreign policy was that of good neighborliness and friendship”, until land disputes and expelling of illegal immigrants from some of these countries started to taint the relationship.

Nigeria’s vegetational zone is diverse, from the Sahel in the far north bordering the Sahara through the Guinea Savannah to the Forest region in the deep south, making it capable of supporting various economic activities.

However, its main economic activity is the production of crude oil. The oil industry is therefore its economic mainstay. Nigeria has a maximum crude oil production capacity of 2.5 million barrels per day, the oil has accounted for most of the Nigerian exports. Outside the petroleum industry, the country has not yet fully developed its other economic potentials such as agriculture. Although oil export is a

major foreign exchange earner for the country, Nigeria lacks basic infrastructure and its industrial development is poor. The major hindrance to the growth of the Nigerian economy has been over reliance on petroleum, which in turn may have resulted in bad and corrupt government. Before the oil boom of the 1970s, the Nigerian economy survived mainly on agriculture. Nigeria was a major exporter of cocoa, groundnuts (peanuts), rubber, and palm oil. The government has paid little attention to these areas since the discovery of oil. Mismanagement, inconsistent and poorly conceived government policies and the lack of basic infrastructure have contributed to poor development in the country.

Although Nigeria is richly blessed with natural resources and it is a major oil exporter, more than half of the population survives on less than a dollar a day. There is wide spread disease, unemployment, slow development and acute poverty. At least half of the population are youth whose man power is wasting away. The World Bank's 2011 World Development Report cited that the greater the bulge in youth unemployment, the higher the risk of violence and insecurity. Therefore, it can be inferred that having nothing to do as youth automatically makes the unemployed feel marginalized and they are willing to do anything to survive constituting a social threat. So far, corruption, negligence of resources and mismanagement of public funds have been a major hindrance to economic growth in Nigeria as with the increase in the population rate, the new entrants into the labour market seem to outstrip the number of jobs being created . It is therefore an area in desperate need of positive change so that the estimated 160 million citizens have a better standard of living. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) with the magic year 2015 has one of its goals to eradicate poverty or half it which may not be realistic as long as conflicts and violence persist. This country that is usually referred to as the giant of Africa, because of its size and influence in the region, may be qualifying itself as a troubled giant, if not a sleeping one! And this is in spite of being the 12th largest producer of petroleum products in the world.

On the other hand, some, including British Member of Parliament and Shadow Secretary of State for International Development, Dr. Ivan Lewis, have stated that Nigeria has the potential to be one of the wealthiest nations in the world if its potential is fully realised. Others such as Okonjo-Iweala and Osafor-Kwaako (2007) opined that “focusing on non-oil growth, improving the domestic business climate, increasing and maintaining infrastructure investments, strengthening domestic institutions” among other things are some measures that could place Nigeria on a sustained economic growth path. If this is done, it could reduce dissatisfaction and frustration cutting the risk of conflict.

Nigeria was colonised and ruled by the British for nearly 100 years until the country gained its independence on October 1, 1960. However, its life has been characterized by instability dating from the first military coup d'état in January 1966. There were several counter-coups thereafter and cumulatively, Nigeria was ruled by the military for 35 years. Civil and democratic rule in what is known as Nigeria's second republic lasted from 1979 to 1983, until the military took over. But democracy came to stay from the fourth republic in 1999. This democratic journey has been troubled by several unwholesome practices, which have included corruption, civil unrests and militant upsurges in the Niger Delta and now Boko Haram in the North of the country. The history of these conflicts and violent eruptions are tied to economic issues such as imbalances and unequal representation in politics as can be seen with different groups in Southern Nigeria like the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), Ken Saro-Wiwa, Oduduwa People's Congress (OPC) just to mention a few. It has also been argued (Abah, Okwori, 2003) that the economic development of the country, which has focused attention on the urban and neglected the rural areas, has produced a whole set of unhappy and excluded citizens who now express their frustrations in violent acts. In addition, severe ecological damage and poor corporate relations with indigenous communities have fuelled the sense of marginalisation and resulted in the

vandalisation of oil infrastructure, and personal security problems throughout the Niger Delta region.

There are two other characteristics of Nigeria that have become problems in its political and corporate development. These are ethnicity and religion. What is known as Nigeria today is the result of the amalgamation of different groups that were ethnically and religiously diverse into one nation. The main groups in this amalgamation of 1914 by the British were the Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo. (Okwori, 2003 p. 3). This act of bringing together people of different cultural and religious backgrounds may have laid the foundation for many of the problems Nigeria is experiencing at the present time. The British divided Nigeria into administrative regions creating clear differences that have continued to affect Nigeria's politics. These divisions fostered cleavage between ethnic groups and uneven rates of development giving rise to competition. These groups ensured the balance of power among themselves giving them enough to focus on instead of turning against the colonial masters. (Monogabay, 1988 – 1999).

There is a religious and ethnic divide with Muslims predominantly in the North and Christians in the South of the country. Nigeria has six geo-political zones but in general, when people talk about Nigeria in relation to religion, what is mentioned is the South where the Christians are the majority and North where the Muslims are the majority. This applies to the zoning system that exists for presidential aspirants where the candidature is alternated between the North and the South, deepening the effect of the division between both regions.

An Islamist armed group Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-jihad [People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad] commonly referred to as Boko Haram [Western education is forbidden] was established in 2003 under the leadership of Islamic cleric Mohammed Yusuf. This group had been in existence but without any major violent occurrences. The year 2009 marked a turning point as violent attacks were carried out by this group and have since continued. Frustration due to

unemployment was one of the major reasons given from youth who are a part of this group that have resorted to violence.

Ayam finds that “equally important is the fact that political participation is a significant indicator of pluralism and political development of society.” “The extent to which citizens actively participate in the political process is indicative of the resilience of the system and a yardstick of gauging political development” (Abah, 2003 p. 43)

Nigerians often feel excluded from political processes which should normally include them as the ruling class tends to make the state property and business their private business. Since the masses feel left out, the love and allegiance for one’s country which should restrain them from causing any harm to government property or any other citizen is absent. Besides this, religious and ethnic bigotry run deep. Nigeria is hardly mentioned without reference to the religious or ethnic divide.

An area that has drawn negative attention to Nigeria since 2009 is the Boko Haram insurgency. This has necessitated that caution be exercised with living and travel to Nigeria according to different travel advice offered to nationals of different countries such as UK and USA travel advice to Nigeria.

In Nigerian history there have been several past trends of violent insurrections, the most recent one that is of international interest is “Boko Haram” which began in Borno State. There have also been incessant killings in Jos, Plateau State ranging from ethnic and religious differences. Other states in the country that have witnessed violent conflicts include Kaduna, Kano, Adamwa, Yobe, Taraba, Bauchi and Nasarawa. Indeed, civil unrest and violent conflicts in Nigeria occurred in the 1970s in various parts such as Kano, Kafanchan and Kaduna, all of which had religious undertones (James, 2011). Therefore, the violent acts are seen to be ‘jihad’ (religious war of the Muslims against infidels).

The major attack that stood out and drew everyone’s attention to Boko Haram happened on 28 August 2011: the UN headquarters in Abuja was bombed. A car drove into the reception of the building and exploded, causing a wing of the building to collapse. 23 people were killed including 11 UN staff; 116 others were injured. Boko Haram claimed responsibility in a telephone conversation with reporters.

More lives than can be mentioned here have been lost, schools, churches, mosques and different places have been bombed, burnt down or raided between 2011 and now. The role of the security forces has also not been identified as they have carried out extra judicial killings and have not been made to face the wrath of the law. Some criminal gangs may have also carried out attacks and claimed to be members of Boko Haram.

The capturing and killing of the Boko Haram leader took place in July 2009 after which Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab, a 23 year old Nigerian, struck in December of that same year attempting to kill the 289 passengers on board Northwest Airlines Flight 253 heading to Detroit from Amsterdam. This attack failed however as the explosives were not properly detonated. Although these attacks were not directly related, they were all forms of terrorist attacks. The year 2009 seemed to be the defining year for these terrorist operations and Abdulmutallab, being Nigerian seemed to have given the group a boost with his failed attempt.

The Nigerian Police arrested Yusuf and pictures of him captured were shown on national television but a report later emerged that he had been killed while trying to escape contrary to what had earlier been seen. Many questions were asked and an investigation was launched.

“In February 2010, the Al Jazeera news channel broadcast video footage taken in July 2009 in Maiduguri, which showed police shooting and killing unarmed people who were lying on the ground.” [Amnesty International, 2012, p 7]

These videos saw a strong reaction as it exposed the extra judicial killing that had been going on in Nigeria as well as the fact that people responsible are not prosecuted so it gives room for the impunity to continue. To date, little or nothing has been done to ensure justice. The extra judicial and reckless killing also exposes the fact that security forces meant to maintain law and order violate human rights by taking law into their hands, with them acting this way they cannot effectively play a role in curtailing the menace.

“By July 2010, Mohammed Yusuf’s followers had regrouped and the violence quickly escalated.” [Amnesty International, 2012, p 8] Throughout the year 2010, people were killed and different attacks were carried out with Boko Haram claiming responsibility for these killings. Nigeria is a known to be a country with different religions including Christianity, Islam and traditional practices. Sharia is part of Islam which not every Muslim is guided by therefore a demand for the full implementation of Sharia law in the entire country makes such a goal nearly unattainable. The situation in Nigeria is rather complex.

It is known that there are local and international sponsors of Boko Haram but the public may not be exposed to details of who they may be although it was reported in the media that Boko Haram may have a source of funding from al-Qaeda linked organizations.

For a situation that is of national security, Nigerians expect transparency with the entire process in handling the situation but there have been ongoing talks to which the populace has so far been kept in the dark. The masses have suffered more from the attacks carried out and are close to despair. To make this worse, the government announced plans to grant the Boko Haram group members “Amnesty”. The word amnesty has so far been abused in Nigeria. Amnesty was first granted to members of MEND by the president at the time – President Umaru Musa Yar’Adua. These people had genuine grievances over the pollution of the Niger Delta and the sorry state that area has been brought to, as they no longer can carry out their fishing or farming activities due to oil spillage caused by Multinational Companies operating in that area. They had been robbed of their livelihood and hadn’t been compensated so they resorted to violence, kidnapping of expatriates and other forms of activities to get the governments attention and force them to restore the area to a habitable state by ordering a cleanup. Besides, these multinational companies operated in their area but they were not being offered enough job opportunities. Members of MEND were referred to as militants. When the militants’ operations were getting out of control and it became a national security problem, the President made an offer where those who

surrendered arms would be granted amnesty. The amnesty package involved education outside Nigeria and for those who didn't go to school, a compensation package was arranged in the form of a monthly allowance.

Many condemned the act of the then President of granting amnesty to these people by putting them on a monthly allowance. Now the notion of amnesty involves compensation in cash. There were suggestions early this year for the Boko Haram members to be granted amnesty which was widely criticised. Objections varied, some being that for the Boko Haram members to be compensated will be unfair to every Nigerian who works hard and honestly to use the money from national coffers on the group that has done nothing but instil fear, inflict pain and irreparable loss on others. Nigerians have made appeals to the government to find a solution to the problem at hand.

While the conflicts and violence are in themselves of great significance because of loss of lives and property, a point of interest is that some of the attackers are known to have come from Chad and Niger Republic. To back this claim, one of many confessions of a former Boko Haram member from Niger that was made public was dismissed due to the kind of people his confession implicated. It was also taken down from many news websites but Hot naija news (2012) managed to retain it on their website (see reference list). Although most Boko Haram members are Nigerian, people from neighbouring countries are also a part of this group. Their interests are unclear which could be economic, political or religious. Also, it seems they want to pursue the narrative of global jihad which Al Queda has propagated internationally and which BH has sought to situate within a West African context.

Toure (2003, p.22) finds that "the problem lies with the ruling forces controlling state power. Another factor is imbalances due to the way the state treats different groups. Also important is lack of social justice and rights for the people and the communities."

Too much power is concentrated in the hands of a few who tend to abuse it. It is a known fact in Nigeria that many of the people in the ruling class have political god fathers and children who sort themselves out appropriately. If someone intends to run for office, all he needs to do is call on his god father who likely will be highly placed to fix him where he may desire. If things do not go as planned, these people could incite violence through comments or followership. This was manifested after the last elections in 2011 in Nigeria when one of the opposition party leaders, General Muhammad Buhari, lost to the current President. The high rate of insecurity and lack of protection of human rights stand out in Nigeria as people commit crimes and walk away freely. The security forces saddled with the responsibility of protecting the lives of citizens violate that responsibility as they turn a blind eye or are the ones perpetrating the acts of violence. By failing to take effective measures to check the surge of violence, the Nigerian authorities have allowed a climate of impunity to continually advance.

The Nigerian government has tried to address the insecurity problems with the introduction of “Amnesty”. This was also done in the Niger Delta to curb the security issues. Although this is a step primarily to promote peace and development, it has been surrounded by controversy and has not been transparent. The Nigerian government has been criticised for a lack of leadership/consistent strategic direction on responding to the insurgency. One would wonder if there is room for mediation/diplomacy between these groups and the government, how it has been employed and what needs to or could be done. On the other hand, for what has been applied, has the outcome been successful or not. If unsuccessful, why would the government plan to apply the same method of amnesty?

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In undertaking this study, I hope to interrogate the role of diplomacy in finding solutions to conflict and violence in Nigeria and why diplomacy has so far not solved the problem of widespread violence in Nigeria, particularly in the North. The fact that the

history of conflicts resulting in violence in Nigeria dates back to the very first republic, which was sacked by the military coup in 1966, means that there is a fundamental gap in the understanding of the factors and triggers.

Secondly, there also seems to be absent so far, of an enduring analysis of the factors in order to find solutions to the problem. There are hidden lacunae either in the research or in the diplomatic practice aimed at solving the problems that have defied solution in Nigeria, this study breeds the following research questions:

Is an ethnically plural state necessarily a conflict prone country?

What is the relationship between economic development and violence?

Does an uneven political and economic development breed religious fundamentalism?

What is the role of diplomacy in the mediation of and finding solutions to conflict and violence?

If conflict has always existed in Nigeria and has so far not been properly addressed, this study seeks to question the extent to which diplomacy has helped to resolve the security crisis in Nigeria particularly in the North. This kind of study may help both citizens and government develop new insights to the problem.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The overall goal of the study is to provide an understanding of the role of diplomacy in responding to the Boko Haram insurgency. It hopes to do this by offering a critical analysis of the economy of violence and conflict, and some of the underlying failures of diplomacy in order to address these issues and contribute to conflict prevention in Nigeria.

This work seeks to demonstrate how bad governance, corruption and the negligence of the ruling class have allowed violence to thrive and to show how political stability and good governance can foster cooperation of not just the ruling class but also the citizens.

This will be examined through the following objectives:

i. To explore the nature of conflict and their manifestations in Nigeria.

- ii. To analyse the social, economic and political conditions that favour conflicts in Nigeria.
- iii. To interrogate the role of diplomacy in finding solutions to conflict and violence in Nigeria why diplomacy has so far not solved the problems illustrating what methods have been applied and which have not been attempted.

1.4 *Significance of Study*

There are several reasons why a study on conflict and violence in Nigeria is important.

- i. For any economy to develop, an important factor is an enabling environment. Such an environment should be characterised by the existence of peace where people of different religious and cultural orientations co-exist in harmony. This peace is elusive in Nigeria at the moment. Therefore, a study that tries to find ways to understand the situation is an addition to the attempts to solve the problem.
- ii. In trying to understand the relationship between governance, conflict and how effective diplomatic practice may address such situations, this study may contribute to the understanding of diplomacy as it operates in conflict situations.
- iii. Whereas the conclusions from this study cannot be final, it will add to the body of literature on the study of conflict, especially in regard to diplomacy. Therefore, it should be a reference for other researchers who may take the study forward.

My interest in this topic stems from the fact that there seems to be a trans-border alliance of persons and institutions whose interests may go far beyond religion. If this assumption is right, and the study is able to find some of the reasons, then this study would contribute to expanding our knowledge of the 'conflict trade' in Nigeria

1.5 *Scope of the Study and Methodology*

This study is specifically on the North of Nigeria. The focus is also on conflicts and consequent violence that have resulted, with specific reference to Boko Haram, which became known in 2009. Therefore, some of the remote factors and events leading to the eruption will be addressed. This will cover the period from which Boko Haram came to limelight till date giving the topic critical analysis. This study will be mainly conducted by library research through the review of existing materials such as books, journal articles, reports and newspaper articles.

1.6 *Limitation of Study*

The major constraint I will face will be the willingness of people to speak about these conflict issues when it relates to religion or those who are involved in perpetrating these conflicts as Boko Haram members cannot be accessed directly. The Nigerian authorities also are either not willing to give out information or they give inaccurate information to try to cover up how bad the situation is. It would have been necessary to carry out interviews with different sources but the lack of transparency and the time frame in which this study is being carried out will not permit that.

The unavailability of materials to the study as the topic is quite recent will also be a challenge. The fact that caution has to be exercised while carrying out this study will likely be a limitation also.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The chapter is organised in three parts: the first part will examine arguments about factors that are responsible for the violence and terrorist attacks in general, and more specifically on the attacks perpetrated by the Boko Haram group in the North of Nigeria. The second part will go through the Boko Haram insurgency with a focus on when it caught the attention of the world to date and how it may affect them while the last part will portray the use of diplomacy by the government so far. All these will be backed up by different perspectives of scholars and political analysts who have previously carried out research in this area and related areas.

Nigeria has been faced with different forms of security threats in recent times but one that has put the spotlight on Nigeria due to the violence and terrorist acts that have been perpetrated is the Boko Haram insurgency. The well planned attacks that are their *modus operandi* have brought about wanton loss of life and property. The Boko Haram operations obviously pose a big security threat not only to Nigeria, but to the entire African continent and the world at large. This argument can be based on the fact that Nigeria is the most populous nation in Africa and a major oil producer as the terrorist attacks have paralyzed economic activities in Northern Nigeria as well as tainted the reputation of Nigeria to other countries. The many arguments as to why violence occurs and the underpinning support of peace by different scholars form part of the concern in this chapter.

Toure (2003, p 21) argues that “the spread of a mighty wave of tensions and conflicts threaten national unity and harmonious inter-ethnic and inter-religious relations. Even though more complex factors have been at the base, conflicts and struggles in Nigeria are increasingly driven towards sectarian and chauvinistic directions that are manifesting in various forms”. Beckford and Wallis (2006, p 11) are more precise in naming both the factor and cause when they observe that “Today, however, it often appears that we have a different problem: rather than there being too little religion, it

may be said that there is too much". In Nigeria, ethnic and religious conflicts have always existed. These conflicts have in recent times escalated to a level that the government finds difficult to contain. So perhaps what Beckford and Wallis have not said is the fact that too much religion that has led to violence is a sign of the incompetence of the Nigerian government in governance and in managing attendant crisis because religion and ethnicity have always defined relations within Nigeria: there is a tendency to support or favour people from the same religion or ethnic group as opposed to being open minded. Herein lies the weakness in governance, and as a consequence the government failed to see the warning signs leading to the level of extremism that had been building over time.

The state of security in every nation makes a clear statement about it and safety cannot be over emphasized. According to Rana, (2007, p 35) "National security is the country's first priority in shaping its external relations. This will determine the way one deals with neighbouring countries, or with potential rivals, or with countries that are antagonistic. Security factors also enter the calculation in dealings with great powers". What this point underscores is the fact that no country can stand alone because bilateral and multilateral relations are always a part of any country's dealings. If the country is not safe, it influences the decision of whether or not other countries will engage in relations with it.

It is now widely acknowledged by researchers, political and social commentators (Danjibo, 2012, Amnesty International, 2012, Abah, Alubo & Okwori, 2003) that Nigeria is hardly mentioned without reference to the religious divide that exists between the Muslims and the Christians. This is in spite of the fact that although Muslims are found predominantly in the North while the Christians in the South, nonetheless, Christians and Muslims are scattered across the North and South.

2.2 Some Factors Responsible for Violence

In arguing about factors that bring about violence in Northern Nigeria, some factors that are usually cited as critical are: unemployment and poverty, governance and Islamic fundamentalism.

Unemployment and poverty - There is a vibrant youth population in Nigeria, over half of which is unemployed according to the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS, 2010). Innovation, energy and productivity are attributes that are associated with youth. If these youth are left idle, this energy will be channelled elsewhere which may not necessarily be positive. In Nigeria, many go to school with the hope of getting some form of employment after studying but when they get disappointed, frustration builds up and they easily turn to negative and unwholesome practices. Anasi (2010) observes that as much as youth are the most energetic, they are the most vulnerable and prone to being manipulated. Ojukwu (2011) further stresses that the high rate of unemployment is connected to the increase of terrorist attacks due to the frustration of these unemployed youth. The Nigerian government recognises the problem of youth unemployment at hand and has tried to set up agencies to regulate this problem such as the National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP) and the National Directorate of Employment (NDE). However from Omorodion's (2010) point of view, this creation has made little or no difference. The dependence on the government for so long to bring a change is fast becoming a dream as the government has done little differently and it seems that overtime, things have only deteriorated. However, whereas the points above are valid, one wonders whether the involvement in the wanton destruction of lives and property solves the problem the youth face. In their arguments, none of the authors has argued about a new form of diplomacy that has internal component, which negotiates with the youth to understand their ideas, aspirations and wishes.

Poverty has been advanced as another reason why people resort to violence but these are underlying factors that are often ignored. There is frustration stored up and people are like time bombs waiting to explode at any moment. Short and Wolfensohn (2000) have stated that poor people find a means to survive by depending on family,

friends and neighbours but this dependence can only last for a certain amount of time. The masses watch the ruling class enrich themselves with the resources of the country and being helpless, some are willing to do anything to put themselves in the good books of the ruling class or receive any kind of incentive no matter what has to be done, even if it involves some form of violence. What makes it easiest is that there are little or no repercussions for these kinds of crimes committed, as people can easily get away with it. This is clearly a demonstration of impunity as argued by (Punch Newspaper, 2013) in the case of the chairman of the Pension Reform Task Team (PRTT). The Nigerian Pension system was deeply rooted in corruption which led to the setting up by the Presidency of a Pension Reform Task Team (PRTT) headed by Mr. Abdulrasheed Maina. In fighting corruption, Maina got his hands soiled in corrupt practices. He was summoned by the National Assembly but would not answer. An arrest warrant was issued but Maina could not be found. According to a highly placed civil servant:

“Maina had figured some way of “settling” or compromising many highly-placed people, especially in the different arms of government and security forces, by putting them on the list of those to go on some “overseas familiarisation tour” of comparative pensions systems; and using that to credit their bank accounts with stupendous sums far above imagination; and how some of the officers implicated had owned up when they found those sums in their bank accounts unsolicited but unreturned!”

Such cases are not uncommon in Nigeria which sometimes disillusion those who work hard and increases the gap between the rich and the poor as money seems to signify power.

Governance – Perhaps the solid ground on which all issues be based and addressed is a viable democracy that obeys the rule of accountability and transparency. However, scholars like Ake (2002, p. 112) have argued that democracy in its true sense is not practised in Nigeria. They base their argument on the fact that democracy is the total distribution of power and the acceptance of equality which is far from the case of

Nigeria. Until ethnic groups can put aside biases and accept the differences that exist such that people are allowed to rule not based on ethnicity but democracy, good governance in Nigeria may continually be threatened.

Dawha (1996 p.2) argues that Northern Nigeria has undergone changes politically, socially and culturally since the death in 1966 of Sir Ahmadu Bello, the former Sultan of Sokoto, who was the unifying factor for this region as he led with purpose and vision. This argument suggests that many of the leaders that emerged after Ahmadu Bello have neither the vision, the charisma nor the diplomacy to rule in a multi-ethnic nation like Nigeria. It may be possible to point to the events leading to, and following the general elections of 2011 as telling. The post-election violence that followed in April 2011 was a reaction to the fact that the main Northern opposition candidate, Muhammadu Buhari, lost to the incumbent President Goodluck Jonathan. The people from the North believed it was the turn of a Northerner to be in power as President Umaru Musa Yaradua who died in power had not completed his eight-year tenure. This may be a clear indication of lack of understanding of democratic principles. Eight years in power is not automatic as elections are due every four years. This poor understanding was orchestrated by a serving Senator, Senator Walid Jibrin who claimed that Buhari may have suffered a setback in the elections due to his choice of running mate who was a Christian. Beyond a poor understanding of the fundamental principles of democracy, Walid pushed his argument to a dangerous point of religious bias publicly.

A review of the existing pronouncements by Sir Ahmadu Bello (1959) such as:

“Here in the Northern Nigeria we have People of Many different races, tribes and religions who are knit together to common history, common interest and common ideas, the things that unite us are stronger than the things that divide us. I always remind people of our firmly rooted policy of *religious tolerance*. We have no intention of favouring one religion at the expense of another. Subject to the overriding need to preserve law and order, it is our determination that everyone should have absolute liberty to practice his belief according to the dictates of his conscience”

and other later luminaries such as Gani Fawehinmi who constantly argued that “the Federal Government is a total failure, worsened by lack of direction and leadership”(He stated this clearly in his speech rejecting the national honour presented to him in 2008), would indicate that democracy in Nigeria is being betrayed. The interest of a few to sabotage the entire country based on selfish ambitions works against the fundamental principle of unity that holds any nation together. And, as Ukiwo (2003) argues, the trashing of the principles is sustained by acts of impunity, because there is lack of neutrality in dealing with situations of crime by the government because it lacks autonomy from the political class and influential personalities.

Pronouncements such as these go far beyond religious and tribal interests but seek the common good through accommodation and tolerance to promote personal and collective interests. This, Adeoye (2013) argues is missing as the British having employed the system of divide and rule, planted the seed of disunity in Nigeria when the amalgamation brought people with different orientations together who had little or nothing in common. The British were only concerned about protecting British trade and other strategic interests he opines. What Adeoye also does not state but is clear is that the seed planted by the British has led to the ethnically plural Nigeria of today which is now a conflict prone country. The conflicts regarding difference in ethnicity becomes a problem as prejudice takes over the reasoning and this stands in the way of progress as a people and eventually the progress of the country.

Islamic fundamentalism – This is another factor of interest in Nigeria’s democracy that has attracted scholars’ attention. Danjibo (2012) argues that “During the 9/11, when the twin towers of New York were put down by an Islamic fundamentalist attack, led by Osama Bin Laden, and which led to the death of thousands of innocent people, religion began to gain global prominence. It became the centre stage of scholarly discourse and analysis trying to understand the entanglement between religion and violence.” The literature on Islam and its relationship to governance and the daily lives of citizens is full of contradictions. In general, it is understood that religion promotes teachings that call

for peace. Events in Nigeria in the last few years have however cast doubt on the peaceful intent of religious leaders and preachers. Scholars and political commentators (Ken 2009, Ojukwu 2011, Soyinka 2013) have argued that some of the issues arising from this extremism have been blamed on poverty and bad governance. As they argue, if the youth involved were gainfully employed and earned a livelihood, there would be no reason to resort to meaningless violence. Mallam Hussaini Salisu, an Islamic cleric stated that *“A nation that allows its youths to be idle is sitting on a time bomb because frustrated people seek relief in religion”* (Tell, 2009, p. 38). Core groups that may be far from being gainfully employed include the Almajiris (used to denote Muslim child beggars who attend Islamic schools) and the unemployed Muslims who are recruited into the Boko Haram force. These people with their limited knowledge may not necessarily have a stand on what they believe. For this reason, they are impressionable and vulnerable, and could be manipulated to carry out acts of atrocities. In the case of the Almajiris, once they are offered any sum of money, they will be willing to do as they are told. It is imperative to note that religious extremism/fundamentalism is a core factor for the rise of Boko Haram activities amongst other issues, one of which is the attainment of the status of martyrdom.

There seems to be a number of contradictions between the violence perpetrated through religion and what the holy books in different religions say. For example, according to Al Islam (undated), Jihad is translated as ‘holy war’ and the Quran which is the holy book that guides Islam permits different forms of Jihad, one of which is *“And fight in the cause of Allah against those who fight against you, but do not transgress.”* Two of the conditions outlined for engagement in Jihad are: “Muslims should have faced oppression in the practice of their religion and a threat to their life” and “The battle can only be defensive and not an offensive one”.

If Islam propagates peace, why then will it encourage the use of violence in any form? The theory of peace preaching and the practise in reality seem to differ. The analysis by scholars that the factionalisation of Muslims into various sects with different understanding could be partly responsible for the crisis. To show the case of Nigeria,

Danjibo (2012) listed some of the different Islamic sects in Nigeria as the *Derika*, the *Izala*, the *Kaulu(Kablu)*, the Muslim brothers, the *Tijjaniya* and the *Quaddiriya*, the Shiite, the Muslim Brotherhood, and several other splinter groups. Just like one of these groups, there is a group called Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awatiwal-jihad (JAS) translated: People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad widely known as Boko Haram.

The sensitive nature of religion because it so intricately woven into the politics of the nation has been highlighted by Adesoji (2010) when he says:

“The growing problem of Islamic fundamentalism appears to be more deep-rooted than the approaches adopted by the Nigerian government to address it. Given the danger it poses to the country and global security, and given the more serious response by nations around the world to terrorism related events, comprehensive and drastic measures that aim to address the root causes should be fashioned. Wishing the problem away, pretending it is not there, or that it is not as serious as it is, is akin to sitting on a time bomb.”

Although the grievances in the North are the product of several complex and interlocking factors, including a volatile mix of historical grievances, political manipulation and ethnic and religious rivalries, the region however, has historically shown much capacity for peaceful coexistence between its ethnic and religious communities. (International Crisis Group, 2010)

2.3 Boko Haram

Perhaps the time bomb has already exploded! The Islamist armed group Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awatiwal-jihad [People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad] commonly referred to as Boko Haram [Western education is forbidden] had Yusuf as the leader who preached that the country's ruling class was marred by corruption and advocated for the creation of an Islamic state (an

Islamic government and Islam as a state religion). The teachings of Yusuf give the impression that it is because of the perversion of the secular world that leaders are involved in corrupt practices so if everyone believed in Islam, they would be guided by the Islamic teachings and not stray into doing any wrong. As much as religion serves as a guide, there is no guarantee that a religious person will not sin. Everyone has a conscience and can choose to let it guide them or ignore it.

The literature on Islamic fundamentalism and the eventual birth of Boko Haram dates back to the event of 27th October 1999, when in Zamfara State, sharia law was adopted and elevated to the status of the English common law which guides Nigeria. Nigeria being a multi-religious country is guided by secular laws. This was not welcomed by many in the country. In March 2000, it was introduced in Kaduna State which sparked off violence as never seen in the state (Ilesanmi, 2001), other Northern states introduced sharia law also.

“In 2009, Boko Haram carried out a spate of attacks on police stations and other government buildings in Maiduguri. This led to shoot-outs on Maiduguri's streets. Hundreds of Boko Haram supporters were killed and thousands of residents fled the city. Nigeria's security forces eventually seized the group's headquarters, capturing its fighters and killing Mr. Yusuf.” [Chothia, 2012]

The capturing and killing of the Boko Haram leader that took place in July 2009 is said to have compounded the security situation in Nigeria. Other acts of violence and attacks have been read as reprisals. An example is the case of Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab, a 23 year-old Nigerian, who tried to kill the 289 passengers on board Northwest Airlines Flight 253 heading to Detroit from Amsterdam.

Although the group is outwardly fighting a religious war, it has been argued by many such as Walker (2012) that Boko Haram is politically motivated. Salkida (2012) states it clearly:

“Apparently there is the political Boko Haram that uses the name of the group to carry out the assassinations of some of their political opponents in the North-East. And again, there are some politicians and security contractors both in the

North and South that have grown tall on the crest of the Boko Haram catastrophe to develop their personal estates.”

This argument by implication refers to the cry of marginalization by the North. Whatever the argument, many Nigerians are interested in a solution, and the call has been to go the diplomatic route. This is in spite of the tough position canvassed by Wole Soyinka (2012), the Nigerian writer and Nobel laureate, in an interview with Peter Godwin on Boko Haram stated that:

“The unrest, which is taking place as a result of Boko Haram, in my view, has attained critical mass. When a movement reaches that state of total contempt even for universal norms, it is sending a message to the rest of the world, and to the rest of that nation, that this is a war to the end. The president of Nigeria is making a mistake in not telling the nation that it should place itself on a war footing. There’s too much pussyfooting, there’s too much false intellectualisation of what is going on, such as this is the result of corruption, this is the result of poverty, this is the result of marginalisation. Yes, of course, all these negativities have to do with what is happening right now. But when the people themselves come out and say we will not even talk to the president unless he converts to Islam, they are already stating their terms of conflict.”

There are a number of diplomatic methods for conflict resolution that different scholars have stated. According to Agbu et al (2006) “conflict resolution attempts to move beyond the time honored set of strategies by developing theoretical insights into the nature and sources of conflict and how conflicts can be resolved to bring about durable settlements”. Strategies to include “rule of law, political agreements, religious authority, and of course brute military force” are some of those stated. This implies that each conflict has its characteristics and understanding what is behind the conflict will help to find the solution.

Arbitration has been cited as a diplomatic method to resolve conflict by Prirter (undated) through the use of diplomatic mediators. The success of this method however he opines, lies with the mediators skills as he states that these mediators gain the trust

of both parties and convince them to reach an agreement. All these are done within the confines of the applying law. Other diplomatic methods relevant to this study will be examined in detail in later chapters.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter examines different theories that have been put forward as to why conflict and violence thrive in different parts of the world. It will then assess some of the theories that have relevance to the Nigerian situation which breed conflict such as governance, religion, peer influence and economic factors in order that it can be applied to analysing the existing insurgency situation in the country. All these will be related to conflict and the potential use of different forms of diplomacy will be outlined.

3.1 *Theoretical perspectives on reasons for conflict and violence*

Conflicts arise from time to time in different parts of the world although different reasons can cause these conflicts. Some may lead to violence while others may not. In Asia according to Werz and Conley (2012), major reasons for conflict in recent times have been climate change and migration. When these effects accelerate, it will have global impacts on human migration and conflict around the world. They find also that “In the coming decades climate change will increasingly threaten humanity’s shared interests and collective security in many parts of the world, disproportionately affecting the globe’s least developed countries”. This is a shared concern across the world at large. Lundgren and Monheim (2007) illustrate the effects of climate change with the following theory:

Environmental Stress X Society’s Vulnerabilities -----→ Societal Stress

They further stress that with the enormous difficulties associated with adjustment to environmental and social stress, political institutions will be pushed to the limit by the citizenry therefore having an available plan will be required to show good governance. Such cases can leave the entire population vulnerable at societal, economic and political levels which could become a catalyst for violence.

In Europe, a constant cause of conflict that may have led to violence has been the crisis in the Euro zone. While some European countries have had to face austerity measures due to debt, others have had to pay the price alongside by rescuing such countries. The citizens in many cases have reacted by protesting which has often ended in violence as the people have to pay the price with cuts in their pension, removal of bonus payments for public sector workers, banning the increase in salary for public sector workers for three years, increased years of work and other measures. (BBC News, 2010, European Commission, 2010). In Greece for example, Taylor states that “the Greek government was able to hide the large amount of borrowing necessary to account for overspending” but the debt continued to grow till it could no longer be hidden. This crisis affected not only the country in question but all countries using the common currency. Countries like Germany being the largest economy within the euro zone had to take the responsibility of contributing a large amount to the bailout fund. This worried the citizens in some respect as they had to pay for the spending of other governments. After the bailout funds from the European Union was agreed on, it came with austerity measures that impacted the Greeks directly. The conflict of motives between the government and the people sparked widespread anger that broke into violence more than once. Other countries such as Spain, Portugal, Ireland and Germany have also experienced such protests leading to violence.

Coelho and Favareto (2010 p 308) point out the relationship between participation, inclusion in governance and development in South America. From their point of view, where the citizens are excluded from political processes, this alienates the people and brings about conflicts of interest that can lead to violence. Tijuco Alto dam was cited as a reason for long standing conflict between communities in Brazil. While some see the dam as “a source of economic growth providing investment, jobs and flood control”, others see the dam as “incompatible with a model of development that values environmental and cultural heritage”. Conflicts such as these could result in violence in the long run if not handled properly.

Looking at Africa, Oyeniya (2011) states that the reasons responsible for conflict and violence often recur and some listed are: inter-state border disputes, ethnicity, political and international interference, poor economic performance and religion. In bringing these points forward, he categorises the different parts of Africa where the horn of Africa according to him is a mixture of all the conflicts the world has to contend with; ethnicity, religion, border conflicts, civil war, refugees, famine, break up of states and other factors. West Africa he describes in Robert Kaplan's words "as becoming the symbol of worldwide demographic, environmental and societal stress, in which criminal anarchy emerges as the real "strategic danger." South Africa's racial discrimination still is ongoing and North Africa deals with Islamic fundamentalism and socio-economic factors.

These are a variety of factors and it is clear that all these factors are enough to stir conflict and eventually lead to violence if not contained. This has been the case in the different regions of Africa and what stands out is the fact that governance in the different parts may not have been able to bring these conflicts under control. This has resulted in violent eruptions. We see this manifested in the Arab spring in North Africa, the non performance and eventual refusal of government to leave power for example Laurent Gbagbo, leading to the break out of violence in West Africa and the constant war, famine in the horn of Africa and just like the protests in Europe leading to violence due to economic factors, Nigerians also have grievances due to policies that affect the economy which have produced violence.

3.2 *Perspectives of conflict and violence in Nigeria*

Different theoretical perspectives have been advanced on the reasons for conflict and violence in Nigeria. It has been argued that religion, bad governance, economic and ethnic disputes are major factors that brew conflict in Nigeria. One other theory that is usually discussed under education, but which has importance here is peer influence. It is worth noting that not all conflict leads to violence but in general, people have goals and

when they are prevented from reaching such goals, frustration builds which can easily lead to aggression/violence (Jenny Pearse, 2009).

Governance and conflict – This theory focuses on the role of democracy in stabilising society. The essential ingredients of a democratic society are rights of citizens such as freedom of expression, participation and accountability. According to Abah (2008), the government should be able to provide basic needs for the population to ensure their well being. It is these rights and the extent to which the government protects them that show whether there is democracy and good governance. This implies that needs such as employment should be catered for, the level of poverty should be alleviated as when this is taken care of, conflict can be avoided. A study was conducted by Narayan, Chambers, Shah and Petesch (2000) with poor people in different countries, one of these countries was Nigeria. It was proven that the general feeling of poor people is a feeling of powerlessness, helplessness, insecurity, worry, frustration and anger. These people experience daily anxiety and having to live from “hand to mouth” for them is described as an immensely frustrating necessity. Another common factor among them is summed up as bad social relations. They tend to exclude themselves as they have no place to fit into. At various community levels, these people easily get into fights, quarrelling is also common among them which often leads to violence. One of the women interviewed said “violence is a chain, the man beats the woman, the woman takes it out on the children and the children are violent even with animals”. It was observed that there is a declining public security especially in poor communities and crime is fast becoming the way out of poverty.

At the level of the entire nation, this impacts on the way people look at the poor. There is a tendency for the rich to not want to be associated with the poor as they feel insecure around them but this makes the poor feel rejected and they find ways to take from the rich. This conflict of interest brings about violence. Besides, illiteracy is a product of poverty as school fees cannot be paid and for those who start school, they

mostly have to drop out. With all these, we see that any poor person who is illiterate and unemployed can very easily be brainwashed. Unfortunately in Nigeria, the rich seem to get richer while the poor get poorer. The World Factbook places 70% of Nigerians below the poverty line (2010 estimate).

The Nigerian National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) on May 9th 2013 placed Nigeria's unemployment rate at 23.9 per cent. These figures are troubling as it is clear that the increasing number of Nigerians is not being absorbed into the work force. The majority of these unemployed people are youth causing a social nuisance to the Nigerian economy. It was found by Adawo, Essien and Ekpo (2012) that some reasons for unemployment are the un-conducive economic conditions in Nigeria which all boil down to lack of infrastructure as companies are either not willing to come to Nigeria or those already in Nigeria fold up and leave. The bad educational system in Nigeria that produces 'quarter baked graduates who are unemployable' according to them is another reason. Most graduates have the expectation of finding a job after graduation but when they are 'denied' this opportunity, they can easily resort to anything that will provide for them which is often negative such as prostitution, stealing and different forms of vices. Such people are likely to be co-opted to believe any cause like Boko Haram when such is presented to them. After all, they have nothing to lose is the general feeling. Some effects of unemployment according to the study are "the unemployed is perpetually unhappy in a world of material consideration. Social effects of unemployment include personal hardship, depression, decay of acquired but unused skill and involvement in crime especially among the youth". This is seen with the Muslims who were absorbed into the belief that Western education cannot provide for them when they tore up their school certificates out of disillusion and took on the cause of Boko Haram. Nigeria, a democratic country, has not been able to practice democracy as it should be as the rule of law does not always apply.

Religion and conflict - When religious institutions replace government; when the philosophy of freedom and peace appear to be guaranteed by religion not governance, people are bound to turn to this religion to gain fulfilment.

Religion as seen in Nigeria is often the identity that Nigerians can relate to instead of the citizenship of the country, as there is hardly inclusion of the masses in political processes which eventually affect them. Nigeria is hardly mentioned without reference to religion in running the affairs of the nation. Islam however will be our focus as the Boko Haram group has carried out all their acts under the cover of Islam. Ekanem and Ekefre (2013) find that religion can be seen as a tool for social harmony but at the same time, a means of inciting violence thus scholars have referred to it as a 'two edged sword'. The recourse to religion because of the failure of political institutions is not uncommon in Nigeria as poverty and ignorance are likely to inform such decisions. With this, we see a clash of civilizations as these same individuals kick against the West based on bigotry.

Statistics from the National Bureau of Statistics show that the North has the highest unemployment rate where Muslims are predominantly found, in comparison to other parts of the country. It clearly shows also that the highest rate of violence in Nigeria is in the North. In Islam, violence is encouraged as self defence when there is a threat to the Islamic religion or to the lives of the believers (The Quran). This breeds intolerance that leads to extremism which according to Omotosho (2003) is a major cause of violence in Nigeria. Once the Muslim feels like there is any form of conflict or attack towards his safety or religion, that becomes a catalyst of not just conflict but of violence.

Peer Influence and conflict – Once the violence starts, the prolongation is fuelled by peer groups who take on the fight as their responsibility. Others who may not want to be involved are constantly taunted or called cowards which could be a breaking point for them. This can be categorised under psychological influence whereby the character and message of certain leaders replace traditional norms/influences.

Simons et al, 1991 posit that parents who do not have strong bonds with their children do not teach them pro-social values. When the child grows to adolescence, this could bring about difficulties which lead to rejection by conventional peers. At this stage, the rejected children easily becomes friends with deviant children and as a group, they do not feel answerable to any authority.

Even those who may have a strong bond with their parents get to adolescence which according to Ibeh (2005) is a stage of intense social relationship in any environment as there is a shift of emphasis on social relationships from parents to peer groups. This sociological influence makes children at this stage to alienate their parents as they find that the parents may not understand them or know how to relate with them so they prefer to confide in their peers as they all have a common ground.

Economic factors, ethnicity and conflict- The success and growth of any country is directly linked to the government, if governance is properly administered, it reflects in all sectors of the country especially on the economy. Joseph (2009) clearly states that “when a country possesses the extensive human and capital resources that Nigeria does and its poverty rate has doubled from 1980 to 2005, there is something profoundly wrong about the conduct of its economic affairs.” From this we draw that governance should impact on any country positively but the plague of corruption is rife in Nigeria. This imbalance in the division of economic wealth has and continues to bring about conflict and violence in Nigeria, the Niger Delta crisis being a pertinent example. There is a lack of economic governance as what prevails is the need to fit cronies into positions that matter. People are favoured based on ethnicity, these people may not have the right qualifications but are favoured for who they know. The wealth of the nation is concentrated in the hands of a few who seem to have access to the resources which are meant to be for all. There is a popular saying in the North of Nigeria in Hausa language ‘namu ne’ meaning ‘it is our own’. That sometimes portrays the attitude of the Nigerian leaders to resources and power whereas boosting economic growth and job creation should be priority.

Weaknesses in certain areas lead to violence such as poorly designed rules, poverty of political leadership and weak judicial administration, (Arowolo and Aluko 2012). Countries like China and Russia may have a name for bad governance but few outbreaks of violence are heard of unlike in Nigeria. The lack of freedom of association and speech in these countries may be the reasons why violence hardly breaks out. China is known to punish protesters. In 2012, the government cut off aid to Tibetan families of self immolation protesters as well as stopped aid to any of such communities. Those who offered condolences or prayers to the bereaved families were also liable to punishment. In some cases, people have been imprisoned for protesting. (TCHRD, 2012). This kind of hard approaches may not be recommended but the Nigerian government could find ways to keep checks on violent outbreaks.

These factors outlined all have conflicts contained in them which the people involved feel are genuine reasons. Although not the best means to resolve issues, violence breaking out could be a way to get attention. There are always underlying issues that lead to violence, in the case of Nigeria some of which have been outlined. Conflict and violence have a direct relationship as in most cases violence is inherent in conflict.

3.3 *The relationship of the theories to conflict and violence in Nigeria*

Some of the theories that have so far been mentioned are relevant to Nigeria but bad governance can be seen as the root cause of many of the Nigerian conflicts with reference to the security situation in the North.

In politics in Nigeria, politicians always make promises of things to be done to get elected into office but never fulfil these promises. Social services such as schools, good roads, hospitals, portable water, electricity and all forms of infrastructure are the measurement to the extent which the government has worked. Major changes have to be made according to Toure (2003 p 22) as limiting constitutional reforms to a certain set of elite whereas the majority of the citizens are excluded will not help to solve the problems being faced by the entire nation. One of the problems is that the Nigerian

constitution does not allow for anyone to sue the government for not providing infrastructure. The section where social services are talked about in the constitution is a discretionary section, it is not under the enforceable section so it is at the discretion of the State to provide infrastructure.

Abah (2005) observes from experience that Nigerians show more sense of belonging to religion or ethnicity compared to what is shown to the nation. This shows the level to which citizens of Nigeria feel excluded from their own country. They have a better sense of belonging to an ethnic group or religion.

Conflict in Nigeria has led to violence for so many reasons, one of which is that the people are marginalised and feel that violence is their best bet at getting the governments attention. Osaghie (2010 p. 38) finds that “the denial of rights is in itself an instrument of inequality, injustice, exclusion and domination which is a precipitant of conflicts”. The Niger Delta region of Nigeria, a swampy area where different areas are isolated from each other and are accessible by boat, shows a clear case of neglect by the Nigerian government. The citizens in this region are constantly fighting to be heard but the government turns a deaf ear. This area is underdeveloped and the pollution of the area by multinational companies has only added to the environmental problems. All these factors have produced conflict that has led to violence. The North of Nigeria has gone in the same direction as the people want to be included and not marginalized. In a country where the very people who make up the nation do not feel like a part of that country, that calls for conflict. Nationalists like Nnamdi Azikiwe, Sir Ahmadu Bello fought for inclusive citizenship, they tried to instil the feeling of nationalism and togetherness in the Nigerian people, a feeling that is lacking today Okwori (2003 p. 16) points out that working towards a democratic society to involve inclusion of the citizenry will be based on crucial issues of ownership and access/division of resources. On the other hand, “the granting, recognition, enjoyment and protection of rights to the extent that the denial of rights are removed or minimized are necessary but not sufficient conditions for peace and conflict management.” (Osaghie, 2010 p. 38). This same government elected by the people to serve them has not done much in the direction of conflict management as

stated by Osaghie as the level of marginalization is clearly seen at all levels. The gap between the rich and the poor grows wider and the people suffer acute poverty in the midst of plenty.

Today, there is a collective sense of awareness of political activities and for any set of people to have and be part of an identity, (Cornwall and Gaventa 2000) sum it up accurately "To act as a citizen involves fulfilling the potential of that status'. Placing an emphasis on inclusive participation as the very foundation of democratic practice, these approaches suggest a more active notion of citizenship: one which recognises the agency of citizens as 'makers and shapers' rather than as 'users and choosers' of interventions or services designed by others"

Although the Boko Haram sect may have links to Al-Qaeda, it is a product of local grievances which is a complex situation as it has effects on the world at large. Impacts of Boko Haram are beginning to show on Nigeria's economy. Kano was once referred to as a commercial city but that has fast become in the past. This is reflected as Kayode (2011) notes that no investor in his right frame of mind would willingly come to Nigeria at this point and the much needed Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) will remain a mirage. Those who have investments in Nigeria are slowly pulling them out to countries where their businesses and personnel will have some level of security, not ignoring the absence of an un-conducive manufacturing environment and constant power outages which is not good for business. We see that Michelin, Dunlop, and Patterson Zochonis (PZ) have moved their bases to Ghana while others have moved to South Africa.

There are basic conflict regulation measures that the government has failed to put in practise. Instead, some things that are not priority are the things the government puts in the forefront. Earlier in the year, President Goodluck Jonathan attended the Rio +20 conference in Brazil amidst Boko Haram killings in Kaduna and Yobe states. It was reported in the news that he used the opportunity to woo foreign investors. This same year, the vice president was at the Canadian Nigerian Business Forum to further woo investors to Nigeria. These moves may not be necessary until the security situation has been fixed. Nigeria is a land that has great potential but the external image of the

country is not the best now and with the insurgency, potential investors could be discouraged. Nigeria is a strong actor on the African continent as it has played major roles in resolving disputes and peace keeping missions but has failed to solve its own problems.

The Boko Haram insurgency could have been nipped in the bud when there were early warning signs which the government ignored. Adesoji (2011) argued that although it was speculated that there were no known political ties to Boko Haram, a former (now deceased) state commissioner was linked to the group. Much damage has already been done and there are still known political ties to this group that the government is yet to focus on which can help to solve the mystery. There have been various uprisings, some may have had a political story to it but what makes Boko Haram different is according to Marchal (2012) the fact that “Boko Haram is being used as a tool by Northern Nigerian Elites to express their grievances regarding the neglect of the Federal Government” This feeling he further states is fed by several events including the granting of Amnesty by the government to the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), the re-election of Goodluck Jonathan and the “lack of a strong representation of northern elites in his inner circle”. Governance in any country should not be based on sentiments but merit, which is what is lacking in Nigeria as Nigeria has continually had corrupt people walk in and out of the affairs of the country. The use of force by the government has done little to help the situation as human rights are being violated daily. Due to this, BH hides under the cover of the violence and killings. Where the security forces need help, the masses are not willing to provide as these same forces are responsible for the killing of civilians who may not be BH members. Marchal (2012)

In conclusion, bad governance stands out when analysing the Boko Haram insurgency in Northern Nigeria. Since the government was unable to stop the group from becoming a full blown movement, now that the group has become a menace, no proper resolution or regulation measures have been put in place by the Nigerian government. Walker (2012) posits that “Northern Nigeria as a whole has very deep

development problems, perhaps deeper than the rest of the country. It has some of the worst maternal and infant mortality rates in the world. The level of poverty and deprivation is higher than the rest of the country, while active participation in politics, beyond fealty to a thin band of political and religious godfathers who hold power, is low.” Taking into cognisance that the North has far more development problems and reaching out to solve these problems will be a step in the right direction. No one single theory may be able to explain the Nigerian situation. It is instead a combination of these various positions. This also makes the situation more complex and difficult to solve. Mediation strategies such as conflict prevention or resolution are predicated on the understanding of the issues responsible for the conflict and violence. Diplomacy is therefore woven around this.

3.4 *The Potential for Diplomacy*

Diplomacy has been defined by Berridge & James (2003) as “the conduct of relations between states, the use of tact in dealing with people and attempts at promoting international negotiations especially during crisis”. National Geographic has defined diplomacy as “Diplomacy is the art and science of maintaining peaceful relationships between nations, groups, or individuals.” These definitions point out that diplomacy is a tool for the promotion and maintenance of peace. In the world of diplomacy today, when there are violent situations/crisis, much is said about preventive diplomacy which is defined by Notter and Diamond (1996) as “diplomacy that seeks to stop conflicts from escalating”.

According to the UN Department of Political Affairs, preventive diplomacy gets more popular because conflicts are increasingly damaging societies and international relations. Many lives are being lost and people are more open to preventive action to resolve issues. This paves way for negotiations and interventions where necessary. Preventive diplomacy is now common also for discussing resolution to intra-state conflicts.

The existing literature on the insurgency situation shows a variety of approaches in trying to resolve the crisis. According to Huntington (1993), conflict between the West and Islam have been on for a long time but over the centuries the differences have brought about prolonged and violent conflict. This can be seen in Nigeria with the spring of BH.

Diplomacy of silence and pacification – This is perhaps what the Obasanjo administration adopted in 1999 when the Zamfara State Governor declared sharia as the official religion contrary to the Constitution of the country, which clearly states that Nigeria is a secular nation. At the time when many Nigerians raised the alarm, President Obasanjo dismissed their fear by saying that “Sharia will fizzle out!” A security expert, Max Gbanite (2013), among others, has linked the creation of the Boko Haram sect to Mr. Olusegun Obasanjo for being passive by allowing the implementation of sharia in Nigeria during his regime as president.

A good number of the scholars whose work have been discussed show that diplomacy that waits for events to run its course points to failure either in proactive thinking or in forecasting the long term. One would also question whether Mr Obasanjo was trying to appease anybody or person at the time.

Diplomacy of force– Although this may be a contradiction in term, it does describe to some extent the current Nigerian situation. Shalikashvili (1994) states that compared to previous times, there is the need to “guide, balance and harness force and diplomacy”. From this we deduce that the use of force may be necessary at times but with the case of sharia, Bello (2010) noted how people have lost parts of their bodies to sharia law, how sharia had banned social networking in certain cases to campaign against the barbaric acts of amputation of body parts and how sharia could embolden the Islamic sect like Boko Haram that had requested for the full implementation of sharia in Nigeria. The use of sharia law in certain states did give the members of Boko Haram more courage as one of their many requests is for the full implementation of sharia in the entire country.

Ignoring sharia did not work, because more States in the North of Nigeria followed the example of Zamfara state and declared shari'a as the state religion. The count of shari'a states in the North now stands at 9 while 3 states have partially adopted sharia.

Sharia law is a body of Islamic laws that guides Muslim countries. These laws are derived from the Quran, the conduct of prophet Muhammed and rulings of Islamic scholars (The Telegraph, 2008). We see that when this sect became full blown, President Goodluck Jonathan's method of approach to the entire crisis became the use of force. However, as Olawale (2005) has argued, force only instils fear and terror in people. He also notes that the problem with using force is that most times the victims end up being innocent citizens not the culprits. A clear case was seen with the attacks carried out in Baga, Borno State in April 2013 where military personnel almost wiped out the community by killing everybody in sight. The surviving members of that community fled for safety. Obayiuwana (2012) clearly states that "Under President Goodluck Jonathan, the Nigerian government has persistently used force to respond to the Boko Haram challenge despite growing evidence that security issues have strong socio-political overlay that continue to compromise the government's ability to respond effectively." If force has to be used, at the security level, more needs to be done to provide better intelligence. Better coordination of security agencies and building trust between the public and these agencies is required as the public has since lost trust in them.

Diplomacy of Mediation and Amnesty – In the face of loss of lives and property and because the Boko Haram group has been unrelenting in their brutality, the Nigerian government has started to explore the option of peaceful resolution of the crisis. Amnesty, which was the method used in the Niger Delta with the militants is now being explored. In the discussion of amnesty as a diplomatic tool to resolve crisis, Ken (2009) sees conflict resolution as the "matrix of legal niceties and diplomacy". This creates room for parties involved in any form of conflict to bring their grievances to the table and work within a certain framework to bring about peace. However, as Onu (2009)

points out, the understanding and interpretation of conflict in itself for different societies is dependent on their history and national character.

It has been argued by scholars and political analysts alike that diplomacy is a balancing act in which the protagonist must understand the various factors that trigger the situation in question. This is part of the observation by Walker (2012) who has analysed that “Aside from the reputed support given to the group by prominent northern politicians, the failure to directly address the root causes of the crisis bodes ill for any immediate solution. Reliance on military and police capabilities demonstrates state weakness and largely seems to exacerbate Boko Haram terrorism.” He also opined that “the Nigerian government had also tried to initiate a *modus vivendi* with Boko Haram. But no sooner had the negotiation started than it failed because the middle man – Datti Ahmed, President of the Supreme Council for Sharia in Nigeria – pulled out, blaming the government of leaking the news to the media and of acting in bad faith”. Observers such as Obaiyuwana (2012) have noted that dialogue and amnesty to Boko Haram would be difficult:

“Moreover, dialogue with Boko Haram will be much of a herculean task taking into cognizance the fact that some of Boko Haram’s stated demands are practically unachievable in a democratic and secular state like Nigeria. For example, Boko Haram insists not only on dividing Nigeria into north and south but also on placing the whole country under the shari’ah law. It has also demanded the conversion of President Jonathan to Islam as *conditio sine qua non* for dialogue and ceasefire. Such demands are not only insensitive and in violation of the constitutional provisions guaranteeing the secularity and multi-religious nature of Nigeria, but also counter-productive as new conflicts are triggered from non-Muslim quarters.”

Dialogue however is the first step to resolving the conflicts that currently exist. It was done with the Niger Delta militants who were faceless initially until ‘Amnesty’ was proposed as a solution.

Amnesty as a solution is the most meaningful and transparent step the government has so far taken to resolve conflict and violence. This form of diplomacy can yield results to some extent nonetheless it has limits. In the Niger Delta, there is an economy of conflict such that the people engaged in being militants were gaining more when they were involved in the conflict than after laying down their arms. The amnesty offered by the government proposed that the militants (those perpetrating violence) surrender their arms and be educated or placed on a monthly allowance. Some were sent abroad to school but are just a small percentage of the many. Others who laid down arms are not educated; they have no skills so that leaves little or no room for employment. Amnesty can cover only a few so it has to be conceptualised in a broader way than the way it was done in the Niger Delta. It has to be more encompassing than just handing out money. On the other hand, in order for effective mediation to be carried out, the International Crisis Group (2010) finds that “at the community level, the vast majority of religious and civil society groups need to be pushed out of their comfort zone. They need to indicate their openness to dialogue with those whose instinct is to reject contact with public authority. While direct dialogue may not be possible with the small very radical fringe, a much more inclusive dialogue is needed to reduce its recruiting pool”. Other solutions that may not have been considered which may have been effective such as the introduction of domestic social and economic reform policies, political and economic incentives, third party mediation, joint counter terrorist action with neighbouring countries and others will be examined in the subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER FOUR

CASE STUDY: BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY IN NIGERIA

This chapter sets out the antecedents of religious crisis leading up to the emergence of Boko Haram. Next, the focus will be on the group Boko Haram with a description of who they are, their philosophies and what demands they may have.

The reasons for Boko Haram's existence in Nigeria will also be looked at, whether it is purely an issue of unemployment, of bad governance or borne out of religious fundamentalism. Possible links to other fundamentalist groups as well as sponsorship will be outline and to end the chapter, various ways in terms of promoting good governance and diplomatic approaches will be proposed.

4.1 *History of Religious Uprisings in Nigeria*

The amalgamation of 1914 brought together the two different protectorates under the British into one entity and it was renamed Nigeria. These two regions have always been parts of the country with distinctive features. The southern Nigeria was made up of the south-east, which had an egalitarian outlook. The south-west on the other hand practiced an elaborate system of kingdoms like the Oyo Empire, the Benin Kingdom, etc. the religious practices here were largely traditional. On the northern frontier of the newly created Nigeria was the feudal system under the Emirate system, based on Islamic religion. Although the British amalgamated the two, there was no conscious effort to devise a common system of governance across the country. It employed the indirect rule system in the North, where there was an already developed political system. The British also did not tamper with the dominant religion of the North, which was Islam. In the South however, it was direct rule as previously unknown positions were created and foisted on the people. Secondly, the Christian religion was introduced hand in hand with the new rule in the Southern part of Nigeria. There seems to have been a system of apartness as it was credited to Lord Lugard that he did not want the South to corrupt the North; hence the different rulership approaches. It has been

argued that this administrative separation at the inception of Nigeria may have created the ground for lack of understanding of each others' culture and religion such that what the country is experiencing today may well be the consequence of early British colonial administration.

There is a history of religious fundamentalism, which has led to various uprisings in Nigeria in the last two decades. Perhaps the antecedents of this may lie in the jihadist activities of Usman Danfodio. From as early as 1804, Islamic teachings were made popular in Northern Nigeria by Shehu Usman Danfodio, a Fulani man, who was a religious teacher and an Islamic promoter who gained a large followership as he condemned the corrupt and oppressive practices of the Hausa leaders (Dekker & Ostien, 2010). The North then experienced Fulani led wars of Jihad resulting from suppression between 1804 and 1810 and continuing many years after. Inspired by religious zeal (the desire to live guided by Sharia), the Sokoto Caliphate, a loose confederation of states, was formed. (Johnston, 1967). If this confederation of states had a mutual desire to be guided by sharia, this sets the stage for other demands for the same guide in the future.

Another notable preacher of Islam was Mallam Mohammodu Marwa, originally from Cameroon, who moved to Nigeria in the 1940's. He preached messages intended to address religious and political authorities presumably from the Quran. Pham (2006) states that he gained the trust of the people where he lived and a sizeable followership developed. Marwa was popularly referred to as 'Maitatsine' meaning 'he who curses others' in Hausa language. He proclaimed himself as the true prophet of Islam and replaced Prophet Mohammed's name in the Quran in his teachings and sermons. "Thus apart from challenging the fundamentals of Islam, Mohammodu Marwa and his followers are said to have had a style of preaching that was deeply offensive to, and conflicting with the general Muslims" (Ojo and Adeleye 1985). Maitatsine was deported in 1960 by the British colonial authorities but returned to Nigeria after Nigeria gained independence from the British.

In the 1980's, the Maitatsine riots resulting from the rejection of the secular nature of Nigeria, and a combination of other factors such as economic deprivation and poverty/income inequality, happened in Kano State of Nigeria. (Adesoji 2010) Maitatsine and his followers proclaimed their beliefs in Islam were superior to all other beliefs.

Some of the other religious riots according to Adesoji (2010) that followed the Maitatsine riots were:

“The Kano metropolitan riot of October 1982, the nationwide crisis over Nigeria's membership in the Organisation of the Islamic Conference in January/February 1986, the Kafanchan/Kaduna/Zaria/Funtua religious riots of March 1987, the acrimonious, nationwide debate on Sharia (Islamic law) at the Constituent Assembly in October/November 1988, the Bayero University crisis of 1989, the Bauchi/Katsina riots of March/April 1991, the Kano riot of October 1991, the Zangon-Kataf riot of May 1992, the Kano civil disturbance of December 1991 and the Jos crisis of April 1994, the Jos crises have been recurrent from 2001 till date”.

According to Ojo and Adeleye (1985), one of the traits of third world countries particularly in Africa is the bad governance that has put the people at odds with themselves, which in turn can lead to disturbing situations such as religious conflicts that produce violence. They also posit that

“The Maitatsine riot was a revolt against socio economic formation which rewards theft, corruption and laziness while reducing workers and peasants to penury as the underprivileged people are forced to use unofficial religious channels to protest because of the contradictions existing in the country”.

Relating this to Nigeria, we see that with the helpless state of people due to bad governance and non-functional systems in the country, it is easy to put trust in anybody or thing that gives some form of hope.

Therefore, when Alhaji Ahmad Sani was elected as the governor of Zamfara State in 1999, he sought to fill that gap and seek popularity by introducing sharia law in the State. Being a newly created state, and as the first elected governor, he was perceived as a pacesetter by introducing sharia law. "After Zamfara showed the way, eleven other states – Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Niger, Sokoto and Yobe – followed with similar legislative programmes." Ostien & Dekker, 1967

This introduction of sharia law triggered a violent outbreak in Kaduna in February 2000 by those who did not believe in Sharia, leaving hundreds dead. Other outbreaks followed elsewhere in the North for the first two years of sharia implementation (Ostien & Dekker, 1967).

It is worth noting that Governor Sani acknowledged that however sharia is implemented, it will be within the confines of the Nigerian constitution and wherever it contradicts such, sharia would bow out to let the constitution prevail (Guardian newspaper, 2000). In reality however, the adherents have not always paid heed to this proviso, and have acted in contravention of the Nigerian Constitution.

The similarity between all the violent outbreaks above is the fact that all these are done in the name of Islam. There is always a rejection of certain ideals. These have however paved way for the Boko Haram sect today as they also fight a cause believing it to be worthy. They seek to stop all forms of vices by practicing sharia law and by rejecting everything Western as it is their belief that all secular practices lead people from the true way of Allah, and that Sharia law will help to restore sanity to the Nigerian system.

4.2 What the group Boko Haram stands for and their demands

From the name members of the sect go by, it has been established that the group stands against Western education which they believe is a sacrilege or is forbidden. As a result of this, they vowed to take down all Western institutions and other establishments linked to such institutions in Nigeria.

- Boko Haram demands that imprisoned members of the sect and supporters be released unconditionally

When human rights are violated, the violators of these rights are expected to face the wrath of the law. If this is the case, BH members are also subject to the law. Consequently, asking that guilty members be released may not be granted as innocent lives and property have been lost due to the attacks carried out by the sect. Nevertheless, in the bid to end the insurgency and to initiate dialogue, the Nigerian government recently (May 2013) released 'suspects' that were being held. In a statement, the Director of Defence Information, Brig-Gen. Chris Olukolade stated "The beneficiaries will be released to the state governors who will be involved in further rehabilitation before these suspects are released to their respective community leaders/relations"

- The sect also demands that the whole country be placed under sharia law and that Nigeria be divided into North and South.

Nigeria is known to be a multi-cultural and multi-religious country. Sharia, which is part of Islam, is not practiced by every Nigerian nor are all Nigerians Muslims. A demand for the full implementation of sharia law in the entire country is a goal that could be seen as unattainable.

Sharia as defined by Scholar of the House (2011) as "the unchanging law, or way of truth and justice, as it exists in the mind of God. Sharia is the ideal law as it ought to be in the Divine realm, and as such it is by definition unknown to human beings on this earth." They further explain that "the objective of the law is not to apply technicalities

regardless of their consequences, but to achieve the ultimate moral and ethical objectives that represent the essence of Godliness on this earth". These laws are inspired by Islam and the Koran. Not all Muslims however are guided by sharia. Muslims in non-Islamic places use the existing guiding principles of the land. Twelve states out of thirty-six have so far implemented sharia in Nigeria with three of these twelve implementing it partially as these states have a dominant Christian population.

- The sect has demanded the conversion of President Jonathan to Islam.

President Jonathan is and has been a Christian. The choice of whether or not to change his religion lies with him and need not be based on threats from a group for selfish reasons.

- Boko Haram wants the government to pay compensation for its members killed by security forces.

"In February 2010, the Al Jazeera news channel broadcast video footage taken in July 2009 in Maiduguri which showed policemen shooting and killing unarmed people who were lying on the ground." [Amnesty International, 2012, p 7] Amnesty International granted a press conference in Abuja to back the report, 'Nigeria: Trapped in the cycle of violence' that was released condemning the violation of human rights. The report recommended that the Nigerian government uphold the law which grants everybody basic human rights and the right to life. These videos saw a strong reaction as it exposed the extra judicial killings that had been going on in Nigeria as well as the fact that people responsible are not prosecuted so it gives room for the impunity to continue. They argued that there was no proof that the people shot were members of Boko Haram, they could have been innocent and even if they were not, the law makes provision for a procedure to be followed. Such extra judicial killings expose the fact that security forces meant to maintain law and order violate human rights by taking law into their hands sometimes. It has been observed that if it were true that the killings are extra judicial, the security forces are likely to lose the confidence of the citizens and would not be able to effectively play a role in curtailing the menace.

Although the Nigerian security forces have been accused of extra judicial killings, there have been cases where these security forces have had to engage in gun battles with the Boko Haram sect. This has been the case on different occasions as once the sect members knew that the security forces were closing in on them, they would instantly engage them in battles. The latest of these incidents happened on June 17, 2013 in Damaturu of Yobe State where Boko Haram and the Joint Task Force (JTF) were engaged in a gun battle for over five hours. Lives are usually lost when situations like these arise. Without any doubt, it is difficult to make any judgment regarding whether asking for compensation for people who initiate the gun battle, which is often the case is justifiable.

4.3 Support for Boko Haram

The members of the group started out with weapons such as clubs, machetes, cutlasses and knives but have since graduated to sophisticated forms of weapons like explosives, bombs and guns which are all created by the very West which they do not want to be associated with. The sophisticated nature of the operations now suggests that Boko Haram has supporters outside the Nigerian borders and it is impossible to talk about such a group without mentioning the support they may receive. When the Mali crisis erupted and the French Government intervened, information emerged that Al Shabbab in Somalia had trained Boko Haram insurgents. (Zenn, 2013) There are also vague insinuations that Iran may be behind Boko Haram.

Other foreign sponsors have also been linked to Boko Haram. In 2012, a member of the British House of Lords, David Alton, raised concerns about Al-Muntada Trust Fund's activities. He suspected that the charity financed the Boko Haram sect. Although his suspicions could not be confirmed, the Guardian reported that "the London-based Al-Muntada is notorious for being a platform for radical clerics". (ThisDay 2012) This charity has been linked to Al-Qaida in the Middle East also.

The Hezbollah cache of arms and ammunition that was discovered in Kano State of Nigeria in May 2013 has also opened a dimension of foreign sponsorship to the Boko Haram sect, which the public may have been ignorant of. There is a strong match of two elements that the Nigerian Tribune (2013) has pointed out:

1. Like Boko Haram, Hezbollah was conceived by Muslim clerics.
2. Just like Boko Haram, the terrorist group was said to have started with only a small militia, which later grew to an organisation allegedly with seats in the Lebanese government, a radio and a satellite television stations, and programs for social development.

It was reported on the news that the Hezbollah movement claimed they intended to use the arms and ammunition to fight Israeli and Western interests in Nigeria. This cannot be done in any case without killing numerous Nigerians as these organizations that will be targeted have Nigerians working in them. Hezbollah has been described as Iran and Syria's ally as these countries are known to sponsor the group. In February 2013, it was gathered from the National Post that a Canadian intelligence report indicated that "the terrorist group had been receiving "significant state sponsorship" from Iran and Syria." The group however has been linked to Boko Haram and it has been speculated that Iran is possibly a sponsor of Boko Haram activities. Brows were further raised when news reports stated that Ahmadinejad planned to hold secret meetings with Boko Haram leaders when he visited Niger Republic in April 2013. This gave further credibility to ties between Iran and BH. (National Post, 2013 & AfricaEagle, 2013).

Iran is known to have a pathological hatred for the West and the USA due to interference in Iranian politics, which led to a revolution in 1979. The relationship between Iran and these countries has only got worse as can be seen with the sanctions placed on Iran due to refusal to stop work on its nuclear program.

This could account for Iran's sponsorship of the arms and ammunition linked to Hezbollah who claimed the weapons were meant to fight Western countries in Nigeria.

This goes to say that Iran may be prepared to go to any length to show its opposition to the Western Countries and the US. Partnering also with a group like BH is likely as they all stand against the West.

All of these links may point to the international dimension of the Boko Haram phenomenon, and that this group may be part of the rise in fundamentalist Islamism in the world. Boko Haram may be on the path of becoming a full-blown international terrorist movement.

It is also known that there are local sponsors but the public is not exposed to details of who they may be. President Goodluck Jonathan at the launch of New National Drivers license and vehicle plate numbers in 2011 assured Nigerians and the international community that his government had a strong lead on those involved in acts of terror against the country and that he had directed the security agencies to pursue the leads so that the perpetrators would be brought to book.

It was also reported by Nnochiri of Vanguard Newspaper (2012) that Senator Mohammed Ali Ndume was in steady contact with the Boko Haram Islamic sect. Forensic expert, Mr Aliyu Usman, with the State Security Services (SSS) found that he had been in contact seventy-three times!

For some time now, so many have linked General Muhammad Buhari (former Head of State and presidential candidate) to Boko Haram. He made this comment in June 2013 “killing Boko Haram members and destroying their houses is unjust.” There were reactions from many to this comment. The National General Secretary of the Christian Association of Nigeria, Dr. Musa Asake, among others, asked that he be arrested and questioned about his links to the sect. Asake believes that since he did not mention or show compassion for the victims, his compassion towards the members of the sect is a clear indication that he is connected to the sect as he jumps to their defence. (Punch, 2013). Earlier in April, the Presidency and Major General Muhammadu Buhari traded

blames for being responsible for the Boko Haram crisis where Buhari described the sect as Jonathan's baby and pointed at the failure of his administration to deal with the crisis. [Vanguard Newspaper, 2013]. Having stated this, there are indications that there may be more to the sect than that which meets the eye. It is a complex situation to understand.

4.4 Pathways to end the insurgency

Diplomatic Action or Diplomatic Silence: While all these attacks were carried out, the Nigerian government initially treated the terrorist attacks like a foreign idea and something that the government did not have the capacity to deal with, giving room to Boko Haram to hit harder and plan more sophisticated attacks. Now more information is available to the Government and the public on some aspects of the crisis. The state of emergency declared in the three North-Eastern states (Borno, Yobe and Adamawa) where Boko Haram is prevalent is partly a reaction to such information and the growing strength of the sect. However, many Nigerians still wonder if it is enough; or sometimes whether that is the right path.

If there is enough proof that anybody is linked to a terrorist group, should action not be taken immediately? Senator Ndume has been linked to Boko Haram since 2011 but he still is a serving senator and a free man. The Nigerian judicial system is heavily influenced by the ruling class and true justice is hardly ever carried out. The Presidency certainly knows more than the public does but has not taken any meaningful steps to bring the culprits to book as the President stated. Is there then any hope for justice in Nigeria? The loss of credibility in the judiciary creates further room for insecurity in every respect.

Different reasons have been advanced on why the group emerged and has grown. Regarding governance, the policies in the country have been somewhat problematic in several respects. Government policies do not have good enlightenment,

good analysis or sensitisation such that Boko Haram can be accommodated by the government. For example, the extreme focus on oil in the economy has led to the negligence of other sectors. The government has not developed other sectors like agriculture and industry. In the North, there is vast arid land. If agriculture is developed, many youth will be gainfully employed removing the challenge of unemployment. In regard to schools, the three tiers of government have not invested enough or provided adequate funding for education at various levels. In the North, parents have not been encouraged to understand the value of education hence Western education is forbidden. If the children in the North continually seek only Islamic education, there will be little or no opportunity for employment.

While it is true that unemployment is rampant in Nigeria, it affects the youth across the country from the North to the South. If any argument is advanced as this being the reason for the insurgency, it may not be convincing as unemployment is not specific to the North. Some of the youth in the East, South, South-West and other parts of the country are unemployed but not involved in the insurgency. When the insurgency in the Niger Delta happened, this was as a result of resource control and not religious fundamentalism.

On the other hand, the rise of religious fundamentalism across the Maghreb and Africa has spread so it is valid to the case of BH as the group sees the need to partake in a cause. Pluralism and co existence however which nations should be founded on, are ignored. Boko Haram is still a study in the evolutionary process of insurgency in Nigeria.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

Having looked at the Boko Haram through the previous chapters, this concluding chapter will focus on possible measures that can be adopted to curb the menace of Boko Haram, the major limitation of this study and areas for further research will be mentioned and then the final conclusion of this thesis will be drawn as well as recommendations.

5.1 *Possible solutions to end the Boko Haram insurgency*

We have looked at different reasons why the BH group has perpetrated violence and what they stand for. The reasons include religion, politics and governance. In many circles, observations have been made that unemployment, under-employment are possible reasons for the insurgency. The argument however is that no matter the reason, the solution does not lie in killing. The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in Chapter IV makes it clear that “(1) Every person has a right to life, and no one shall be deprived intentionally of his life, save in execution of the sentence of a court in respect of a criminal offence of which he has been found guilty in Nigeria.” Anyone who violates this is punishable by law. In Nigeria however, the protection and the recognition of these rights are sometimes questionable as the law comprising of the law makers, judiciary, security agencies, meant to protect the rights of citizens trade these rights for corrupt practices or self enrichment at the expense of the citizens.

A question with regard to BH that needs to be asked would be: how would anyone in the 21st century justify imposing religion on anyone else? Islam is a religion and for some, a way of life. The sharia law that the group has demanded to be imposed on all in Nigeria is not binding on all Nigerians since not all are Muslims. The consideration of others who are not Muslims and may not practice any religion is worth bearing in mind. Therefore, in dealing with religious differences, tolerance and respect for other religions should be encouraged at all levels from families, to schools and even in religious

institutions. This will help to create openness to other religious practices other than that which one practices.

Religious Tolerance - Omotosho (2003) finds that the “Government, through the religious advisory committee should ban any kind of preaching that involves criticism, condemnation and abuse of other religions. Likewise, any book that contains criticism, condemnation or negative impression of other religion should be outlawed.”

If this is enforced, it could put the level of hate or religious intolerance under control knowing that such views cannot be openly expressed.

When the Boko Haram crisis started, it was clear that the Nigerian government had no clue on how to handle the situation as bombings was a new thing in Nigeria. The government’s response was the condemnation of the act of violence with a particular statement: ‘We are on top of the situation’. Sometimes, knee jerk reactions followed with troops being deployed to the bombing sites or check points being erected. Curfews were also declared and committees set up to make recommendations (Alubo, 2002). None of these actions however addressed the real problem. Although more decided actions are being taken at the moment, there are still gaps. For example, in addition to measures to stop the carnage, rehabilitation of victims remains a major challenge.

Dialogue—The high military approach and use of force to tackle Boko Haram has been one of the actions the Nigerian Government has taken. This has been palliative and has not yet been able to solve the problem so far. In order to go beyond this stage, many Nigerians have urged the government to consider the option of national level mediation. But the Boko Haram members asked that any dialogue to be undertaken would take place in Saudi Arabia. To this end, a committee to dialogue with the Boko haram group was set up in 2011 and according to Iredia, “When the committee was eventually inaugurated, government warned it not to negotiate with the sect but to

create a forum whereby every person who has suggestions on a way forward will, without restriction, reach out to the committee with ease”.

In 2012, the Presidency through the Special Adviser to the President on Media and publicity, Dr. Reuben Abati affirmed that talks were ongoing at the background. But the talks were not the type being envisaged by Nigerians. Adetayo (2012)

For a situation that is of national security, Nigerians would expect transparency with the progress of the ongoing talks but had been kept in the dark. It would help government and the entire Nigerian nation for citizens to be allowed to hold public discussions on the matter. A possible approach could be public hearings across the six geo-political zones of the country. In this way, whatever solutions are arrived at would be the sum of the voices of Nigerians, and it would be lasting. Even when the Presidency suggests amnesty, it should be a temporary measure. The antecedent to amnesty was the Niger Delta amnesty to militants and members of the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND). Amnesty was first granted to members of MEND by the president at the time. The perception of many Nigerians of what amnesty means is cash hand-outs and unfair use of funds for ‘criminals’. The public, the notion of amnesty involves compensation in cash and the public is of the opinion that the Boko Haram members have no reason to be compensated. If the amnesty offered will be implemented in the same form as that offered to the Niger Delta militants, it will then be unfair to every Nigerian who works hard and honestly to use money from national coffers on these people who have done nothing but instil fear, inflict pain and irreparable loss on others. Perhaps the approach should focus more on rehabilitation. At the same time the underlying factors of governance, education and employment. The complication in all these however is that

Boko Haram has itself kicked against amnesty to be granted. The group questions: “Surprisingly, the Nigerian government is talking about granting us amnesty. What wrong have we done? On the contrary, it is we that should grant you [a] pardon,” AFP

news agency quotes the spokesperson as saying in the Hausa language audio recording (BBC 2013).

Fortunately, Nigeria is not the first country to be faced with terrorist attacks. Internal and external diplomacy has a role to play in finding lasting solutions but it should be borne in mind that there is no one size fits all solution as the factors responsible for the conflicts in Nigeria will not be the same factors responsible for conflicts in other countries. Nigeria therefore has to get to the root using the history as a background.

Reforms - The introduction of domestic social and economic reform policies that meet the needs of citizens, especially the youth, will reduce the attraction of corrupt practices as a means to good living. It will also inculcate the norm of good behaviour and discourage vices from appealing to them or giving them the impression that they have nothing to lose such that there is little or no respect for life. A governance of inclusion by “constructing a pan-Nigerian identity based on equality of citizens, common political practice – operating the same law and having a citizenry with a cosmopolitan outlook” as buttressed by Toure (2003) is required for Nigeria to move forward.

The heavy handed military presence only breeds fear and violence. The government needs to work to build trust in its citizens. Recently on the news, the Nigerian Senate President clearly stated in one of the senate sessions regarding the violence that almajirais be banned as this practise is a breeding ground for irresponsible miscreants. If reforms are carried out and there are political and economic incentives for the local population, people are likely to engage willingly. Schools need to be provided for these almajirais and education made mandatory to certain age. The provision of basic infrastructure should be the priority of every government and for a country like Nigeria, the existing infrastructure is stretched to its limit with the growing population.

Furthermore, reforms in the judiciary also need to be enforced. Nobody should be above the law as the rich or the ruling class seem to be. If the law becomes law in the true sense of the word, many issues especially corruption will be addressed as so many who are implicated will not only be removed from power but will contend with

necessary punishment. Agbakoba (2000), a Senior Advocate of Nigeria (SAN) opines that “In the absence of a properly functioning legal and judicial system, force rather than law would rule and anarchy would result.” This has been the case in Nigeria due to strong interference in the judicial system. For this reformation to happen, he further states that “all persons must be equal before the law and subject to it, the judiciary must be truly independent and access to courts to air genuine grievances and seek redress should be open to all (in the case of the poor, adequate arrangements made for legal aid).”

The security agencies cannot be forgotten when speaking about reforms as according to Abiodun (2000), one of the major roles security agencies have is the protection of human rights. He further states that although the powers vested on these agencies are meant to deter crime, it is a well known fact that these powers are abused and, unfortunately, there is hardly any protection for victims of such maltreatment. The security agencies have proven this true as many cases of abuse of human rights have arisen since the Boko Haram crisis started in Nigeria. These abuses necessitated the United States of America to urge the Nigerian president to reform the security agencies insisting that “without addressing the increase in security force abuses and impunity within both the military and police, violence will continue to spiral.” (Leadership, 2012). Prominent among cases of abuse of human rights happened in Baga, Borno State. In April 2013, the Nigerian military and Boko Haram militants clashed and this resulted in a massacre of that town. The military was accused of indiscriminate killing to which they denied. However, Human Rights Watch (HRW) went as far as producing satellite images to prove that the accusations were true. The Africa Director of HRW said “The Nigerian military has a duty to protect itself and the population from Boko Haram attacks, but the evidence indicates that it engaged more in destruction than in protection”.(ThisDay, 2013).

The police and the military have so far not been checked regarding these kinds of incidents. Until there are reforms in the entire system, clearly laid out rules to guide

operations and each individual is made to face the wrath of the law when human rights abuses are carried out, the Nigerian security forces may continue to be above the law.

Joint Counter Terrorist Action—It is now known that some members of BH are recruited from neighbouring countries. As a consequence, the threat then goes beyond Nigeria. Boko Haram has not only been linked to Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb but the group has also been linked to Al-Qaeda in the Middle East and Al Shabbab in the Horn of Africa. It will therefore be a worthy cause for Nigeria to partner with neighbouring countries such as Niger, Chad and Cameroon to fight the trans-border alliance of this group. Many have referred to Nigeria's borders as porous since proper checks are not always carried out. Earlier this year, 1,497 illegal routes according to the Federal Government were uncovered through which criminally minded foreigners found easy passage into the country. (Nigerian Tribune, 2013).

According to Reuters (2013), Nigeria and Niger signed a mutual defence pact in October 2012. Soldiers from Niger and Chad joined the Nigerian soldiers in the fight against BH in Baga in April. Cameroon according to Channels Television (2013) has also shown willingness to partner on the issue of security. If the partnership these countries form sets out clear goals on how to tackle security issues starting from the borders, the security threats will be minimised. Arms trafficking as well as social and economic threats will be minimised as safety will prevail.

Third Party Mediation

The Federal Government has tried to initiate dialogue with Boko Haram which did not go well as the group alleged that the Government leaked discussions to the press. Mediation by regional bodies such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), International Organisations like the United Nations (UN) or third parties like Non Governmental Organisations (NGO) could be considered.

Third party mediation has often worked as experts of the subject of conflict are involved and the best interests of both parties are usually sought. In West Africa, there have

been conflicts in Mali but through the mediation of ECOWAS, an agreement was reached in June and a press release from ECOWAS states that elections will be held in July 2013. "The UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon has also welcomed the pact between the Government of Mali and Tuareg rebels, providing for an immediate ceasefire and paving the way for country-wide presidential elections". 247URports (2013) The UN has also proven to be another body that succeeds in third party negotiation: the case of Indonesia; the facilitation of negotiations between the Indonesian government and the armed Acehnese separatist movement being one of its recent feats. Where these fail, NGOs can often be looked to. In any given case, these third parties help to get both sides to bring their grievances to the table so an agreement can be reached. Between the Nigerian government and BH, for talks to make head way, this may be necessary.

All of these stated measures are possible ways to tackle Boko Haram, the list of possible measures to use cannot be exhausted in this study. However, it is imperative to note that Nigeria is a complex country and this dates back to colonialism as entirely different people with different beliefs and orientations were put together to form one nation. The current crisis being faced is a product of local grievances, which due to globalisation has gone across borders. Diplomacy therefore must be deployed to harvest the gains of diversity, which characterise Nigeria as a nation.

Limitation of the study:

The employ of diplomacy (amnesty and dialogue) as a solution by the Nigerian government that was rejected by the group is a setback to further negotiations as the group has so far gone into complete obscurity. If the group is yet to be known, this poses a problem as splinter groups may have used the name of Boko Haram to perpetrate acts of violence. There is a widespread belief that there may be other groups claiming to be Boko Haram. This research was purely based on library work and literature. It remains an elusive group, there are several factions. Nobody can yet pin

down who they are, they talk from hiding using the media. Their presence is only felt in terms of the violent actions.

The inability to talk to the members of this group and the difficulty of accessing policy makers highlights the sensitivity of the chosen topic of research. This is a limitation as having access to these people will enrich insight on this chosen study. An elaborate research of this kind would have helped to make precise statements on possible solutions

Areas for further Research:

There is a general tendency for policy to react to the issue of insurgency from two apparently biased positions: ethnicity and religious affiliations. The consequence of this is that the true nature of the problem may not be fully understood. This in turn means that the solutions would remain elusive.

More research into the very nature of religious injunctions as to what sort of diplomatic actions are more likely to be acceptable and what the pitfalls of democratic practice in Nigeria are may be.

5.2 Conclusion and Recommendations

The issue in focus for this study has been diplomacy in conflict situation, the case study which is Boko Haram offers a test of how Nigeria's diplomatic approach on issues of conflict functions. The area of focus is in itself complex because of the different perspectives and interpretations elicited by the activities of Boko Haram.

In the study, the arguments examined for the insurgency in Nigeria include unemployment and poverty, governance, and Islamic fundamentalism.

The very composition of Nigeria as a nation (ethnic and religious plurality) is complex as there is widespread belief in ethnic nationality rather than Nigeria as a nation.

Democracy and good governance as processes of integration are lacking as governance in Nigeria is parochial, the government is usually dominated by people from parts of the

country where existing leaders are from or the domination based on religion. The social policy is flawed: the constitution does not compel government to provide social amenities (health care, school, shelter and employment for example). Due to all these failures, the growing number of unemployed and uneducated is partly to blame for the growth of religious fundamentalism.

In the face of these multiple problems, a combined diplomatic strategy is required to solve the problems.

- Home diplomacy: Between political parties, between all arms of government (executive, legislature and the judiciary) and between all tiers of government (the federal, state and local governments).

Until all these parts function together, the nation may remain in disarray as at the end, these parts all make up one body which is Nigeria. The use of negotiation and the absence of interference but the recognition that each part is competent enough to play its role within the system is required. The need for good governance in any country cannot be overemphasized.

- International diplomacy: Although Nigeria is a sovereign state, mediation by other countries as third parties or known institutions may be the solution to the existing problem. Drawing on vast existing knowledge from experts regarding security and countries that may have experienced and have to deal with similar insurgencies will be worthwhile.

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