

Planning for Safe Schools During Insurgency

¹Afolabi, Bayonle Akinloye & ²Adeyele, Timothy Ojo

¹Micheal Otedola College of Primary Education, Noforija, Epe

²Department of Political Science, University of Lagos, Akoka, Yaba, Lagos

Abstract

The aim and objective of this paper dovetailed is to quintessentially interrogate “planning for safe schools during insurgency”. Ipso facto, different institutions have been attacked in Nigeria and have been categorically exemplified during the insurgency of Boko Haram terrorist group in the country. Professors have been sent to their graves untimely. Some secondary school's students have been abducted, kidnapped, raped, maimed, killed and illegally married to the terrorists. By the same token, primary school children were killed and schools were equally being set ablaze. The crescendos and innuendos of insurgency essentially create fear in the general public and render political machinery to a halt. Thus, uncertainties become the order of the day. This ugly trend must be nipped in the bud. Corroboratively, the abduction of Chibok girls and Dapchi girls on different occasions was quite unpalatable and greatly evinces the porosity of our security system as a nation. It has equally called into question the potency of our leaders' pro-active measures to security issues holistically. Simultaneously, it unmask the gargantuan level of dangers insurgency poses to the nation and the people at large. Our schools must be saved in its entirety so that the fundamental rationales behind setting up schools are realized. The foregoing necessitates writing this paper not only to provide panacea to the problem of insurgency alone in Nigeria, but also to unravel the remote and immediate causes of it. This paper will deploy the instrumentality usage of both the primary data and secondary data for the subsequent analysis and interpretation to divulge and get to the root of the problem of insurgency purposely for its therapeutic remedy. The researcher will do a field work in the North eastern part of Nigeria where dastard acts of terrorism cum insurgency were grossly perpetuated. The findings of this paper will ultimately usher in policy recommendation that can be used as a policy paper work for the people serving at different governmental levels, scholars, Transparency International (TI), Non-governmental Organizations (NGO), corporate bodies, public institutions, private institutions and the generality of the populace.

Keywords: *Insurgency, Terrorists, Chibok girls, Dapchi girls, Abduction and Religion*

Corresponding Author: Afolabi, Bayonle Akinloye

Background to the Study

The Boko Haram has carried out heinous attacks on people, communities, governments and infrastructure which have hitherto resulted in tension and panic among Nigerians especially in the Northeast region. These terrorists having claimed affiliation to the ISIS are leaving no stone unturned to unleash attacks on the Nigerian military and the Nigerian populace. Boko Haram insurgency carries an extremist political and religious face. The abduction of the Chibok Girls on 14th April 2014 and the Dapchi schools on 19th February 2018 has not only raised international condemnation but global attention to their nefarious acts in the Northeast Nigeria. Their inhuman activities have made Northeast Nigeria the worst humanitarian crisis prone region (Save the Children, 2016)

For almost a decade now, North east Nigeria has been the battered grass of the two battling elephants- the Nigerian Army and the insurgents. While the latter is the machinery of the government to restore peace in the region, the former is the instrument of religious extremists with utopia ill-defined aim. In their course to establish their purposed Islamic state they have employed suicide bombings, assassinations, kidnapping, murdering the civilian population, and targeting security forces and educational institutions. Almost 400, 000 children are severely malnourished and nearly 3million conflict affected children are in need of education. (Humanitarian Assistant, OCHA, 2016 quoted in Saves the Children).

In addendum, is the fact that more than 600 teachers have been reported murdered and 19, 000 displaced, 1200 schools have been damaged and destroyed (OCHA, 2016). While the government has sought sub-regional and international support and to a reasonable degree claimed to have subdued the group, like a cobra coiled in the dark, this insurgent seems to hiss deadly venom of attacks when least expected.

The Question Whether Boko Haram is an Insurgent or a Terrorist Group

Distinguishing terrorism from other forms of political violence, including insurgency, has been at the center of many discussions particularly in the context of the Boko Haram. Terrorism, no doubt, is the most contentious term based on its perceived illegitimacy, negative connotations, and intensity of use. Terrorism can be defined as “the premeditated use or threat to use violence by individuals or sub-national groups in order to obtain a political or social objective through the intimidation of a large audience beyond that of their immediate victims” (Walter et al 2017).

As a strategy of insurgency, terrorism involves the adoption of some methods to achieve its goals. These include bombing, guerrilla warfare, kidnapping and abduction (Hassan, 2014). Violence is the term of trade for insurgent groups seeking a negotiated settlement in a conflict. (Ula, 2017).

Normally, insurgent groups such as Boko Haram, Al-Qaeda, and similar networks fall into the category of “irregular warfare,” because they lack the organization of a revolution, even though it has the same aims. Insurgents usually take advantage of remote areas, where they build momentum and gain local support in order to operate effectively. An insurgency may

take the form of ethnic or religious identity related to political or economic struggle. Insurgents tend to use guerrilla tactics such as bombing, ambushing, kidnapping, killings, and assassination in order to create fear or gain recognition. (Azama, 2017). This distinction matters because of the connotations behind these terms. Terrorism is considered to be a pejorative term. Guerilla warfare and insurgency, by contrast, carry a greater degree of legitimacy due to their association with liberation, freedom fighters, etc. and are mostly used as a counter argument for terrorism in political disputes between conflicting parties. The bottom line for definitional disputes about these terms is the degree of legitimacy or lack thereof and the end goal of the ontology of a violent uprising, which is highly subjective and ideological due to the self-proclamation of righteousness (Unal, 2016).

However, the contestations on the distinction between terrorism and insurgency, we strongly hold and state it here that insurgency is the euphemism of terrorism. Hence we refer to the Boko Haram sect as insurgents. Thus, they are terrorists having fit the definitions of terrorists as stated above.

A Brief Evolution of the Boko Haram Insurgents

The group known as Boko Haram is officially called “Jama'atu Ahlis Suna Lidda' Awati Wal-Jihad” an Arabic phrase meaning, “people committed to the propagation of the prophet's teaching and Jihad.” (Amalu, 2015; Azama 2017. Boko Haram, which when translated in Hausa, means; “Western education is forbidden,” is a controversial Nigerian extremist Islamic group that aims to institute an Islamic Caliphate in the northern part of Nigeria.

Boko Haram was founded in 2002 by Mohammed Yusuf in Maiduguri. Yusuf was a charismatic Islamic cleric, who led the youth wing (Islamic Youth Vanguard) of Ahl-Sunnah, a Salafi group in the 1990s. In 2002, Yusuf established an Islamic complex in Maiduguri, where he started teaching and agitating for the implementation of Sharia law across the northern region. His “big idea” was to establish an Islamic state where strict Sharia law is fully implemented. Yusuf became popular because of his radical ideas and agitation for strict Sharia compliance. He spent most of his time teaching, educating, and preparing his followers on the strict Sharia compliance, (Babalola, 2016).

Mohammed Yusuf was able to promote Ant-Western feelings through his method of teachings, and thousands of followers were recruited. He led his followers to believe that Western education was the cause of their suffering, and corrupt government lacked the interest of the masses. Most of his followers were from poor backgrounds, school dropouts, and aggrieved, unemployed youth. However, some members joined the group based on religious conviction and support for strict Sharia compliance. Yusuf and his followers' inability to achieve these set goals resulted in frustration, and a subsequent call for an authentic Islamic revolution, (International Crisis Group, 2017).

In July 2009, Boko Haram clashed with Nigerian security forces, which resulted in the death of some of Boko Haram members in Bauchi State northern Nigeria. This led to the arrest of Mohammed Yusuf, the group's leader, who was later executed by the Nigeria Police Force

while in their custody. This incident provoked the Boko Haram membership to demand an apology from the Nigerian government, and vowed to take revenge if the government failed to apologize, (Adebayo 2014) Neither the government nor the security forces responded to this threat. On 25 July 2009, Boko Haram made good on its threat as they took up arms against security forces in four northern states, namely Borno, Bauchi, Yobe, and Kano States. (Abimbola, 2010).

Since then, the Jihadist group has continued to perpetrate violence using guerrilla warfare in many parts of Nigeria, especially in northeast Nigeria, where they mostly operate. In spite of the efforts of the Nigerian government and its allies to eradicate the Boko Haram insurgents, the group still poses a grave threat to the sovereignty of Nigeria and its neighbors in the region.

On 26 August 2011, the insurgents bombed the United Nations building in Abuja, the federal capital of Nigeria, as a means of propaganda, and further proved they are a force to reckon with to the world. Additionally, Boko Haram assassinated government officials, chiefs, and local Islamic figures to put fear in the heart of the people, and demonstrate the government's weaknesses and inability to provide security for its people. Since its inception, Boko Haram has conducted propaganda using social media on numerous occasions, (Azama, 2017).

Remote and Immediate Causes of the Boko Haram Insurgents

From the foregoing on the evolution of the Boko Haram, one can sense that the remote causes of the insurgents are still the same problem plaguing the Nigerian society. These problems are: abject poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, poor governance and extremist religious teachings and beliefs. Poverty and unemployment have been identified as common causes of terrorism or insurgency. The general belief of the security and intelligence community is that people who are economically deprived are more likely to resort to violence as a way to express their grievances. This means that poverty and unemployment create terrorism or insurgency. The theory of relative deprivation explains that when people feel deprived of something they are expected to have, they become discontent, hence could use violence to express their grievances, (Adesoji et al, 2015).

Furthermore, most insurgent's activities are common within a marginalized society where the majority of the people are aggrieved and government support is low. Insurgents group capitalize on this issue to provoke a popular government and its institutions. In such cases, it becomes unavoidable for group not to emerge and challenge the government authority as witnessed in the case of Boko Haram and other militant groups around the world, (Azama 2017).

The National Bureau of Statistics said that relative poverty was most apparent in the north of the country, with Sokoto state's poverty rate the highest at 86. 4%. In the north-west and north-east of the country poverty rates were recorded at 77. 7% and 76. 3% respectively, compared to the south-west at 59. 1%. The National Bureau of Statistics, Literacy Survey 2010 also reveal the lowest literacy rate being in the North, (NBC, 2010). When the rate of illiteracy and school dropout is high, there is tendency that violence will increase and persist in Nigeria.

BBC Africa analyst, Richard Hamilton says it is perhaps no surprise that extremist groups, such as Boko Haram, continue to have an appeal in northern parts of the country, where poverty and underdevelopment (and illiteracy) are at their most severe. (BBC, Africa). The immediate cause of this terrorist insurgents can be attributed to the killings and arrest of the sect members and government disdain to their demands and threats. Their animosity was heightened with the emergence of the then President Jonathan led administration in 2011, whom the sect described as an 'infidel'. The 2011 Post election crisis is too going an experience to recount especially with the gruesome attacks on innocent National Youth Corps Members and Christians. They have also attacks Muslims and destroyed mosques.

Boko Haram Attacks on Educational Institutions

Boko Haram continued attacks of schools of take us Memory Lane to the abduction of the Chibok and Dapchi's school girls. Schools have been the vulnerable target of these insurgents to vent their extremist expressions and frustrations. In a vanguard online news dated 21 July 2018. It was reported that One Maura Alhaji Mode alias Abu, a 20-year-old Boko Haram Commander from Bama Local Government of Bornu State, who was a farmer and had no formal education confessed that he had been fighting for the group since 2011. As regard the adoption of the Chibok Girls, he confessed that they easily entered the School around 10p. m. with five big military trucks, three Toyota Hilux Vans and two Isuzu Pickup Trucks. Said "we surrounded the school when we arrived and when we were certain that there would be no resistance" Chungori (the team leader) gave orders that we should all go in and we found the girls running in fear.

We kidnapped many of them and took them away in our trucks. I was paid 30, 000 naira on the day of kidnapping and I was given the sum of 60, 000 naira after the set of ransom was paid for the release of the girls". He also confessed that some taxi drivers were financially lured to drive female suicide bombers to densely populated areas such as educational institutions and markets where people could be killed in large numbers. One of the taxi drivers who agreed for this bargain was paid 200, 000 Naira. Abu concluded his confession subbing: " I wasn't doing this because of my Islamic faith, I was just doing this because of the money". Others have made similar confessions.

When the catting away of the Dapchi Girls took place in the evening of 19th February 2018, the popular slogan came: 'like Chibok like Dapchi '. In an interview with the Nigerian Premium Times dated 23 February 2018, a resident named Muhammad Abubakar provides this report: "they do not even know where the school Government Girls Science and Technical College is located even though it is just by the road on the way to Gashua" Another resident named Usman Na-Katarko, a farmer reported that the insurgent came telling the people to keep calm and specifically asking for the location of the school until they were eventually located the school. Based on this observation the insurgents do not know much about the town. Abdullah Jumuna, a resident told Premium Times that the Insurgent came at about 6:30 p. m. with about eight Hilux Vans and a Tata Truck.

Another resident of the attacked town, Garbage Dapchi, said that "even if the security operatives had arrived Dapchi two hours after the attack, they would have been able to intercept the abductors and rescue the girls". He recalled: "As they were leaving, many of us saw their vehicles breaking down on the way and they were stopping to fix it, then they carry on. They did not go far from this vicinity up to 9 p. m. in the night. No one came to chase them; even when the soldiers arrived, they did not give them any pursuit."

The narratives of other insurgent attacks especially with schools is similar to the two cases mentioned. The multiple bomb blast at the University of Maiduguri and subsequent kidnaps/killings of lecturers and teachers are another disturbing tales of Boko Haram attack on educational institutions.

Insurgents Attacks on Schools and Actions Plans

According to Nelson Mandela, 'education is the most powerful weapon which we can use to change the world Education provides enlightenment which is the most powerful weapon against extremism and religious dogmas. Little wonder then why the Boko Haram insurgents attack and raid schools. This insurgent group frowns at the enlightenment power of education. To them, secular education corrupts the sacred values of a true Muslim and often goes in contrast with strictly held Islamic believes.

Beside this, schools are often vulnerable institutions of the government. Since they look unprotected, it is easier for the insurgents to display their might and vent their animosity. With such actions they deny victims access and right to education. Their aim is to capture and inculcate or impose their extremist religious view on them. This can be observed from their released videos where they boast to have converted their abductees to Islam.

More so, attacking schools and kidnapping students especially girls provide them easy recruit into their depleting numerical strength. Most of these girls they have impregnated, illegally married or given out in marriage. They have as well used them as female suicide bombers since they cannot be readily checked by security agents.

There is therefore the need for government to plan for safe school during insurgency. Fencing all schools may not be enough safety measures against the insurgents especially in the Northeast prone zone. There is need for a more sophisticated safety measures and strategy to protect schools and innocent students and teachers. While posting military personnel may not be the best option as posited by one of our interviewee (a military combatant in the North-east), arming the security guards at schools may be an offensive threat to any possible onslaught. A Combatant who has been in the Nigerian army for 24 years now suggest proper security checks at all school's entrance gate however the personality involved. He also suggested the use of satellite to foresee oncoming threats. A well-articulated intelligent gathering and sharing cannot be overemphasized in defense.

It was reported in the Vanguard Newspaper 26th Nov. 2018, that the Minister of Education, Mallam Adamu Adamu said that over 7billion was spent by the Federal Government on provisions of security for unity schools between 2017 and 2018. He said that the amount was

for the beefing up of security infrastructures for the 108 Unity Schools. The Minister explained that the government provided perimeter fencing in the schools that were yet to have one, CCTV cameras within the school premises, as well as street lights powered by solar systems and modern security gates, among others. Our findings show that some schools are yet to have such.

However, state governments can increase their education budget to reflect the reality of safe school plans especially in the North-east. Nonetheless, no matter the security infrastructures in schools, if the Nigerian Army is not well reinforced both in valiant personnel (security chiefs) and equipment, schools will still be like unprotected barracks.

Another of our interviewee, an immediate student of University of Maiduguri and a staff of Save the Children Initiative lamented that the safety measures against the insurgents at school are poor, weak and penetrable. The army combatants also lament the Nigerian porous borders strongly stating that majority of the insurgents are foreigners. They lament poor incentives and motivation for the combatants who has always put their live on the line in spite of inferior weaponry, delayed promotion and meager salary and allowance.

Of the meager 400, 000 policemen to over 180million Nigerians, about half are attached to politicians and high profiled personalities. Security personnel including the Civil Defense Corps are too inadequate in number to protect the entire citizenry especially the most vulnerable.

Effect of The Insurgents Attack on Education

Boko Haram insurgency has affected greatly the educational sector as the sect has targeted school and colleges with students and teachers injured, killed or abducted and facilities destroyed. According to the HNO 2014, quoted in Amalu 2015, "conflict and insecurity have had a direct and compounding negative impact on children's access to education, the availability of educational spaces and materials and the ability of teachers." There is no doubt that Northeast is under siege of emergency rooted opposition to education. Abductions and attacks on schools have left children and their parents in perpetual fear. Nearly 3million conflict affected children are in need of education humanitarian assistance (UNICEF, 2016).

More than 600 teachers have been reported murdered and 19, 000 displaced, 1200 schools have been damaged and destroyed (OCHA, 2016). To recall, on April 14, 2014, the abduction of over 200 female students at the Government Girls Secondary School in Chibok has discouraged parents from enrolling their children and wards in schools and those already in schools have been withdrawn. Kasau, a mother of one of the abducted Dapchi school girls could recall the fear in her 14-year-old daughter, Hafsat. Hafsat is now scared to attend school. Crying, she recalls how she was in the school ground when the attack unfolded and how she lost sight of her sister as she fled. Alhaji Kasau concluded in dismay: "the government does not care about the safety of our children. " These have all happened in a region that was educationally backwards even before in the near future with an increased number of school drop outs, illiterates and unemployed, youths will be vulnerable to being

recruited as suicide bombers and terrorists. Consequently, (Awortu, 2015 quoted in Amalu, 2015) asserts that “when the rate of illiteracy and school dropout is high, there is tendency that violence will increase and persist in Nigeria.”

The Nigerian Government Response to the Crisis with the Safe School Initiative.

In order to rebuild, rehabilitate and restore normalcy in the priority sectors of the affected states in the North East, His Excellency, the President, of the Federal Republic of Nigeria Dr. Goodluck Ebele Johnathan GCFR in collaboration with the UN Special Envoy for Global Education, Mr. Gordon Brown and a coalition of Nigerian Business leaders initiated the Safe Schools Initiative (SSI) during the World Economic Forum on Africa (WEFA) in Abuja on May 2014. The establishment followed the abduction of over 200 Chibok girls.

The “Safe School Initiative” entails a combination of (1) school-based interventions; (2) community interventions to protect schools; and (3) special measures for at-risk populations. The initiative could have been implemented in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe states, already in a declared state of emergency, and expanded to others in the north and, as a national initiative, to cover the entire country. It started on 1 November 2014 and was slated to end Date: 31 December 2017(UNDP Factsheet). Controversy however trailed the utilization of fund of the SSI.

The Governor of Born State, Shettima was noted to have warned the Federal Government on established Safe School Initiative over diversion of fund (Daily Post, 2016). In a reported interview with Deutsche Welle (DW), in July 2014, the then Minister of Finance, Ngozi Okonjo Iweala was alleged by DW to have said that the government planned to install better lighting and alarm systems in schools. She also explained that newly constructed schools would be built with fire resistant material and that the surrounding village would also benefit from the fund. According to DW, the Nigerian Government was however unable to provide information on which schools had already profited from the Initiative.

A security expert, Adamu Kabiru has also been reported to have challenged the government to show where it spent the funds. (DW, 2018 <https://allafrica.com/stories/201802260065.html>). However, Alhaji Tijjani Musa, Vice Chairman of the Presidential Committee on North-east Initiative (PCNI) made a different disclosure. He disclosed that over 2000 students mostly from state in the North-east ravaged by the Boko Haram have benefited from scholarship under the safe school initiative program supervised by the PCNI across 43 schools in the Northern Part of the country. He said that the PCNI carried a monitoring and evaluation exercise on the Safe School Initiative. (Thisday News, 2018). However, the contestations, the UNDP fact sheet available at www.undp.factsheet provide insights into the operational dynamics of the safe school initiative. The safe school initiative has come and it may have gone, yet the ravage of the insurgents' wags and bites harder as many are yet to feel the impact of the initiative.

Fighting the Insurgents

For the Nigerian government to effectively fight the Boko Haram insurgency, the actions of the Nigerian government to date must be reviewed. Traditionally, the government employs the use of its military force to handle such issues, especially when the crisis cannot be curtailed by the police force. Major Sadau Zabairu Azama of the Nigerian Army stated that the use of brutal military force to crack down on Boko Haram members not only escalated the situation, but drew support for them (Azama 2017:87). According to him, many sympathizers and family members, who did not formerly participate in the movement, were left with no option than to join or provide support for the group.

The Federal Government has mustered myriads of army to the northeast to contain the activities of the insurgents. For this purpose, the Joint Task Force (JTF) comprising of army units, police, and the Department of State Security were established in Maiduguri to combat the insurgents in early 2011. Prior to the elections of 2015, the government also purchased 'sophisticated' military resources such as tanks, jet fighters, and helicopter fighters which strengthened the military to dislodge the insurgents from their various occupied territories.

As part of the government effort, a Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF) was also established in June 2013 from local hunters and youths of the local inhabitants to provide local policing, and operate alongside government security forces. The formation of the local militia (CJTF) enhanced the protection of civilians. They provided the military with useful information on insurgent hideouts and their supporters. The CJTF have also been deployed at various checkpoints and outlets to spot and frustrate Boko Haram activities (Azama 2017:88).

However, some members of the CJTF has also been maneuvered by the terrorist group to serve their interests by feeding them information on military movements. This has been revealed from the confessions of culprit as cited earlier. Though the CJTF have not received any formal military training or financial compensations, their involvement in the ongoing fight against Boko Haram has both closed and opened many security gaps. Government has rallied for support and cooperation from the Economic Community of West Africa States, Africa Union, and international community.

Consequence to that, the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) was set up with its headquarters at Ndjamen, Chad, to combat Boko Haram. The MNJTF is comprised of troops from Nigeria, Niger, Benin Republic, and Cameroon. In the words of Deputy Secretary-General of the UN dated 22 March 2018, Amina Mohammed states:" The Multinational Joint Task Force's operations have contributed to the liberation of hostages and led to territorial gains"(UN Press Release). He however decried the continued raids, abductions and suicide bombings of the sect. During the current administration the MJTF has a bit relapsed. Various calls and opinion pull has mounted the government to use the carrot and stick method in combating the insurgents.

The Nigerian government and its officials have made tremendous efforts to negotiate with the Boko Haram insurgency to achieve lasting peace in the region. While the past administration did not get the trust of the insurgents in the negotiation process, the present administration has

in some successful ways explored the negotiation option for the release of some Boko Haram abductees. Mr. Zanna Mustapha who was a key mediator in the release of 21 Chibok girls has called on the Nigerian government to continue to explore the negotiation option at all cost. (premiumtimesnews.com,2018). The insurgent group has turned down several opportunities by the government.

The group had demanded an end to arrest and killing of its members, release of arrested members, compensation for families killed by security officials, and a call for the prosecution of security forces involved in the extrajudicial killing of Boko Haram leaders and members (Azama, 2017). Even though the Boko Haram has been subdued from carrying out any major offensive or conduct a conventional warfare, the group remains a major threat to Nigeria and its allies. (Azama, 2017). Yes, the unfortunate massacre of over 100 Nigeria soldiers on 18 November 2018, is nothing but a national tragedy caused by this insurgent. In the words of Zanna Mustapha, the UN-ambassador; " a single armed terrorist could hold a country to ransom. The best way to deal with the degraded Boko Haram is to mediate".

However, our interview with some of the Nigerian armed force combatants who had engaged the insurgents reject the call for negotiation saying that the Nigerian Army has the potential and wherewithal to crush the insurgents and nip it in the bud. They however decried the use of inferior weapons and intelligence as against the superior weaponry of the enemies, (Interviews). However, the arguments, our careful analysis reveals that in every nation where corruption is institutional and systemic, insurgency or terrorism will be endemic.

Conclusion

The thrust of this paper has been to examine the remote and immediate causes of insurgency, seek solutions to the causes in relation to planning for safe school during insurgency. While the call for negotiation with the group is the solemn song of some, for others it is a dead knell and a dirge to the Nigerian nation. However, the utmost concern should be given protection to the innocent citizenry which comprise of children, students, women, teachers, all and sundry in the North-east terrorist torn region.

Building up security infrastructures in every school in the North-east region is a common sense. The call for increased budgetary allocation for defense and education should be a sine qua none. Stationing security personnel in every school who will work round the clock against the terrorist onslaught is necessary. Installing sophisticated satellites for crime watch and impending terrorist attack in security bases is a prepared strategic act of defence.

There is also the need for a complete overhaul of the security architecture in the country with a view to achieving a clean intelligent gathering and sharing, strategic coordination and preventive counter-insurgency mechanism. This also calls for a government that is truly for the people in the provisions of infrastructures and socio-economy opportunities for the people.

Furthermore, there is need for the government to sever religion from politics. In a highly religious state like Nigeria, government and politicians need to exercise caution in calling attention to religious sentiments in state affairs. (Ohwojite, 2016). The romance of religion and

politics in state affair is catastrophic especially to a secular state like Nigeria. Secularism should be the circus realism.

Finally, terrorism and insurgency is a global problem. Global problems deserve global solutions. With globalism, nationalism is a betrayer and a threat. Until there comes a good global governance that will provide global solutions to our numerous global problems, nations will continue to groan and be together in pains.

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