

**BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY AND EDUCATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT IN
NORTH EASTERN NIGERIA 2009-2015**

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ABSTRACT

This study seeks to investigate Boko Haram (BH) insurgency and educational development in North Eastern Nigeria. The study contends that the activities of BH insurgence have grown not only in proportion but also in composure. The devastations caused in schools, the massacres of pupils in schools and subsequent stoppage of schools, the flight of teachers and pupils and the pervading sense of fear have greatly paralyzed the education system in Northeastern Nigeria, depicting catastrophic consequences both in short and long term basis likely to have a disastrous impact on regional development. The study suggests that the federal government should as a matter of urgency ensure adequate and effective provision of security operatives to prevent further attacks on schools. This can further be strengthened by asking foreign countries for help by deploying their well trained security operatives to the country. When normalcy is achieved, the federal government should provide adequate support to the affected states, by way of rehabilitation and resettlement of those who have been forced to flee the violence and expeditiously include adequate replacements of damaged instructional facilities, rebuilding and renovating of all school buildings destroyed and damaged by Boko Haram for subsequent resumption of normal academic activities.

Keywords:

Boko Haram, Insurgency, Education, Development, Educational Development in Nigeria, North Eastern Nigeria.

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Introduction

Boko Haram (BH) begun or was conceived as an aboriginal salafist group, converting itself into a salafist jihadist group in 2009. Following the 2009 clampdown on the group and its consequent re- emanation, there has been a growing regularity, recurrence, and repetitiveness of its attacks and also an increase in sphere of its territorial attacks. The group, thus, evolved from a relatively obscure setting into a pronounced, formidable and prominent stance. BH anonym, widely transmitting “Western civilization is forbidden”, was bestowed by external analysts in an effort at grasping BH’s anti-Western stance (Onuoha, 2012). The sponsors, aims and objectives of BH are not only complicating but remain a puzzle. It was initially believed that their aim was to fight the ills of western education and Islamization of some Northern states in the country, but the mode of their recent and inconsistent varied methods of attacks has made their aims and objectives remain more mysterious. The catastrophic terrorism being unleashed by this Islamic sect has become a National concern. Since the inception of these attacks from 2009 till 2014 Nigeria has lost more than seventeen thousand (17,000) souls as a result of their assaults (www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/BokoHaram, 2015)). By 19th January 2015, based on UN records a conservative figure of close to 1 million people had been displaced from their homes in Northeastern Nigeria (www.naiji.com>News>Bokoharam, 2015).

BH brutal attacks is essentially limited to Northeastern Nigeria, particularly Bornu, Adamawa and Yobe with occasional skirmishes at other Northeastern states of Bauchi, Taraba and Gombe, extending sporadically to other Northern states of Kaduna, Niger and Abuja. The activities or operations of BH insurgency which have grown not only in proportion but also in composure, has subsequently led to high scale wanton destruction of lives and properties resulting to most families being internally displaced. These situations have continued to adversely affect all aspects of life in Northeastern Nigeria, especially education. In 2014, members of the dreaded Boko Haram drew international attention from its April 14 kidnapping of about 276 female students of Government Secondary School in Chibok, Bornu State, till now the girls have not been released. Educational activities in the North East have suffered a lot of setbacks. Most schools are shut down, some teachers have either been maimed or killed, children no-longer go to school for fear of either being kidnapped or killed. Presently educational development in the North East, which is at its lowest ebb has been severely dislocated by Boko Haram insurgency.

Asogwa and Omemma (2001) stated that insurgent is a term derived from the Latin word *surgere* meaning arise. Insurgency therefore is an attempt to rise in revolt against an established order. Boko Haram insurgency is thus, a ploy by the Boko Haram sect to rise in revolt by employing force to control an established order. It is in the light of the above that the study sought to find out the extent Boko Haram insurgency has affected educational development in Northeastern Nigeria.

Emergence of Boko Haram

Apparently, confusion characterizes the emergence and origin of BH, there are conflicting reports about the actual founder of the sect and the exact date the sect was formed, accurate report for its emergence or formation is thus, lacking, for instance, Aghedo & Osumah, (2012) stated that some reports suggested that the group was first formed in the 1990s under various names. In 2003 and 2004, what may be described as a forerunner or harbinger to BH attacked government establishments including police stations in Northern Nigeria and towards the end of 2004 part of the group under the leadership of Mohammed Yusuf began to strengthen or reinforce into what is now known as BH (Cook, 2011). Onuoha, (2012) affirmed that Yusuf was an abiding and a deep-rooted Islamic enthusiasts who helped in the advancement of rigid and firm compliance to Islamic tenets. In July 2009, the sect was involved in ferocious activity across Northeastern Nigeria which left about 800 people dead, including Yusuf (Onapajo & Uzodike, 2012). Cook (2011), stated that brutal activities of the group resurfaced in late 2010 after a year of inactivity.

Ukadike (2012) on his part, traced the date of its emergence back to 1995, and argues that Abubakar Lawan, founded the Boko Haram sect. Adibe (2012) in his write up stated that the popular belief was that BH was founded around 2001 or 2002. Yusuf Muhammed whom BH emergence is in most cases attributed to, based on various reports came on board as the leader of the group after Abubakar Lawan has departed the group for further studies. Yusuf Muhammed then influenced and indoctrinated the BH sect with his own teachings, which according to him were based on purity. Uzodike and Maiangwa (2012) on their own version traced the formation of the BH sect to the evangelical association formed by Muslim students at the University of Maidugiri, Borno State, who presumably felt discontented with western education.

The uncertainty covering BH emergence must have informed the reason why initially, the group had no particular or distinguishing name as the sect were given various names and also described differently based on the perception of the local environment where they operated (Ukadike, 2012). Such names as Taliban and the Yusufiyah were at one time or the ascribed to the sect.

Uzodike and Maingwa (2012) admitted that there had been an occasion of assault involving the sect but intensity of the sects brutal attacks evolved in July 2009 following the death of Yusuf Muhammed while in police custody in Maiduguri after his arrest by men of the Joint Task Force (JTF) and the consequent captivity and confinement of members of the sect by government. The father in-law of Yusuf Muhammed (Fugu Mohammed) was also killed after reporting himself to the police, his family members reported that Fugu Mohammed came to the police to restore order but was shot by the police (aljazeera.com, 2015). Thus, there was an extensive showdown between the sect and the JTF. Ever since then, there has been one attack after another. Along these lines, one may assume that the sect's current level of brutality is a function of the deaths of its initial leadership and its subsequent clampdown by government. Exploits of Boko Haram in Nigeria cannot be completed without mentioning Abubakar Shekua, a Kanuri native, who ascended leadership of the sect at the death of Yusuf Muhammed.

Insurgency

Insurgency is a revolt or uprising against the government. It has primarily a political phenomenon which is directed towards achieving a particular interest of at any point in time. It is used as a tool by any group conducting an armed struggle be it the Marxists, Maoists, jihadists etc. The United States department of defense (2007) believes that insurgency is an organized movement that seeks to overthrow a constituted government through the use of subversion and armed conflict. According to North (2008) some insurgencies are network with only loose objectives and mission-type orders to enhance their survival. Most are divided and factionalized by area, composition or goals.... Many of these enemies do not currently seek the overthrow of a constituted government.....Weak government control is useful and perhaps essential for many of these "enemies of the state" to survive and operate.

Adams and Ash (2009) stated that insurgency can be fought via counter-insurgency warfare and may also be opposed by measures to protect the Population, and by political and

economic actions of various kinds aimed at undermining the insurgents claim against the incumbent regime. They posit that not all rebellions are insurgencies. There have been many cases of non-violence rebellions, using civil resistance, as in the People Power Revolution in the Philippines in the 1980's that ousted presidents Marcos and the Egyptian revolution of 2011 (Adams and Ash 2009). Metz (2007) is of the view that past models of insurgency do not perfectly fit into modern insurgency, in that current instances are far more likely to have multinational or transnational character than those of the past. He believes that contemporary insurgencies have far more complex and shifting participation than traditional wars where discrete belligerents seek a clear strategic victory.

Tomes (2004) sees insurgency as an interlocking system of actions- Political, Economic, Psychological and Military that aims at the overthrow of the established authority in a country and its replacement by another regime.

Stuart (2005) believes that insurgency grows out of "Gaps" (Insecurity, Capacity and legitimacy). He states that for a state to be viable, they must be able to close the three Gaps, of which the first is most important.

From the perspective of the European colonial powers, a colony was not arbitrary. But from the perspective of subject Africans, colonial government was essentially arbitrary. It was imposed from outside and worked in accordance with the alien unfamiliar rules and regulations in disregard, often in Ignorance, of indigenous institutions. Ekeh (1989:5) opines that the political history of Africa has become a tale of drift and instability... standing above, and set aside and apart from society, the African state has turned out to be arbitrary, because it operates outside societal rules. The arbitrariness of the African state has conferred on African political culture, attributes of negativity, so that "African political culture has become characterized by a vast array of negative elements such as corruption, violence and mistrust. In Nigerian, the insurgent's demands are unknown as a result of varied and inconsistent attacks, but it is widely believed that they focus on two main areas; the release of Boko Haram prisoners and the creation of Islamic States. Stewart (2015) states that insurgency, sometimes called guerrilla warfare or irregular warfare has been in practice for centuries in a variety of different regions and by a number of actors from different cultures. He believes that insurgencies employ violence, but not all of them employ terrorism. Even though the concepts are often complimentary, they are not synonymous. While terrorism means violence directed towards civilians to achieve military or

political objectives, insurgency is rebellion or revolt or uprising. The two terms however often have similar goals. Insurgents many use more than one form of war fare to press their demands. Most often they combine terrorism and guerrilla warfare. A good example of that type was the mujahideen in Afghanistan who used the tactics of guerrilla attacks in their country side, combined with indiscriminate bombing in civilian areas. Bombing of military barracks and vehicles and attacks on officers of the security forces would be more akin to guerrilla warfare. On the other hand, bomb attacks against civilian in a rural area setting have always been placed within the context of guerrilla warfare Ukadike, (2012).

Prolonged terrorism has always been found to be counterproductive to the cause of an insurgent movement as it might be misdirected. Insurgency has become part and parcel of inter-state conflict, a form of direct aggression made attractive by the inability of the state to use conventional military power and weapon of mass destruction. Most often, insurgent movements use political resources and instruments against the ruling authorities to accomplish their goals. Once the type and form of insurgency have been identified, the next step is to address the various strategic approaches that they adopt to maximize the effectiveness of the political techniques' and forms of warfare in their quest to victory.

Educational Development in Nigeria

Education is a process by which a person acquires knowledge to live well in the society leading to new abilities and experiences for growth and development. Development on its own is a widely participatory process of directed social change in a society, intended to bring about both social and material advancement (including greater equality, freedom and other valued qualities) for the majority of the people through their gaining greater control over their environment (Arvind and Evereft, 1989). Nwatu (2001), stated that the term 'Development' when prefixed or suffixed may apply to diverse perspectives such as 'Social Development'; 'Economic Development'; 'Political Development' or a common hyphenated word 'Socio-politico-economic development and 'Educational Development'.

According to Onwuka (2011:5):

The preponderant role of education in over-all development of the society is a truism indubitable. Little wonder, in Nigeria, it is considered an instrument per excellent for national development. It is the fulcrum upon which every

other sector of the National economy revolves. Education gives impetus to every other walk of life.

Everywhere in the world efforts are made to sustain educational development. In Nigeria, for example a lot of educational policies are formulated intermittently and reforms, innovations and changes frequently instituted and embraced, so as to sustain educational development. In September 1969, the National Curriculum Conference was held in Lagos, this became the first attempt in Nigeria to reform the national educational system from where the British colonialism left it. Far reaching recommendations were arrived at from the conference to give Nigerian educational system a first lift. The conference gave birth to 6-3-3-4 educational system which replaced the former 6-5-2-2 system. This policy was formulated in 1979, revised in 1988 and 2004. This was a transformation of the then five year course which was followed by a 2 year Higher School Certificate course, both of which considered not employment oriented. Arguments from different quarters was that the new system would enable students to pay more attention to more practical aspects of education such as technical and vocational studies instead of purely academic pursuit which is not meant for all (Onwuka, 2011).

National Open University of Nigeria (NOUN) that was recently re-established by President Olusegun Obasanjo was first dreamt of by the National University Commission (NUC) in 1976 which later became a reality in 1984, was another major step towards educational development in Nigeria. The National Open University (NOU) as it was then called was meant to run at the degree and post-graduate level as well as for diploma certificate, enrichment and refresher courses to meet the needs of University students who would include working adults willing to combine work with learning, house wives, the physically challenged among others. As a result of many problems faced by the programme, the military government of the day clamped it down after virtually one month of full operation (Onwuka, 2011).

Multiple applications and offers of admission to Nigerian Universities constituted serious problems to the Nigerian Committee of Vice-Chancellors (CVC). Their initiative on the identified problems necessitated the establishment of the Joint Admission and Matriculation Board (JAMB) in 1977, which became operational in 1978. Prior to 1978 each University conducts its own entrance examination. JAMB had hitherto existed side by side with Preliminary Study and other Advanced Level programs up till 1988 when the latter were subsequently closed down in accordance with the specifications of the National Policy of

Education. Today each University conducts its own screening examination after a general Unified Matriculation Examination organized by JAMB.

Between 1960 and late 80's schools were very few in Nigeria. Students usually trek far distances to embrace formal education, most communities do not have schools, from the 90's, the situation started changing and today schools are scattered in every nook and cranny of Nigeria.

Theoretical Framework

This study adopted the Islamic Theocratic State Theory as its theoretical framework. This theory hinges on the belief that BH intention was to bring down the Nigeria government and ultimately Islamize the country. It is alleged that some segments of the Northern Muslim population were unhappy with the compromise of the Sharia legal system co-existing side by side with secular federal system, with the notion that Western Education is incapable of stimulating meaningful development and prosperity in the region, and so, shares the fallacy of Western Education being incompatible with Islam. Proponents of this school includes; Monzagyan (2009), Crenshaw (2009) Turner (1980) among others.

Monzagyan (2009) has traced the rise of the radical Islam to three Variables; One, 1979 Iran revolution that ushered in a widespread rejectionist philosophy, changing the Muslim's view of themselves and their position in the world as well as their approach to daily life and politics. Secondly, the anti – western feelings in the Middle East traceable to the effects of Europeans colonization .Thirdly, and the most recent one is the American presence in the Middle East with claims that it brought a corrupting influence into their system. According to these theorists, corruption and ineffective local political leadership espousing Western Ideologies as well as failure to improve people's well- being remain a major stimulus to political Islam. Thus , Islam became a means and an end for the frustrated masses giving rises to leaders who spoke in terms of Islam communities and pushed the need to restore Islam to its former position of power by removing corrupt Western influences (Western Education is a Sin) that hinders the promotion of their own millenarian beliefs (Monzagyan, 2009).

This theory is very useful in our understanding of how in an effort to Islamize the North East, BH insurgents attacks western education. This has generally resulted in closure of schools by most of the state governments in the worst affected areas, and this has drastically decreased

children access to Education. Even in areas where schools have remained open, many children including the displaced children do not attend schools for fear of attacks and abduction. These will definitely have far reaching implications on human development in the North East, in terms of backwardness in their social and economic wellbeing, just as observed by Shekarau (2014) that countries of the world that are economically backward are also most educationally disadvantaged. The anti- Western feelings of Boko Haram and the insensitivity on part of political elites made them not accept that education is the most powerful tool used for any meaningful regional development. Hence they ignore the disastrous impacts it will have on the overall development of the North East.

Discussion

Education which is the process of teaching and learning in schools and colleges is not only a powerful tool for national advancement and growth in every society but also the most wonderful endowment to be bequeathed to the citizens of any nation. The benefits of education to any society is thus, overwhelming, for instance, education empowers all and sundry to greater achievement, it is the most efficient weapon to fight poverty, education leads to development of outstanding and sophisticated technological advancement, just to mention but a few. Education development which is expected to produce prospective leaders needed for national growth and development is at crossroads in Northeastern Nigeria as a result of a raging war by Boko Haram insurgency. The implication is that development in all its ramification has been completely ruffled in Northeastern Nigeria, as a result of the place of education in nation building. Without development in the education sector, as obtainable in Northeastern Nigeria, the aspiration of transforming the country into one of the first twenty (20) largest global economies by the year 2020 is thus, unachievable.

Renewed increase in Boko Haram attacks is a clear indication that education in North Eastern Nigeria has falling apart and the center can no-longer hold. The educational sector has suffered serious social dislocation. Indubitably, one cannot study in a dreadful atmosphere of high scale of insurgency. Since the inception of Boko Haram activities in 2009, schools in the areas of focus, cutting across the three tiers of education (Primary, Secondary and Tertiary) have not been functioning very well, and most schools have been closed down especially in the three Northeastern states of Bornu, Yobe and Adamawa recently declared states of emergency, where

Boko Haram activities are more pronounced. Abul Qaqa a pronounced member of Boko Haram in one of his public statement declared thus: “We are attacking the public schools, keep away from schools or we will kill you” (Daily Trust Newspaper of 6th march 2012). Following this declaration, a lot of lives have been lost, for instance, AIT news of 20th October, 2015 stated that the National Union of Teachers (NUT) in Bornu state seeks death benefits for 380 teachers killed by Boko Haram. This is only in Bornu state.

Amnesty International (2015) discussed the atrocious and blatant abuse of the right to education of not only the Christians but also the Muslims as a result of Boko Haram’s deadly and destructive attacks. The devastations caused in schools, the massacres of pupils in schools and subsequent stoppage of schools, the flight of teachers and pupils and the pervading sense of fear have greatly paralyzed the education system in Northeastern Nigeria. Not only are the consequences catastrophic in the short term, in the long term they are likely to have a disastrous impact on regional development. Educational facilities have been burned, thousands of children forced out of schools and teachers made to flee for safety. One cannot forget in a hurry more than 200 students that were abducted by Boko Haram in Chibok in 2013.

Amnesty International (2015) compiled some Boko Haram attacks on educational facilities between 2012 and 2013: Boko Haram onslaughts on schools escalated in 2012 with serious devastating raids on schools in Northeastern Nigeria. Ten primary schools were raided in various areas of Maiduguri between 21February and 1 March 2012, leading to total destruction of the school buildings. Most times the school buildings were set on fire. Teachers and pupils were targeted directly and killed. On October 1, 2012, tertiary schools in Mubi, Adamawa state were attacked and forty three people were killed. Between January and April 2013 in Maiduguri capital of Borno state five government secondary schools and nine private schools were razed to the ground by unknown gunmen. Almost all the schools in the Borno state towns of Gamboru, Bama, Jajeri, Baga, Mai Malari, Umarari Garnam, and Mungono were forced to close between February 2012 and June 2013, forcing at least 15,000 children out of schools in the state. On 24 June 2013, nine students were killed in the town of Gamboru, Borno state on their way to take their exams. In June 2013 alone, “a total of 48 students and seven teachers were killed in four different attacks in Bornu state. Between July and September 2013 alone, up to 80 schoolchildren and students were killed by unknown gunmen in two separate attacks in Yobe state. On 6 July 2013, about 30 people, including at least 25 schoolchildren, were killed in their

dormitories in Mamudo town, Yobe state. On September 28, 2013, gunmen allegedly fired at close range and killed not less than 60 students during an attack on College of Agriculture Gujba, The attackers stormed the college at about 1:00 am on a Sunday, gathered the students together and opened fire on them. 62 dead bodies were later deposited at the Sani Abacha General Hospital mortuary in Damaturu, Yobe state. In January 2013, 30 teachers were allegedly killed, sometimes while lessons were in progress. On 18 March 2013, three teachers were reportedly shot and killed, four other people were maimed including three students, in concurrent raids on four public schools in Maiduguri, Borno state. Among the teachers killed, were the Assistant Headmaster Alhaji Balla Modu; Bursar, Alhaji Iiyasu Zakariya; and Class Teacher, Mohammad Ahmed, staff's of the same school. They were allegedly killed while during school hours, when teaching was in progress. On April 7th 2013, a teacher in Gwange III Primary school in Maiduguri was shot and killed at his home by unknown gunmen. The attackers stormed his house while he was taking breakfast with his family and shot him twice and he died at the spot. Two officers of the West African Examinations Council were killed by unknown gunmen in May 2013 on their way from Yola, Adamawa state, to administer and supervise an examination in Maiduguri, Borno state. Between 8 and 20 March 2013, less than two weeks, gunmen attacked six different schools including Gwange III Primary School, Mai Malari Day Secondary, Mafa Central Primary School, Umarari Primary School, Maiduguri Metropolitan Primary school and Ali Aliskiri Primary school in various areas around Maiduguri, Borno state.

Channels Television (2015) reported an explosion in Senior Secondary School, Potiskum, Yobe state on 10th November 2014, where many people died and several others injured. The bomber was believed to be a student on the assembly ground.

As a result of the foregoing school attendance in Northeastern Nigeria especially Borno state has reduced considerably. The former President of the country, President Goodluck Jonathan on 14 May 2013, declared state of emergency in Borno, Adamawa and Yobe, around that period, school administrations in most areas of Borno state gave a stern warning to parents and guardians to stop sending their children to school till further notice. The constant attacks and fighting led many parents to send their children away or leave the state, disrupting their education, thus, lowering school enrolment in Borno state to 28%. Based on the documents provided by the Director of Basic and Secondary Education in the Federal Ministry of Education, in 2013, schools in the north-east recorded the lowest number in recent years of pupils who

applied and were admitted into junior secondary schools in the country. In one school in Mungono, out of 160 eligible pupils, only 60 applied for admission to enter junior secondary schools in 2013 (Amnesty International, 2015). The sect's territorial conquests extended to neighboring countries of Chad, Cameroon and Niger. In Niger for instance, about 150 schools with more than 12,000 pupils have been forced to close schools due to constant deadly attacks in Niger's southeast Diffa region (Diamond Education, 2015).

Conclusion

The study established the fact that the current challenges posed by Boko Haram in Nigeria is not only about the meanness or malignancy of its catastrophic attacks, or its professed mission of imposing Islamic law on the country, further, it is about the bewilderment with reference to the precise causes or aims of the violence, which has not only deteriorated the social and political sector, but has completely retarded or obstructed educational development in North Eastern Nigeria

The study suggests that the federal government should as a matter of urgency ensure adequate and effective provision of security operatives to prevent further attacks on schools. This can further be strengthened by asking foreign countries for help by deploying their well trained security operatives to the country. When normalcy is achieved, the federal government should provide adequate support to the affected states this should include rehabilitation and resettlement for those who have been forced to flee the violence and expeditious rebuilding and renovating of all school buildings and facilities destroyed and damaged by Boko Haram for subsequent resumption of normal academic activities.

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