

Insurgency and its Effects on the Socio-Economic Activities in the South Eastern Region of Nigeria

ECHEONWU, Macdonald Silas

Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, Ignatius Ajuru University of Education, Rumuolumeni, P.M.B, 5047 Port Harcourt, Rivers State, Nigeria

HARUNA, Monday Ocheja, ADIKWU, George, ENOKELA, Samson, Sunday

Department of Political Science, School of Arts and Social Sciences, Federal College of Education, Odugbo, P.M.B 102102, Benue State, Nigeria

Annotation: This study examined insurgency and its effects on the socio-economic activities in south southeastern part of Nigeria. In line with the purpose of the study, three research questions guided the study which are what are the general impacts of insurgency on the general socio-economic activities in the southeastern part of Nigeria? What are the impacts of insurgency on the educational sector of the southeastern part of Nigeria? What are the impacts of insurgency on business activities in the southeastern part of Nigeria? The population for this study comprises four hundred (400) selected dwellers of the five southeastern states (Enugu, Anambra, Imo, Abia and Ebonyi States). Four hundred (400) copies of questionnaire items were distributed to the respondents chosen from the area, but only 370 copies were returned. Random sampling techniques were adopted to ensure equal chance, The questionnaire was a 4-point modified Likert-type scale. The instrument was validated. Also, the test re-test method correlation was used to ascertain the reliability of the research instrument and the reliability coefficient was calculated to be 0.75 for the tests. Mean and rank-order statistical tools were used to answer the four research questions. The findings revealed among others, that students in the southeastern region do not attend classes on Mondays as a result of the sit-at-home order which has in turn led to poor academic performance of students, The study therefore recommends Equitable distribution of resources among the six geopolitical zones of Nigeria via proper federal character principle. This will help to reduce what the IPOB perceives as marginalization.

Keywords: Insurgency, Economy, Business.

Introduction

Insecurity in the southeast, and indeed Nigeria at large has reached an alarming proportion showing its ugly head in various facets of our national life. Lives are lost on a daily basis, the population is depleted, businesses in comatose, investments are nose-diving, multinationals closing shops and vacating the country, unemployment soaring and the populace is in fear. Clearly, it poses a threat to governance and economic growth in troubled nations. According to (Stewart, 2004), the economic cost of insecurity are enormous. People who join the fighting forces, who are killed or flee, can no longer work productively; schools, power stations, and roads that are destroyed reduce the productive capacity of the economy. Further, displacement of people reduces the production of exports, thereby reducing foreign exchange earnings, and import potentials and consequently further constraining output, leading to a decline in employment and earnings.

Many countries of the world have witnessed on a large scale the impact of conflict and insecurity. Particularly Africa and the Middle East: Iraq, Iran, Syria, Afghanistan, Libya, Sudan, Liberia and even Nigeria etc. Most of these can be linked to religious fanaticism or extremism, marginalization and intolerance by some adherents of some religions. These fanatics use religion and other factors to cause trouble, and destroy lives and property thereby increasing poverty in the land. Africa has had a long history of the lack of respect for life. This has been embedded in our culture and it seems to be part and parcel of our socio-political lives. These killings were explained within the context of the societal philosophy of ancient times. In the eyes of contemporary thinking, it was of course barbaric. For example, until when the missionaries came, Africans did not consider life as totally sacred: the killing of twins, the treatment of widows, the treatment of people with disability, the treatment of albinos and people with multiple births, the Osu outcasts system and treatment of witches are all pointers to this analogy. Nobody can deny the fact that security is necessary for socioeconomic and political development. There are various forms of insecurity in Nigeria that have harmed food production and food security for a long time. Insecurity in Nigeria comes in different forms as Boko Haram insurgency, Farmer-herdsmen clashes, communal conflicts and religious crises, armed banditry, kidnapping, political and ethnic cleansing etc. Survivors of insecurity have fled from one settled area to another for security, after, in most cases, the breadwinners have been killed, swelling the number of internally displaced persons. Insecurity has brought more threats to the lives and livelihoods of the common citizens, compounded by hunger, unemployment, poverty and death. The governments have security votes but seem to have failed in their obligation to provide public goods, protect lives and property and defend territorial integrity. Education, health and social protection which are three critical policy areas to tackle poverty and inequality have been compromised by insecurity. The high cost of governance in Nigeria comes at the expense of infrastructure, widespread bribery and corruption.

Nigeria's current general insecurity challenge has been compromised by avoidable conflicts that have become a common issue in recent times. This has become more worrisome especially when the impoverished segments of the Nigerian masses are finding it increasingly hard to avoid starving to death. Resources that could have been used to modernize the agricultural sector, and build industries and infrastructure to create employment, have been consumed by budget for insecurity and in the rehabilitation of displaced and injured citizens. It will not be an exaggeration to observe that the current wave of general insecurity is fuelled by poverty. Nigeria has witnessed an unprecedented level of insecurity. This has made national security threats a major issue for the government and has prompted a huge allocation of the national budget to security (Achumba, Ighomereho & Akpor-Robaro, 2013). No region has been spared the vicious scourge of conflict though their prevalence and intensity have not been the same in occurrences across the length and breadth of the nation. Thus, fingers are swift in pointing accusingly to colonial legacies and the continual interplay of external and internal imperialist forces that fan the embers of violence for selfish aggrandizement. The present situation is further intensified by elements of globalization, natural disasters, proliferation of weapons and light arms, corruption, executive lawlessness and leadership ineptitude (Chinwokwu, 2012).

In recent times, the southeastern part of Nigeria has become the centre of much concern when it comes to insecurity because of the activities in which IPOB began, and was later hijacked by some hoodlums through which they used to cause havoc to the common masses.

It is no longer news that economic activities both in public and private sectors are grounded especially on Mondays in the South-eastern part of Nigeria. It is also a fact that the fear of the unknown hovers around the air in the region as people no longer trust their next-door neighbours.

Public offices, private businesses, schools, and markets are shut down every Monday completely in compliance with the order and directives of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB). This 'dangerous proclamation' is setting the entire Southeastern part of Nigeria ablaze economically.

Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) is a separatist organization in Nigeria, comprising mainly the south-east geo-political zone, part of the South-south, and part of the North-central (Benue and Kogi). IPOB was formed in 2012 by Mazi Nnamdi Kanu over the perceived excessive power abuse wielded by the Nigerian state which they deemed illegitimate, hence the quest for independence of the Biafrans(Igbo's) from Nigeria's government, which was further orchestrated by perceived marginalization, and corruption etc.

Following several media attacks on Nigeria's government by the IPOB warlord (Mazi-Nnamdi Kanu) On 19 October 2015 Nnamdi Kanu was arrested by the Nigerian security forces on charges of sedition, ethnic incitement and treasonable felony. As a result of this arrest, on the 2nd of December 2015 most parts of Anambra state especially in Onitsha, and part of Aba, Umuahia, and Enugu states recorded high rates of protest, riots, and police clashes which resulted the death and injury of not fewer than 129 persons which were mostly youths. Nnamdi Kanu was later bailed following several public agitations.

The scenario worsened, and in June 2021, Kanu was arrested by the Nigerian government in Kenya and brought back to the country. He was re-arraigned on charges bordering on treasonable felony brought against him by the Federal Government over his agitation for the separatist Republic of Biafra. On July 30, 2021, Emma Powerful the IPOB spokesperson declared that every Monday starting from August 9, 2021, would be a sit-at-home. A form of protest that will continue till Nnamdi Kanu its leader released from the custody of the Department of State Security. In August 2021, IPOB introduced a home order which started firstly as an annual event partly to remember those who died in Nigeria's Biafra war, then so many people did not mind a day to remember the dead. The annual sit-at-home was later transformed into a tool for achieving other goals including awareness of other Biafra-related issues of the recent.

The sit-at-home is becoming so frequent that it has triggered a backlash and a diminishing return. Knowing fully well the state of Nigeria's government, sit-at-home can't solve the problem neither will it grant liberty to Biafra nor the release of Nnamdi Kanu, instead it will turn to be a thorn in the people's flesh as it affects their daily living.

IPOB Sit at home Order

On June 29 2021 Nigerian government announced that Nnamdi Kanu had been rearrested, allegedly abducted from Kenya on the 19th of June, 2021 and was subsequently charged to court again and remanded in the custody of the Department of the State Services.

With all these, IPOB introduced a sit-at-home order, which started firstly as an annual event, to remember those who died in Nigeria's Biafra war, which later metamorphosed and became a tool of drawing attention to the plight of the leader of IPOB, Nnamdi Kanu. The sit-at-home became so frequent that this triggered a backlash and a diminishing return. In August 2021, at least six people were killed and three buses were set ablaze in Anambra State after a joint security patrol team killed two persons suspected to be a members of IPOB enforcing the group's sit-at-home order in

the area. In the same month, two travellers were burnt to death with shops and vehicles, including buses belonging to Libra and Okey transport companies were reportedly set ablaze in Imo State. Eventually, after months of forced compliance, the sit-at-home lockdown was extended. The PUNCH had reported that the group on September 14, 2021, called for an end to the imposed order whose genuineness is in doubt, coupled with the spiral of violence that had been set in the region.

Statement of Problem

The menace caused by insecurity remains a threat to governance and economic growth in Nigeria. Government by their inaction has proved to be unable to solely secure its citizens. Despite the government's burgeoning recurrent expenditure on internal security both at the National and State levels, individuals in their various rights, workplaces and houses spend heavily to provide security for their personal lives and properties. Despite these efforts, the menace keeps exacerbating. Thus in almost all parts of the country, there exist some levels of insecurity. We have seen instances of ethnic conflicts in some parts of the North, kidnapping in almost all parts of the country, but prominent in South-South and West, militancy and pipeline vandalization activities in the Niger Delta, terrorism and religious extremism by Boko Haram in North East, agitations for self-determination by IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra) and MASSOB (Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra) in South East, herdsmen disturbances in the North and Central, ritual killings in the South West and East and other political and economic disturbances. I posit that these disturbances and insecurities in their various forms affect economic growth.

Thus, it has been observed that in areas where insecurity is prone in Nigeria, economic activities and variables have been lagging. For instance, in the North East of Nigeria where Boko Haram has held sway, the area has been deserted, businesses including the informal sector have been affected, unemployment has soared, Internally displaced persons (IDPs) and camps have suddenly emerged, State internally generated revenue have plummeted etc. Again, in the Niger Delta area of Nigeria where militants carry out an attack on oil installations and pipeline vandalization is persistent, several MNCs have closed shop or relocated their offices from the area, and the country has been unable to meet its oil production quota, unemployment has skyrocketed, oil exports nosedived, foreign exchange dropped and the cost of doing business in the area has increased.

In response, the federal government through its annual budgets, continue to vote huge allocation to the recurrent component of internal security, military personnel and apparatus have been asked to relocate their bases to the troubled areas to quell crises, and some States have signed into law the Anti-kidnapping Act while the National assembly passed the Anti-Terrorism Act in 2011. Despite these measures, economic indices have not improved and the level of insecurity in the country is still high. A confirmation of this is the low ranking of Nigeria in the Global Peace Index (GPI, 2012) and the current recession the country has been thrown into. It is against this backdrop the study seek to examine the impacts of insurgency on socio-economic activities in South Eastern part of Nigeria.

Research Questions

The following research questions are formulated to serve as a guide to this study:

1. What are the general impacts of insurgency on the general socio-economic activities in the south eastern part of Nigeria?

2. What are the impacts of insurgency on the educational sector of the south eastern part of Nigeria?
3. What the impacts of insurgency on the business activities in the south eastern part of Nigeria?

Objectives of the Study

The broad objective of this study is to evaluate the impacts of insurgency on the socio-economic activities in the south eastern part of Nigeria. The specific objectives are to:

1. Determine the general impacts of insurgency on the general socio-economic activities in the southeastern part of Nigeria
2. Ascertain the impacts of insurgency on the educational sector of the southeastern part of Nigeria
3. Ascertain the impacts of insurgency on business activities in the southeastern part of Nigeria

Literature Review

The Concept of Insurgency

Insurgency has been defined as an organized movement aimed at the overthrow of a constituted government through the use of subversion and armed conflict (Haviland, 2012). The Counter-Insurgency Initiative (2009) has defined insurgency as the organized use of subversion and violence to seize, nullify, or challenge political control of a region. Insurgents seek to subvert or displace the government and completely or partially control the resources and population of a given territory. They do so through the use of force (including guerrilla warfare, terrorism, coercion or intimidation, propaganda, subversion, and political mobilization).

Scholars have argued that insurgency originates from various sources. It is therefore important to investigate this at both individual and group levels. At the individual level, some experts have distinguished the rational, psychological, and cultural origins of insurgency. According to Simonsen and Jeremy (2000), rational insurgents think through their goals and options, making a cost-benefit analysis. Psychological motivation for resorting to terrorism derives from the insurgent's dissatisfaction with his or her life and accomplishments. At the group level, insurgency can grow out of an environment of political activism, when a group's goal is to redirect a government's or society's attention toward the grievances of an activist social movement.

IPOB Sit at Home and Businesses in the South-East, Nigeria

Business activities of the southeast- region are grounded every Monday as the dark cloud of fear, emanating from the order and the enforcers of the order still hang over the people who would stay indoors to avoid being harassed by IPOB militants. In the above line of argument, (Chika, 2021) "reported that he felt like a fugitive travelling on a Monday to Nnewi as the bus driver had to sneak past any crowd to avoid being mobbed".

"It felt like I was running away for committing a crime. Everyone in the 14-seater bus held their breath when they saw a crowd of protesters. At a point, they stopped our cars and we had to chant, 'We are for Biafra! This is Biafra land!' Even after all that, they impounded our vehicles and told us to wait. We had to wait till about 9 pm.

Following a media report on an interaction with an official of the Young Shall Grow Motors:

“The loss we experience cannot be quantified, because we are losing. We have over 46 parks in Lagos, and on Monday, the least number of vehicles to leave Lagos is 100 while only 10 leave for Abuja. We are losing and we can’t quantify the loss. The company is losing resources”. “In four Mondays in a month, we are losing. We still have to pay workers. It also affects the company in the sense that the workers who earn a percentage from what they charge the passengers have to fend for themselves. Some of these people affected are the loaders. We also have managers and assistant managers who feed from the proceeds of the loaded buses, they are not on salaries. It also affects the passengers too.

He further posits that a new bus can cost over N25m, you don’t want to lose that kind of investment. In fact, when passengers come on Monday, nobody will attend to them because travelling is a risk on the lives of innocent people and on the drivers’ lives. There is no point taking that risk.”

In the same vein, Oluwaseyi, a customer service officer at God is Good Motors, noted that the enforcement of the sit-at-home order had badly affected their revenue because their buses no longer ply five routes.

“Since the sit-at-home order, we have lost six routes. For us, we don’t go to Aba, Enugu, Awka, Uyo and Owerri on Mondays. On a normal day, we get to go to these places. That affects the revenue and also gives us an extra workload. The people, who are to travel on Monday, end up rushing to travel on Tuesday or Sunday in order to avoid all of those things. So it has not been easy. This has affected us so much that I wish the government and IPOB would have a dialogue to end the tension.”

On the contrary, IPOB members argued that the groaning of the eastern regions, worth the sacrifice of sitting at home every week if it would bring freedom to the Igbo's. They even compared it with the black South Africans and their leader Nelson Mandela.

On second thought, sitting at home doesn't sound like a suitable strategy that can bring about freedom or the release of Nnamdi Kanu. Instead of being a relief, the sit-at-home keeps being a thorn in people's lives as it affects them all around academically, economically, etc.

The sit-at-home is more of a threat to the people as many problems are being incurred by the Igbo. A lot of killings and missing people including prominent men in society, hardship and impoverishment, economic instability, loss of lives and properties, etc. According to Okwesilieze Nwado, people who fend for themselves through their daily handwork would be adversely affected by the decision of IPOB; it would further deteriorate the economy of the zone.

Theoretical Framework

Strain Anomie Theory

According to the Structural Strain Theory developed by American sociologist Robert Merton, in the late 1930s, crime is not simply a function of deprivation but the result of a disjuncture (lack of connection) between ends (goals) and the means to attain those ends. Merton argues that deviance results not from pathological personalities but from the culture and structure of society itself. He begins from the standard functionalist position of value consensus, that is, all members of societies share the same values. However, since members of society are placed in different positions in the social structure, for example, they differ in terms of class position; they do not have the same opportunity to realize the shared values. This situation can generate deviance. In Merton’s words,

‘the social and cultural structures generate pressure for socially deviant behaviours upon people variously located in that structure’ (Haralambos & Heald, 2001).

People who aspire to the cultural norm of economic achievement but are denied the education, capital, or other means to realize those ends will experience strain. According to Merton, there are three possible responses to this strain. First, the person may try what Merton calls innovation. Although the individual continues to accept the cultural value of success, he or she will employ illegitimate means, such as theft or robbery, to obtain money because legitimate means to achieve this end are not available.

Methodology

The survey research design was adopted in this study, this approach was used because it provided the researcher the opportunity to sample the opinions of a large representative of the sample of the population. The population of this study was drawn from the five Eastern States (Enugu, Imo, Abia, Anambra and Ebonyi states) with 11.49 million registered voters according to the Independent National Electoral Commission during the 2023 general elections in Nigeria (Tolu-Kolawole & Blankson, 2023). A simple random sampling technique was adopted to sample the four hundred (400) selected dwellers in five Eastern states in Nigeria, which were selected from five Eastern States (Enugu, Imo, Abia, Anambra and Ebonyi). Random sampling techniques through which all the respondents have an equal chance of being selected and used in this study. The study made use of both primary and secondary data obtained from questionnaires, journals and textbooks all bothering on the subject matter. A total of 400 copies of questionnaires were administered to respondents, but retrieved and made use of only 370 copies of questionnaires to achieve the purpose of the study. The respondents’ responses were presented and analysed with the use of statistical tables and criterion mean based on the four-point Likert rating scale, while content analysis was used as a tool to analyse the secondary data. Also,

In carrying out this research work, mean and rank order statistical methods were used in relation to the items of factors studied. A conclusion was made based on the calculated mean scores. A criterion mean is determined as follows:

SA	-	4
A	-	3
SD	-	2
D	-	1

$$\text{This } 4 + 3 + 2 + 1 = \frac{10}{4} = 2.5$$

Hence, the sum of the mean divided by the total number of respondents this 2.5 becomes the criterion mean, here negative and positive responses are determined. Any item that has a mean score which is below 2.5 was regarded as negative and therefore rejected any item from 2.5 and above was regarded as positive and therefore accepted

Data Presentation and Analysis

Research Question One: What are the general impacts of insurgency on the general socio-economic activities in the southeastern part of Nigeria?

Table 1 mean scores of respondents on the general impacts of insurgency on the general socio-economic activities in the southeastern part of Nigeria

S/N	Items	SA	A	D	SD	Total	Mean	Remark
1	Negative impacts on the educational sector	245 (980)	95 (285)	20 (40)	10 (10)	370 (1315)	3.55	Accepted
2	Negative impacts on people's businesses	145 (580)	168 (504)	32 (64)	25 (25)	370 (1173)	3.17	Accepted
3	Negative impacts on government establishments	190 (760)	92 (276)	52 (104)	36 (36)	370 (1176)	3.18	Accepted
4	Negative impacts on religious organizations	196 (784)	67 (201)	94 (188)	13 (13)	370 (1186)	3.21	Accepted
4	Threats to the lives of people doing business in the south-east	196 (784)	67 (201)	94 (188)	13 (13)	370 (1186)	3.21	Accepted
5	Threats to the lives of people doing business in the south-east	196 (784)	67 (201)	94 (188)	13 (13)	370 (1186)	3.21	Accepted

Criterion mean = 2.5; n=370

Table 1 shows that all the items were accepted by the respondents as the general impacts of insurgency on the general socio-economic activities in the southeastern part of Nigeria because their mean values were above the criterion mean of 2.50. The general impacts of insurgency on the general socio-economic activities in the southeastern part of Nigeria include Negative impacts on the educational sector, negative impacts on people's businesses, negative impacts on government establishments, negative impacts on religious organizations; and threats to the lives of people doing businesses in the south-east.

Research Question Two: What are the impacts of insurgency on the educational sector of the southeastern part of Nigeria?

Table 2 mean scores of respondents on the impacts of insurgency on the educational sector of the southeastern part of Nigeria

S/N	Items	SA	A	D	SD	Total	Mean	Remark
6	Students in the south-east don't go to schools on Mondays as a result of the popular sit-at-home	245 (980)	95 (285)	20 (40)	10 (10)	370 (1315)	3.55	Accepted
7	Students now perform poorly in their academics due to the insecurity environment	145 (580)	168 (504)	32 (64)	25 (25)	370 (1173)	3.17	Accepted
8	Many students missed their external examinations (WAEC, NECO) due to the insecurity environment	190 (760)	92 (276)	52 (104)	36 (36)	370 (1176)	3.18	Accepted
9	Students are not being taught well due to the situation	206 (824)	93 (279)	39 (78)	32 (32)	370 (1213)	3.28	Accepted

Criterion mean = 2.5; n=370

Table 2 shows that all the items were accepted by the impacts of insurgency on the educational sector of the southeastern part of Nigeria because the mean values of the accepted items were above the criterion mean of 2.50. The impacts of insurgency on the educational sector of the southeastern part of Nigeria include the following: School students in the southeast don't go to schools on Mondays as a result of the popular sit-at-home, Students now perform poorly in their academics due to the insecurity environment, Many students missed their external examinations (WAEC, NECO) due to the insecurity environment, and that Students are not being taught well due to the situation.

Research Question Three: What are the impacts of insurgency on business activities in the southeastern part of Nigeria?

Table 3 mean scores of respondents on the impacts of insurgency on the business activities in the south eastern part of Nigeria

S/N	Items	SA	A	D	SD	Total	Mean	Remark
10	Many businesses in the area have gone into comatose	201 (804)	129 (387)	21 (42)	19 (19)	370 (1252)	3.38	Accepted
11	Many small businesses have folded up due to the security challenges in the region	190 (760)	92 (276)	52 (104)	36 (36)	370 (1224)	3.18	Accepted
12	Big businesses and firms have lost huge amount of money due to this insecurity menace	149 (596)	96 (288)	75 (150)	50 (50)	370 (1084)	2.93	Accepted
13	Government has lost huge sums of money as a result of this	201 (804)	129 (387)	21 (42)	19 (19)	370 (1252)	3.38	Accepted
14	Many establishments that brings revenue to the government have been destroyed and deserted	41 (164)	54 (162)	92 (184)	187 (187)	370 (697)	1.88	Rejected

Table 3 showed that the respondents accepted all the items, but item 14 as impacts of insurgency on the business activities in the southeastern part of Nigeria, because their mean values were above the criterion mean of 2.50. The impacts of insurgency on business activities in the southeastern part of Nigeria include: Many businesses in the area have gone comatose, Many small businesses have folded up due to the security challenges in the region, Big businesses and firms have lost huge amounts of money due to this insecurity menace; and that Government has lost huge sums of money as a result of this.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Insecurity and conflict are threats to domestic and foreign investment in Nigeria. Good governance is the bedrock of peace, security and economic prosperity. Politics remains an essential means of building a rational society and efficient institutions. Security is a precondition for socio-economic growth and development in every society, and the precondition for these three variables are peace, equity and justice. Rapid and sustained poverty reduction requires inclusive growth that allows all sundry to contribute and benefit from Nation Cake.

Inclusive growth advances equitable opportunities for economic, social and political participation. National security will directly impact economic development and economic security can impact national security vis vis.

1. The government should use the resources and goodwill at its disposal to unite the country and restore peace in south eastern part of Nigeria. When this is done, businesses, government institutions and religious organizations will return to their original state.
2. The federal government should engage in a dialogue with the IPOB group, Hence it will allow the students to return to school and continue with their academic pursuits.
3. The federal government should ensure equitable distribution of resources among the six geopolitical zones of Nigeria via proper federal character principles. This will help to reduce separatist agitation springing forth from various geo-political zones as a result of a perceived marginalization, exploitation, uneven distribution and allocation of resources.

References

1. Achumba I. C, Ighomereho O. S, & Akpor-Robaro M O (2013). Security Challenges in Nigeria and the Implications for Business Activities and Sustainable Development. *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development*. 4(2); 80-99.
2. Chinwokwu DY (2012). Public Capital Expenditure and Employment Insecurity in Nigeria: An Empirical Study. *Jos Journal of General Studies*, 6(1), 119-132.
3. Campbell, J. & Bunche, R. (2011). Why Nigeria's North-South distinction is important. *Breaking News and opinion on the Huffington Post*. Retrieved from <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/amb-john-campbell/why-nigerias-north-south-html>
4. Chothia, F. (2012). Who are Nigeria's Boko Haram Islamists? *British Broadcasting Corporation*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-138>
5. European Union, (2004). '*Securing Peace and Stability for Africa*'. The EU Funded African Peace Facility, Brussels
6. Gurr, N. & Cole, B. (2005). *The new face of terrorism: Threats from weapons of mass destruction*. London: Tauris.
7. Global Peace Index (GPI, 2012). *Global Peace Ranking*. Institute for Economic and Peace, Retrieved from Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia.
8. Haviland, S. (2012). *Defining terrorism*. New York: American Diplomacy Publishers Chapel Hill NC
9. Hoffman, B. (2006). *Inside terrorism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
10. Global Peace Index (GPI, 2012). *Global Peace Ranking*. Institute for Economic and Peace, Retrieved from Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia.
11. Stewart, Frances (2004). '*Development and Security*', WORKING PAPER 3,
12. Stewart, Frances, Valpy Fitzgerald et al. (2001). '*War and Underdevelopment: The Economic and Social Consequences of Conflict*'(1)
13. Simonsen, C.E. & Jeremy, R.S. (2000). *Terrorism today: The past, the players, the future*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall. pp. 22-24

14. Singer, M. (1992). The application of relative deprivation theory to justice perception of preferential selection. *Current Psychology*, 11(2), 128-145.
15. Turner, R. (1990). The many faces of American sociology: a discipline in search of identity. *The American Behavioral Scientist*, 33(6) 662.
16. Tilahun Nigatu (2009). *Qualitative Data Analysis*, M&E and Research, African Medical and Research Foundation, March 2009.
17. Uzochukwu, M. (2014). Challenges in Nigeria and solutions on how to resolve them. *Politics and Social Issues*, 22(4), 122-135
18. UN Secretary-General (2004). 'Implementation of the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General on the causes of conflict and promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa', Progress report of the Secretary-General (UN- Doc.: A/59/285), New York.