Managing Ethno-Religious Problems in a Divided Society: Evolving Response of International Institutions in Nigeria

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Submitted to the
Institute of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
International Relations

Eastern Mediterranean University
February 2017
Gazimağusa, North Cyprus

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ABSTRACT

Ethno-religious conflicts have found its way into every sphere of Nigeria. The consequences of these conflicts have extended beyond the borders of Nigeria into neighboring countries in Africa such as Cameron and chad. It has also gained headings at the international level. The spread of ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria includes the prominent Niger Delta Avengers (NDA) which is bases on ethnic motivation recognition and Boko Haram insurgence which clearly have its origin on religious ideologies; the harm caused by these two groups cannot be underestimated. Amongst other factors, this thesis ascribe the cases, emergence and flourishing of the two groups to be as a result of weak state institutions in Nigeria. So far, the Nigeria government has clearly shown ineffectualness in curbing these insurgencies. Thus, this research aims to find a balance on the roles of international community in resolving ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria.

The research is divided into six chapters: The first chapter is the introduction. It introduces the research and states the questions which the research tend to answer, significants of the study, the hypotheses, methodology, and the theoretical framework of the research. The next chapter critically reviews important literature in ethno-relgious conflict and international institttions present in the Nigeria. The third chapter gives an overview and Comparison of Boko Haram and Niger Delta Avengers. Chapters four and five provides evidence for the hypotheses and the sixth chapter concludes and gives further recommendations.

ÖZ

Dine dayalı çatışmalar ve şiddet Nijerya'nın hemen her yerinde kendisini her daim göstermenin bir yolunu bulmuştur. Bu çatışmalar sonuçlarını sadece Nijerya'da değil komşu ülkelerde de (örneğin Çad ve Kamerun) etkilerini göstermişlerdir. Din kökenli çatışmalar uluslararası arenada da yankı bulmuştur. Din kökenli çatışmaların Nijerya'daki yayılmasında belirgin olarak karşımıza etkin kökene dayalı Nijer Deltası İntikam Birlikleri ve Boko Haram terör örgütünün (ki Boko Haram da radikalist dine dayalı bir terör propogandası yürütmektedir) verdikleri zarar hafife alınmayacak kadar ciddi boyuttadır. Diğer tüm faktörlerin yanında bu tezde yukarıda bahsi geçen terör örgütlerinin verdikleri vahim zararda Nijerya'daki zayıf eyalet kuruluşlarının da rol oynadığı savunulmaktadır. Şu ana kadar Nijerya yönetimi bu tarz terör eylemlerinin önünü almada yetersizlik (etkisizlik) göstermiştir. Bu yüzden bu çalışmada amaçlanan uluslararası kamuoyunun etnik ve dine dayalı terör eylemlerini çözümlemedeki denge rolünü araştırmaktır. Bu çalışma altı bölümden oluşmaktadır. Giriş bölümünde araştırma hipotezi ve araştırmada cevabı bulunacak sorular, ayrıca çalışmanın önemi yöntemi ve teorik çerçevesi anlatılmıştır. Takip eden ünitede ise Nijerya'daki etnik ve din kökenli şiddet eylemleriyle ve Nijerya'daki uluslararası kuruluşlarla ilgili etraflıca bir literatür taraması verilmektedir. Üçüncü bölümde ise Nijer Deltası İntikam Birlikleri ve Boko Haram ile ilgili karşılaştırmaya yer verilmiştir. Dördüncü ve beşinci bölümler hipotezi bulgularla desteklerken, altıncı ünitede sonuç ve gelecek için birtakım politik önerilere yer verilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Etnik ve Dini kökenli, Çatışma, Nijerya, Zayıf EyaletKurumları, Uluslararası KurumlarDEDICATION

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to God, the founder of knowledge.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I thank God for the successful completion of my thesis. He has been my source of strength and leader through the research period. I specially acknowledge my supervisor, Assistant Professor Doctor Riza Acar Kutay , he was first my teacher and thereafter my supervisor. He consistently conveyed willingness and support throughout the period of the research. I appreciate the excitement he demonstrated which made the work a lot easier for me. Without his guidance, this work would not have been a reality. And I would love to work with him in the future if I ever have the opportunity.

I would also like to apprecite the members of the committee for creating out time to examine my study, Assistant Professor John Albert Turner and Assistant Professor Günay Aylin. I appreciate their efforts in examining my study. As my letureres, you have greatly been a motivition to me and I appreciate you for that. In addition, a thank you to Eng. Tekena Ikoko and the entire Single But Not Stupid (SBNS) team for their scholarship and prayers throughout my study period. Thank you for believing in me.

Lastly, I want to specially thank my best friend Mrs. Rose Dike who happens to be my mum and all my family memeber and friends who have also been a support and enncouragment during the study period. You are all cherished.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AU   African Union

BH   Boko Haram

Bpd   Barrel Per Day

CCA   Common Country Analysis

CFR   Council of Foreign Relations

ECOWAS   Economic Community of West African States

EFCC   Economic and Financial Crime Commission

HRW   Human Right Watch

ICC   International Criminal Court

ICRtoP   International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect

IGO   Intergovernmental Organizations

ILO   International Labor Organization

LICUS   Low Income Countries Under Stress

MEND   Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta

MNC   Multinational Corporations

MOSOP   Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People

NDA   Niger Delta Avengers

NGO   Nongovernmental Organizations

OIC   Organizations of Islamic Conference

OMPADEC   Oil Mineral Producing Areas Development Commission

OTP   Office of the Prosecutor

PRI   Public Radio International

UNEP   United Nations Environmental Programs

SALW   Small Arms and Light Weapons

V-BIED   Vehicle-Borne Improvised Exploding Device

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The issue of conflict has been dominant and prominent in the domestic and international scene. It occurs if a mutual agreement, structure, behavior, manner or expectation is disrupted. Conflict in a society hovers around reasons such as religion, regions, culture, language or ethnicity misconception. Irobi noted some common reasons for conflict to be "the demand for ethnic and cultural autonomy, Competing demands for land, money and power, and Conflicts taking place between rival ethnic groups'' (Irobi 2005). However, a bridge of other factors such as civil and political right, economic and social opportunities could also lead to conflict.

Especially in Africa, ethnic and religious conflict has never ceased to be an issue since the advent of European colonization, leading to greater challenge to peace and stability in the region. Ochunu reported on 10 March 2014 in Public radio international (PRI), explaining what is known as the Nigeria of today came as a result of amalgamation of two separate blocs by British colonies. It goes further to explain that the amalgamation was for the convenience of the colonial masters who desired to stretch from the arid Sahel to the Atlantic Coast, besides, northern Nigeria was not paying while southern Nigeria generated more revenue which makes the amalgamation understandable. So far, the result of the amalgamation has never ceased to be a challenge in the region because smaller ethnic and religious groups

greatly feels exploited, used and marginalized. Overtimes, there has been rising issues of suspicion and disagreement between these groups. Currently, Republic of Nigeria is divided in three major ethnic groups which are the Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba. These cultures are divers with little or no similarity and prefer to be treated as such. Also, Nigeria has two major religions divided along the North and South bloc. The Southern bloc which is said to be oil rich have be turned to a zone for political and economic crimes. Being a minority group who possess the major source of the countries resources, they feel marginalized, oppressed and exploited. Several militant groups have risen to push for equality and fair treatment; they intend to achieve this by fighting the Nigeria government. Like the Movement for the Emancipation of Niger delta (MEND) 2004-2014, it have grown to become one of the most radical groups that fight for compensation of devastated environment caused by oil spills. Most recently, Niger Delta avengers (NDA) which is a more radical militant group came to public notice in March 2016. These suggest that both the government and domestic institutions have failed to maintain peace in this region.

> *Transformation of initially uncoordinated, non-violent protests into a full-blown pan-Delta insurgency and the attendant insecurity in the region has continued to occupy the attention of strategic and policy analysts and oil multinationals, whose multibillion dollar investments are at grave risk. Also at stake are the energy security and strategic interests of oil-dependent Western powers, which back the oil multinationals and rely on oil imports from the Niger Delta (Obi 2010, 220).*

On the other hand, the Northern bloc which is mostly Muslims is dependent on agriculture. The rise of Boko Haram is a further reason why one may tag the Nigeria government as weak. The sad truth is that they aren't fighting for equal allocation of public fund and fair representation in governmental positions as in the case of the Niger Delta Militant groups, rather they want to wage war against other Muslims that they consider less devoted so as to Islamize the entire country. This clearly shows

that Nigeria is not immune to ethnic conflict either. In fact, conflict is the heart of development problem, social wellbeing and economic problem of the region. In addition to this, as regional powers, history has place Nigeria in a position where it feel it has to provide remedies to the problems in Africa at large.

Although the Nigeria government have taken many positive steps to address the case of ethnic and religious conflict including other pressing issues facing the country, it is clear that a lot still needs to be done to comb the current crisis facing the country. It is for this reason that Intergovernmental organizations has stood firmly to reiterate their stand on security issues in Africa. For instance, the UN has reiterated also that in a newsletter published by International Coalition the responsibility to project stated that:

But also buttressed that the UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon in 20 January 2010 however have shown their interest in Nigeria as well be expressing concern renewed violence and crimes that are being carried out in Nigeria, the have also beckoned on religious and political to combine their strength and address the causes of violence in the country. Also on 19 January 2010 Human Rights Watch (HRW), on 19 January 2010, called on the Nigerian government to take steps that would end its discriminatory policies that benefits just a few, this would help to reduce the feeling of marginalization in Nigeria. The International Criminal Court (ICC) Prosecutor Bensouda have announced that it is inhuman the way civilians are treated in Nigeria both by the Nigeria security force and that there should be a prosecution of those who indulge in such crimes.

These actions of the IGOs cordially support Cocodia's explanation that There is hardly any country in the world that is doing well at the educational sector with

sound governmental system that struggles with issues of "violent ethnic upheavals" (Cocodia 2008:21). Therefore if Nigeria must make headways and advance in its status as the Giant of Africa, it must take actions to avoid violence in other to improve its subnational political units, economic sector and maintain peace between ethnic and religious groups.

1.2 Statement of Research Problem

Conflict as a concept covers a wide aspect including religious and ethnic sector. This often led to tensions and violent acts in most cases. Several scholars has embarked on research on this field and as such, we have various perceptions to the term. In addition, some international institutions which included regional and international institutions (United Nation, Africa Union, Human Right Watch, etc.) have engaged in activities to discontinue the crisis. This thesis aims to add to the existing research in this subject. Precisely, this research aims to answer the question which is: what role is an international institution playing to manage religious and ethnic conflict in Nigeria? The existence and how to eradicate religious and ethnic conflict would continue to vary in explanations due to the different perspective of different scholars and other factors which are beyond the scope of this thesis. Therefore, this study is just one out of many which aims to ascribe the responsibility of maintaining religious stability and ethnic coexistence to international institutions. This is not to say that religious and ethnic crisis can only be curtailed by international institutions because the government and other local institutions are already participating in the peace process. But the research aims to explain the relationship between ethnic and religious stability and the presence of international institutions in Nigeria.

What roles are international institutions playing to manage ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria? As noted above, one major aspect this work covers is that it brings the issue

4

of ethnic and religious conflict in Nigeria and clearly show the roles international institutions are playing to manage it in other to bring about peaceful coexistence. Thus, the research question is; what roles are international institutions playing to manage religious and ethnic conflict in Nigeria?

This research question aims to explain the impact of the presence of international institutions in Nigeria when it comes to conflict management. Although irrespective of the effort, there are still cases of crisis but this does not undermine their struggle. In addition, the two major initial zones of this conflict was the Northern and Eastern bloc, however the rise of militant groups in Niger Delta which is in the south clearly shows a territorial spread of conflict which if not managed, could result to more insurgences in Nigeria and other neighboring countries. Within the context of this question as well, this work seeks to examine whether stronger operations, systems and policies of international institutions would lead to the eradication or minimization of ethnic and religious conflict in Nigeria. This also goes a long way to explain the relationship between international institutions (their policies and ethnic conflict). This research would also answer the following questions:

In other to analyze the roles of Intergovernmental institutions in conflict resolution in Nigeria, the thesis answers the following questions:

•   What are the sources of ethnic and religious conflict and their impact on the stability and security in Nigeria?

•   What are the policies and approached employed by the government institutions and intergovernmental organizations to manage conflict?

•   Have the Intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) policies been successful? If so, can they be reinforced? If not, can we consider The need for reinforcement and alternative mechanisms for managing conflict in Nigeria by UN, AU, ECOWAS,

HRW?. The need for reinforcement and alternative mechanisms for managing conflict in Nigeria.

1.3 Significance of the Study

This thesis is significant because it examines the roles international institutions play in the reduction of conflict at the state level. This may provide a platform for the international system to enjoy peace as well. By ensuring peace in one country, it could spread to other countries and in turn create a peaceful platform for the international community at large. This research further examined the dynamics of the current cooperation between the Federal Republic of Nigeria and IGOs in religious/ethnic conflict resolution.

This thesis takes a different path from other thesis which would mostly attribute the responsibility of conflict management to the state government and local institutions alone. Rather, it brings in the role of international institutions as they work in hand with the nations in managing conflict. The findings would be a contribution to the ongoing research on how the International institutions and the Nigeria government aim at managing religious and ethnic conflict in the region.

This research also considers the limitations of the Nigeria government and why they've failed to ensure the giant of Africa to be a conflict free zone. The scope of this study is limited to a single state which is Nigeria basically to have a straight to the point analysis. I will particularly concentrate on two conflicts. First I will examine the current crisis concerning the Boko Haram terrorist group that started with religious motivations. Secondly. I will investigate the rise of militancy in Nigeria.

1.4 Hypotheses

This thesis is structured around the following hypothesis,

Hypothesis H_1**:** poor governmental institutions is the major causes of ethno-religious conflict and other insurgences in Nigeria.

Hypothesis H_2**:** the preservation of religious and ethnic peace (or cessation) is dependent upon the type and effectiveness of the available conflict management mechanisms adopted by the Nigeria government along with international institutions**.**

Null Hypothesis H_0**:** There is no relationship between international institutions and the rising insurgencies in Nigeria.

Null Hypothesis H_0**:** There is no relationship between government policies or mechanisms and the preservation of ethnic and religious peace in Nigeria.

1.5 Methodology

Primary resources would basically consist of relevant media reports dating from 2003 when the armed group in Niger delta emerged to date. Group discussion of young scholars from Africa region would be used to proffer recommendation at the end of the work, and related official statements. While secondary resources would include books, the use of journal articles, news report, also research papers, blogs, and the social media dating from1960 when Nigeria gained independent which aims at giving a review on the trend of conflict in Nigeria and the roles of Intergovernmental organization in conflict resolution.

1.6 Scope and Limitations

The scope of this thesis is somewhat limited. Although most of the crisis and war in the world today can be traced to either ethnic or religious bases as in the case of Bosnia Herzegovina civil war, the September 11, 2001 bomb blast in U.S which is considered to be an Islamic terrorist attack, the ongoing Israel-Palestine war, etc. still, this research concentrates on analyzing conflict management in Nigeria alone. In other words, the research would analyze conflict carried out within the borders of Nigeria. Also, this research attributes forms of instabilities (both political, economic and social) to be also as a result of religious and ethnic conflict. Furthers the research would analyze the weakness of the Nigeria government in controlling the conflict. It would also buttress the roles played by international institutions such as UN, UNICEF, AU, HRW, and other international institutions for the main purpose of clarity or points. The research would clearly show the origin of militancy and Boko Haram in Nigeria, their driving force and the effect of their operations. The limitation of this study is attributed to the unavailability of reliable primary data. Since most of the sources of this work is restricted to sources from the internet. Some data are usually kept confidential by the Nigeria government.

1.7 Theoretical Frame Work

The impact of religious and ethnic conflict is not new to the human environment. Quite a number of theories have been adopted by different scholars to explain these issues a proper analysis on conflict resolution would be done based on the following theory. Theories as it were only explains event or issues from a particular point of view and so do not provide a universal acceptable judgment of issues. It is for this reason that conflict as a concept seems too broad to explain, also the role of international institutions in quite extensive depending on the issue a particular

problem which it seeks to address. Precisely, explaining or recommending the roles of international institutions in religious and ethnic conflict vary from one author to another depending on the issues surrounding the conflict. The reasons for contentions may vary from one country to another and ought to be approached differently, this have attracted quite a number of theories. Although these theories are useful but because of their disparity, they may not be able to provide a holistic or in-depth understanding especially when it comes to issues of conflict in Nigeria In the same light.

1. Weak state: There is no universal acceptable definition of a weak state. However, the most famous of all the definitions is that of the World Bank. According to World Bank,

   The World Bank's Fragile States Initiative, previously called the Low-Income Countries Under Stress (LICUS) Initiative, describes "fragile states" as often characterized by poor governance, internal conflicts or tenuous post-conflict transitions, weak security, fractured societal relations, corruption, breakdowns in the rule of law, and insufficient mechanisms for generating legitimate power and authority (Wyler, 2008:32).

A state is not referred to as weak because of its colonial background, geographical location. It becomes a weak state when it fails to provide basic or quality governance, firm political structure and basic social and economic goods of its citizens. According to a blog post by Rotberg (2013), if a state is somehow holding together like Zimbabwe. Although Nigeria is not yet a failed. It is for this reason that Nigeria is not referred to as a Failed State as well because despite all the insurgence and poor economic and social provisions, its government is still holding together and managing to control the issues, on the other hand, it is nowhere close being a strong state because it provides less than adequate expectation of its citizens. Most states are like this, they and neither strong states like the America, Canada and most European

countries neither are they failed states like Somalia. Most states in the world fall between the Strong and Failed States, theses states are referred to as weak states, especially the developing countries.

The case of Nigeria might not be as extreme as Rwanda, but the Nigeria government have demonstrated characteristics of a weak state over time. For instance. Weak states also have a poor federal structure, especially when it comes to fair representation of groups.

This theory is very relevant to this thesis because it is a clear indicator that the central government of Nigeria is weak which has also led to the widespread of corruption, militancy, criminality, militancy and other insurgencies. There is also a clear failure to ensure public order caused by ethnic and religious groups. Weak states do not also ensure human right and basic freedom of people, there is a high rate of injustice in deliverance of public funds and services which is actually what the Niger Delta militant groups asserts to be their drive. Also, weak states do not promote climatic programs and other programs to reduce environmental degradation. Still in the Niger delta region, there is little of attempt to clean up oil spills.

Lastly, security weak states are not able to provide basic safety of its citizens.
Therefore, this research suggest the need for international actors to be involved in strengthening Nigeria and other weak states that have been ravaged by ethnic and religious crisis. It suggest the use of international diplomacy where necessary to provide foreign assistance, promote good governance and ensure religious and ethnic

stability. Apart from international institutions, there is also an ongoing plan to grant week states support in conflict management. Wyler mentioned that

A third party is also recommended which is the international institutions to negotiate with the Niger Delta on modalities to clean up oil, and proper representations. This is a more friendly approach to conflict because it entails negotiation and fair hearing and joint effort. It would be used as a recommendation for the way forward in Nigeria instead of wrong assumptions

1.8 Organization of the Study

This thesis would be organized into six chapters. The first chapter is an introduction which consist of background information, statement of the research problem, the research question, hypothesis, methodology, the scope of the research and a theoretical framework. The second chapter would review relevant and important literatures which talk's about religious and ethnic conflict and the roles of international institutions. What this chapter intends to do is to examine related literatures which would serve as a bedrock on how this research would be useful for further research on this filed.

The third chapter would be a comparison of the Niger Delta Militant groups and Boko Haram, their origins and motivations, and the disparity in their claims as well. This chapter intends to show how religious and ethnic conflict could grow to become a terrorist group if not properly managed. This means that the work would go on to explain how the Boko Haram started as a religious ideology and how Niger delta militancy emerged as ethnic group that fights for the proper allocation of National resources being the major oil producers in the country.

The fourth and fifth chapter would focus more on the theories of this study and its relevance to the work, it would examine some international institutions present in Nigeria and the roles each of these institutions play in eradicating ethnic conflict. While the sixth chapter would be a summary, conclusion and possible recommendations.

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This second chapter explores relevant and important literatures and views which talk's about the roles of international institutions in religious and ethnic conflict resolution. What this chapter intends to do is to examine related literatures which would serve as a bedrock on how this research would be useful for further research on this filed. It compares opinions and standpoint of various writers as relates to the study ''the role of international institutions in ethno-religious conflict resolution in Nigeria''. Most importantly, this chapter takes advantage of the strength and weakness of the existing literatures to buttress the point and argument of this literature.

The chapter explains the general concept of the meaning of conflict, the nature of religious and ethnic conflict in Nigeria, it goes on to elaborate the causes of religious and ethnic conflict in Nigeria and then its effect on the social, economic and political sphere. This chapter also takes account of explains the rise of Boko Haram in Nigeria while drawing its root to religious and ethnic bases. Furthermore, it explains the roles international institutions play in conflict resolution in Nigeria.

2.2 The Meaning and Nature of Ethno-Religious Conflict in Nigeria

"Conflict has been a feature of human society since time immemorial. Disputes that arise may be organized around social class, ethnicity, religion, region, or some

combination of these factors'' (Murshed 2002:387). Nigeria is vastly a multireligious and a multiethnic group although scholars have not been able to come up with the exact number of ethnic groups in the country. According to Osaghae and Suberu (2005) ''in spite of the salience of ethnicity, and the large number of studies that have been devoted to the subject, the exact number of ethnic groups in the country is not known. Different estimations have been given, notably, including: 248 (Coleman 1958), 394 (Hoffman 1974), 62 (Murdock 1975), 161 (Gandonu 1978), 143 (Odetola 1978), 619 (Wente-Lukas 1985), and 374 (Otite 1990) A recent ethnic mapping project puts the number at over 500 (PEFS 2001)'' (Osaghae & Suberu 2005:4). According to Alonge & Okunade ''The country has more than two hundred and fifty (250) different ethnic groups whose cultures and values vary widely. However, this has brought a lot of rivalries among the ethnic groups in Nigeria resulting into violence and skirmishes'' (Alonge & Okunade, 2014|:22). This intends to show how the number of ethnic ground differ from one researcher to another depending on the criteria used by the researcher to determine the divergent. Although majorly, kinship, language, common origin, territorial zones, are common grounds for classifications, but in recent times religion silently has a close tie when determining ethnicity. Deutsch *eta*l (2011:634)differences among peoples are linked to evident linguistic, ethnic, traditional, religious, racial, and regional differences of the individuals involved.

The multiplicity is not an excuse for division. The very fact that a country has diversity of ethno-religious group doesn't make conflicts inevitable "evidence shows that division and conflict are not dependent on the degree of diversity'' (Osaghae & Suberu 2005:4). He cited Malaysia and Switzerland who enjoy relative peace irrespective of the cultural diversity. This does not rule out the fact that cultural and

religious multiplicity is a ground that favors conflict to thrive. They also noted that in recent times, people prefer to identify themselves as members of a particular ethnic group rather than been referred to as Nigerians. More and more, this challenges the ideology of ONE NIGERIA.

"Ethnicity is demonstrably the most conspicuous group identity in Nigeria …..almost one-half (48.2%) of Nigerians chose to label themselves with an ethnic (including linguistic and local-regional) identity, compared to almost one-third (28.4%) who opted for class identities, and 21.0 percent who chose a religious identity (Lewis and Bratton 2000: 24-25) in (Osaghae & Suberu 2005:4). What then is religious and ethnic group?

2.2.1 Ethnic Group

Just as we have so many authors, so we have different definitions of ethnic groups. This is because ethnic groups means different things to different people. This thesis would be centering on some frequently used definitions. According to Alonge & Okunade(2014:1), "Ethnic groups are viewed as the categories of people characteristics by cultural criteria symbols including language, value systems and normative behavior, and whose members are enclosed in a particular part of the new state territory (Otite, in Omotosho 2008)". This is different from Paulley's defining who attributes his view of an ethnic group to be based on physical features; ''an ethnic group is a group of people that have the same biological texture of hair, color of the skin, eye as well as the structure of the nose among the features (Okodo in Paulley 2012). Ethnic group is viewed as a biological group with the same culture, symbols and communication sharing a peculiar identifiable characteristics including membership (Naroll in Alonge & Okunade 2014:1).

All of the above definitions tells us elements and a consensus of what ethnic groups should incorporate which are religious faith, language, biological traits and values. As against other groups, ethnic groups have a primordial connections. Group identity is placed as a priority compared to personal identity which makes it even stronger. There is a conscious desire to protect the norms and believe of the group and any contrary opinion could be considered as a threat. There are three major ethnic groups in Nigeria, the Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba and the disparity reflect in different sectors in Nigeria such professionally, economical, politically, military and also in religion.

''Ethnic conflict cuts across many professions in the country be it military, academic, business. Military recruitment and coup d'etat in the country have always been with ethnic coloration to establish ethnic dominance on other ethnic groups in the country'' (Alonge & Okunade 2014:2). Economically, when people obtain high career in their given career and are placed economically, there would rather prefer to favor members of their particular ethnic group and place them in higher positions whether they merit it or not. Besides, in public places and market, businessmen and women of different ethnic groups are found disagreeing on several issues and the root cause is usually affirmed to be on ethnic factors. For instance, Hausa and Yoruba clashed in Ibadan 1999 at Bodija Market over cattle (Omotosho, in Alonge & Okunade 2014). Irrespective of socioeconomic status and attainment, cultural background still speaks a lot about the human race and reflects in day to day activities, interactions, food and even choices of drink.

2.2.2 Religious Groups

Ranking next to ethnicity is religious identity (Osaghae &Suberu 2005:10). Durkheim's definition of religion: a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things (Durkheim 1959). "Religion as trait that sets a group apart in that

group's own eyes and/or in the eyes of others" (Fox 1999:294). Fox definitions tries to explain religion is subject to what a group perceives it to be and this differentiates it from other groups. It is how different you consider yourself to be from others.

According to Karl Marx and Frederick Engels (1990), ''Religion is the sight of the oppressed creature, the heart of the heartless world, as it the spirit of the spiritless condition. It is the Opium of the people'' (Marx and Engels, 1990:27). They see religion to be that drug that gives people false happiness and makes them to deny reality, they also insinuates religion to be a an illusion which need to be dealt away with for people to attain real happiness. This philosophy was propounded at a time in Germany when the bourgeoisie used the church as a tool to achieve their selfish interest, teaching laborers to remain loyal while the rich became richer. Durkheim's definition of religion: a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, i.e., things set apart and forbidden – beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them (Durkheim 1954:4). Durkheim sees religion from a social perspective. He is more optimistic when compared too Karl Marx. He considers it as a system that assembles people together to think and act in a certain way. The sole purpose is unification of groups to reason similarly. He also sees religion to be very important because it helps members of a given society to uphold and reaffirm sentiments. Durkheim ideology of religion deviates from historical Karl Marx which is quite materialistic and a means of exploitation. He sees it to be more that material basis of society. Durkheim also emphasized that no matter how much science contends with religion, they still can't deny the competence and impact on the society.

Religious identification in Nigeria can be grouped into three – "Christian, Muslim and Traditional" (Osaghae &Suberu 2005:11). Like every other African country, traditional practices and norms are being unhelp and several values associated with traditional religions have been a major practice. In Nigeria, the traditional religion is the least political when compared to Christianity and Islam. Christianity and Islam are the major clashing groups. Irrespective of the effort of NGO and other governmental institutions, the conflict between these groups seems to be endless. ''Nigeria has experience several ethnic conflicts, as a result of religion. The current trend of Boko Haram insurgence has led to the loss of "lives and properties have been lost in the course of this'' (Alonge & Okunade 2014:2). Therefore, ethno-religious conflicts are any conflict where the people involved are primarily of different religious and ethnic group (Fox 1999:294). Discrimination and marginalization against an ethnic minority could course the minority to form grievance against a state". Although this is the dominant cause, but there are few cases as well were it is failure to accommodate ethnic majorities within the state, a typical example is the case of South Africa under apartheid.

Putting the two concepts together, ethnic conflict simply occurs when there is a "breakdown of accommodation of ethnic minorities and majorities within a state" (Alonge & Okunade 2014:2).

2.3 Causes of Ethno-Religious Conflict

It of great importance for this thesis to highlight the root causes of ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria including other variables that would help to fuel the conflict in modern society. There have been several argument as to what the root cause of ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria is in Nigeria, although it is however difficult to

ascertain what it actually is. Although there is a consensus of most of the scholars agreeing to the fact that colonialism and ethno-religious conflict are inseparable. They mostly attribute the root cause of religious and ethnic conflict in Nigeria to be colonialism.

Nigeria which consists of more than 200 ethnic groups speaking over 250 languages. Ethnic divisions has been preserved and became stronger under British ―indirect rule‖, through the continuation in power of existing traditional rulers" (Ostein 2009:6). The approach of the colonial masters was not to bring about one Nigeria but to bring regions together which would be more accessible and easy for them. Therefore, divisions and diversity created by the colonial system was a favorable ground for interreligious conflict.

Apart from the territorial divisions set by the colonial admistrations which is quite an extreem view, there are other interveining variables which helped to foster conflict such as psychology, poverty, religion, media, nationalism and ethnicity mostly lead to ethno-religious conflict.

Fox in the ''Influence of Religious Legitimacy on Grievance Formation by Ethno-Religious Minorities'' defined Religious grievances as "grievances publicly expressed by group leaders over what they perceive as religious discrimination against them" (Fox 1999:236). And this is not far from the case in Nigeria. He agrees with Gurr that "grievances courses the minority group to mobilize for either protest or rebellion" Gurr (1993a,b) . Some other scholars argued that the media is a responsible factor for ethno-religious conflict. Most scholars like Hackett (2003) has accuse the print and broadcast material serve as an initiator to ethno-religious

conflict. Hackett also accuses media publications to over hype tensions between the Christian and Islamic group in Nigeria. She goes on to explain that media has a way of reshaping idea base on the perception of the reporter which in turn send wrong signals of insecurity and increase fear of domination, which this thesis agree with the idea that sometimes the media overrate information's which may pass more message of religious contest than coexistence.

2.4 Effect of Ethno-Religious Conflict

The number one effect of ethno-relgious conflict is discrimination which is what this aspect of the work centers on. There are several effect of ethno-religous conflict but this work would center on discriminations which is the bedrock for other effects. As we noted earlier, the regional formation (East, west, north and south)created by colonialist during the formation of Nigeria still has its legacy even after the amalgamamtion of Nigeria and other attempt to achieve ONE NIGERIA. The effect of this cannot be overemphasized because, the clear distinction between indigenes and non-indigence is obvious in every aspect. It reflect in the economy, social and political sphere of life. This agrees with Fox (2000) that religion can be political tool to suppress minority groups.

2.5 The rise of Boko Haram (BH) and Militancy in Nigeria

This is the highest level of ethno-religious insurgence in the history of Nigeria. There is scholarly agreement on the outbreak of BH, the rise of BH is said to be ethno-religious. According to Adesoji, "BH uprising is not just a precedent, but also reinforced the attempt by Islamic conservative element at imposing a variant of Islamic ideology on a secular state'' (Adesoji 2010:95). He further explained that other variables associated with the emergence of Boko Haram is the influential Islamic leader, who even though their position places them to be vocal and

influencing, they did nothing tangible to stop the emergence of the group apart from feeble condemnation. He also considered the religious sensitivity of Nigeria to be a breeding ground for BH. Apart from internal factors, Adesoji also mentioned the growing uprising of Islamic fundamentalist around the world to be an external factor that aided the group to grow. His argument on agrees with on the idea of religiosity and BH of Anneli Botha and Hussein Solomon who looked at terrorism from an Islamic extremism view. They further explained that Nigeria is a fertile ground for the growth and spread of Boko Haram because it is the largest Islamic country in Africa. The insurgence created by this group it said to surpass that of Ethiopia and Senegal.

Maiangwa *etal* (2012) also reiterated religion as the motivation for Boko Haram, "the emergence of Boko Haram, as radical Islamist sect, has broadened insecurity in Nigeria and even beyond, it affects the security, political and economic sector, they went further to quote Wole Soyinka   that you should know you have reached a watershed in life when even you start see a bunch of people who have the gut to open fire in a place of worship" (Maiangwa *etal* 2012:40).

Religious motivated terrorism on ethnic borders between Muslims and Christians and between Yoruba and Hausa. Kaduna in northern Nigeria forms the basis of conflict between Christians and Muslims. (Botha, A., & Solomon, H. 2005:10)

Natural resources and the economy also played a huge role in stimulating the conflict. Leith and Solomon also argues that apart from religion, there are other factors that fuelled the conflict as well. Another thign to be considered is that economy played a large role in the fuelling of conflict in Nigeria apart from religion.

So while the Christians in southern Nigeria feard the Muslims in the far north for their brutal nature, the Muslims in the North obviously feared the south for richly endowed oil reserve.

"The structural-adjustment program pursued and vigorously implemented by Babangida's regime (1985–1993) led to suffering and frustration among Nigerian citizens. As though it was not enough for the state to carter properly for it citizens, several workers were ask stop work *as* the state could no longer pay while the low class adjusted and "tighten their belt" *(Mu'azu 2011:19), "*Corrupt elites engaged in an embezzlement" *(*Mu'azu 2011:20). It is the frustration of this low class that contributed to the high rate of arm robbery, pick pocket, militancy and even terrorism. Suberu in Diamond & Plattner 1994:60 in Maiangwa etal(2012) looks at ethno-relgious conflict and the rise of Boko Haram to be because of the military system of government that was practiced in Nigeria. He noted that many ethnic militant groups emerged in search public recogition which the military tried to suppress.

Another religious based crisis in Nigeria that got international attentions was the 2002 Kaduna outbreak which left more than 200 people dead. The crisis started as a protest by the Islamic extremist youth to counter the hosting of the miss world beauty pageant in Nigeria on the ground that it would promote nudity which is very offensive to the Islamic religion.

2.5.1. Militancy in Nigeria (An Instance of Ethnic Conflict)

Niger Delta is the oil-rich region in Nigeria. It composes of mangrove swamps and creeks and one of the world's largest wetlands. Militancy started in Nigerian particularly when the "oil producing southern regions, demanded a larger share of the

nation's oil wealth. Radical ethnic Ijaw youth resorted to violence against oil firms as a means of expressing their grievances" (Botha and Solomon, 2005:10). They argued that the control of oil reserve and the demand for a larger share of oil wealth is the motivation for this group.

Ukiwo gave a background study that the the Ijaw and Itsekiri conflict started as a struggle for land ownership but took another dimension after the discovery of oil. He went further to explain that the Ijaw of Warri complained that oil companies denied them employment and contracts given to host communities while the Itsekiri benefited from everything good that came in. There are accusations on that the Itsekiri monarch has used his position as the paramount ruler of Warri to reserve benefits for the Itsekiri while excluding the Ijaw. This led to a revolt and the emergence of militancy among the ijaws youths. The group was said to have grown because of the perception that members are invulnerable to bullet because they are protected by the Ijaw diety known as ''Egbesu'' (Ukiwo, 2007:596).

With all the unrest going on, the government decided to tackle the issue by introducing then Presidential Amnesty Program. The program was simply disarming, demobilizing, and reintegrating the militants in Niger Delta by means of giving a certain form of money to stay quiet and stop further destructive. And yes the program proved to be a success with violence and kidnappings decreasing sharply. Petroleum production and exports increased from about 700,000 barrels per day (bpd) in mid-2009 to between 2.2 and 2.4 million bpd in 2011. It Involved the disarmament, demobilization, reinsertion and reintegration of the militants'' (Ayelowo, 2016:4). They program was quite costly to maintain and terminated. The real issues that brought the problem were still not addressed. Unemployment remained on the high side, catastrophes of oil spill wasn't cleaned in the region, poverty was unaddressed,

good drinking water was still not provided. Ones again, the youths became restive and frustrated. This led to the most recent wave of militancy in Nigeria which is the Niger Delta Avengers (NDA). Although many are of the opinion that the Niger Delta Avengers is being manipulated by some corrupt Politicians who are afraid of the current onslaught on corruption. NDA is a new wave of Militancy in Nigeria that announced it presence in 2016. In a short while, they have led to the shorting down of oil terminals, attacked producing facilities in the delta, their attack also 46caused Nigeria to fall down behind Angola as Africa chief oil producer.

While the BH insurgence can be traced to religious intolerance, militancy in Niger Delta is an ethnic militia-ization of the Ijaw ethnic group which has resulted to a communal cohesion and insecurity of the Niger Delta region. Although militancy in Niger Delta started as an outrage in ethnic group to fights for ethnic recognition and right shares in the oil economy, it has grown to a violent group that sometimes fight their traditional rulers, elders, the government and MNC. Although most scholars attributed the origin of militancy in Niger Delta to have been a set of ethnic group who feel marginalized and exploited as the major oil producer, Ayelowo (2016) whose research is more recent considers the main drivers of terrorism in Nigeria as basically lack of development, poverty, unemployment and frustration etc. multiplicity is not an excuse for conflict, he blames the system to be the reason. If institutions are stable, then multiplicity wouldn't be an excuse for violent act. ''Terrorism does not develop overnight in any society but begins gradually as various factors within the society create room for it'' (Ayelowo, 2016:1). An analysis of reasons why youth are involved in the region's conflicts shows that socio-economic facilities are totally lacking. Youth respondents decried the state of social amenities in their communities. It is disappointing to note that up until now,

Yenagoa, the capital of Bayelsa State (mainly Ijaw domain) has not been connected to the national grid. (Oluwaniyi, 2010:314). Therefore asides the issues of ethnicity, there are still other factors that aided the conflict in Nigeria. The truth is that if institutions are stable, then multiplicity wouldn't be an excuse for violent act.

''Terrorism does not develop overnight in any society but begins gradually as various factors within the society create room for it'' (Ayelowo, 2016:1). His arguement affirms Osaghae and Seberu observation so far that multiplicity is not a guarantee for conflcit, there is always room for coexistence if the demands of the people are been meet by the government. (Osaghae & Suberu 2005:4). Therefore asides the issues of ethnicity, there are still other factors that aided the conflict.

2.6. International Institutions and Conflict Resolution in Nigeria.

McLaughlin Mitchel & Paul R. Hensel argued that "States are more likely to comply with agreements settling their contentious issues when these agreements are reached with the help of international institutions than when they are reached bilaterally or with the help of noninstitutional third parties'' (Mitchel & Hensel, 2007:765). Unlike the realist perspective of world politics that sees international system as a struggle for power and security, this work embraces the roles played by a wide range of governmental and nongovernmental organizations in combating conflict in Nigeria. On February 11 2015, the International coalition for the responsibility to protect (ICRtoP) reported that International community is also stepping up, as U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry recently travelled to Nigeria to speak with the presidential candidates, threatening travel restrictions and other measures should they stoop to the commission of violent acts (ICRtoP, 2015).

2.7 Responses of Governmental and Nongovernmental Organizations (Regional and International level)

On 5 March 2015, Mohammed Aly Sergie reand Toni Johnson reported on the council of foreign relations (CFR) that the Nigerian government hasn't been able to quell the insurgency, and violence has spread to Cameroon, Chad, and Niger. In May 2014 the United States deployed a small group of military advisers to help find the kidnapped girls. the CFR repot also shows the United State also buttressed Boko Haram's 2010 prison break, use of propaganda, and the bombing of police headquarters in June 2011 indicate an increasing level of sophistication and organization, which could indicate outside help. U.S. officials say the group has ties to northwest Africa-based al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, Somalia's al-Shabab, and al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula. Communications between Boko Haram and the self-proclaimed Islamic State have been detected, testified Nicholas Rasmussen, director of the U.S. National Counterterrorism Center, before a hearing of the U.S. Senate Intelligence Committee in February 2015(CFR, 2015).

The African Union authorized a joint force of 7,500 from Nigeria, Benin, Cameroon, Chad, and Niger to fight Boko Haram (ibid). This is also because the spread of BH now has exceeded the Nigeria border spreading to other neighbouring countries in west africa. İn July 2014, the Boko Haram group kidnapped the wife of Cameroon's vice prime miniser, this also exlains that the group interest is wider than the Nigeria border. The former AU Chairman, Dr. Jean Ping, expressed support for the government of Nigeria's fight against Boko Haram. Also, as regards the issue of Niger delta, UNEP's incoming executive director Erik Solheim, have asked oil companies to clean up the ogoni land because the spills is greatly disrupting the environment. He further promised the natives that the restoration that they are going

to experience soon would not just be a restoration of their land but a farming, fishing and entire healthy living. (Phys 2016).

A report by Amnesty International shows that, In most cases, victims of insurgencies especially gunshots are denied in Nigeria are denied treatment in the hospital until a police report it sent before treatment commences. This makes it even more difficult for victims of Boko Haram and Niger Delta insurgence to survive attacks. This could be tagged as injustice and should be addressed by the Nigeria government. (Amnesty International 2009:13).

International Criminal Court (ICC): In just to 2009, over 1,200 Christian and Muslims civilians," were killed by BH, therefore, the ICC have affically recognized that there is reason to believe that crimes against humanity have been committed. (ICRtoP, 2014). Although ECOWAS have maintained a low level reaction towards the insurgence in Nigeria.

2.8 Gaps and Conclusion

This chapter entails strong point that helps to adequately understand this the research. It explain basic terms and the concept of ethno-religious conflict, it also gives the reader an insight on the sources of conflict. The chapter has examined the concept and the dynamics of ethno religious conflict from different orders and came to a conclusion that there is no universal acceptable definitions of ethno-religious conflict. Scholarly, the later part of this chapter highlights some international institutions present in Nigeria including governmental and nongovernment organizations such as the UN, ICC, ECOWAS, AU, etc. It gives an optimistic perspective that suggest that without better inter-governmental coordination it would

be difficult for Nigeria to make actual progress in the attainment a secured and safe state. It also shows that the fight posed by the BH has exceeded the boundaries of Nigeria therefore, international institutions should adhere to the cry and provide support. This is primarily because, while governments have major responsibilities for maintaining security, without closer cooperation with the international institutions, The Nigeria government would absolutely not be able to maintain d the funding and necessary improvements.

Chapter 3

COMPARISON OF BOKO HARAM AND NIGER DELTA AVENGERS

3.1 Causes of Ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria

The causes of ethno-religous conflict in Nigeria are numerous, ranging from social, econmic, colonialism/teritorial divisions set by the colonial admistrations, psychology, mass poverty, religion, media, nationalism and ethnicity mostly aided the ongoing conflict.

> *A major cause of what we now see as ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria has to do with the accusations and allegations of neglect, oppression, domination, exploitation, victimization, discrimination, marginalization nepotism and religious intolerance (Salawu in Aleyomi, 2012:134).*

3.1.1 Colonialism

So far, the units created by the British only fostered fragmentation rather than integration. This is because in each of this groups created included other smaller groups with cultural diversity. The amalgamation of Nigeria in 1914 helped to strengthen the division rather than strengthen it. In addition, the secularization ideology in Nigeria which is a by-product of colonization also poses the biggest problem in the Northern region of Nigeria. The issue of the Islamic terrorist group; BH views secularization as a contamination to the existing Islamic religion which must be dealt away with by all means.

3.1.2 Poverty

Poverty is one of the factors that leads to ethno-religous conflict in the world especially in sub-Sahara Africa and other third world countries. İt creates a suitable atmosphere for conflict and other insurgence "poverty, which marks financially and bureaucratically weak states" (Osaghae & Suberu 2005:5). Therefore we cannot rule out the current problems faced in Nigeria today away from poverty.

3.1.3 Primordial Ties

Osaghae & Suberu also claimed that primordial ties are prevalent in the 'new states' of Africa and Asia. Most ethnic groups in Nigeria are very inflexible to accept is other groups. They would rather stick to primordial ties that is quite restrictive than accept tolerate civil tie which brings everyone together irrespective of ethnicity. Their rigidity has made it difficult for the integrative revolution, which involves the erosion of primordial ties by civil tie which has also helped to foster the conflict in Nigeria.

3.1.4 Ethno-religious grievances and discriminations

Religious grievances are grievances publicly expressed by group leaders over what they perceive as religious discrimination against them (Fox 1999:236). In most cases, an ethnic group reacts to segregation by forming groups that would revolt against the system. However, there are a few cases where the aggrieved party is the majority against the minority group. An example is the Rwanda genocide of 1990 which the Hutu who are the majority felt marginalized against the Tutsi minority. The incidence have been one of the heaviest ethnic conflict in the human history.

3.1.5 Media

Over the years, media have been a propaganda for ethno religious conflict. Each of the divers groups uses it as a medium to express their grievances. In the last few

years, the rise of offensive print and non-print publications have risen which violates other religion sometimes the media overrate information's which may pass more message of religious contest than coexistence. The madia also have a way of presenting information in a way that promotes natural fear of dominations. The Muslims in Nigeria have a natural impression that the international community especially U.S and U.N would always tag them as the offender and which they react to by portraying objections and intolerance towards the Christian community.

3.1.6 Group Identity

" those who identify with religious and ethnic communities are almost universally proud of their group identities…those who see themselves as members of a social class are somewhat more equivocal about their pride" (Lewis and Bratton In Osaghae & Suberu 2005:9). Members of a particular ethnic group are usually proud of their identity and would prefer to be recognized as such. This is mostly due to the indigenous benefits attached. However, this is a major threat to social assimilation.

3.1.7 Intolerance

Religious and ethnic tolerance doesn't necessarily mean foregoing one's own culture, it simply means accepting and embracing diversity for the sake of peaceful coexistence. This is because multiple religious arena provides opportunity for a wide range of learning and coexistence. Some religious are extremely rigid and resistant to other groups. For example, the BH sect is a radical Islamic group who desires to introduce sharia law in the entire country.

3.2 Development of Niger Delta Avengers and Boko Haram

The rise of the BH and the NDA group at almost thesame time have resulted to a major unrest in Nigeria ranging from security, political and economic, cooperate coexistence, coexisittence security and social and security sector.

3.2.1 Niger Delta Region

 The Niger Delta region is the oil producing states in the country. The top four oil producing states are Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers **State**. Crude oil is the major source of revenue and development in Nigeria and it represent over ninety percent of the government's total revenue in the 1990s.

Figure 1: Niger Delta Region of Nigeria
Source available at International Business Times, http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/nigerias-oil-war-who-are-niger-delta-militants-1520580

"With the discovery of oil in 1956, the Niger Delta region, which hitherto was known for its agricultural export of palm oil, rose in significance in Nigeria's crude oil political economy with export earnings increasing from 1 per cent in 1958 to almost 98 per cent and about 90 per cent"(Oluwaniyi, 2010:310).

"Militancy refers to a combative and aggressive activism or engagement in struggles for identified causes" (Ikelegbe 2006:92). Militancy became more serious in Nigerian particularly when the oil producing southern regions, demanded a larger share of the national oil wealth. Everywhere around the world, most of the militants are usually youths and Ikelegbe survey in page 94 on the Ijaw ethnic groups confirms

that Nigeria is not an exemption. Apart from ethnic recognition, the survey also attributes the reason for Niger Delta militancy to be mostly neglect and marginalization.

Table 1: Social Profile of Militia Members

Social Characteristics of Respondent		Survey Interviewees (SI)	
Age	-14	-	-
	15-24	21	(42%)
	25-34	26	(52%)
	35-44	3	(6%)
	44-	-	-
Sex	Male	50	(100%)
	Female	-	-
Social-Economic background	Low Income	45	(90%)
	Middle Income	5	(10%)
	High Income	-	-
Other Characteristics	School Drop- Outs	13	(26%) (40%)
	Unemployed Others	20	(34%)
		17	

Source available at (Ikelegbe 2006:94) http://repository.kulib.kyoto-u.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/2433/68251/1/ASM_27_87.pdf

Youth groups are therefore utilizing pressure groups and violence to compel speedy resolution of their grievances and the enforcement of decisions or actions in favor of their communal and ethnic interests.

3.2.2 Development of Militancy in Niger Delta

1. Lack of social amenities

It is disappointing to know that in most part of the ijaw ethnic region, especially in Bayelsa state which is a riverine zone and has a network flow that leads to the Atlantic Ocean, clean water is a luxury. Farming activities have been disrupted by the activities of MNC. Fresh water have been polluted by chemicals which is highly concentrated and to toxic to both humans, plants and aquatic organisms respectively. In spite of shell operation in the region since 1958, most of the houses are built with thatch and mud. In a visit to the communities, Oluwaniyi attest that youths major concern for agitating is as a result of gas flares which has made day and night to seem indifferent, the flares also put them at risk of breathing and eye problems.

2. Unemployment

    In spite of the environmental degradation, the minority youths also suffer neglect in employment opportunities this is another factor that has led to the Niger delta militancy. A large number of the people form the oil-producing regions are not employed in the oil companies. Although they are host communities, yet the can scarcely be found holding major positions in the oil sector. Employment opportunities are rather skewed towards youth outside oil-producing rural communities like Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba who are the majo ethni groups, while the minority ethnic groups suffer the degradation.

3. Frustration

Youth resorted to violence against oil firms as a means of expressing their grievances (Botha and Solomon, 2005:10). Frustration translate which could come as a result of unsatifaction could translate into violent contentions and armed struggles. İt is actually not surprising that the youths in Nigeria have turned to something beyond the governments control. Frustrated youth groups could go to any length even to the point of challenging a strong state.

4. Myth/Might of Egbesu

This egbesu diety is an Ijaw diety. Believed to be the "source of power and protection of the Ijaw people"(Ukukiwo, 2007:603). The militants attribute every of their success to the deity who they believe grants them protection from gunshot , "the Egbesu deity is believed to give them invincibility" (Ikelegbe,2006:91) as well, so they to disappear at the scene of whenever the security forces attacks. The militants attribute their achievements and commitment of members to the assistance of Egbesu. They beleive they diety supports their ethnic solidarity and trust it to grant them success. Ukukiwo also added that aalthough it emerged from Ijaw, Through such collaboration and through volunteer freedom fighters.

3.2.3 Development of Boko Haram Insurgence Group

Boko Haram is an Islamic insurgence group that advocate for Jihad. It has been at the top headings of western media. Religious factors still holds as the strong and most persuasive reason for Boko Haram insurgence although there are several factors that drive the group such as political and socio-economic factors. Boko Haram has been deeply rooted and Nigeria, they seem to have gained all grounds that favors their operations including disrupting the political and economic sector in Nigeria. After the european colonisation, Nigeria holds a long history of religious conflict on

several occasions but non have been more deadly or gained international attentions as the Boko Haram group. The effect of the insurgencies is not just felt in Nigeria but also in the international community.

In Hausa language, the word Boko is book while Haram is an Arabic word meaning sinful

> *Literally, the corollary of the two words connotes book is sinful. But from a deeper understanding of the two words we could assert that forbid everything Western and thereby, western education is sacrilegious and ungodly, hence be forbidden (*Aleyom*i*, 2012:132)

Although literally it means 'book is sinful', but a wider meaning to it is that western education is ungodly and sinful, it ought to be forbidden and not embraced. The longterm dream of the group is to Islamize Nigeria which they intend to achieve through radical terrorism. The group started in 2009 as a conflict between the militants and Nigeria security force. When they attacked a police station in the North after one of their members was shot for not complying with the new law of motor cycle passengers wearing helmet. There got angry after their leader Mohammed Yusuf was killed. Ever after, it has shifted from just attacking police stations to also attacking schools and churches. In 2006, the UN building in the capital city of Abuja was also bombed, killing at least 21 people with several others wounded. The main aim of this group is to eradicate any form of western education and also abolish Christianity in Nigeria. Mission school are also major targets of Boko Haram. Women and children are mostly victims of kidnap because they utilize them as human bombs. And this attacks if they continue would constitute more crimes against humanity.

3.3 The Niger Delta Avengers Verses Boko Haram Ideology

The world is driven ideology which in turn shapes character and behavior. Although the Boko Haram and Niger Delta Avengers share certain commonness. First, they are both youth groups full of life and vibe which is part of what makes the movement progressive. Secondly, apart from ethno-religious factors, these groups share certain commonness of frustration. They are also driven by economic and political factors, also, they are both insugence groups that threatens peace and stability in Nigeria. Poverty and unemployment have therefore served as nursery bed for many ethnoreligious conflicts in Nigeria(Aleyomi 2012:134).

Comparatively, while the BH sect is an Islamic radical group whose ideology is based on anti-westernism   and any form of female education, they also seek to establish Islamic religion in the thirty-six states of Nigeria not just in the Northern region dominated by the Muslim but the entire country. On the other hand is the Niger delta militant group (NDA) is an ethnic struggle for equity and full access to oil resources in the region, it also advocates employment for youths, cleaning of oil spills to promote fishing and other farm activities which is the major source of income It is a youth group, youth culture in the Niger Delta region is synonymous with the perceptions of youth in other parts of Nigeria.

Due to the traits of deprivation and marginalization, the conflict which was merely an ethnic struggle by the ijaws have now been transform into an arm conflict that threatens growth and development of the region. The major difference between the two restive groups is that while the NDA seeks employment, cleaning of oil spills to promote agricultural activities and ensure human safety, political, social and

economic empowerment, the BH sect seeks to Islamize the entire country which in real sense is quite irrational demand and the government cannot ensure that.

3.4 Ethno-Religious Conflict: its Impact in Nigeria

Ethno-religious pluralism in itself is not a problem because after all, that is why we have federalism to accommodate diverse nations without them losing their identity, rather, intolerance and of ethno-religious group leads to conflict. Even the strongest state is likely to fail in times of challenges.There is no way a Country would face the kind of ethno-religious problems and challenges faced in Nigeria without experiencing downsides. What we are experiencing as ethno-relgious conflict in Nigeria is simply a transfer of aggression to innocent citizens. Ethno-religious Conflicts have had devastating consequences on the human life, educational system, and socio-economic development of Nigeria:

1. Loss of human Life

   As at 2010, Salawu observed that Nigeria provides one of the best examples or case studies of ethno-religious conflicts. With over 400 ethnic groups, distributed among the two major religions (Christianity and Islam), Nigeria since independence, has produced a catalogue of ethno religious conflicts that resulted in an estimated loss of over three million (Salawu, 2010:345).

Figure 2. Areas in 2013 where Boko Haram was more active
Retrieved from Encyclopædia Britannica

Ethno-religious conflict, especially the case of Boko Haram often result to loss of life and displacement. In the case of Niger Delta militants, there are usually cases of death and other maltreatment that results when a hostage family members are unable to pay the ransom.

Mohammed also observed that ethno-religious conflict has had enormous negative consequences on the economy, and especially on the poor (Mohammed, 2004:1). The continuous outbreak ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria have contributed to underdevelopment and slow economic achievements. Both local and international investors have fled the regions where these groups constantly attack like Jos and

Maiduguri. To worsen the matter, soldiers are also escaping from these regions. The consistency of pipeline vandalization carried out by the Niger Delta Militants, in addition to the consistent bombing of factories and business places have immensely weakened Nigeria's economy.

2. Inadequate health services

In addition to the slow economic growth, health services in Nigeria have consistently declined. The effects of the communal conflicts on health care services were found to be distributed between lack of access to the facilities and complete or partial close down of the facilities. (Arokoyu and Ochulor, 2016:46). There consistent decline in health care facilities have attracted public attention especially in Maiduguri which is the heat of the bombing. Most health institutions are completely shorting down and medically practitioners are also relocating to neighboring states which they consider more peaceful as seen in the findings of Arokoyu and Ochulor; The effects of the communal conflicts on health care services were found to be distributed between lack of access to the facilities and complete or partial close down of the facilities.

3. Educational institutions

Following Adesoji's explanation that shows the Boko Haram ideology of western education, He explained that to Boko Haram, "Western education is sinful, sacrilegious, or ungodly and should therefore be forbidden" (Adesoji, 2011:106). Understanding the concept of BH and their ideologies make it easier to understand why educational institution remains a major target of the group. As stated earlier, Zeid Ra'ad Al Hussein, United Nations human rights chief said on 1 April 2015 credibly report to his office shows that Boko Haram have specifically been against schools, particularly the education of girls, and the attacks have damaged at least 300 schools, killed numerous students and adoption of hundreds of school girls. Arukoyu

and Ochulor findings shows that during crisis in the rivers state of Niger Delta, there are usually partial close of schools while. (Arokoyu, and Ochulor, 2016:49).

4. Shelter

One of the major effect of ethno-religious conflict in addition to loss of life has been displacement from homes. The destruction of houses have rendered many homeless. In the North where the heat of BK operation occurs, some people have abandoned their houses and settles. Due to the intensity of the bombing and ethno-religious conflict in Jos.

3.5 Conclusion

It can be concluded that most ongoing conflict in Nigeria have ethno-religious grounds. While the Boko Haram group is influenced by religious motivations, the Niger Delta Avengers are motivated by ethnic deprivation. Due to the demand for compensation of oil spills, proper recognition and employment opportunities on the part of the Niger Delta militants and the desire to Islamize Nigeria and a complete eradication of western education which serves as a drive to the Boko Haram group, ethno-religious crisis have become a major concern in the Nigeria State. The operations of these groups have also come to the international attention. The impact of these groups have resulted to so much casualty both in Nigeria and other neighboring countries. Apart from the loss of life, socio-economic activities have been on the decline as well due to the activities carried out by these groups. Their past and recent operations is enough timely warning, therefore the government, together with International institutions should implore better approaches to prevent the reoccurrences.

Chapter 4

WEAK STATE AND THE SPREAD OF ETHNO-RELIGIOUS CONFLICT IN NIGERIA

4.1 Introduction

Against other perspective and background that seeks to attribute ethno-religious conflict to diversity and intolerance of ethno-religious groups, this chapter analyses H1 of the thesis which claims that weak governance and poor institutions are the major causes of ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria. In other words, there is a clear relationship between political governance and security in Nigeria. After September 11, 2001 bombing, the United States and other governments have frequently affirmed that threats to international peace and security often come from the world's weakest states. Such countries can fall prey to security threats, including weapons proliferation, terrorism, organized crime, environmental degradation, infectious disease and civil conflicts that spill over borders.

weak states are state where governments is unable to do the things that their own citizens and the international community expect from them: protecting people from internal and external threats, delivering basic health services and education, and providing institutions that respond to the legitimate demands and needs of the population. (Wyler, 2008: CRS 26)

Table 2: Index of State Weakness in the Developing World

Rank	Country	Overall Source	Economy	Political	Security	Social welfare	GNI Per capital
26	Togo	4.80	4.78	2.68	7.38	4.38	350
27	Uganda	4.86	5.78	4.55	4.89	4.23	300
28	Nigeria	4.88	5.39	3.31	5.37	5.24	640
29	Cameroon	5.12	5.78	3.09	7.54	4.07	1080
30	Yemen	5.18	5.80	3.64	6.43	4.85	760
31	Comoros	5.20	4.24	4.20	8.18	4.20	660
32	Zambia	5.23	5.08	4.59	8.15	3.11	630
33	Pakistan	5.23	6.58	3.52	4.69	6.13	770

Source available at Brookings global economy (https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/02_weak_states_index.pdf)

In the table above, it is clearly seen that Nigeria ranks 28 out of the 141 weak state in developing country. political, economic and social welfare performances are severe, the security score reflects the ongoing crisis in Nigeria. Ethno-religious violence have become the routine in different parts of the country, there are also consistent human right abuse and high income inequality in Nigeria.. It analysis and shows

what each of the 141 developing ranks in economy, political, security and social welfare. This chapter would therefore explain areas which the Nigeria state have proven to be weak.

4.2 Areas of States Weakness in Nigeria

4.2.1 Terrorism

In recent times Nigeria have been a favorable ground for terrorism and militants activities. Due to the lack or non-existence of law enforcement agencies that can combat militant activities, terrorism have gained a wider spread across the Northern region of Nigeria. This is because terrorist benefit and thrive in a lawless state. In the CRS report, Wyler observed that weak states and failing states are primary bases for terrorism operations (Wyler 2008:CRS 6).Wyler also explained that overtime, research findings have proven exploit weak states as safe havens for their operations, this happens when a country is unable to control a particular part of it territory. In Nigeria, the Sambisa forest seems to be out of the government control, this has given the Boko Haram upper hand in that region which also serve as their camp. In addition, the stress posed by the NDA in the southern region of Nigeria have resulted to unprecedented level of stress. Over time, Nigeria government have demonstrated an inability to protect its citizens from terrorist attacks leaving them at the mercies of militant groups and other attacks.

4.1.2 Economic Deprivation

Despite the fact that Nigeria has a lot of natural and mineral resources, it still lacks the ability to maintain a consistent economic growth. Wealth is majorly concentrated in the hands of the elite who marginalize the poor and make them work for low wages. There is a huge disparity in wealth distribution. In **"**Baptism by Fire": Boko Haram and the Reign of Terror in Nigeria Benjamin Maiangwa etal observed that

Nigeria remains a largely poor country, with more than 80 percent of its citizens living on less than two dollars a day (Maiannga, etal,49). In an attempt to overcome economic hardship, marginalization and inequality, aggrieved youth have been pushed to assume militancy and terrorism as a means to their desired end. The Nigeria state failure to provide economic opportunities have made it lose its legitimacy in the eyes of the citizens who are rapidly indulging in different activities to satisfy their needs. Militant and terrorist group are therefore utilizing this state failure as a strength to recruit youths with the promise of better life and opportunities.

4.2.3 Lack of Political Participations

Only a few people are interested in political participations because in most cases the corrupt electoral system do not allow votes to count. The Nigeria state have loosed it legitimacy in the eyes of its citizens who no longer the electoral system, most of the citizens have transferred their allegiance and loyalty to a more responsive authority who they can trust for their wellbeing. Some examples of the groups which youths pay allegiance to are ethno-religious groups and leaders. Aleyomi identified that the failure of the Nigerian leaders to establish good governance may have hampered national integration (Aleyomi, 2012:134). Some youths even feel that becoming a member of a militant or terrorist group is the only a way to make their voice heard by the government.

4.2.4   Corrupt/Weak Military

Corruption in Nigeria spreads through every sphere including security institutions is Nigeria. Corruption in the Nigeria security cuts across different forces and different ranks. Levitt Jeremy noted that the problem of security in Nigeria also spread to other Africa countries. According to him, "civilian-led governments seem to lack

sufficiently strong political will in Africa, either at the OAU or the sub regional levels, to direct the generals and their soldiers" (Levitt, 2003:112). Most of the problems faced in Nigeria such as the NDA and other ethnic conflict started as very minor crisis but mismanagement and inability of the Nigeria security to combat the conflict actually led to the current escalations. In the case of NDA, angry youths have involved indulge in stealing and exportation of crude oil to other neighboring countries to be refined. In an attempt to combat this, the Nigeria government massively deployed the military and other security agents to arrest the issue. But sadly, because of the corrupt nature of the Nigeria security forces, they even aid the bunkerers to ease their job. Augustine Ikelegbe cited Amaize who noted that "It is alleged that bunkerers pay protection fees to security agencies and that some security personnel either connive with or actually escort bunkerer barges and vessels to the high seas (Vanguard 02:08:2003; Amaize 2003; Ikelegbe 2006:43). In most cases, security forces in Nigeria are being commercial and used by the top politicians to achieve their selfish goals. The security forces that were meant to protect civilians end up being a turn on their flesh. Another major problem facing the Nigeria security is the limited manpower.

In addition to that lack of security personnel, the Nigeria security lack sophisticated weapons to actually fight the terrorist group which actually serves as an advantage to the terrorist groups. To address this issue, both state and non-state security actors "such as private security companies and Informal Policing Structures (IPS) popularly called vigilantes….should support for reforms and improving the services…... without the complement of the non-state actors, they would not be very effective and efficient in improving safety and security in our communities (Chukwuma, 2011; Ayodele, & Aderinto, 2014:47).

47

The Nigeria security also do not act firmly in times of crisis or emergency, they would rather come to the scene of the incident after the damage has already been made. Another reason why the Nigeria army have not been able to combat the Boko Haram is because there has not been an actual warfare which would give the armies an opportunity to actually face the terrorist. Rather, they Boko Haram indulge in guerilla attacks.

4.2.5 Youth Unemployment

As mentioned earlier, the only way to reduce poverty is to create stable job opportunities for youths, this would in turn reduce terrorism, militarization and insurgencies. The high rate of unemployment accounts for why terrorism seems to have a wider spread. Youths are promised a better life and opportunities as a means to lure to terrorism. The issue of unemployment would be discoursed in details in the next section of this chapter. But what is most important to note is that rather than blaming ethnicity and religiosity as the bases for conflict in Nigeria, there are other intervening variables like unemployment that accounts for insurgencies in Nigeria.

4.2.6 Weak Borders

The weak border in Nigeria has been a major limitation to counter terrorism in the country. The poriosity of the border has led to the unwanted and criminally minded migration and terrorist from other countries who also add to the strength of the Boko Haram group. The weakness of the borders have also aided the free flow of ammunition which in most cases surpasses the strength of the Nigeria military. Research has shown that Smuggling of arms across Nigeria-Republic of Benin borders has led to increase in incidents of armed robberies, kidnapping, rising waves of ethnic militias and their attendant violent conflicts (0la, 2012:27). This confirms what Adeola, Gabriel L. and Oluyemi Oyenike Fayomi.

International migration between Nigeria and her neighbours has been a source of concern in the formulation and articulation of diplomatic and foreign policy of the nation. The porosity of Nigerian borders has made it possible for unwarranted influx of migrants from neighbouring States to enter the country illegally from such countries as Republic of Niger, Chad and Republic of Benin… Nigeria and all the countries sharing border with her with the exception of Cameroun are all members of the Economic Community of West African Countries (ECOWAS); in which case, the citizens of these countries are to enjoy freedom of movement. All the same, migration became a subject of state policy especially for Nigerian authority with the increased rate of criminality recorded at the borders which come in form of smuggling, trafficking (Drug and Human), religious carnage fuelled by imported extremism and the resulting deaths of innocent Nigerians and threat to state security and stability. (Adeola, and Fayomi, 2012:1,2)

At a glance, one can conclude that state cannot attain actual sovereignty with weak policies in controlling its borders. The Nigeria customs also contribute to the weakening of the borders. Due to their insatiable desire for money, they allow smugglers pay a peanut as bride in order for them to smuggle illegal materials including ammunitions into the country that's ends becoming a turn in the flesh of Nigeria people. This does not pose a threat to security alone but other sectors of the society because if a nation cannot control its borders, how much less would it be able to control other sectors?

4.3 The Catastrophe of Poverty, Lack of Social Amenities, Unemployment and Corruption

4.3.1 Introduction

Despite that Nigeria has huge natural resources, and strong economic growth, statistics shows that poverty has been on the rise in Nigeria. On 13 February 2012, BBC report shows that out of the 173.6 million people in Nigeria, about 100 million people are living on less than a $1 a day despite strong economic growth (BBC,2012). On September 5, 2016, Seun Opejobi gave a report in daily post that A United Nations, UN, report on Nigeria's Common Country Analysis, CCA, has

described the country as one of the poorest and unequal country in the world, with over 80m of her population living below poverty line. ...the report revealed that the country was deeply divided on the basis of plurality of ethnic, religious and regional identities, (Daily post 2016). In addition to this, inequaltity is very paramount in Nigeria with the rich geting richest while the poor keeps getting poorer. Wealth is highly concentrated in the hands of a few who are mostly interested in enriching and satisfying their selfish desires.

Therefore, this session of the thesis intends to highlight how poverty, lack of social amenities and unemployment have greatly contributed to the devastating state of the Nigeria state.

4.3.2 The Tragedy of Poverty

Lack of good governance have made it even more difficulty for Nigeria to utilize its natural resources that would in turn lead to a sustainable development. Generally, there is an increase in Nigeria population with any deliberate increase in standard of living. In the Niger delta region, the continuous oil spill leads environmental degradation. Although Nigeria serves as signatory to several agreements on sustainable development that would enhance renewable environment and better life, yet it has acted in the opposite by failing to protect the environment.

As stated in the introduction, more than a million people live on less 1USD per day in Nigeria. Most parents cannot provide their children with the basic needs of life, affording a balanced diet meal is luxury for the majority of the country while the elites waste resources. Likewise shelter, due to the high rate of accommodation most families have settled to taking comfort in slums. In the case of absolute poverty where even the slums seems unaffordable for people, the resort to living under road

bridges. Unemployed youths are usually victims of this kind of poverty. All these and a lot more can explain the reasons why Nigeria is unable to attain the MDGs. However, except the Nigeria government embrace machineries and means to properly manage and distribute public wealth, then, poverty reduction would not be achieved in Nigeria.

4.3.3 Lack of Social Amenities

In "Beyond the threshold of civil struggle: youth militancy and the militia-ization of the resource conflicts in the Niger delta region of Nigeria", Ikelegbe noted that Oil wealth was used to develop other parts of Nigeria while the Niger Delta region was abandoned. The region has not gained from its oil production. Basic structure that makes life more comfortable is not seen in most areas of the country, amenities such as education, health care, infrastructures, employment opportunities and yet to be attained. Samson Imasogie Omofonmwan and Lucky Osaretin Odia view tries to shift the problem of crisis from ethnic pluralism or religiosity to the non-availability of social amenities. The access to social amenities is usually worst in the rural areas especially in the North of Nigeria and villages in other regions due to the fact the government is biased about urban areas and big cities. They try to beautify it although most of the oil wells are located in the rural areas. People in the rural areas only get to live with the environmental degradation, declining crop produce due to oil spill waters and polluted soil, in addition to this, they lack access to good roads. The major general hospitals are also located in the urban areas while the rural areas are left with quack health centers that lack qualified medical practitioners. Most rural areas where this militants and terrorist group spring from actually lack access to firsthand information due to unavailability of electricity, internet and media coverage. The lack of information in disadvantaged communities - information that

would enable them to make informed decisions about their own development (Akinsola, O., Herselma, & Jacobs, 2005). To bridge this media divide, there is a need to set up social structures and policies that supports free flow of information to the rural areas, the government should also eradicate the factors that impede IT availability in the rural part of Nigeria. Therefore, the fight to terrorism starts with providing basic materials that promotes comfort, ensure facilities that promote wellbeing and also setting up infrastructures that extends both to the rural areas.

4.3.4 High Rate of Unemployment

Unemploymment in Nigeria is not a new issue, it has been a major problem even in the 1970 oil boom, and it became worst when the Nigeria government had no pottential to employ youth in the face of the rising population.

Youth restiveness and violence can be traced to idleness which comes a result of unemployment. Most of the people involved in Niger delta militancy are unemployed who would take up anything as a means to survive. This confirms the claims of Venatus, Kakwagh V., and Ikwuba Agnes who reaffirmed that "many young people in Nigeria are redefining themselves by creating their own social worlds such as youth streetism and gangsterism because of unemployment'' (Venatus, & Agnes, 2010:231). Nigeria is one country among several others where human resources waste on a daily bases, it is equally one country where youths have big dreams that never come to pass. Each year, more than 200,000 students graduate from universities, but many fail to find jobs, and some will seek less than honorable means of making ends meet.
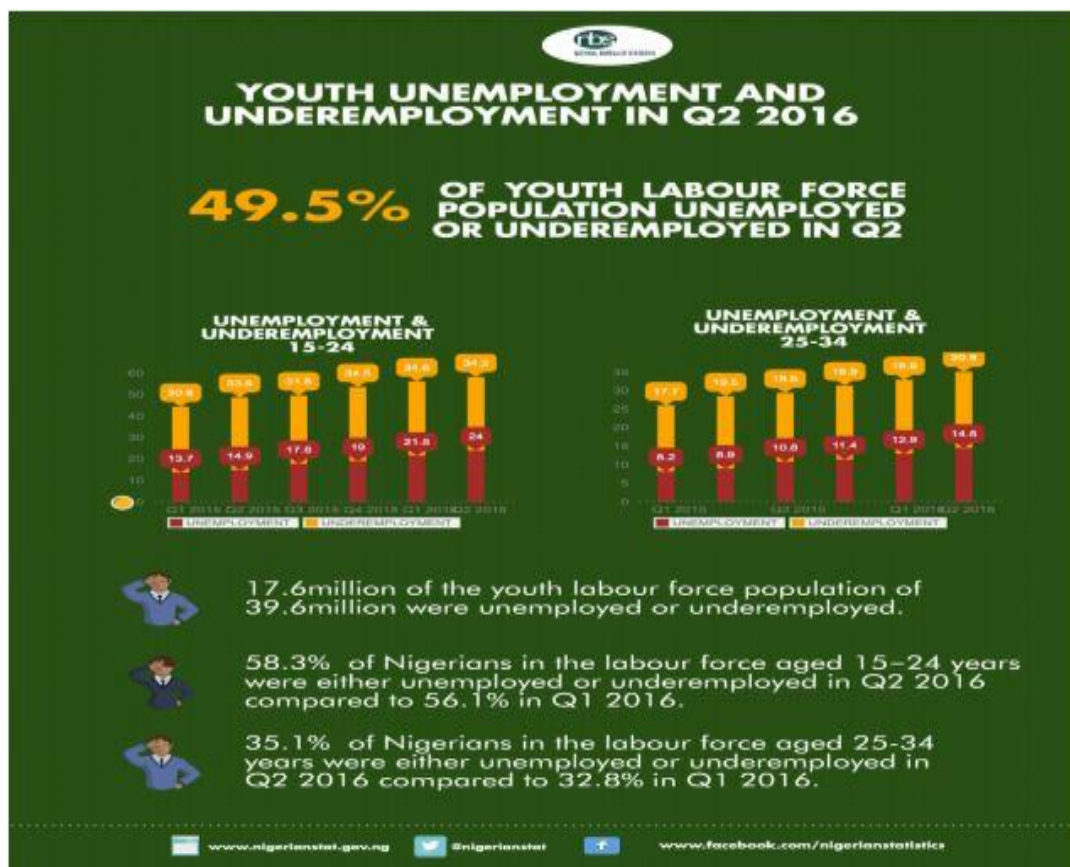
Figure 3. Youth Unemployment and Underemployment in Second quarter 2016
Date source: National Bureau of Statistics. Retrieved from
http://www.nigerianstat.gov.ng/report/397

Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa with a population of over 173.6 million. It also has the largest population of youth. Yomi Kazeem in Quartz Africa news reported that Nigerian tertiary education institutions produce up to 500,000 graduates every year and there are also Nigerian graduates who study abroad who come home to compete for jobs. This excludes that the fact that Nigeria's university system, which holds about 150 schools, is mostly over-populated and can only cater to 40% of applicants annually(Quartz Africa, 2016).

4.3.5 Endemic of Corruption

Any attempt to understand poverty, security threat, unemployment and underdevelopment in Nigeria must be traced back to corruption. Corruption is related to the massive stealing of public resources that would have been invested in

providing wealth-creating infrastructure and social services for the citizenry, thus reducing poverty (Action Aid, 2015:9). It has impacted the culture of Nigeria at all levels, it has influenced the value system and it reflects in the way people act in the society. The most prominent form of corruption that impends growth in the country is political corruption which entails using public office as a tool to carry out unlawful acts. Generally, corruption in Nigeria is as a result of uncurtail desire for wealth and power and it manifest through bribe and a reduction of moral standard and this leads to marginalization and oppression of the poor. The embezzlement of public fund seems not to be a crime since it spreads across almost every sector of Nigeria. With all the natural resources in Nigeria, it keeps experiencing economic backwardness, terrorism, social decline, marginalization of public right etc. BBC report stated that Nigeria is Africa's biggest oil producer but the sector has been tainted by accusations of corruption (BBC, 2012).

Corruption in Nigeria cuts across several sectors such as the private sector, banking sector, oil and gas, security and political sector. This has led to a consistent inability to deliver basic public service, collapse of existing infrastructure and which are often not replaced. This is the reason why terrorist and militants groups seem to get away with the crimes committed. Also, must of the funding of the terrorist groups comes from top politician ns who embezzle public fund to finance terrorism because of what they stand to benefit. Base on the increase of corruption in Nigeria, it would be right to say that there is nonpolitical will for the government to deliberate fight corruption, even the EFCC which is a national body that fights against corruption seems weak in eliminating corruption. Therefore, until Nigeria come to realize the huge impact corruption has in promoting ethno-religious conflict, then the fight against Boko Haram and Nigeria Delta avengers will not be successful.

4.4 Failure of Nigeria Institutions in Managing Ethno-Religious Conflict

Nigeria government have failed at different times to exert good governance that is not sentimental to tribe or religion. As already discussed earlier, the security sector have failed to maintain a peaceful society, the lack capacity and proper ammunition to embark on a fight against BH. Government institutions due to greed, obsession for wealth, corruption, using shortcuts to affluence and unwillingness to bear responsibility have consistently failed to provide employment and other resources for welfare they have also failed to eliminate "police extortion tollgates and slow traffics on the highways, port congestion, queues at passport offices and gas stations, ghost workers syndrome, election irregularities, among others." (Dike, 2005:1).

Therefore, to eradicate ethno-religious crisis, the Nigeria government most adopt good governance that promote equality, provide basic needs of the people, create youth employment, combat corruption etc. They most also understand the ethno-religious demand of their position as leaders in order to provide good governance that would enable the citizens develop confidence in the country. This they cannot attain on their own since no country exist in isolation, therefore the subsequent session of this thesis would illustrate the need for international intervention

Chapter 5

NOTABLE INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION

5.1 Introduction

In August 2011, The United Nations Headquarters' building in Abuja, Nigeria, fell victim to a suicide vehicle- borne improvised exploding device (V-IED) attack carried out by Nigerian rebel group Boko Haram (Connell, 2012). One can assume that their target also spreads to the international level. Therefore, it is very vital that the international community work as a team with the Nigeria government fight against terrorism and other insurgencies that has disrupted growth and threaten human right. This section of the thesis tries to buttress the need for international institutions and the dimensions in which the can come in. Knowing that Nigeria has weak institutions that can adequately combat eliminate Boko Haram and Niger Delta Avengers, this work shows the roles played by the international community and suggest the need for more international response such as the United Nations and International Criminal Court, regional organizations such as the Africa Union and ECOWAS as much as NGOs like Amnesty International and Human Right Watch.

5.2 United Nations (International Response)

On May 21, 2014 the International Coalition to the Responsibility to Protect (ICRtoP) released a report that,
In 2005, UN Member States agreed that they have a collective responsibility to protect (RtoP) populations from genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and ethnic cleansing. They would also help state to build their capacity to protect; and (d) assisting states "under stress before crises and conflicts break out. (ICRtoP, 2014).

The report further explained that Nigeria which have been under stress have called for external help. Although the kind of support which is usually provided by the RtoP ranges from education, diplomacy, training, developmental support as much as military and peacekeeping based on consent. So far, the kind of support coming to Nigeria from the United Nations have been military based. It includes technical support for hostage, intelligence, and also hostage negotiations. Other members of the Security Council have also offered individual support to contain the crisis in Nigeria. For instance, "On April 17, France hosted a security summit gathering regional African heads of state from Nigeria, Chad, Benin, Cameroon and Niger"(ICRtoP, 2014). The purpose of the meeting was to emphasize the need for regional cooperation that would strengthened the fight against Boko Haram. Although the United States being a key player in the Security Council have been passive due to their grievances about the Nigeria police who usually violate human right and also assault victims of insurgence rather than protecting them even at the scene of incidence. İt suggested factors that could such as education should be Boko channeled towards peace building. Families, cultural and religious leaders should also assume the responsibility of developing national plan. Law enforcement agencies should also should also input to national development. It stresses the need for the media and private service providers as important in national building which would in turn lead to peace. The plan should involve good governance which is key fortify the plans against violet extremism and terrorism. The UN also suggest the relevant roles which regional organization could play to combat terrorism. For instance, regional groups should help to strengthen and manage national borders to monitor movements, they also stated that regional government should monitor the

flow of small arm and heavy weapons which could be an additional value in the fight against terrorism.

The Integration of young women and men into decision-making processes at local and national levels was also suggested. The role of youth intergration in national building cannot be overemphasised. Most of the griveiances of the oyuths are tired to lack of participations in decisions making, this would help to establish trust. The report also stresses the critical need to empower women in order to achieve sustainable development because societies for which gender equality indicators are higher are less vulnerable to violent extremism. As we continue in the fight against terrorism in Nigeria, the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy report explained the need to Implement education programmes that promote global citizenship (The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, 2015:18**). T**he educational skills are also to promote peaceful coexistence and civic tolerance. As much as the bulk of the responsibility lies in the hands of state, it has been obvious that the.

5.3 International Criminal Court (Intergovernmental Organization and International Tribunal)

The ICC is an international Organisation and international tribunal that is concerned with interntional crimes. İt compliments national National juridical system. It intends to prosecute individuals for crimes against humanity, genocide and other war crimes.

The court is currently accessing national bodies and the government and also pressing to intensifying enough measures to control those individuals or groups that perpetuate the crimes. As at April 2016 over 20,000 people in Nigeria have been

killed by Boko Haram since 2009. However, the investigations of ICC is not just restricted to the Boko Haram group but also extends to the Nigeria security forces. In a quest to combat Boko Haram, the Nigeria army have indulge in a lot of inhuman activities. With all these going on, it is sad that the Nigeria government are unwilling to accept the interference of ICC due to obvious political reasons. There are other arguments that the reason for the rejection by Nigeria and other Africa states could be because they view it as "imperial and drawing on memories of slavery and servitude seen during the colonial period. This image is being used against the ICC, which is accused of being part of a Western conspiracy targeting African leaders (Olugbuo, 2016:4). He further explained that in 2013, Nigeria welcomed President Al- Bashir despite the arrest warrant issued by the ICC against him. When the ICC Prosecutor requested information on the invitation, the Nigerian Government replied that the event was organized by the AU and that Nigeria was merely the host of the event and thus not responsible for attendees, such as President Al-Bashir. Although Nigeria know that as a member state of ICC, it was supposed to hand over President Al-Bashir to the court knowing that he is wanted which it failed to do. To add to this, in October 2015, the recent president of Nigeria, President Muhammadu Buhari flew President Al-Bashir to Sudan on his presidential jet after the India-Africa Forum Summit. All these shows that governments are not really interested in committing to the tenet of ICC. Instruments like the Rome Statute are deliberately delayed because the politicians are wary of the aftermath of having such a law under the national judicial system.(ibid, 17). So far, none has been prosecuted. With all these going on, the ICC is still trying to prove itself not to be an imperialist institution. İn conclusion, the ICC should assist the Nigerian government in dealing with all perpetuators of the conflict, including security forces and government officials who in the name of

combating the insurgence have contributed financially and otherwise in promoting mass atrocities and other violations of human right.

5.4 African Union (Regional Response)

The African Union (AU) replaced the Organization of African Unity (OUA), it was etablished in 21 May 2001 and lauched on 9 July 2002. İt is continental organization that comprises of 54 states. Following the trends of disorderliness in Africa and its political systems, the AU have got so much to do including controlling ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria. Reports have shown that the insurgent in Nigeria is beginning to spread to other neighboring countries, therefore it is no longer a Nigeria problem but a regional chaos. For instance the ICRtoP report on "Nigeria: At Least 1,000 Civilians Dead Since January" in March 21, 2015 shows that "Boko Haram fighters have deliberately attacked villages and committed mass killings and abductions as their attacks have spread from northeast Nigeria into Cameroon, Chad, and Niger since February" (ICRtoP,2015). Sadly, the Nigeria have clearly shows inability to combat the conflict due to countless efforts that yielded little or result. The report further shows that in the face of Nigeria government, Boko Haram is currently controlling over 70 percent of Bornu state and is still conquering more grounds which has increased the numbers of displaced people. The mass number of kidnap especially women and children who are often used as suicide bombers have also increased in the region.

5.5 Economy Community of West Africa States (Regional Response)

Nigeria have been a full member from its inception in 1975. As fragile as the security state of Nigeria is, ECOWAS seems to have a minimal reaction towards the crisis. Their presence in Nigeria obviously has little or no impact as regards conflict prevention, management, resolution and peacekeeping. This could be due to the fact

most of its military strength comes from Nigeria soldiers who are also weak at this point. Oscar-Deno Emokpaire observed that more concrete action to assist the state commenced March 2014, when the Commissioner for Political Affairs, Peace and Security of ECOWAS confirmed a partnership with the UN and the Nigerian government in a new Weapon Collection Program for northern Nigeria. (Emokpaire, 2014) He added that the proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) have contributed greatly to the insurgence in Nigeria. Therefore, ECOWAS, along with the UN and the Nigeria government have embarked on nonproliferation in the nation.

5.6 Amnesty International (NGO)

This is one of the most active NGO, particularly; its consistent press release that clearly condemns the violation of human right has undoubtedly showed its interest in Nigeria. Amnesty international was founded in London by Peter Benenson in 1961. It focuses on Human right and operates as a nongovernmental organization. Amnesty International, a lot to say about the inhuman activities carried out in Nigeria.

Firstly, on 3 November 2015, Amnesty International released a report that out rightly condemns the act of the Nigeria government as regards the death of Ken Saro-Wiwa. This was an attempt by the government to shut down any form of activist of human right. Sadly, twenty one years after their death, shell have not still cleaned up the region which have led to the devastation of environment, low agricultural produce and have disrupted fishing activities. Amnesty International have also condemned the claims of shell that it has cleaned up heavily polluted areas of the Niger Delta. It says the claims are false due to eye witness report and calls for an immediate clean-up to that respect.

The NGO have also recognize several cases of rape, injustice, bombing of religious places, deliberate killing of civilians by Boko Haram and Nigeria security forces. It further advised the government that all of these constitute war crimes and crimes against humanity in Nigeria must be brought to the court.

5.7 Human Right Watch (NGO)

Human Rights Watch (HRW) interviews with people who fled Yobe, Adamawa, and Borno states in northeastern Nigeria revealed horrific levels of brutality. 2014(in just one year), Human Rights Watch estimates that at least 3,750 civilians died during Boko Haram attacks (ICRtoP, 2015). There have been several cases of human right violation in Nigeria. Outsides the Boko Haram brutality, there are several cases where the police and other security forces violates human right. In most cases when youths in affected regions carry out peaceful protest for the cleaning up of oil spills which have affected fresh water supplies, fishing groups and other damages, these youths are often attacked by the security forces using arm fire or teargas.

Nigeria youths have lost confidence in the security forces and often demanded better treatment that is based on equality and justice. Although in most cases, they get the exact opposite. Also in the case of Boko Haram, Mausi Segun, a Nigeria researcher at Human Rights Watch observed that "The Nigerian government needs to make protecting civilians a priority in military operations against Boko Haram. (ibid). On the whole, the HRW have totally stood against the systematic abuses carried out by Nigeria soldiers in the name of controlling conflict.

On December 2000, the Human Right Watch reports on Update on Human Rights Violations in the Niger Delta if Nigeria must move forward, "then the Nigeria

government must undertake a criminal investigation of events including the monetary compensation and the institution of criminal proceedings against those allegedly responsible for the operations" (HRW, 2000) because so far, there has been no case of prosecution as regards the violation of human right.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Conclusion

Ethno-religious conflict have been a top issue in the global scene and Africa in particular of which Nigeria is not an exception. For several decades Nigeria have experienced ethno-religious conflict which became more serious after the advent of the European colonizers with tremendous consequences. As discussed in the second chapter, several argument have risen as to what the root cause of ethno-religious conflict is in Nigeria but it is however difficult to ascertain what it actually is. Although there is a consensus of most of the scholars agreeing to the fact that colonialism and ethno-religious conflict are inseparable. The reiterated the issue of wealth distribution, fostered suspicion among groups. In recent times, Nigeria have been experiencing varieties of Ethno-religious conflict in several parts of the country ranging from the Niger Delta militancy in the southern down to the Boko Haram insurgent groups, with all these going on, Nigeria still faces secession of the Biafra's in the eastern part of Nigeria. Although this thesis focuses on the Niger delta militants and Boko Haram. Overtime, Nigeria has become a scene for various forms of nationalism ranging from groups that demands national autonomy, religious determination, claims of superiority and the demand of public wealth. The realities of ethno religious conflict in Nigeria is alarming, ranging from the underdevelopment, economic breakdown, social disruption etc.

Apart from linking ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria to colonialism, the system of government in Nigeria contributed a lot to the insurgence. The escalation of Niger delta avengers and the spread of Boko Haram can be attributed to the weakness of the Nigeria government in ensuring a consistent wellbeing to its citizens which have led to the emergence of insurgence and unrest in Nigeria. This thesis provides answers to the claims that weak institutions are responsible for the emergence of ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria.

This is not to disprove that arguments of other authors that links the rise of Niger Delta Avengers to ethnic motive and Boko Haram to be religiously motivated. It however tries to explain that the bases for all these conflict if critically considered can be linked to weak state institutions. It went further to explain the role of international intuitions in resolving this conflicts. The critical literature review looked at the meaning and nature of ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria, it also explains the difference between religious and ethnic group likewise the effects of the conflicts and stating reasons why there is an urgent need for international institutions to step in and assist the Nigeria government in combating these conflicts. The argument of this scholars literature review also shows that although the conflict might have strengthened after colonization due to the way they divided borders, spilling one ethnic group into another, yet there is a stronger consensus on the role the poor approach of the government toward development, and improving economic and social wellbeing. The subsequent chapters explained how these ethno-religious groups actually strive for better recognition in the allocation of public wealth, it also shows how the corruptions off institutions and security sector in Niger like the Nigeria Army and police are mere abusers of civilians rather than protectors. Which is while this theses strongly argues for the joint help of international institutions in

combating these conflict rather than leaving it to the Nigeria government alone who seem helpless at this point.

6.2 Recommendations

The menace of ethno-religious conflict in the 21 century, particularly the Boko haram can be said to have cost more harm than any other conflict in history of Nigeria so far, combined with the activities of the Niger delta militants which have succeeded in slowing down the economic growth of Nigeria due to pipeline vandalization and other forms of criminal activities carried out in the Niger delta region. It is very obvious that the use of Nigeria military to arrest these issues may have helped a little in sustaining peace in some regions, but "truth be told" is that the system so far is not working. The rising number of displaced people who are left with no option but to flee their homes for fear of being attacked, the importation of illegal arms, the consistent amount of casualties, the attack on neighboring countries along with the more recent cases of bomb blast, abduction of women and children and rape also which is used as a weapon of war shows that this fight has gone beyond the Nigeria fight alone. The major features of these two groups considered (Boko Haram and Niger Delta Avenger) is that they are both able to thrive because of the weakness of the institutions in Nigeria. The corruptions in every sector that knows little or no limit, it has eaten deep into several sector of the country. while the government battle with underdevelopment, the rich politicians keep looting public funds into their private pocket giving no room to improve infrastructures, the Nigeria court is also categorized by injustice and can no longer be seen as the hope of the common man but an instrument in the hand of the rich to establish judgment that suits their interest, the lack of employment of graduates have also led to frustration which have made the youths instruments in the hands of rich politicians, the

consistent cases of harassment of civilians by the Nigeria military have also gained international headlines.

This thesis therefore recommends the need for more international help, it calls for both governmental, nongovernmental and regional institutions to assist the Nigeria government in curbing these insurgence. This is necessary because Nigeria is a member of a most of these institutions.

There is a need for international institutions to work together with Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) in Nigeria so as to coordinate the inflow and outflow of finances in Nigeria. This could also help in attaining who sponsors the insurgence groups. Also, there is a need for the trial and prosecutions of individuals who indulge in crimes against humanity since the ICC have already identifies some crimes against humanity by the Boko Haram group and among the security forces in Nigeria who violate people rather than protect them. There is also a need for the UN to organized educational programs that promote peaceful coexistence as suggested by the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy report. Regional organizations should also improve in organizing neighboring states to tighten borders as regards the movement of ammunitions amongst states.

Lastly, the root cause of ethno-religious conflict as argued in this work is weak state institutions, therefore, the government of Nigeria must strengthen the capacity of state institutions responsible for security, sensitization on peaceful coexistence, economic growth, and social welfare and dissemination of public funds, employment of youths in other to attain good governance.

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