REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
ISTANBUL GELISIM UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

Department of Political Science and Public Administration

BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY IN NORTHERN NIGERIA FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF HISTORICAL MATERIALISM THEORY

Master's Thesis

Churchill Uzoma NWEKE

Supervisor

Asst. Prof. Dr. Mohamed Bachir DIOP

Istanbul – 2025

THESIS INTRODUCTION FORM

Name and Surname	**:**	Churchill Uzoma Nweke
Language of the Thesis	**:**	English
Name of the Thesis	**:**	Boko Haram Insurgency in the Northern Nigeria from the Perspective of Historical Materialism Theory
Institute	**:**	Istanbul Gelisim University Institute of Graduate Studies
Department	**:**	Political Science and Public Administration
Thesis Type	**:**	Master
Date of the Thesis	**:**	16.07.2025
Page Number	**:**	88
Thesis Supervisors	**:**	Asst. Prof. Dr. Mohamed Bachir DIOP
Index Terms	**:**	Boko Haram, Bad Governance, Poverty, Historical Materialism, Religion
Turkish Abstract	**:**	Bu tez, kötü yönetimi bir ölçüt olarak ve ayrıca kuzey Nijerya'daki Boko Haram Ayaklanmasının ayaklanmasını sergilemek için bir çerçeve olarak inceleyecektir. Bununla birlikte, çalışma terörizm çalışmalarını ve Karl Marx Tarihsel Materyalizm Teorisini terörizme eleştirel bir şekilde analiz ederek teorik bir çerçeve kullanacaktır.
Distribution List	**:**	1. To the Institute of Graduate Studies of Istanbul Gelisim University 2. To the National Thesis Center of YÖK (Higher Education Council)

Signature

Churchill Uzoma NWEKE

REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
ISTANBUL GELISIM UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

Department of Political Science and Public Administration

BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY IN THE NORTHERN NIGERIA FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF HISTORICAL MATERIALISM THEORY

Master's Thesis

Churchill Uzoma NWEKE

Supervisor

Asst. Prof. Dr. Mohammed Bachir Diop

Istanbul – 2025

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that in the preparation of this thesis, scientific ethical rules have been followed, the works of other persons have been referenced in accordance with the scientific norms if used, there is no falsification in the used data, and any part of the thesis has not been submitted to this university or any other university as another thesis.

Churchill Uzoma NWEKE

TO ISTANBUL GELISIM UNIVERSITY

THE DIRECTORATE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES INSTITUTE

The thesis study of Churchill Uzoma NWEKE titled as "Boko Haram Insurgency in Northern Nigeria from the Perspective of Historical Materialism Theory" has been accepted as MASTER'S THESIS in the department of Department of Political Science and Public Administration by out jury.

Signature

Director

Asst. Prof. Dr. Festus Victor BEKUN

Signature

Member

Asst. Prof. Dr. Mouhamed Bachir DIOP

(Supervisor)

Signature

Member

Asst. Prof. Dr. Tariq Hassan Madmoud ELHADARY

APPROVAL

I approve that the signatures above belong to the aforementioned faculty members.

... / ... / 20..

Signature

Prof. Dr. İzzet GÜMÜŞ

Director of the Institute

SUMMARY

When we trace the historical antecedents of Nigeria from British colonialism, when Nigeria was amalgamated in 1914, and when it gained its independence in 1960. Nigerians have faced multiple instances of violence or chaos vis-à-vis militarization, ethnicity, among others. The major conflicts and the challenges that stand as a turmoil to both the government and citizens are the emergence of Boko Haram in 2002, which has taken thousands of lives, and millions have been displaced. Boko Haram sect, which coined their ideology as Western Education is a sin, this armed carried out several attacks, especially against the inhabitants of the northern part of Nigeria. The incessant attack of this group has brought the attention of many scholars to focus on the factors that motivate the group to carry on such deadly attacks. From the point of view, the most important factor that motivates Boko Haram operations is bad governance because the government fails in socio-economic and political activities of Nigeria, which have been bastardized by the elite group and have taken absolute control of national resources for self-aggrandizement. Government as an institution is supposed to exhibit good governance to its citizens, which connotes accountability, infrastructure, health care, education, etc. This thesis will explore bad governance as a criterion and also as a framework to exhibit the uprising of the Boko Haram Insurgency in northern Nigeria. Nevertheless, the study will use a theoretical framework by critically analyzing terrorism studies and Karl Marx's Historical Materialism Theory on terrorism.

Keywords: Boko Haram, Bad Governance, Poverty, Historical Materialism, Religion.

ÖZET

Nijerya'nın tarihi öncülünü, Nijerya'nın 1914'te birleştirildiği ve 1960'ta bağımsızlığını kazandığı İngiliz sömürgeciliğine kadar izlediğimizde, Nijeryalılar, diğerleri arasında militarizasyon, etnik köken açısından çok sayıda şiddet veya kaosla karşı karşıya kaldı. Hem hükümet hem de vatandaşlar için bir kargaşa olarak duran en büyük çatışmalar ve zorluklar, binlerce cana ve milyonlarca yerinden edilmiş insana mal olan 2002'deki Boko Haram acil durumudur. İdeolojilerini Batı Eğitimi günahtır olarak adlandıran Boko Haram tarikatı, özellikle Nijerya'nın kuzey kesimindeki insanlara yönelik çeşitli saldırılar gerçekleştirdi. Bu grubun aralıksız saldırıları, birçok akademisyenin dikkatini grubun bu tür ölümcül saldırıları sürdürmesini motive eden faktörlere odaklanmaya yöneltti. Bakış açısından, Boko Haram operasyonlarını motive eden en önemli faktör, hükümetin Nijerya'nın sosyoekonomik ve politik faaliyetlerinde başarısız olması, elitler grubu tarafından yozlaştırılması ve kendini yüceltmek için ulusal kaynakların mutlak kontrolünü ele geçirmesidir. Hükümet, vatandaşlarına iyi yönetim sergilemesi gereken bir kurum olarak, hesap verebilirlik, altyapı, sağlık hizmeti, eğitim vb. anlamına gelir. Bu tez, kötü yönetimi bir ölçüt olarak ve ayrıca kuzey Nijerya'daki Boko Haram Ayaklanmasının ayaklanmasını sergilemek için bir çerçeve olarak inceleyecektir. Bununla birlikte, çalışma terörizm çalışmalarını ve Karl Marx Tarihsel Materyalizm Teorisini terörizme eleştirel bir şekilde analiz ederek teorik bir çerçeve kullanacaktır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Boko Haram, Kötü Yönetim, Yoksulluk, Tarihsel Materyalizm, Din.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SUMMARY ..... **i**
ÖZET ..... **ii**
TABLE OF CONTENTS ..... **iii**
ABBREVIATIONS ..... **v**
LIST OF TABLES ..... **vi**
LIST OF FIGURES ..... **vii**
PREFACE ..... **viii**
INTRODUCTION **1**

CHAPTER ONE
ANALYSING BOKO HARAM THROUGH THE LENS OF BAD GOVERNANCE

1.1. Introduction 12
1.2. Engaging with the literature on Boko Haram. 13
1.3 The Implications of Bad Governance Literature 21
Historical Materialism to terrorism and Ideology 24

CHAPTER TWO
RESEARCH METHOD

2.1. Research Design and Qualitative Methodology 30
2.2. Population and Sampling 30
2.3. Sampling and Techniques 31
2.4. Research Developed Instrument 32
2.5 Application of Pilot Study 32
2.6. Data Collection 33

CHAPTER THREE
ACTORS BEHIND BOKO HARAM

3.1. Members and Funding 36
3.2. Illiteracy as a Barrier 42
3.3. Poverty 43
3.4. Conclusion 45

CHAPTER FOUR
THE RESULT

4.1. Introduction 48
4.1.1. The pilot study 48
4.1.2. Demography 48

4.1.3. Setting 48
4.2. Government Failures over Insecurity 49
4.3. The interests of People's Choice are not Properly Represented in the Government by the Leaders (Stage 2) 51
4.4. Inequality between Poor and Rich (Stage 3) 52
4.5. Religious Bigotry (Stage 4) 54
4.6. Fight between Security Agents and Boko Haram Resulted in Suffering of the Participants (Stage 5) 55
4.7. Reality of Bad Governance as a Catalyst for Boko Haram Attacks (Stage 6) 57
4.8 Ethnic Cleansing in Northern Nigeria: A Humanitarian Concern (Stage 7 & 8) 59
4.8. Poverty and Illiteracy as Primaries of Boko Haram Recruitment (stages 9 to 10) 60

CHAPTER FIVE
ANALYSIS

5.1. Introduction 62
5.2. Bad Governance as a Reality of Boko Haram Chaos in Nigeria 62
5.3. Reality of Boko Haram Intensification from Historical Materialism Theory 63
5.4. Economic Growth Affected Because of Terrorism in the Northern State of Nigeria 64
5.5. Disruption of Agricultural Activities 64
5.6. Human Capital Fight 65
5.7. Social and Economic Cost 66

CONCLUSION 67
REFERENCES 70
APPENDIX 73
RESUME 74

ABBREVIATIONS

B.K.	**:**	Boko Haram
F.C.T.	**:**	Federal capital territory
H.M.T.	**:**	Historical Materialism Theory
I.D.F.	**:**	Internal displace people
I.M.F.	**:**	International Monetary Fund
I.N.E.C.	**:**	independent national electoral commission
N.B.S.	**:**	National Bureau statistics
N.Y.S.C.	**:**	National youth service corps
U.N.	**:**	United Nations

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Timeline of Boko Haram attacks in Northern Nigeria from July 2009 to June 2022. 38
Table 2. Zonal incidence of poverty by different poverty measures 45

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Map of Boko Haram affected states.....35

PREFACE

This thesis is dedicated to my beloved late father, Chef Samuel Nweke, whose ambition saw me through my academic height. His undeniable impact on my life paved the way for my upward mobility today, especially in academic corridors. His passion for my education was extraordinary and compassionate.

Secondly, I'm dedicating this book to all my family members who stood by me through their support in one way or another to achieve this success.

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Study

The formation of Nigeria as a country, tracing its history from the British colonial era to independence in 1960, has witnessed many uprisings. The first democratic setting was the postcolonial era when the British handed power to Nigerians and Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe became the President, while Tafawa Balewa became the Prime Minister from 1960 to 1966. Nigeria started observing a series of violence by coup d'état in 1966 when General Aguiyi Ironsi overthrew the civilian government by coercion, which led to the civil war that lasted for 30 months in Nigeria, leaving millions of people dead and displaced.

This period was characterized by violence until 1979, when democracy was reinstated in the society. Alhaji Shehu Shagari was elected President of Nigeria in the Second Republic, but his regime couldn't last due to military intervention in the Nigerian political environment. In 1983, another military junta seized power from the civilian government under General Muhammadu Buhari, whose power lasted for 30 months and was toppled by General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida in 1985. The military power tussle has become imperative within the ranks and files of Nigerian soldiers. General Ibrahim Babangida's military administration lasted from 1985 to 1993, when he established an interim government following intense pressure within and outside the country. Ernest Shonekan emerged as interim president, which lasted for some months and was overthrown in the same year by another military junta known as General Sani Abacha, who was unlucky and died in sit in 1998. His demise ushered in another General Abdulsalam Abubakar, who later relinquished power to civilian rule in 1999 to President Olusegu Obasanjo. The enfeeble nature of Nigeria during military intervention in Nigerian politics has paved the way for other social vices in the society, which led to Niger Delta Militancy in the oil-producing area of Nigeria, which stands as a big threat to Nigeria democracy until late President Umaru Yardua who proffer a solution to this armed group by offering them Amnesty in 2009. The opprobrium of the Niger Delta armed group gave a blueprint for the emergence of the Boko Haram Insurgency (Yakubu, 2020).

The northern state of Nigeria, which stands as an epitome of Boko Haram Insurgency, was brought to the limelight in 2002, when this armed group posed a big

threat to Nigeria's security. The group started to unleash its power by killing Nigerian citizens and bombarding government structures and individuals in the northern state. The term Boko Haram means “Western Education is Sin.” It utilizes unemployed youth, who are suffering from poverty, as a mechanism to achieve its goals. These ragtag youths had been brainwashed by their leaders, who told them to kill somebody in the name of religion so that they would go to heaven. This Islamic sect stated its operations in Maiduguri by killing Christians and elites, illustrating that Western Education is forbidden and has caused havoc in the society. This evil attack by this Islamic sect has primarily affected the inhabitants of northeast Nigeria, who share borders with Cameroon and the Republic of Chad, respectively, with the purpose of Islamizing Nigeria and imposing sharia law, and also to eradicate Western education in the country. The group spread its tentacles in 2009, which scared people in Maiduguri into isolating themselves in public places or gatherings. The aggrandizement of this sect put many citizens living in the area in shambles and poses a challenge to the security agencies of Nigeria to carry out massive raids in their hideouts, as noted by Aduwhab (2020).

The historical antecedents of Boko Haram can be traced back to 2009 when a law was established requiring all motorcycle riders to wear helmets while riding their motorcycle. This order was given and implemented by the police, who arrested any motorbike without a helmet, and suddenly, some Boko haram members who defied the law were apprehended and incarcerated in police custody. The reactions of this bandit were hectic when some of their members were arrested, and they started burning and destroying government properties in Maiduguri, vandalizing and looting government belongings, burning down the police station where their members were kept, and freeing many inmates. With such a horrific situation, police ordered the arrest of their leader, Mohammed Yusuf, who was killed extrajudicially without delay by police in 2009. The killing of Yusuf resulted in chaos between the two antagonistic groups, vis-à-vis security personnel and the Boko Haram sect in North Nigeria.

The Boko haram insurgency continued its activities in 2011 with bombardment and killings of security men and innocent citizens in the Southern state, including the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Abuja. The first historical attack in Abuja was the bombardment of Nigeria.

Police Headquarters, which is located inside Abuja metropolis, was followed by a bombing United Nations (U.N.) house. Abuja became tense, and everybody became scared because they didn't know who was who anymore, under the auspicious of Abubakar Shekau, who emerged as the new commander in 2011 after his pronouncement on social media. Meanwhile, this armed group was orchestrated by young men and women who joined this group because of hunger and unemployment. This armed group uses poverty, unemployment, and bad governance to justify their actions, which has led to them getting support for their evil attacks. Boko Haram have been spreading their tentacles across many states in Nigeria, enjoying their actions with sophisticated weapons that empowers them to succeed with their attacks (Alozie, 2014) Boko Haram under the new leadership of Shekeau have amplifier the group to carry on incessant attacks across the northern parts of the country without undermining religion, they kill both Christians and Muslim in their evil attacks.

Meanwhile, several studies have been reviewed to gain an in-depth understanding of the increase in Boko Haram attacks. In this study, five objectives have been identified that explain the rise of this armed group. The first is to understand Boko Haram through religious perspectives and religious diversity. Second, Boko Haram emerged because of political dichotomy and confusion in the country; this perspective suggests that the history of Boko Haram is linked to issues of equality or class struggle in Nigeria. The third idea is that the sect has roots in the Maitatsine conflict, which began in 1986. The fourth perspective seeks to identify whether economic division or inequality—which disrupts economic growth and sustainable development in Nigeria—are factors behind Boko Haram's rise. Lastly, poverty caused by bad governance is also considered a significant factor. More importantly, from these perspectives, scholars like Agbeboa (2013) have observed that the increase in Boko Haram is rooted in religion and religious diversity in the country; meanwhile, religion has played a significant role in Nigeria's political context and national identity, making them inseparable. The second perspective discusses political class and inequality in society, according to Ahoke (2014), and the implications of conflict between the dominant class, which can lead to violence (Bamidele, 2012).

Nevertheless, the third objectives focused on the origin of Boko Haram as a rooted in the activities of Maitetsine in 80s which gave birth to Boko Haram insurgency as championed by scholars like Abimbola, (2010), and Pham, (2012), who

reviewed that Boko Haram is rooted to Maitetsin revolt of 1984, though there were not clear indications by those authors to justify their assertion. The fourth idea, anchored on economic inequality, which stands as a competition between North and Southern Nigeria, has posed significant challenges, as observed by Bamidele (2013). He asserted that the economic dichotomy between the North and South has led to antagonism between them based on economic competition, which in turn leads to political dissatisfaction. The last perspective is an increase in Boko Haram due to bad governance, according to a study. Poor governance or leadership have been the canker warm behind complexity of Boko Haram set in the country, there is a big gap in Nigeria between the poor and rich, political class or bourgeoisie are selfish, they don't consider the poor, the socio-economic and political activities have been hijacked by the ruling class which is the elites and mode of production is controlled by them, making life so miserable and causing impoverishment to the low class people in the society, they fails to provide basic infrastructures or amenities to the masses such as good road, water….

Health care, employment, electricity, quality education, etc., let me demystify by referencing President Donald Trump as the 45th American President. In his speech about Africa in 2019, he said that Africans need to be recolonized, and he voiced out vehemently that bad governance is the bedrock of Africans' backwardness. No country or society can achieve rapid development or economic advancement when the leaders are not dogmatic. Bad governance contributes immensely to the high rate of poverty, which leads to sickness and disease because of malnutrition. Thus, the government, as an institution, is liable to protect its citizens, especially the poor masses, against hunger and starvation by providing basic amenities and promoting job creation. We should also take into cognizance that a hungry person is an angry person who's vulnerable to commit a crime or social vices at any time. But when we have a good government, which connotes accountability and transparency, that engages in the rule of law in which all and sundry can be inclusive of having the knowledge on how they are governed or its administration is run. Bad government creates an ugly reputation, which makes people join Boko Haram or militancy, especially in the northern part of the country, which leads to radicalization activities based on a religious platform or setting. Scholars like Aguwa (1997) described the rivalry of the Boko Haram sect as a religious war, which gave them the power to carry on a crusade against Western Education, which they see as forbidden. Good governance proffers a solution to tackle

problems in society that many advanced countries in this contemporary time have developed (Ibrahim, 1991).

In this thesis, I will evaluate the concept of bad governance that triggered the uprising of Boko Haram insurgency, and what are the problems with bad governance. Is there a relationship between growth and bad governance that contributes to societal development? The study will also examine poverty, religion, and illiteracy as anchor points which Boko haram use as key points to intensify their attack in Northern Nigeria.

Bad governance has been used as a weapon by Boko Haram Insurgency to orchestrate their evil bombardment and killings of innocent people, including women and children, in the Northern part of Nigeria because the government fails to proffer a solution to the socio-economic and welfare of the nation's citizenry. Furthermore, literature has recorded numerous research studies that ascertain that bad governance and corruption have amplified the activities of the Boko Haram insurgency. Some of these analyses emphasized that this armed group emerged through a religious prism. Meanwhile, the atrocities of Boko Haram insurgency in the northern states have been characterized as bad governance which is a result of poor leadership that fails to provide basic social amenities to people, their research concentrated much on incessant killings and radicalization behaviorism of this bandits, massive killings of non-Muslim and as well as to implement Sharia Law for all and sundry in the Nigeria society. (Agbedo and Osumah, 2012).

In a nutshell, bad governance entails systematic corruption and lack of openness and accountability, arbitrary policymaking, and deception of those who are ruled and besides it stands as an impediment to national growth, peace and coexisted of the nation According to Adesoji (2012), pined that radicalization of Islamic group or Boko Haram sect and their quest to establish Sharia and Islamic judicial system in Nigeria. The study observed a strong interrelation between poverty, inequality, and bad government, which gave birth to chaos and ethno-religious war. Followed by their observations by Onuoha (2010) stated that the origin of the Boko Haram insurgency and

Its implication with the Nigerian bad government, which he reviews with development in proliferation of arms and continues bombardment in Nigeria, is that

there is a nexus between Boko Haram and Al-Qaeda and other international terrorist organizations. Bad governance cannot be underestimated in both economic and social development of any country, and when a country fails to redirect its system to good governance, which means there will be an influx of benedictory and political imbroglio in such a country. For better comprehension of how bad governance has contributed to disunity and unrest, it is important to examine how it creates a fertile ground for the rise of the Boko Haram insurgency. The group has exploited these weaknesses, particularly in regions plagued by poverty and neglect, using Islam as a reference point to justify their violent attacks and attract recruits. Many unemployed graduates, facing harsh socio-economic conditions, have been lured into joining the group in search of survival and purpose. As Rothberg (2009) points out, governance is the process of delivering high-quality political will to the citizens by the government. This political will encompassed essential elements such as security, the rule of law, human rights, and accountability. Employment opportunities, healthcare, and social amenities. Job creation, national unity. And human development. All of which have been lacking in affected regions.

He also demystifies, when a country or sovereign states face humiliation and disunity amongst its inhabitants, then there will be internal conflict as a result of bad governance or a failure to fulfill the needs of the people. Good governance is imperative for the sustainability of economic growth and very important for maintaining the legitimacy of authority. When there is no good governance, it becomes bad governance, which will create room for crimes, poverty, and corruption will also automatically affect the legitimacy of authority because the government trivializes the significance of good governance to the citizenry. From the above illustration, bad governance orchestrated the rise of Boko Haram Insurgency because the government cannot meet up people's wants, and as a result of this, you will find out that people can’t find life so easily will look for alternative means to sustain their living which gave birth to Islamic group (Roberg, 2014). Therefore, since there is ineffective in good governing, what kind of approach or framework can be applied to show Boko Haram's dynamism? In this module, I will apply Karl Marx’s Historical Materialism Theory or perspective approach in order to elaborate this thesis by reviewing class struggle, which stands as a challenge to society whereby causing Boko Haram’s increments in Nigeria at large

Historical Materialism Theory is an ideology coined by Karl Max, a German philosopher (1818-1883), that illustrates the life of people in society and their material conditions. Though many have denounced socio-economic conditions as a bedrock to the rise of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria, using Karl Marx's perspective has exposed the capitalist mode of production, which (Ogunrifa 2012) argued that the study of socio-economic inequality has raised the nature of Boko Haram. Hearings also opined that the study of terrorism needs to understand the evolution as an instrument of power and privilege of the global north.

Research Question

In this segment, there are a few questions: what is the Dynamism behind the Boko Haram Insurgency, and how did the people of northern Nigeria feel the attack of Boko Haram and their present conditions?

Theoretical Framework guiding the hypothesis

H01: The research will anchor on Historical materialism theory to terrorism and the hypothesis which emphasizes much on class struggle that leads to religious antagonism and stands as a bedrock to Boko Haram Insurgency

H02: The Inequality between the bourgeois and the proletariat contributed to Boko Haram atrocities

H03: Bad governance and corruption led the youth to join armed groups in Nigeria

H04: Poverty and illiteracy posed a threat in Northern Nigeria, which makes Boko Haram brainwash and recruit youth easily.

Methodological Approach

This article critically examines the concept of terrorism through the lens of Historical Materialism Theory. The primary objectives of this thesis are to explore the emergence and rise of Boko Harm from a Historical Materialism perspective. As previously stated, Historical Materialism is a theoretical framework developed by Karl Marx, a German Philosopher, to explain the socio-economic and political system of society over time. Marx viewed society as fundamentally shaped by class struggle, primarily between the bourgeoisie (the ruling class) and the proletariat (the working

class). In his influential work, the communist manifesto, Marx famously stated, The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle. This enduring struggle reflects the underlying modes of production, the transition from feudalism to capitalism, and the broader economic system that governs social development. Central to this theory is dialectical materialism, which Marx regarded as the driving locomotive engine behind historical and social change.

Within this discourse, the application of historiography becomes essential to contextualize Marx's ideology. It helps to point out specific events and periods, providing a deeper understanding of how historical Materialism explains the structural conditions that contributed to the rise of Bok Harm. Furthermore, the study of history should be approached with scientific rigor to review the underlying laws that govern societal dynamics over time. These dynamics include the mode of production and the distribution of resources among all members of society. Failing to adhere to the importance of the distribution of resources or the mode of production leads to terrorism in society, because the rights of poor people have been denied by the ruling class, which stands as a threat to society. Meanwhile, the ruling class may utilize terrorist groups as instruments to suppress or undermine opposing factions, particularly those that challenge their authority. In response, the working class to the lumpen proletariat often mobilize their groups as a form of retaliation against the ruling class or the capitalist system. The importance of using the Historical materialism approach is to understand terrorism in different views, because terrorism is within the ranks and files of the military personnel, they don't want to end the war with the Boko Harm sect. Thus, since there's a class dichotomy or social stratification in society, this hypothesis will look at those factors that can bridge the gap between the two classes, and then terrorism will be minimal.

When there is equity and fairness between social classes, the incidence of terrorism is likely to be minimal. To a better understanding of and dynamics of Boko Haram, this research will draw upon existing literature on bad government to explain the emergence of the insurgency. This approach will help illuminate the underlying social-economic factors that contribute to the rise of Boko Haram in northern Nigeria, the study is grounded in the Historical Materialism Theory developed by Karl Marx, which will serve both as a theoretical framework and a tool for data interpretation. In conducting this research, both primary and secondary sources will be utilized and

interwoven to ensure a scientifically sound study. Data collection will involve a combination of demographic records, face-to-face interviews with internally displaced people (IDP) camps, pilot surveys, scholarly articles, journals, and personal letters. And dairies. Additionally, methodologies such as population sampling, sampling techniques. And structured questionnaires will be employed to gather relevant data and provide a comprehensive analysis. Ultimately, Historical Materialism helps to highlight the fundamental divide between the two-class society, shedding light on how class distinctions contribute to social unrest and insurgency. Therefore, the application of Historical Materialism Theory is essential and cannot be overlooked in the study of Boko Harm and its activities. It also offers a comprehensive overview from Karl Marx's perspective, helping to explain the emergence of the Boko Haram insurgency through a qualitative research method. Basically, emphasis has been placed on the failure of governance that led to the rise of the Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria because of bad government.

Furthermore, in the subsequent chapters, this research will examine the actors behind Boko Haram's supporters' network, including its financiers and sponsors. The saying goes, when you see a bird dancing in the middle of the road, someone is beating the drum for it in the bush. This implies that there are powerful individuals or groups enabling Boko Haram's access to sophisticated weaponry and facilitating its deadly operations across northern Nigeria.

Chapters three and four will focus on the research design and the implementation of a pilot study. These chapters will outline the methodologies employed to investigate how Bok Harm operates, the systems that sustain their activities, and the ways in which the victims have experienced the devastating effects of the insurgency. Special attention will be given to the current situation of these victims residing in various internally displaced persons (IDP) camps. The study also explores the political instability in northern Nigeria as a major factor contributing to the rise of Boko Haram.

Limitations

The limitations that bedeviled this study, especially on the internally displaced camp in Abuja, were numerous, and one of them is the bureaucratic process that is involved, before the security agent will allow you to enter the camp to interface with internally displaced people. You need to get approved letters from various government

agencies within Abuja metropolis, which is very stressful, and secondly, the translators have to be paid because many victims of Boko Haram insurgency inside the camp cannot understand or speak English fluently. Resources were also spent on the cameramen and videotapes, which made a difficult to get more data from the victims.

Scope

This study will primarily focus on the victims of Boko Haram and the internally displaced persons (IDPs) residing in the Abuja camp located in Nigeria's capital city.it will examine the individual behaviors and perspectives of displaced persons, focusing on their reflections about both and current experience as victims of insurgency. Drawing from the Marxist perspective that "it is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness ", the study will give particular attention to the living conditions and welfare of the victims. Through their narratives and lived experiences, this research aims to provide practical recommendations to the government on addressing and preventing the continued atrocities committed by Boko Haram. Furthermore, the scope of the study extends to explore the role of Boko Haram's supporters and financiers-those who fuel the group's anger and hostility towards the state. This will be analyzed within the framework of historical materialism, highlighting how such support contributes to class struggle and further deepens societal division.

1.7. Thesis Chapterisation

In this second chapter will evaluate the Boko Haram literature review analysis and illustrate bad governance as a weapon that energizes the Boko Haram armed group. However, this chapter will evaluate the problem of bad governance literature in collaboration with historical materialism theory, framework as a guideline for oversight or to have a better knowledge of the Boko haram insurgency in Nigeria. The actors behind Boko Haram, their funding's and their supporters. Then chapter three will focus on research methodology, design, population, and sampling. It will also apply of pilot study and sample techniques to make the study more scientific. The fourth chapter will look at the actors, members and funding, illiteracy, and poverty. The fifth chapter will look at the results and interviews from the participants in the I.D.P. camp in Abuja. Chapter six is the analysis, the last chapter is seven, where the

conclusion of this study is drawn, and then findings and recommendations are made, including references and an appendix

CHAPTER ONE

ANALYSING BOKO HARAM THROUGH THE LENS OF BAD GOVERNANCE

1.1. Introduction

This chapter will present the theoretical framework of this thesis, divided into three parts. It will include an analysis of the Boko Haram literature and elaborate on bad governance literature as a failure to explain the crises of the Boko Haram insurgency, including an in-depth analysis for better understanding. The second part focuses on the problems within the bad governance literature that worsened the Boko Haram uprising, while the third section applies the historical materialism approach to the study of terrorism and the impact of the Boko Haram insurgency. The chapter further explains the use of the historical materialism theory to analyze the Boko Haram uprising, covering the group's emergence, its framework, and the reasons behind its formation. The study will also review existing literature on bad governance, examining how it contributes to the rise and persistence of the Boko Haram insurgency. This review will clarify the underlying factors and complex dynamics behind the group's activities in Nigeria, shedding light on systemic failures that fuel instability and extremism. Based on my review of the literature, several scholars have contributed to research on the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria, each focusing on different aspects or dimensions. The depiction of Boko Haram's rise through the bad governance lens is quite extensive. Therefore, I have made efforts to explain its drawbacks throughout the literature. The second version of this chapter will critique the bad governance literature approach regarding its explanation of Boko Haram's insurgency in Nigeria. In subsequent studies, this paradigm has been mainly applied to underdeveloped and developing countries. The next section contrasts the historical materialism approach as a solution to the limitations of the bad governance perspective by incorporating class analysis into terrorism studies. It should also be noted that militancy is predominantly associated with the realist and liberal traditions of global politics, but class analysis remains essential. Essentially, class analysis explains the spread of capitalism within the global system and examines the criteria or aspects of terrorism that favor different classes, rather than supporting only a specific one. The historical theory strongly believes that the duty of government and ruling classes is to oppress and make life difficult for their citizens. The working class, peasants, and other organized groups often use terrorism as a tool to express their frustrations and fight societal injustices. This chapter mainly focuses on the emergence of Boko Haram insurgency, which is rooted in issues of bad governance as explained by Marxist historical materialism theory.

1.2. Engaging with the literature on Boko Haram.

Within this framework, I will conduct a literature review to uncover and clarify the underlying reasons behind the formation of Boko Haram. The review will also explore the various factors that have contributed to the emergence of multiple armed groups across Nigeria. Numerous scholars contend that Boko Haram's rise is highly fueled by a combination of socio-economic marginalization and religious influences. While other scholars asserted that the causes of the Boko Haram emergency are traced to political ideology, especially the transition of the political system from the northern states to the southern states of the country. Meanwhile, some scholars have examined the connection between Mohammed Marwam, the founder of the Matatsine movement in the 1980, and Boko Harm, highlighting their shared ideological foundations rooted in radical interpretations of Islam. Mrawa attributed his outrage to the economic hardship of the 1980s, which resulted in numerous casualties; a third group of scholars, however, dismisses any specific explanation for the emergence of such armed groups, refusing to attribute it to identifiable causes. In contrast. A fourth school of thought argues that bad governance is the fundamental driver behind the rise of the Boko Harm insurgency.

According to the first group, scholars such as Agbiboa (2013), Roman (2012), Blinke and Souma et Hil-ida (2013), Adetoro Adenrele (2012), and Sturt Eden (2014) have explored the ideological and socio-economic foundations of Boko Haram insurgency. They argued that religion serves as the cardinal force behind the rise of Boko Harm insurgency. This religious influence, they contend. Has plunged the country into political and ethnic turmoil, severely affecting all aspects of national life, both the private and public sectors in Nigeria, especially in this contemporary time. Nigeria, as the biggest nation on the African continent and the most populous black nation in the world, has two predominant religions. The Christian community in Nigeria is predominantly located in the southern region, while Muslims are largely concentrated in the northern part of the country. As a result, socio-economic and political activities have been severely undermined by deep-rooted primordial sentiments. Agbiboa (2012) asserts that understanding Boko Haram requires tracing its origin to historical religious conflicts, many of which have also been examined by Western scholars.

The two major religions- Christianity and Islam- have significantly divided the nation's population, particularly in the political arena, where religious identity often determines electoral choices. For example, when a Muslim candidate runs for a political office, fellow Muslims tend to support him regardless of qualifications, and the same pattern is observed among Christians. This religious bias in political decision-making has deepened national division. Adetoro Adenrele (2012) argues that the root cause of Boko Haram can be traced back to Usman Dan Fodio. An Islamic fundamentalist who, in the 19th century, led a jihad to Islamize northern Nigeria, Dan Fodio was driven by a perception of economic injustices and widespread poverty, using religion as a tool to introduce Sharia law and establish caliphates. These caliphates functioned not only as religious institutions but also as political and economic authorities, whose commands were strictly followed by their adherent.

Moreover, the unification of the Boko Haram armed group was fundamentally rooted in religious ideology. However, the Muslim movement in Nigeria is far from monolithic; it is fragmented into various smaller and larger factions, each with distinct social, political, cultural, and religious perspectives. While some of these groups actively oppose the Nigerian state, others are deeply involved in government affairs and political maneuvering. The internal division had led to tension and, at times, violent confrontations within the broader Muslim community in Nigeria. The ongoing strife is further complicated by differing interpretations of Islam, which have fueled disputes over religious leadership and authorities. As Roman (2012) notes, the situation in Nigeria remains violate due to persistent conflicts arising from divergent means of the meaning and application of Islam among adherents.

With the ugly situation of mass impoverishment that causes hunger and starvation, people started feeling sad and looking for a way to survive, thereby forming bad groups that led to the emergence of Boko haram. These armed groups began to attack government troops as a result of the bad governance and to establish an Islamic state on their own. The armed group known as the Boko Haram can also be traced to the Yusuffiya Islamic sect, thus, Mohammed Yusuf, the founder. Theo Brinkel and Souma Ait-Hilda (2012) argued that the aim of Boko haram is derived from religious perception and interpreted by its members who see themselves as faithful worshippers with the aim of a Jihadist version of Islam. Their purpose is to establish an Islamic Sharia state in Nigeria. Furthermore, Staurt Alden conceived the Boko Haram

activities as a Sunni Islamic group that seeks to establish Sharia law and to impose it on the masses, and also to have a separate state.

The combination of Islamic theology with politics has been a challenge that paved the way to carry out attacks on political affairs in Nigeria in the name of religion, and also attacks the security operatives in the country because some of their members have been incarcerated in police custody. Nevertheless, other international terrorism organizations have been meeting with Boko haram, like Al-Qaida, ISIS, and other groups. Such ideologies have served as the foundations that motivate armed groups to carry out these violent acts, reinforcing their commitment to Islam and their goal of establishing an Islamic state. A statement was released by Boko haram spokesmen, Shekau and Qaqa, to convince all the Muslims to fight for the restoration of the Caliphate of Usman Danfodio. According to them, they said that white men came and killed prominent Islamic clerics, emirs, and replaced them with a while Islamic flag with the Union flag. Abu Qaqa instructed other members of the insurgency not to have any dialogue or negotiation with the government (Agbedo, 2012). According to these spokespersons, the Almighty God has told them that infidel people will not respect the promise he has made. Therefore, we cannot listen to any dialogue with the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Let the government do their wishes and we are ready for reprisal without wasting time, we are ready to carry out attacks and dismantle any government mechanism that stands against us, and to establish an Islamic state in Nigeria

Based on the premise, Jeffery Seoul (1999) argued that religious conflicts should be confined to adherents of religion and should not extend to or impact non-religious individuals. They are called religious conflicts because religion is a unifying and binding identity. Meanwhile, when we are talking about literature on religious conflicts in Nigeria, it broadly showcases the implications of socio-economic, political, and governance deficits as a major problem of such conflicts. On the one hand, religion can be viewed as an institution meant to promote harmony among people. However, it is often exploited as a tool to support violence. Therefore, this literature will focus on socio-economic. Political and governance-related factors, rather than farming, religion solely a source of conflict. This literature agrees that Boko haram is not only a source of chaos or disunity among the northern states of Nigeria because of socio-economic or religious but Northern states have been living under

conflict for many decades before the emergence of Boko haram. Then why do all these catalysts stand for the emergence of Boko Haram?

No matter what, religion stands as people's way of worship or identity, which means a certain group or influx of people can be identified or characterized through their religion, which is a dominant factor in the human race. Nigeria is one of the most religious countries in Africa, where people are easily identified by their faith, and this same religion has contributed to division within society. Today, many can be easily identified by their way of dressing, which serves as an indication of their religion; therefore, Nigeria is a typical example of a religious nation in Africa with conflicts. The cardinal point is that religion cannot be underestimated in the Boko haram insurgency because poverty and inequality are the reasons behind the emergence of Boko Haram. Based on this reason, scholars argued that underdevelopment contributed immensely to the emergence of Boko Haram in Nigeria. There is a nexus between poverty and bad governance, which results in societal conflicts. Economic inequality catalyzes social conflicts, with widespread youth unemployment and pervasive hunger becoming the norm.

He contends that the presence of Boko Harm in the north is largely intended to sow political disorder in society- an outcome rooted in deep social stratification and a rigid hierarchy system. It can attest to the previous ruling party in Nigeria, known as the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), which held power from 1999 to 2015, was unable to curb insecurity in Nigeria. The authors opined that desperation and bad governance paved the way for the rise of Boko haram. It is well understood that Boko haram is making the case against the government, which means that the government is incapable of protecting its citizens. Arguably, the armed group raised public awareness of the government's ability to protect lives (Akogeh, 2012).

Another remarkable scholar is Bamidele. From his perspective, he stipulates that economic inequality and dividends of the economy have not been shared equally in the society. States that are in the Northeast of the country (Bamidele, 2012). Falling short of economic inequality and demography, which caused a high level of dissatisfaction among those states within that geographical area, and when the populace is dissatisfied with bad governance, it will create an avenue to breed terrorism because they are disgruntled in all ramifications of their lives, which will result in terrorism recruitment. This is the reason why James Forest (2012) stated that daily life

is very difficult for people and much difficult for to greater majority than the minority. Meanwhile, the Northern states of Nigeria have a high number of people living in poverty. This shows that bad governance caused deprivation. Ethnic identity in politics, social inequality, thereby leading to catastrophic activities and the rise of the emergence of Boko Haram.

Bad governance remains the cankerworm in the political sphere in Nigeria, especially in the northern states, due to corruption and sit sit-tight system of government. The autocratic government has become a political culture in Nigeria, where protesters are seen as subverting authority. In this case, there is no way you can investigate the elites or the ruling class because they have the power of hegemony, and they even sponsor secret conflicts in order to divert the attention of the masses from their fault because they want to maintain power

Basically, from the perspective of authors in this third segment, such as Adesoji (2012) and Pharm (2012), have established a linkage between Boko haram Insurgency and Maitaisins. From their philosophical ideology, they argued that Maitaisine was very organized, planned, and had the same modus operandi to compare with Boko Haram; in fact, the authors believed that Maitaisine gave birth to the Boko Haram uprising. Many factors had contributed to the Boko haram uprising, including economic inequalities, hunger, poverty, and the pandemic, especially on cattle drought, which is linked to Islam. Basically, other factors that contributed to this armed group are the rejection of the secular nature of Nigerian society and the impact of the success of former spiritual leader from Iran known as Ayatollah Khomeiena in the 1979 revolution. The impact of the rise of Boko haram is still rooted in the Maitaisine revolt of the 1980s. However, Peter Pham stipulated that the study of Boko Haram cannot be underestimated without taking into cognizance the socio-economic and political activities in the Northern part of Nigeria. He stated that the nexus between Maitasine and Boko haram is a reality because during Maitasine revolt era in the 1980s, which claimed the lives of people and affected five states in Northern Nigeria.

Furthermore, scholars such as Babatunde et al. (2012), Mohamed Aly Sergie and Toni Johnson (2014), Gabriella Blanquart, and Sean Gully (2012), agreed that the study of Boko haram should be understood from the structure of Nigeria, which gave way to corruption and frustration. With hunger and frustration, people could no longer condone the bad governance rather unleashed their anger or frustration through anti-

social behaviors like riot, protest, and other social vices used for destructive purposes. Gaberilla Blamquart (2012) explained that Boko Haram is a product of political discontent and a change in the political landscape of Nigeria.

Sean Gourley explained that the emergence of Boko Haram is a result of political frustration and a lack of trust in leaders, which discourages riots or open conflict. This occurs when religion, ethnicity, and tribalism dominate the political landscape, causing individuals to be judged based on their religious background or ethnic group when they seek government or political roles. Additionally, Mohamed Aly Sergy and Toni Johnson referenced Chris Ngwodo, who argued that Boko Haram should not be seen merely as an insurgency or terrorist organization (Akogeh, 2012). Instead, its roots are in poor governance and widespread poverty in northern Nigeria, which have fueled conflict.

The emergence of Boko haram insurgency showcases the long suffering and accumulated grievances over decades by the masses caused by bad governance, and the only way the masses can unleash their anger is by forming armed groups to revolt against the ruling class. Therefore, those scholars viewed Boko Haram insurgency as a result of bad governance and long years of suffering by the people in the northern states that caused the revolt. Furthermore, scholars such as Ahokegh (2014) and Maiangwa and Uzodike (2010), from their conspiracy theory, have argued that the shifting of power from North to South, which good luck Johnathan as a president has made Boko Haram be seen as a child of political rascality.

However, it is improper to conceive Boko Haram insurgency as a political issue alone; after all, the large number of ruling political elites came from northern states. This is because Boko Haram has been existing silently for a long. For better illustration and understanding, I will elaborate more on bad governance literature because, irrespective of citations made by aforementioned scholars, bad governance is imperative to understand its origin, its objective, and what is supposed to be done to curb this menace, which poses a big challenge to the government and its security agencies. Bad governance leads to unemployment, poverty, and corruption, which is bedeviled by bad governance. Since Nigeria's independence till date, the country's economic situation has worsened, people are suffering from poverty and hardship, and the majority of its citizens, especially in the north, are living below one dollar per day because of bad governance. Large numbers of people lack basic amenities like clean

water, education, electricity, health care, and even graduates cannot secure employment because employment positions have been occupied by the elites, whereby fix their children in good government offices and better positions. It is very difficult for the government to shun corruption and bring good governance to its citizens, which is a social contract agreement. In the northern part of the country, many people are facing challenges in eating and living a standard of living because of bad governance. That is bad governance, which means the absence of good government, and the implications include religious crises and conflict. This also brings about other movements like the separatist movement and gross social, economic, and political instability deepened by a legitimacy.

Understanding the study of bad governance cannot be completed without taking into cognizance the political context that paved the way for to rise of bad governance discourse. In conceptualizing bad governance, Kaufman (2015) identified three important elements: political, economic and institutional dimensions from his illustrations, he defined government as the tradition and institutions by which authority in a country is exercise for the common good and government capacity to make use of its resources and implementation of quality policies, and respect of its citizens and the state of country's institutions. It can be said that bad governance is the delivery of low-quality political goods to the citizens by the government of all political goods, including security and safety, the rule of law, participation in human rights, sustainable economic opportunities, and human development. Whereas the government fails to provide these basic amenities to its citizens, then it's a bad governance which is prone to social conflicts and chaos by grieved masses who are totally disgruntled about the current situation (Rotberg, 2004).

Rotberg explained that a sovereign state battered with continuous internal unrest and failure to deliver basic amenities for its citizens means the state tends to fail. Thus, bad governance is when the government fails to provide social security, provide good health, education, and unemployment, which will reduce the high rate of poverty, general insecurity, political and religious extremism, thereby reducing the high rate of armed banditry in the society, which is the cause of the Boko Haram insurgency in northern Nigeria. Good governance is the opposite of bad governance; therefore, it's essential to maintain and sustain the legitimacy of authority, and its absence is failure to do that becomes bad governance. Therefore, in this article, I will use some sections

of Tod Robert Gurr's Relative Deprivation (RD) theory for the explanation of my work. Gurr (1970) defined relative deprivation (RD) as an individual's perception of a discrepancy between their expected value entitlements and their actual capabilities to achieve those values. These values are indispensable in human endeavor for their sustainability. Gurr stated three categories of value as: welfare values (Economic and self-actualization), power values (Participation in society and security), and interpersonal (relationship and place in society). The theory suggests that there is a wider discrepancy between the expectations and capabilities of the masses, the wider the depth of discontent. Nigeria is society where there is no equilibrium in distribution of social and economic goods, and in the situation when the masses compare the current situation with other countries which the feel that they are better off and they knew very well that they have legitimate right and privilege to what others have, it triggers the atmosphere because we are in computer era where people get information from social media and the comparative system between their country and others are sine qua non and conflict erupts (Bowen, 1977).

This theory elaborates on how the deprivation of social and economic goods leads to frustration and anger, which leads to conflict. When the masses are denied their basic right, which is a part of the social contract, especially when the ruling class or bourgeoisie, who are in a better position in the distribution of social and economic goods, refuse to do so and continue to live an ostentatious life. It creates the atmosphere of tension, which leads to conflict. Furthermore, this theory is very imperative to explain how bad governance, the elites in Nigeria widened the population's economic and social gap, that is, creating an atmosphere of discontent and protest, which is prone to violence.

The return of democracy to Nigeria in 1999, after many decades of military in power, shed light on great expectations by the masses for life transformation because they expected that democracy is the best government system that favors the masses based on the rule of law, which consists of transparency and accountability. Nevertheless, the return of democracy has been seen as a channel through which the ruling class fosters grievance and radicalization. More importantly, I am using this RD theory to explore how bad governance led to RD and consequently fueled the Boko Haram insurgency, especially since the return of democracy to Nigeria. The RD theory explained how deprivation of socio-economic goods leads to frustration, aggression,

and conflicts. It is important to take into cognizance that the escalation of poverty and unemployment in the northern states has automatically led to an increase of Boko haram recruitment.

It is on this premise that I will hypothesize that the bad governance in Nigeria is the bedrock of the Boko haram uprising and other armed groups that terrorize the populace.

1.3 The Implications of Bad Governance Literature

The literature on bad governance highlights numerous negative effects, especially on socio-economic development in northern Nigeria. I will use this medium to address some fundamental challenges impeded by bad governance. First, bad governance is the opposite of good governance. When we are talking about bad governance, it is in a situation where there is a high level of corruption, lack of accountability, transparency, and equity by the ruling class or elites. The socio-economic implications caused by bad governance propelled the emergence of the Boko Haram activities in the northern states, where people live in a good environment and are fed well by the government, which provides basic amenities for the people; no one can nurse evil against the government.

The most significant implication of bad governance is the socio-economic activities in the northern states, which the armed group has jeopardized most of the business activities in those affected states. It is evident that many foreign institutions have left the northern states due to incessant killings and vandalism of government and non-government properties. Omipadan (2012) asserted that some countries sharing borders with the northern states have withdrawn their citizens because of the violence. He further illustrated that many neighboring countries that shared borders with the north, like Chad, Cameroon, and Niger etc., are fully involved in the deadly activities of Boko Haram. Referring to the statement made by the commissioner of police in Kaduna state, Jubril Abubakar, during mass raids, many Boko Haram members were apprehended, and it was found that the majority of the armed men were foreign nationals and he warned strictly that any foreigner who is involved and arrested will be prosecuted according to the law of the land. He further explained that police will no longer respect the African charter, which allows free movement and trans-border activities with other countries (Ominipadan, 2012), and he said that Nigeria should not

be taken for granted. This statement was made based on the fear of the illegal entrance of foreign nationals into the country because of the porous border control by immigration personnel who are engaged in bribery and corruption activities at the frontier.

The immigration officers at the border control allow some scrupulous elements to enter the country without identity and full documentation to ascertain where they came from and their purpose of entering the country. These illegal immigrants smuggle contraband goods into the country and become members of armed groups, and as a result of this, it brings about Nigeria having disputes with its neighboring countries. When such an act occurs, the bilateral relationship of both countries becomes shamble, which will affect the international business transactions between the countries and weaken the economy. Under these circumstances, it will affect mostly the economy in the northern states because foreigners who have their business activities in those states will be forced to relocate their business to other parts of the country where there is peace.

Furthermore, it has been observed that incessant bombardment in the northern states has affected the socio-economic activities in the north because of Boko haram insurgents. Many businesses have shut down because business activities cannot be carried out without a sustainable environment. For instance, commercial banks were given a routine to open from 8 am to 12 noon, which was against their modus operandi (Mohamed 2012). However, it's imperative for commercial banks to safeguard their premises against attacks by armed groups. Under the new policy framework, customers have faced significant difficulties in depositing or withdrawing funds from banks. This development has led to the collapse of many businesses, with some traders resorting to storing their money in shops or at home, which led the armed group to break into their houses and shops, cart away their money, because they don't have a secure place to keep their money.

The proliferation of dangerous weapons continues to increase daily, and young girls who cover their heads with hijab keep detonating bombs on suicide missions. People became skeptical of being in crowded places, especially in the market, because explosions can happen at any time, you don't know who, and everybody becomes a suspect. The price of commodities skyrocketed because of the cost of transportation from the South to the North, where consumers are numerous. The reason is that most

northerners are predominantly farmers, and they can't farm anymore because of the insurgency. Nevertheless, the activities of Boko Haram extended beyond disrupting socio-economic activities in the northern states. They have also affected the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC), which is a key symbol of national integration that mandates graduates to serve for one year outside of the state of origin or study. The NYSC board becomes enfeebled because many parents don't allow their children to serve in the North, where insecurity is posed as a threat to people's lives. For instance, those in the southern parts of the country will not agree to do their service in the north. During the 2012 election, many NYSC members were deployed to Adamawa State to conduct the election by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). Many of them flee away and run for their lives before the election date because of insecurity and horrors of Boko Haram activities, The same case applies to NYSC camp in Abuja being Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria (FCT) many coppers didn't answer present in the orientation camp and apply to post them to different camp in the south where there is peace. (Egborunu et al., 2012).

Meanwhile, many parents, especially those from the southern parts of the country, don't want their children to serve in the North, and some are requesting to be scrambled for NYSC, which has been in existence for as far back as the 1970s, because of insecurity. According to Musa, Akhaine, and Abdulsalami (2012), the federal education system appeals to the state's education boards, proposing the dissolution of the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) due to growing security concerns. This is because corps members who serve in the states provide 65% of the required health care service and education at the grassroots level, where about 75% of citizens live.

The Constance killings by the Boko Haram sect have become a challenge to national unity and security. The North and South have been divided over allegations and counter-allegations against each other. It has caused pariah both in business and social activities, which leads to speculation that many disgruntled politicians in the north are behind Boko Haram. The rumor continues to spread that some of the political actors who lost the election in the north are major financiers of the Boko Haram insurgency. For instance, since the amalgamation of Nigeria in 1914, northern Nigeria has been in power more than any other part. Knowing a democratic setting, the system of government has been shifted, and power is rotating from the north to southern

Nigeria. They are aggrieved and decided to hide under Boko haram by sponsoring them through their resources.

The impoverishment in the north has made the youth myopic and easy to manipulate by their politicians to cause harm, because of little money given to them or a promise. Meaning that the youth can carry suicide mission attacks because they are being brain washed and pay peanut to go on such deadly mission, despite hunger, the youth would have jettisoned the idea of suicide mission because nobody who don't want to live long on earth and cannot afford to die premature and painful death because of muscle of bread given to them by elites (Obumneme, 2012).

Historical Materialism to terrorism and Ideology

An ideology is a system of beliefs, ideas, and values that shapes how individuals or groups understand and interpret the world. It often guides political, social, or cultural actions and policies. Ideologies can influence people's opinions on issues like government, economy, rights, and morals. From Karl Marx's perspective, ideology refers to a set of ideas and beliefs that serve to maintain and justify the interests of the ruling class. Marx believed that dominant ideologies are often used to create a false consciousness among the working class, obscuring the true nature of social and economic inequalities. According to Marx, these ideologies reinforce the existing power structures by promoting ideas that support the status quo, such as justifications for capitalism and class hierarchy. He argued that to achieve genuine social change, it is important to recognize and challenge these dominant ideologies, revealing their role in perpetuating class oppression.

Based on the implications of the literature review on bad governance, this module, in illustrating the emergence of the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria, employs a systematic theoretical discourse, with implications for incorporating class into the study of terrorism. Historical materialism theory is one of the most significant frameworks for understanding the emergence of the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria because of the different approaches that exist in contemporary Nigeria as a society. The contemporary Nigerian state is subdivided into two vis-à-vis the poor and the rich, or haves and the have-nots. This is why Chibber (2011) argued that Marx's theory of historical materialism is based on two key interpretations, namely, one that

deals with property relations and the other that deals with the development of productive forces.

In this case, historical materialism is mostly concerned with social form and transition, which entails the micro-dynamics of production relations. Chibber explores that property relations did not create class relations, but class relations happened when power over the assets is dominated by one group of people, which leads to class exploitation. Thus, when a particular group of people dominates or has access to resources and controls the means of production, it will create resistance, which will cause class struggle that may end up in conflicts. Class struggle arises from societal inequalities, which lead to political conflict in any social formation (Chibber, 2011).

Historical materialism theory is anchored on social discourse, which deals with underlying social mechanisms that cause changes in the form of causal tendencies. However, social relations drive dynamism and change within society. Fundamentally, historical materialism can be understood as a characteristic of certain phenomena across different scales of micro-politics, often driven by the aim of maximizing profit in various transactions. Historical materialism can be seen as the prioritization of analysis, which entails class and mode of production based on societal ways of economic production and distribution of resources. The historical materialism encompasses class-dominant analysis, which helps explain both state and non-state terrorism as reactions often framed as counterterrorism. These frameworks give rise to capitalism.

Terrorism is an unavoidable phenomenon that will likely increase in the capitalist mode of production due to social contradictions or economic crises, which stem from social relations and productive forces that lead to conflicts. This phenomenon will lead to a continued struggle among these classes, as argued by Karl Marx. This is the reason why Frank (1972) asserts that social relations of production are inherently hierarchical and exploitive. They are allowed by the state during the period of the dominance of the capitalist state. In this context, capitalism, which fosters private ownership of property, paved the way for some class of people to own more than others. Thus, the capitalist mode of production increases private property and causes inequality in society, which is the bedrock of class struggle, and as a result of this, conflict arises. Moreover, capitalism has divided society into two segments, which consist of the rich and the poor, or haves and have-nots.

During the periods of capitalist conflict and contradiction, two opposing groups struggle for power. Ultimately, the capitalists tend to dominate, as they control the means of production. This deepens class antagonism, leading to greater polarization and widening inequality between the rich and the poor. It is very important to observe that capitalism cannot guarantee or assure a certain social welfare scheme and economic package to the lumpen class and the citizenry. Meanwhile, as a result of this, the ruling class or political position to create confusion in the north, devastation and unrest becomes unavoidable, leading to perplexing conditions for the poor, who are living low standard and harsh economic policies, propelled by the elites with the aim of safe guiding the capitalist from the imminent collapse of their business. The bourgeois and other political elites are less likely to be affected compared to the working class or proletariat.

Therefore, the application of historical materialism theory into terrorism is a typical example of what is happening in the northern part of the country, which causes the emergence of Boko haram insurgency in the northern part of Nigeria. In this case, we can observe that the gap between the ruling political classes in the north is too wide to compare to the lumpen class or working class, and it inevitably prevents the social relations within capitalism. For instance, applying reformist measures, lower salaries but no longer working time, massive dismissals of workers, no good working conditions, cuts in social spending, and tough austerity measures will be implemented. Thus, in this concept it triggers the arise of Boko haram armed group in the north because of class struggle and the political elites which the so much confined with are dogmatic, they don't care about the poor masses who cannot eat one square meal in a day while the top politicians are busy siphoning public treasure into their private purse and sending their children abroad to study while the poor masses are attending Almajir school in a rural communities..

Furthermore, it is important to notice that there is potential class struggle which will lead to strikes, workers protest and industrial disunity between the working class and ruling elites, As Alan wood (2021), observed that most obvious and painful manifestation of the crises of capitalism are not for economic reasons but those natural phenomenon that effect their personal lives. These includes, hunger in the family, the epidemic of crime and violence, the collapse of the old values and no hope to replace it, and incessant killing of farmers which causes scarcity of food, All of these factors

triggers to emergency of Boko Haram and looking at the present condition, no hope to stop this terrorists act whereby the masses losing their faith in the ruling class.

This gap created by the capitalist mode of production leads to a situation where the ruling class fails to provide for the lumpen class, ultimately resulting in social unrest and potential anarchy. In this situation, both unemployed people and many others who cannot understand the cause of their suffering will be forced to respond to the crisis in one way or the other. More importantly, the frustration of sections of working-class people is more likely to come from criminal gangs, radical Islamic groups, and terrorist organizations, who will engage in illegal activities in order to unleash their anger on the ruling classes or political elites, and anarchy will be the order of the day in society. Thus, most of these organizations were formed to achieve a particular aim and become a political force when they gather support from other disgruntled and frustrated members of the lumpen class who join these organizations in large numbers.

The cause and thinking of these religious groups came from confrontations with the ruling class and the actions of the individuals, which led to unleashing or demonstrating their anger toward the ruling class. Secondly, they aim to influence and change the behavior of the ruling class due to their current situation that they are facing in the society, this ideology of unleashing their grievance and changings towards the behavior of the ruling class can metamorphose to counter terrorism, whereby the state and ruling class will use every states apparatus to clampdown and suppress these individual terrorist groups. In this case, terrorism can be assimilated as a tactic of all classes in a conflict rather than a tactic of a lumpen class.

Meanwhile, the application of historical materialism to terrorism, therefore, terrorism can be seen as a reflection of social relations among social classes within global capitalism, and the use of terror can be perpetrated by any of the classes whenever their interest or rights are at risk. In this module, we should take note that the working class has induced individual terrorism, the reason is that many states in the northern region are living under perpetual poverty. Individual terrorism by a section of the working class is more likely to occur in third-world countries than civilized nations. The reasons behind this are that in civilized or developed nations, tensions among the hierarchy of class are so minimal because the state can afford and also to ensure social security benefits, tackle unemployment, single mother benefits,

provide scholarships and students loan, pension and gratuity, and among other benefits to the lumpen classes (Jonathan, 2011).

This is possible because the developed countries have the powerful resources to take care of their lumpen class because they have exploited many third-world countries which including taxes and income from multinational companies. Which means resources to solve any antagonistic group or lumpen class, unlike a developing nation like Nigeria, which cannot provide ordinary security to its citizens, which gave rise to Boko haram and other armed groups in the country, especially in the northern states. In this case, it creates social antagonism and splits among the classes to be proactive, especially in the period of capitalist crises. Meanwhile, the power tussle between these two antagonistic groups, the weaker Lumpen class, became frustrated with its grievances. The result of the anger and frustrations of the lumpen class will serve as an instrument to use against the state by individual terrorism because the organization or group and find itself in an enfeebled condition.

Historical materialism theory (H.M.T) approach to terrorism can be more elaborate to a greater extent, as the description of the object of inquiry from within, driving the object, which is called terrorism. However, it's a process and arguments to logical conclusions, and that requires accessing the object internally, or within the society and economy, instead of externally, as orthodox approaches are trying to let us believe. This ontological position can be classified as a “materialism” because the reason is that the study of a particular Historical Material Theory, is a constellation like a terrorism must be understood as a basis of how a particular system reproduce materialistic to itself which include the specific mode of production, and how social contradiction in that mode of production, manufactures terrorism. The Marxist argued that the hitherto existing society is the hitherto of class struggle. This class determines who controls the mode of production and distribution of resources in the existing society, Karl Marx (1818).

Thus, these types of contradictions that produce terrorism are found within a particular state and not outside the state or society. During the period of capitalist dominance of the mode of production, terrorism is within the ranks and files of structured relations, which has been perpetrated by the capitalist or bourgeoisie in the state or society. Nevertheless, the theory of knowledge or epistemology of the H.M.T. approach to terrorism can be assimilated as a critical historicism. Thus, it provides

empirical evidence through the study of history based on scientific knowledge that uncovered the law that governs historical changes, which entails how the development of productive forces brings into existence varieties of production relations and different forms of class society, and also how conflict within these two antagonistic classes produces terrorism.

Furthermore, for in-depth analysis and comprehensive understanding of using Historical materialism (H.M.T.) approach to terrorism, it is due to the various scientific knowledge that was applied. The historical materialism approach to terrorism applied a historical method, so that it would produce qualitative and robust explanations for a better understanding. Therefore, in this context, it has been illustrated very well that class struggle is the cardinal center of the Boko haram uprising in northern Nigeria…The political elites in the north control the means of production and distribution, being the capitalists and very dogmatic to themselves and their family, without thinking about the lumpen class, who are the peasants. The accumulated grievance by the peasant group in the north paved the way for the emergence of Boko haram by unleashing their anger under the disguise of religion to attack the capitalist or political elites in the northern states. The Boko haram uprising in the north has become tense; the bombardment and incessant killings of innocent citizens are paramount (Adesoji, 2010).

The inequality or gap between the rich and the poor is very wide whereby causing uproars in the northern states because of the struggle of classes. There are two ways to say that the Boko harm uprising in Nigeria is a threat to the rule of law and constitutionalism, which indicates that the insurgency under the umbrella of Muslims has violated the rule of law in Nigeria and also defilement of human rights by grossly killing citizens and their properties. Therefore, Historical materialism theory is used to explain the discourse of terrorism by making references to the empirical essence of its historical evidence (Adeyemi, 2018).

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH METHOD

This chapter will outline the methodology that will be used to carry out this assignment or study. However, the outline and subheadings are as follows: Research designs, population and sampling, sampling techniques, research–developed instrument, application of pilot study, Data collection, and limitations.

2.1. Research Design and Qualitative Methodology

The research design for this topic is based on a quantitative, non-numeric approach and phonological system that will make it easier to arrive at the right directions and achieve my objective in this study. Based on intense operations in northern Nigeria, most of the affected parts are under the siege of Boko Haram, which means it is very risky to conduct or make research with the victims in those areas. This is the reason why I chose the qualitative approach in my research work. As argued by Burner (2012), it is a holistic, inductive, selective, and process-oriented method that can be used to describe and understand. Interpret and develop a theory in a setting based on a phenomenon. A semi-structured style was adopted because I want to interface with the victim in the IDP camp. I felt their pain while having face-to-face contact with them in Abuja for an in-depth understanding and their experiences with Boko haram catastrophic engagements in their various communities. The semi-structured design helped me in the collection of data from different groups or populations. At the same time, it was easy for me to achieve my goals. Thus, this design paved the way for me to get results with the war-affected persons in the same camp and interview them without too many protocols or life-risky traveling from one state to another because of the bombardment by Boko Haram, especially in the affected parts of the states in Nigeria.

2.2. Population and Sampling

Population in this context refers to the study group of people based on the number of people in the IDP camp, which consists of 700 inhabitants, including children. Population or demography can be gathered by means of a survey or a questionnaire to describe the sample of the population. It also enhances the researcher

for data collection and to know if the participants are present, for the purpose of generalization (Schrieber, 2012). Meanwhile, a questionnaire was used as a means of getting data or information from the targeted population. In this context, 300 adult participants from an internally displaced camp (IDP) were recruited in Abuja, being the capital of Nigeria, which consists mostly of victims from the Northeast of Nigeria, who were Boko haram victims and a few other Northerners. The selection was interfacing with the victims, including Christians and Muslims, from different categories, who survived the war of terrorism. Among the participants, many of them have lived in Abuja for the past 7 to 10 years, vis-à-vis 85 old men between the ages of 60 and above, 95 old women between the ages of 50 and above, 20 middle-aged people between 40 and 50, and 100 were youth between the ages of 18 and 30.

2.3. Sampling and Techniques

In this module, sampling can be defined as a process of selecting participants who can provide rich data as a phenomenon of interest (Moser & Korstjens, 2018), as a matter of fact, a sample of 300 people will be showcased in this study. A systematic and well-planned sampling was applied to select the target population who have experienced the painful attacks of the Boko Haram. The purpose of the chosen systematic method is due to their deep understanding and experience within the horrific situation of the Boko Haram intensifications in their various communities. The participants were selected from those who had experienced the war within 5 to 10 years, and with the help of their information, it enhances my ability in this study. Despite the number of participants that I chose, 200 participants were chosen from Abuja IDP Camp from the north northeast rejoin and 100 from other northern states for in-depth information and analysis. Meanwhile, those participants in the IDP camp are graduates without Employment, and those who, unfortunately, lost their jobs because of Boko Haram’s horrific attacks. We should take into cognizance that among the participants, 50 had a high school diploma, then 30 participants had a bachelor's degree, while 5 participants had master’s degrees, respectively. The reason for selecting a few people for an interview is to get rich information. According to Dawidowicz (2016), he opined that a small sample size has to be used in order to get qualitative studies. Just for example, in the phonological study of an old woman who perceived their body from food intakes or eating, McCormick (2011) used a sample of 15 participants between 62 to 91, all members of a large senior center in a rented

subsidized apartment community, to get accurate results for my study. The IDP camp consists of many Boko Haram victims from various northern states of Nigeria, which made me divide the participants into stages. Thus, stages 1 to 10, and stage consist of 30 participants.

2.4. Research Developed Instrument

In this context, as a researcher, the instrument is pivotal for data collection in this study, enhancing the researcher's capabilities to gather more observations from the interview instrument. According to Halloway (2015), the instrument describes the data collection in the study. As a researcher, apart from the instrument, I made use of a semi-structured system in which the participants were grouped into stages for authentic interviews, and also for better findings. From tables 1 and 2 below, you can see that Boko Haram activities took place in almost 19 states that make up northern Nigeria. Therefore, the experienced participants who have lived in the camp for 5 to 10 years were interviewed face-to-face to listen to their constraints and ugly narratives about the Boko Haram experience. More importantly, I conducted face-to-face interviews and questions were asked questions to each one of them, as you can see in Appendix A. Meanwhile, data collection was perfectly well with the help of a semi-structured system, which I applied because the environment was very sustainable for my electronic gadgets, like a tape recorder and other viable equipment that will facilitate my interview as directed by Moser (2018).

2.5 Application of Pilot Study

The application of a pilot study is very imperative to this research, as a novice, it granted access for me access to conduct a perfect interview without much stress. I sought the presence of the participants and gave them proper orientation before the exercise of the comprehension exercise without entertaining fears. I proceed into full action by first of all selecting the most vulnerable state of Boko Haram victims from the northeast, which consists of states like Taraba, Adamawa, Borno, Bauchi, Gombe, and Yobe. All these participant live in the IDP camp in Abuja, and the most vulnerable states is in stages 1 to 5, while other states are in stages 6 to 10 in different sections, and the interview was conducted from stage one, which took me time because I was concentrating on their body gesture, their mode of expression and rhetoric. These interviews were recorded with tapes, which enable me to get deep information about

what I want. At the same time, I made use of the pilot study to listen attentively to their voices and their sad feelings carefully; each and every participant has encountered an ugly report by this terrorist group. The sorrowful situations shared by many of the interviewees encouraged me to thoroughly investigate the reasons behind Boko Haram's heinous activities in northern Nigeria. Careful measures were taken to avoid errors during data collection, especially since several participants broke down in tears during the interviews. I remained composed as eh recording devices functioned properly throughout the process.

2.6. Data Collection

In order to gather the momentum, I provided all the necessary electronic gadgets that would accelerate the interview without delay. After addressing the stage 1 group, a bottle of water was offered to them as recommended by Moser and Korstjens (2018) to enable them to feel at ease. Prior to the interview, I have given them an orientation about how the interview is going to be, and they concur with the instructions. I began with the interview after setting my tape recorder and maintaining eye contact with the participants, and reading their body language by focusing my attention on the participant. Various questions were asked to each participant, as shown in the Appendix, and their diver's answers and explanations were carefully recorded. The stages have 30 participants, and they are allocated to different halls or classes. Those who cannot understand my questions clearly, a tape recorder was brought to their site position for easy understanding and to answer my questions properly. The interview lasted for 2 hours each stage, and extra time was granted for each of them to ask questions. From their voices, I summarize the interview conducted with those participants. I concur with the epistemology of Karl Max about inequality in Society and the law of negation of negation, which means that something must lead to something to happen. For instance, when I asked a widow, If you leave this camp, what can you do to feed your children? And she replied that she has no place to go because her husband is dead and he's the breadwinner of the house. At the end of the interview, I discharged the participant and congratulated them for their time.

CHAPTER THREE

ACTORS BEHIND BOKO HARAM

The perpetrators of the Boko Haram insurgents cannot have the capacity to carry out heinous crimes against humanity without having those who are solidly behind them. The armed group has sophisticated weapons that have made them intensify their operations daily. Their resilience has surpassed that of the Nigerian security agencies, as they remain undefeatable, causing the rich and the poor to be in a state of perplexity. The military forces assigned to fight in Boko haram strong stronghold in northern Nigeria cannot withstand the fight with the armed group because they are better equipped than the soldiers. It's imperative to understand that there are strong actors behind the operation of these armed groups. Many government officials, religious leaders, and elites are behind the Boko haram groups, which made the operation of the sect a conundrum. Some of these government officials and individuals remain the capitalists and actors who sponsor and finance Boko Haram.

For instance, former Senator Ali Ndaume, representing Borno South, was arrested by a security agency for allegedly having ties with criminals. This is to show how unpatriotic Nigerian politicians are; if a sitting senator of the Federal Republic of Nigeria representing his constituency can have intimacy with Boko Haram insurgency or terrorists, what can an ordinary citizen do? This is to show how corrupt the political elites are, who are supposed to portray the image of their society and show good character as a leader and representative of their people at the top government level. Despite Ali Ndume, the Nigerian security agency also arrested a popular and highly influential man known as Alhaji Banu Wakili for collaborating with Boko Haram terrorists. Many of the government officials provide information and secrets about government plans against them, and also supply ammunition to intensify their deadly attack on innocent citizens in northern Nigeria.

Nevertheless, the operations and unprecedented bombardment of these armed groups cannot be effective and efficient without the actors behind this terrorist group. No wonder why Nigerian government requested help from the international community during former President Goodluck Jonathan's era. When the American and Western soldiers arrived, they found out that there were a lot of shenanigans among Nigerian soldiers and armed groups. Without delay, they jettisoned the plans of

assisting the Nigerian government to combat terrorism. Numerous actors behind the deadly armed group include ex-governor of Kano state, Alhaji Ibrahim Shekura, and Isa Yaguda, the governor of Bauchi State, who was accused of sponsoring Boko Haram in their various states. With great support from the political bourgeoisie who are solidly involved and play a role of major role in Boko Haram engagement, the government can't negotiate or curb the activities of terrorism in the country.

The map below shows the affected states in Northern Nigeria where Boko Haram has its stronghold.



Figure 1. Map of Boko Haram affected states
Source: Nigeria Bureau of Statistics (NBS, 2015).

From the above map, the contrast shows how Boko haram insurgency intensified their killings and bombardment against the masses. From July 2009 to January 7th, 2015, more than 1,000 lives were lost and millions displaced, caused by the armed group. Violence against civilians is unprecedented and against humanity according to the U.N. charter Article 55, which spells out that human beings have the right to live and freedom is their fundamental right. But in this case, Boko Haram insurgency has caused pain to many civilians and displaced many, and the fighting between government forces and armed groups remains uncertain and unpredictable. Many families have been devastated and live in different camps in a strange land, but the duty of the government to win this war against this armed group remains perplexing, so that displaced families can reunite with their families and loved ones.

3.1. Members and Funding

This study cannot be completed without unveiling the members who fund this armed group. This financier sponsors the Boko Haram to procure sophisticated weapons to fight against government troops. Members of this sect can be broadly viewed from a religious perspective; the systemic way of recruitment and ideology can be seen as a religious way because their motive is to Islamize Nigeria. It's stated clearly for all and sundry to know that Boko Haram means Western Education is a sin or forbidden. With this understanding, they believed that anything called education or a lesson must be according to the principles of the Qur'an and the Sunna. Therefore, the comprehension of Boko haram entails that all forms of Western Education should not be accepted and should be forbidden to every Muslim.

Basically, in terms of their recruitment, religion plays a fundamental role, which means that every one of their members must be a Muslim who has the same faith and belief system. The armed groups pray together, interact together as well as socialize together, dress alike, which makes them unified and distinct from other religious groups. The members consider themselves true Muslims and the best interpreters of the Holy Qur'an, surpassing any other worshipper. We should understand that the Boko haram sect recruits based on religion, not ethnicity or regional organization. Their belief system is that they are fighting for God, and thereby God is by their side. In contrast to this, they start to attack churches, government properties, and even kill some Muslim members who adopt Western lifestyles, for instance, a notable man known as Bashir Kashara, a Wahhabi, was murdered for his open condemnation of the Boko Haram sect.

More importantly, for a better understanding of their recruitment and membership of the sect is rooted in the Almajiris, who fail to acquire a Western education but only an Islamic education. These pupils, who are boys who were abandoned by their parents or relatives and cannot easily trace their homes, were brought to the Islamic school to learn. In this case, their friends and relations are their fellow students and teachers with whom they stay together and interact on a daily basis. They have learned many doctrines from their teachers, which makes them radical and vulnerable to danger. This group (Almajiris) is very common in northern Nigeria. It is a systemic way for these young poor boys who are brought from different homes to learn the Qur'an at an early age in their lives. These children do not have income;

rather, you will see them on the street dressed ragtag and begging for food to eat with their rubber plates. They can incite violence at any time and go scot-free because people see them as radical boys without parental care.

In contrast to this study, apart from Almajiri's recruitment, many graduate youths are also recruited into the Boko haram armed group because, after many years in university, the government fails to secure a job for them. The poor masses were also recruited into the system because of hunger and a lack of basic amenities to sustain their life. Young girls have been used to detonate bombs or on suicide missions in gathering or event centers. The society made some of the youth think evil, thereby causing psychopathic or sociopathic disorder because of the environment they see themselves.

Moreover, funding has been a prerequisite for any organization or group to achieve its goals, and Boko Haram has been receiving financial aid from both government officials and various institutions and organizations across Nigeria, which prompts them to carry out their operations. As I have stated unequivocally, the ex-senator representing Borno South, Ali Ndaume, and Alhaji Banu Wakil were their major financier of Boko haram. Aside from these top government officials, the ex-governors of Kano state and Bauchi are involved in financing the sect. This financial empowerment from government officials gives them the moral to procure sophisticated arms that are more powerful than security agents. Not only giving them money, they link government secrets to Boko Haram members. In 19 states of northern Nigeria, Boko Haram has held some local governments under siege by collecting revenues from those local governments in various states.

Bank robbery is also another means by which the group gets its funds. Many bank robberies and kidnappings with heavy ransoms, which are orchestrated by these bandits, are a source of funds. Most of the bank robberies in the northeast are caused by Boko haram and looting of business shops and properties. They also have their resources from sympathizers like politicians, religious leaders, and businessmen who fund them. Another means the acquiring wealth is through national and international organizations, for instance, Mohammed Damasun, who is a member of the Nigerian Taliban, was accused of funding the armed group. The armed group also received financial support from Western and the Nigerian news Media that have connections with some groups like the Salafist group for preaching and combat in Algeria.

Speculations accused Tablighi clerics from Pakistan and Wahhabist missionaries from Saudi Arabia of funding the group as well.

Boko Haram Insurgency, as a powerful terrorist group, has a strong tie with Islamic bodies and has also established a robust relationship with AL-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb. We should also understand that most of the sects are trained outside Nigeria, and their weapons are imported from abroad. A renowned group known as Al Muntada Trust Fund, whose headquarters are in the United Kingdom, is another major financier to this bandit. The aforementioned organizations and government officials have made it possible for Boko Haram to continue intensifying its war against the government and civilians. The Nigerian military, which was rated as number one in Africa, cannot defeat Boko haram for more than a decade, because the sect has more sophisticated ammunition than the soldiers. Boko Haram has turned into a big industry that is very lucrative in Nigeria, which involves the kidnapping of people; both the government and individuals pay huge ransoms to free their captives. The diagram below shows the Boko Haram operations in various states.

Table 1. Timeline of Boko Haram attacks in Northern Nigeria from July 2009 to June 2022.

S/n	Date	State	Type of Violence/Attack
1.	July 27, 2009	Yobe	Attack on Potiskum, Yobe State's DivisionalPolice Headquarters, three Policemen and one fire service officer died.
2.	September 8, 2010	Bauchi	Bauchi Central Prison was set ablaze, andmembers of the sect were freed.
3.	March 13, 2010	Plateau	Another sect operation in the northern part of Jos, Plateau State, led to the death of 300people.
4.	October 1, 2010	Abuja	Explosions near Eagle Square, Abuja, claimed 12 lives, leaving many injured.
5.	December 24, 2010	Plateau	A bomb attack in Barkin Ladi, Jos, Plateau State, killed eight people.
6.	December 31, 2010	Abuja	Explosions at the Mogadishu Mammy Market, Abuja, claimed about 10 lives.
7.	January 21, 2011	Borno	The Borno State Governorship candidate of the All Nigeria Peoples Party, ANPP, for the 2011 election, Alhaji Modu Gubio, brother to former Governor of the state, Modu Sheriff, was killed by sect members alongside six others in Maiduguri, Borno State.
8.	March 2, 2011	Kaduna	Boko Haram killed two policemen attached to the residence of the Divisional Police Officer, Mustapha Sandamu, at Rigasa area of Kaduna State.
9.	March 30, 2011	Yobe	A bomb planted by Boko Haram in Damaturu, Yobe State, exploded and injured a policeofficer
10.	April 8, 2011	Niger	Bomb at the INEC office in Suleja, Niger State, claimed the lives of eight corps members and asuicide bomber.

11.	April 9, 2011	Borno	Bomb explosion occurred at a polling unit in Unguwar Doki Maiduguri, Borno State, killing the suicide bomber.
12.	April 26, 2011	Borno	Three people killed and scores injured in bomb attack
13.	April 29, 2011	Bauchi	Army Barracks in Bauchi bombed.
9.	March 30, 2011	Yobe	Bomb planted by Boko Haram in Damaturu, Yobe State, exploded and injured a police officer
10.	April 8, 2011	Niger	Bomb at INEC office in Suleja, Niger State, claimed lives of eight corps members and a suicide bomber.
11.	April 9, 2011	Borno	Bomb explosion occurred at a polling unit in Unguwar Doki Maiduguri, Borno State, killing the suicide bomber.
12.	April 26, 2011	Borno	Three people killed and scores injured in bomb attack
13.	April 29, 2011	Bauchi	Army Barracks in Bauchi were bombed.
14.	May 19, 2011	Bauchi	Three policemen were killed and two soldiers were injured in bomb attack
15.	May 29, 2011	Bauchi	Explosion at mammy market of Shandawanka barracks in Bauchi State claimed lives and left many injured.
16.	May 30, 2011	Borno	Bombs exploded early morning on Baga road in Maiduguri, Borno State, 13 dead and 40 injured.
17.	June 7, 2011	Borno	Series of bomb blasts occurred in Maiduguri, Borno state, claiming five lives and leaving several others injured
18.	June 16, 2011	Abuja	Nigerian Police Headquarters, Abuja, bombed by a suspected suicide bomber, three killed and many vehicles were damaged
19.	June 16, 2011	Borno	Four children were killed in a bomb blast at Damboa town, Maiduguri, Borno State
20.	June 20, 2011	Katsina	Seven policemen were killed when Boko Haram stormed the Kankara Police station in Kastina State. Two of the security men guarding a band opposite the state were also killed
21.	July 9, 2011	Borno	A clash between Boko Haram and the military left about 31 people dead in Maiduguri, Borno State. Also in Suleja, Niger State, a bomb targeted at a church killed four and injured many others
22.	July 11, 2011	Kaduna	Tragic explosion at a relaxation joint in Fokados Street, Kaduna
23.	July 12, 2011	Borno	Boko Haram threw an explosive device on a moving military patrol vehicle, which claimed five lives
24.	July 15, 2011	Borno	Explosion in Maiduguri injured five people
25.	July 23, 2011	Borno	An explosion close to the palace of the Shehu of Borno, Abubakar Garbai Elkanem, injured three soldiers
26.	July 25, 2011	Borno	Bomb explosion near the palace of the traditional ruler in Maiduguri claimed eight lives.
27.	August 25, 2011	Borno	Sect members killed four policemen, one soldier and seven civilians and carted away undisclosed sum of money in a bank robbery by the sect.
28.	August 26, 2011	Abuja	A Suicide Bomber Drove into the United Nations Building in Abuja, 25 and 60 injured.
29.	September 12, 2011	Bauchi	Seven people, including four policemen, were killed during a bomb attack on a police station in Misau, Bauchi State
30.	September 13, 2011	Borno	Sect members shot and injured four solders in an attack in Maiduguri, shortly after the arrest of 15 sect members, during military raids on Boko Haram hideouts in Bauchi State
31.	September 17, 2011	Borno	Brother in-law of Mohammed Yussuf, the slain leader of Boko Haram, Babakura Fugu, shot dead in front of his house in Maiduguri by two members of the sect two days after he was visited by former President Olusegun Obsanjo
32.	October 3, 2011	Borno	Boko Haram attacked Baga market in Maiduguri and killed three people
33.	November 4, 2011	Yobe	About 150 people killed by Boko Haram in Damaturu, Yobe State

34.	November 27, 2011	Yobe	Seven people killed in attacks in Geidam, Yobe State
35.	December 18, 2011	Borno	Three members of Boko Haram were killed when their bomb detonated in Shuwari, Maiduguri, Borno State
36.	December 22, 2011	Borno	Explosive and gunshots killed four people and left several others injured.
37.	December 24, 2011	Plateau	About 80 people killed in bombing in Jos, Plateau State
38.	December 25	Niger	About 50 people died on Christmas Day bombing in Madalla, Niger State
39.	December 30, 2011	Borno	Seven people killed in Maiduguri, Borno State
40.	January 5, 2012	Gombe	About six people died in a church attack in Gombe State
41.	January 6, 2012	Adama wa	17 people died in a Christ Apostolic Church, Yola, Adamawa State while 20 Igbo people were also killed in Mubi in the same state.
42.	January 20, 2012	Kano	About 250 people killed in multiple attacks in Kano
43.	January 22, 2012	Bauchi	Two churches destroyed in Bauchi State, two military personnel, a DPO and eight civilian were killed by gunmen at the headquarters of Tafawa Balewa Local Government Area in the state.
44.	January 26, 2012	Kano	The Sabon Gari of Kano State witnessed another explosion, which caused another pandemonium in the state. Many injured and some luxury buses were damaged in the explosion.
45.	January 28, 2012	Borno	One killed in Gambiru, Ngala
46.	January 29, 2012	Borno	Two killed in Gambiru, Ngala
47.	January 30, 2012	Borno	Six people killed in Maiduguri environs including two Air force officers
48.	February 4, 2012	Borno	Two people killed in Damboa
49.	February 5, 2012	Yobe	SSS man killed
50.	February 07, 2012	Kadun	5 killed were killed in the Military Barrack
51.	February 07, 2012	Kano	10 killed in Kano
52.	February 10, 2012	Borno	4 Boko Haram members were killed during Soldier shoot-out in Maiduguri
53.	February 10, 2012	Kano	Boko Haram sect attacked Police Station and engaged the police in gun duel in Shagari Quarters, Kano
54.	February 12, 2012	Borno	Boko Haram members killed in Maiduguri
55.	February 15, 2012	Kogi	Jail Break In Koton Karji Prisons, Kogi State. A warder was killed and 199 prisoners Released
56.	February 15, 2012	Niger	2 police men killed and injured in Minna, Niger State
57.	February 17, 2012	Yobe	2 people killed in Geidam, Yobe State
58	February 17, 2012	Borno	5 people killed in Maiduguri metropolis
59.	February 20, 2012	Borno	Boko Haram and soldiers clashed in Maiduguri market. 30 persons died
60.	March 8, 2012	Sokoto	Boko Haram killed 1 Briton and 1 Italian who were abducted in 2011. They were killed during rescue attempt
61.	March 11, 2012	Plateau	A car bomb denoted outside Catholic Church in Jos killing 10 persons

62	April 2, 2012	Kano	A Professor and 17 others were killed in Bayero University, Kano.
63	April 8, 2012	Kaduna	38 people killed on Easter Sunday.
64.	April 9, 2012	Kaduna	40 people were killed in Kaduna
65.	April 9, 2012	Plateau	Bomb explosion near Plateau State Governor's Lodge.
66	April 29, 2012	Borno	5 worshippers, including a Pastor, were killed in Maiduguri
67	April 30, 2012	Taraba	11 died as a suicide bomb hit Police Chief Convoy in Jalingo
68	May 10, 2012	Kano	A bomb was defused around the premises of King's Garden Cinema, Bridge Quarters, Kano State, where hundreds of soccer fans were billed to watch the final match between Chelsea and Liverpool.
69	June 17, 2012	Kaduna	Multiple bomb attacks on 3 churches, killing 70 people were injured, and scores of others.

Source: Adapted from Okpaga, Ugwu, and Eme (2012:8) and also compiled by the Author.

The above table gives an illustration of incessant killings and bombardment of Boko Haram members in various states and their locations from 2009 to 2012. It has been a doomsday for innocent civilians who have not committed any crime to die miserably. Thus, the northern states, primarily in the northeast east have experienced total war without end by this sect and have no hope when the war will be over. The government forces have made little effort to disarm this terrorist group, but there are jamborees within the ranks and files of the military, so many games and irregularities keep repeating themself among the military. The most heinous activity by these perpetrators was a suicide mission on 16th June 2011, the Nigerian police headquarters in Abuja was attacked and many casualties were recorded, including the suicide bomber who died at the scene of the crime.

It was a heavy blow and a dent to the image of the Nigerian Police Force when its headquarters were bombarded and men in uniform started making fugitive movements because of their lives. When the armed group terrorizes a big institution like police headquarters, tell me if life of an ordinary man on the street is safe, another remarkable day of Boko Haram activities was on August 26th, 2011, when another suicide mission ran into the United Nations (UN) building in Abuja and detonated a bomb, killing at least 25 people and injuring 60. This is a historical event which Nigerians will not forget, which signifies that there is no security anymore in Nigeria and everybody is living under fears. The failure of government and its security agencies has allowed this terrorist group to control many communities in the north and collect revenues and taxes, which are supposed to be the duty of the government.

3.2. Illiteracy as a Barrier

Illiteracy has become a significant challenge in northern Nigeria, posing as an obstacle to individual development, community progress, and as well as economic growth. In many rural areas in the northern states, access to quality education has become an impediment for the children to have better education, as insufficient infrastructure, including a shortage of schools and qualified teachers, disrupts the educational system in northern Nigeria. Lack of proximity to the school made it difficult for children to attend school; many schools are located at a far distance, which discourages many of them from having formal education at an early stage. Cultural norms and societal expectations sometimes play a significant role in hindering educational opportunities, especially to the girl child.

Some of the underage girls are used blindly to wear hijab and commit a suicide mission by detonating bombs in crowded places, which has been caused by illiteracy. No educated person will agree to kill herself because of little money given to her in the name of religion. Apart from that, many underage girls in the north engaged in early marriage, which is seen as a norm in the north, and when the girl child has grown and is exposed to life, she will abandon the marriage and become a problem to society, engaging in hard drugs and prostitution. Girl child should not be to early education or forced into early marriage when they don't know their left and right because early marriage without acquiring proper education will lead to a cycle of poverty. She has given birth, training, and operant learning to those children will also be obsolete because of poor family background caused by illiteracy.

More importantly, illiteracy in the northern states of Nigeria has devalued socio-economic growth in some states in the north, and most of the economic activities are owned by the people from the southern parts of the country. The market force and business flow are controlled by other tribes, thereby causing enmity. When families have the means to support their family, training them in school, especially acquiring basic education, they cannot be manipulated by any person or leader to join any gang, which will lead to the destruction of the child's future and probably to an early grave for such a child. Lack of illiteracy stands as a threat to humanity in society, so many elites have taken advantage of the illiterate ones in northern Nigeria, whereby poor ones must be loyal to the rich man as a means of survival.

The Almajiris who only attend Islamic school in the northern state, often being myopic in thinking, whatever their teachers have taught them remains static, no addition or subtraction. Most of the Boko haram perpetrators are Almajiris who have been brainwashed to fight a religious fight by their educators. These young boys who cannot trace their parents anymore are very vulnerable to danger and can incite violence, especially on religious grounds. Religious attacks in the north have become a daily news in Nigeria, where many Christians were killed and churches were burnt by radical Muslims, who are predominantly Almajirs, because of their myopic mentality and absence of Western Education. The Christians in the north suffered the heat at an early stage of the Boko Haram activities; they were the target, and as a result of this, many industries owned by non-indigenous Christians relocated their business to Southern Nigeria, where security is guaranteed. On this occasion, while Almajairis are busy attacking the Christians then Hausa-Fulani are engaging in attacking the Ibo traders and looting their shops and properties in the north (Agbiboa, 2013).

The ratio of illiteracy in the north is very high compared to compare with the South, and a low level of education paved the way to economic growth and development. According to a health survey that illustrates the high level of illiteracy in the north, less than 25 % of women and 54% of men in the North cannot read and write to compare with 74% of women and 90% of men in the South. With this indication, the livelihood of the family becomes problematic. Malnutrition and disease become the order of the day, children become vulnerable to danger because of impoverished lifestyles, and are willing to commit crime when they are being brainwashed by being them small food to eat. The emergence of Boko Haram is rooted in a high level of illiteracy in the northern state of the country, a state or society with low educational attainment is an undeveloped state and will result in anarchy.

3.3. Poverty

Poverty stands as a threat that leads to devastation and youth engagement in crime in the northern state, and to join a bad gang. The rate of poverty in the north is higher compared to compare with the south. Hunger and disease stand as a major challenge that the government has not proffered a solution to society, and it also destroy national integrity and fuel conflict in the nation. Poverty rate in the northern states goes beyond economic growth to political, social cultural issues. Poverty stands

as an impediment to juvenile delinquency not only in the northern states but in Nigeria in general. It's a multidimensional problem that requires technical know-how for the government to solve. When the government fails to provide basic needs for its people, conflict becomes the order of the day. This occurs especially when the rights of people or their biological needs, but also psychological needs that foster growth and socio wellbeing of the people, are being denied, which will trigger violence.

According to Karl Marx (1818-1883), the history of all societies is fundamentally a history of class struggles. He emphasized that the ongoing conflict between the rich and the poor, centered around the control of resources, plays a critical role in shaping societal tensions and often leads to conflicts. As I have stated unequivocally, a life of impoverishment led to the Boko Haram uprising, especially since 2003. In other words, majority of communities and families in the north cannot satisfied their basic needs such as food, shelter, health and basic education, an adage says that a hungry man is an angry man, there is no way a person in such enfeeble condition can be rational in reasoning instead he will be having negative thoughts always. (Ifedi, 2011), conceived that poverty has been one of the challenges in Nigeria for decades, and economic crises have had a devastating effect on the communities in northern Nigeria.

The social stratification ratio in the northern states indicates inequality between the two dominant classes in the society. Inequality is attributed to social conflicts, and when people's needs are not met, they will engage in conflicts. When we trace it down to the economic disparity in the country, especially in northeast Nigeria, where the Boko Haram insurgency has gathered momentum. There is chronic poverty in the northern region because of socio-economic disparity, resulting in unemployment, for instance, in Borno state, which is the epicenter of Boko Haram, and poor health care ravages most children. In terms of health care, only 2% of infants under 25 months got vaccinated, 83% of adults are illiterate while 45% don't attend school. According National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) disclosed in (2010), the northeast has the highest poverty rate consist with 64.8 in the country.

With a better understanding of the gross poverty rate in the north, Boko Haram's mindset of perpetrating evils and using religion as a stepping stone. Basically, Karl Marx opined that religion is the opium of the masses. This armed group has used religion as a yardstick to perpetrate evil in the north. Religion has become an antidote

that relieves the masses from their suffering and also serves as an analgesic that dulls the brain and incites evil senses in the oppressed masses to cause conflict. The Marxist asserted that religion has become an amphetamine for Boko Haram members to conflict and intensify their operation and see themselves as true Muslims. Poverty and deprivation have led the unemployed youth to join the Boko Haram sect, when a graduate who spent many years studying under a poor parental background, after graduating. War between Christians and Muslims has claimed many lives, especially in Kaduna State and Plateau State. Poverty has become the cause of the Boko Haram insurgency in the north. The diagram below shows the poverty ratio in northern Nigeria. The apparent will sell land or valuable property to bribe the government or a private office to get a job, but in the end, he will not get the job, and the money will be scammed by the top managers in the office who promised to give him a job. Below is the poverty ratio in Nigeria.

Table 2. Zonal incidence of poverty by different poverty measures

Zone	Food poor	Absolute	Relative poor	Dollar
North central	38.6	59.8	67.5	59.7
North East	51.5	69.0	73.3	69.1
North West	51.8	70.0	77.7	70.1
South east	41.0	58.7	67.0	59.2
South South	35.5	55.9	63.8	56.1
South West	24.4	49.1	59.1	50.0

Source: Nigeria Bureau of Statistics (NBS, 2015).

3.4. Conclusion

Boko haram armed group couldn’t have been waxing so strong in northern Nigeria without strong supporters and funding. From the above illustration, we can observe that Maiduguri, which is the stronghold of Boko Haram, is being financed by Elites vis-à-vis politicians and religious leaders. Thus, the financial support received from those elites amplifies them to perpetrate evil and intensifies their bombardments, killing of people, especially innocent children and women. It also made it impossible for the government to disarm or win the battle against these armed groups because those elites who sponsor them disclose government secrets to them, thereby when the military wants to conduct its operations against them, they have already gotten the information and are aware of new tactics of the security operations. You could imagine

where a serving senator representing his people in Borno South (Ali Ndaume) was arrested for financing a terrorist group.

When such a political figure is involved in criminal activities with a bandit, what will his subject does? Supporting these criminals is so barbaric and unlawful but Nigeria as a society, where the judicial system has been undermined by the political elites, they made it easy for elites to commit any crime and go scot-free. Irrespective of being a financier, they are major actors that have played a fundamental role in the Boko Haram uprising since 2003 and continue to show their solidarity with this armed group, which fuels their quest to overpower security agencies and conquer the northern states. From this thesis, we acknowledge the optics that Boko haram insurgency has been using religion as a weapon of war to attack and justify their evil actions, no wonder Karl Marx cited that religion is the opium of the masses. Religious doctrine tends to change their attitude into radicalism, and their myopic thought is full of bunches of evil, all in the name of Islam. The Almajiris serve as an instrument of violence because, from their studies, they have been brainwashed to cite violence in the name of religion with the promise that when they die in holy war that Allah will give them seven virgin girls in heaven.

Basically, from this study, we can also understand that illiteracy contributes to insurgency in the northern states. Illiteracy and poverty in the northern states have cultivated the idea of armed groups, which leads to kidnapping and demanding a huge amount of money for ransom from the victims. Lack of formal education has become a siege to the youth and can be manipulated easily by the elites to commit atrocities in exchange for food. Thus, an educated person cannot commit suicide for little money, even if he has been paid a huge amount of money, he cannot take such a risk because he knows that life is precious and not worth wasting others' lives. So many girls have been brainwashed and used for suicide missions because of ignorance. Most girl children are forced into early marriage without attending school, and between the ages of 9 to 13 years, many of them get married and will divorce during their adult age, thereby causing the children born into perpetual poverty.

A high level of unemployment exacerbates poverty in the north Nigeria, which made Boko Haram activities or its members unemployed masses. Nigeria is a heterogeneous society and is endowed with abundant mineral resources, but irrespective of these mineral resources, many people are living in poverty, especially

in northern Nigeria. Poverty and disease have become problematic for many families and put them into perplexing conditions. When there is a high level of poverty rate in the society, the repercussions are always armed robbery, kidnapping, banditry, prostitution, among other crimes. Poverty caused by idleness is a driving force for the youth to join the Boko Haram insurgency because an idle man is a devil's workshop, and his ideas are full of evil and destruction.

According to the Nigerian National Bureau of Statistics (NBS 2010) the northern Nigeria has the highest rate of poverty, especially in the northeast. The data indicates that the poverty rate is 64.8% (NBS 2010), which amplifies the deep roots of the Boko Haram emergency and the causes of social vices in the northern states. The terrific attack of Boko haram since 2003 has been abysmal to the people in the northern states, which has made the environment inhabitable, especially in the most affected communities. The class struggle between elites and the lumpen class has leveraged the socio-economic and political activities, thus since 2003, when Boko haram insurgency began, farmers are skeptical of farming in the Northern states, and as an agrarian society, half of its population engages in agriculture as their occupation. Most of the local governments in the northern states are under siege by Boko Haram, and the government and its security agencies have not offered a solution to disarm this terrorist group.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RESULT

4.1. Introduction

This chapter will focus on the presentation of results after thorough data collection with a forensic interpretation. Data were gathered through ten semi-structured interviews, using protocol questions outlined in the Appendix. Participants were organized into different categories or stages, allowing for a deeper understanding of their experience, aspiration, emotions, and the traumas they endured at the hands of Boko Harm.

4.1.1. The pilot study

As a novice, the pilot study granted me the opportunity to give a proper orientation to the participants before the interview began. It also paved the way to organize the participants and group them into stages, that is, from stages 1 to 10, and each stage contains 40 participants who have lived in the camp for a period of 5 to 10 years, and questions were asked as shown in the Appendix.

4.1.2. Demography

When we're talking about demography, it refers to studying a number of people or population in a territory or area, inter alia, sex, race, age, etc., as noted by Scheriber (2012). It can be collected by either a survey or questionnaires, which assist the researcher in getting full data. In this regard, the population of 700 displaced people lived in the IDP. Camp at Abuja, and 400 people were selected between the ages of 18 to 60 years and have lived in the camp for 5 to 10 years respectively. The interview was face-to-face, which included Muslims and Christians. Out of the total selected numbers, 50 persons had a high school diploma, 30 had a bachelor's degree, and 5 had a master's degree.

4.1.3. Setting

For scientific observation and data collection, I conducted the interview in a sustainable environment where the participants lived, the participants were grouped into stages.

4.2. Government Failures over Insecurity

Many of the participants were traumatized because of their experiences with these bandits; from the interviewees 1 to 5 lamented much on the insecurity, which the government failed to protect them. As people whose livelihood is their means of livelihood, they cannot farm anymore. One of the named Khagija was crying during the interview about how her husband was kidnapped on the farm and murdered in her presence with her two sons, and she managed to escape. Interviewee 6 to 10 expressed their ordeal during the interview, that they were shocked when Boko Haram entered into police station and detonated a bomb that killed policemen, which means that there's no security anymore, and from that day they could not sleep with their eyes closed. The government has failed to protect its citizens from the hands of Boko haram perpetrators, and many of the villages have been captured by the armed group, which collects revenues and levies from those local governments. Meanwhile, the activities and life of the people living in those communities which is against the law. Government failure in security has become a problem without a solution, and people's lives are under siege by Boko Haram. The interviewee, 11 to 15, cried out that the lack of security in their village caused them to be beggars because, as villagers, who only have farming as their occupation, cannot farm any longer because of Boko Haram. Their children have become hunters and a nuisance in the villages, because they cannot afford to send them to school. They lament that most of their village police stations are shut down. Whenever they hear that Boko haram is coming to invade their village or coming for an attack, everybody will be scared because the police, who are supposed to protect them, are running. What can an ordinary person do without ammunition?. This question touched my heart, and I saw how curious she was, and I felt pity. Interviews 17 to 23 share their encounter with Boko Haram in their market square, where more than 100 bikes invaded their market with loaded ammunition and ransacked every businessperson and carted away their goods and money. The army checkpoint is near the market, and no military personnel came to their rescue. Shortly after the armed group had left, the army came to the scene with their vehicles and were asking if there were any casualties. The worst part is that the villagers formed a vigilante group that can assist the police or military to guide or protect the village, but

the military did not allow those vigilantes to carry ammunition, thereby making it difficult for that group to assist government security agents.

Interviewee 24 to 30 expressed their disappointment over insecurity when Boko haram kidnapped their children in their community, and they went to the police station to report and were shocked when they saw that the police station had closed. Their children were kidnapped in broad daylight with some teachers, one of them who failed to mention his name, stating that police and army work hand in hand with the Boko haram. He asked how these bandits can operate for 3 to 4 hours without the intervention of any security agents. He said that the government is Boko haram and Boka haram is the government. The problem is that there's no synergy between the police and the military, and despite that, there are many saboteurs within the ranks and files of the security agents. Most of the ambush setups by Boko haram were based on information they got from Nigerian security agents. They disseminate information and sell government ammunition to these insurgents, a lack of trust within the security agency and among the citizens has become an impediment in fighting against Boko haram. Some top hierarchy soldiers have deviated from fighting against the insurgency to a lucrative business, whereby government security budget for the year which involves tremendous amount of money, thus that is meant for buying sophisticated ammunitions and weapons to fight against Boko Haram will be diverted to private use and shared among the ranks and files of the soldiers, thereby sending the junior officers in war front with fake or substandard weapons.

Interviewee 31 to 37 also comment on poor security in their respective communities where Boko haram held siege. A civil servant at level 12 testified about what happened to her, and out of her ugly experience with the armed group, she works in the ministry of agriculture. She burst into tears when she was narrating her ordeal with Boko haram inside her office. According to her, when the armed group surrounded her workplace and kidnapped her colleagues after shooting sporadically in the air, she had no choice but to jump through the window. She broke her leg and managed to escape from the spot. I felt very sorry for her sad story because she uses crutches in the camp after losing her job because of this evil armed group. The last set of this stage is interviewee 38 and 40 with their side of story was on the same insecurity in their community, Musa and Abas express their views that Boko haram have suppressed Nigeria police, according to them they said that Nigeria military and police

are toothless bull dog and urged the government to allow state police or local vigilante, that those indigenous vigilante will protect them more that police because the know the ground very well more than the police.

4.3. The interests of People's Choice are not Properly Represented in the Government by the Leaders (Stage 2)

Based on the data collection on stage 2, the reiteration of interviewees voiced out vehemently that people's interests were not properly represented by their leaders in the government. Those leaders who represent them in the government are not credible and did not win elections; the elections that brought them to power were fraudulent, and they are not the candidates voted for during the election. Thus, a question was asked to them on what way or impact did your leaders represent your interest in government both in state and federal level, the first set of 5 interviewee stated that "those leaders are dogmatic, they don't care about them, and immediately the win election, they will not remember that the masses or those that voted for them exist anymore". Another set of 6 to 12 interviewees voiced out that "the leaders are selfish and once they grab the power will not remember the poor masses, it's only their family and relatives they will know". The masses' choice to represent them in government has become a clash of titans in Nigeria's democracy. During the election period, the politicians hire thugs to hijack ballot papers and vote in the polling booth. The independent national electoral commission (INEC) also uses this system as an apparatus to rig elections, thereby making it uneasy for the masses to vote for the candidates of their choice; instead, their vote will be counted for the person they did not vote for.

Furthermore, interviewees 13 to 20 narrated that "the leaders are corrupted and not making any impact to fulfill their campaign promises when they resume office". From the interview, they stated that instead of the leaders making policy that will help in agriculture, rural infrastructure, health care, water, and roads, The Elite members will siphon government funds that are made for the public into their private purses. Among the interviewees, one of the renowned persons, with a high academic degree, Mr. Umar says, "our leaders are Machiavellians, they are very cunning and tricky, when they are assigned to the office, they will forget the hand that fed them". From their rhetoric, we can find out that Nigeria's democratic elections are a pure business,

and the interests of the majority are not well represented in the government. It is a win game, whereby the winner takes it all. Interviewees 21 to 27 stated that “resources are not distributed equally in the northern states and people find it difficult to turn out during the election period “. Northeast Nigeria records the highest rate of poverty, and needs serious attention by the government through the leaders that represent them at both the local, state, and federal levels to achieve socio-economic growth in that state. The next interviewee, 28 to 32, voiced out that “we don’t see our leaders anymore after the election, the only time we can see them is during the campaign and the election”. This means that the leaders only visit their people when they need them for the election or voting period.

Nevertheless, the last interviewee in this stage, which is 33 to 40 persons, lamented that “since we arrived at this camp, none of our leaders have ever visited us or care about us”. On the process of asking them more questions, one of them burst into tears and said,” I don’t have leaders.” I found that the clusters are passing through pains inside the camp and seriously need government intervention to solve their problems.

4.4. Inequality between Poor and Rich (Stage 3)

In this paradigm, most of the interviewees spoke at length about inequality between the rich and the poor. The first person to be interviewed was Musa, a master’s degree holder in political science, who stated that inequality, especially in the north, is incomparable to that in other regions. From the second interviewee to 15 also cried that in their community, before they could eat, they had to fetch water and do domestic work for one big Alhaji. While the interviewee was 16 to 18 in this stage, she lamented bitterly about inhumane maltreatment and child labor. She sent her children to work for the rich men in their various communities because of survival, and the rest of the interviewee complains about how the rich men will employ them without salaries at the end of the month. Inequality in the northern states of Nigeria, especially in the northeast, which is has the poorest states in the nation, according to the Marxist “social inequality in the state brings social conflict and when there is no equilibrium in the distribution of resources, there will be chaos and anarchy in the society”. The northern elites have downtrodden the masses with social-economic inequality; the masses are denied basic amenities for living and live beyond $2 per day. Life of impoverishment

has become the order of the day, and people continue to die on a daily basis because of hunger and disease in the northern states of Nigeria.

Interviewee 20 to 25, stated that “the rich man in their community does not recognize them as a human being, especially the politicians, it is only during election time that they know that we exist because they need our vote. The inequality between the poor and the rich in the northern state has put many people into suffering, and millions are living in a perplexing condition, without any hope for a better future for their upcoming generation, because if you don’t have the connection or are connected to the rich, you cannot survive. For instance, many unemployed youths who graduated from higher institutions fail to secure a job because they don’t have connections with rich people. When there are no job vacancies. Either in the private or in the public sectors, the elite will fix their families or relations into those vacancies or spaces, whereby the poor graduates who do not have the connection remain unemployed. Interviewee 26 and 31 at the same momentum, voiced out that lack of inequality has created a wide gap between the rich and poor, one them with her name withheld who came from Wukari in Taraba state, said that electricity is being rationed in her community, the areas where big men lived always have steady power supply while her area where poor people live have shortage of power supply. According to her, she said that big men are born to enjoy life while poor people are slaves and born to suffer.

Finally the interviewee 32 to 40 unanimously agreed that inequality created a pariah group in their community, the rich provided themselves with essential materials in their home, and their children schools abroad or attend the best private school in their states, while the poor masses children attend government school where there is no security, and those children are vulnerable to the Boko haram attack at any moment, one them shouted in a loud voice “ have you heard about Boko haram kidnapped big man children in the government school “ She lamented that, it’s only the families that sent their children to public school where there’s no security. The inequality dichotomy in the north between the rich and poor have been traces from many centuries ago, it’s not todays problem, it have been there even before the advent of British colonial masters in Nigeria, the Hausas have been acculturated in serving or worshipping the big men who are the elites, for instance in Hausa land its very common to see clusters of poor people hanging around the corridors of big men early in the morning begging for food, the rich man who is called Alhaji will share money or food

to them and they will all be happy, tomorrow they will still gather again for food and whatever the Alhaji said will be done with immediate effect either good or bad. Therefore, the issue of inequality between the rich and poor has been as old as man in the history of the northern states.

4.5. Religious Bigotry (Stage 4)

Religious bigotry in Nigeria is a significant and complex issue that has profound implications for national unity, peace, and development. Nigeria, with its diverse population, comprises Muslims, Christians, and other religions, but the most profound religions is Christianity and Muslims. These two religions have experienced tensions and conflicts fueled by religious bigotry, especially in the northern states of Nigeria, where Christians are being killed like goat. The history of religious bigotry can be traced back to the colonial era, when the British administration's policies often exacerbated existing ethnic and religious divisions. Post-independence, these divisions have been manipulated by political elites for power and control, further entrenching religious intolerance. In this stage that comprise 40 interviewee, 1 to 10 people shared their views about Boko haram harassment because of religion differences, first person stated that “one of her cousin sisters are among Chibok girls in Maiduguri who was kidnapped by Boko haram, about 280 girls in April 2013 at school and released everybody and held her sister because she is a Christian, and fails to convert, to Muslim in Boko haram den”. Another interviewee shared how Boko haram beheaded their pastors in a live service church when the armed group stormed into the church premises on Sunday morning, and beheaded 3 pastors after forcing them to denounce Jesus Christ. They went on and illustrated how some members fled the church premises when this group of ragtag started shooting sporadically without mercy, they killed many worshippers and abducted many others, and demanded a ransom after some days for their release.

Nigeria's religious landscape is largely regionalized, with the north predominantly Muslim and the south predominantly Christian. These geographical divisions often contribute to religious bigotry, and political and socio-economic interests become intertwined with religious identities. In some regions, religious divisions have a significant influence on resources and opportunities, exacerbating tensions. These tensions have divided some states in the north into 2, for instance, in

Kaduna state, Christians have their own area where they live, and Muslims have their own territory, vice versa. Interviewee 11 to 18 are grouped into these categories, and when the question was asked about those who lived in a state environment because of religious conflict in their various states. One among these categories said that "initially we used to live together and share things in common because all of us speak one language, but since Boko haram came into being, Christians and Muslims don't live together again in our area". Political manipulations by the political elites contribute immensely in religious conflict in the northern states, interviewee 19 to 25 also shared their various ideas about when I asked question about how the election period contributes to religious dichotomy in their areas. These interviewees said that politicians will explore religious sentiments during their campaign in order to gain support from a certain group of people. These manipulations lead to conflict because of political sentiments, especially during the election period.

Interviewee 26 to 32, falls into the category of economic disparity, when I asked questions on economic disparity and poverty, which gave rise to religious tension in their various communities, one among them stood up and was supported by others, that Christians feel marginalized or deprived of access to resources. Muslims will be given full rights and resources, and then conflict is meant to occur at that point. Another vital point that contributes to religious bigotry in the northern states is education and misconception; these have been a great challenge in the northern region. Lack of proper education and misleading information leads to religious bigotry, and misconceptions about other religions are often perpetuated, leading to prejudice and intolerance. Interviewee 33 to 40 shared a similar idea that religious division occurs in their area when there is conflict outside their area or states, that Muslims in their area will seek revenge on them when they did not have no contact or connections with outside conflicts. But when the Muslims who are living in their place heard about an attack from outside, they would like to pay the reprisals on them.

4.6. Fight between Security Agents and Boko Haram Resulted in Suffering of the Participants (Stage 5)

Participants in this group as I observed that conflict between government forces and Boko Haram terrorists is sponsored by the politicians. Interviewees 1, 2, to 7 stated that some security agents sell their weapons to Boko Haram, thereby making it

impossible to end the war, while 8 to 23 others capitalized on their grumbling that the politicians who did win the elections are using Boko Haram bandits to terrorize their community. The masses in the northern states have lost confidence in the government's inability to conquer Boko Haram insurgency, as a result, many have left their comfort zones with their families to settle in a foreign land where they find it difficult to survive. The war without end between the government security forces and the Boko Haram armed group has become a daily breaking news on every media, there is no day without Boko haram intensification or attack in the northern states. This has become a natural phenomenon in the entire nation. Chaos between Boko Haram and security men has become a clash of titans whereby if government troops kill large numbers of Boko Haram, Boko haram will display vendetta against government troops without wasting time. On this question, interviewee 24 to 30 demystified that “some military men are members of Boko haram according to their views, they pointed out that some information that Boko haram got is from the army. Most of the soldiers convey information and sell military hardware to the bandit; in fact, some of the soldiers have used the fight against Boko haram as a business. Both the high-ranking officers don’t want the war to end because of the money they are making through the government, and also selling arms to this terrorist group. Every year, government budgets on insecurity are more than the money for education, yet insecurity is posed as the biggest challenge in the northern states. Farmers cannot go to the farm because of killings and kidnappings, whereby a huge money must be paid to the armed group before they will release the captives.

A tit for tat against Boko haram fighters by Nigerian security agencies has become worrisome as some soldiers have a woo from their duty posts and run outside the country, not only because of the intensive fights of Boko haram insurgency but also due to betrayal among the ranks and files of the military. In this segment, the last interviewee, which consists of 10 participants, argued that some politicians who failed during elections use the Boko haram sect to fight against their opposition so that they will be frustrated, and make their government become ungovernable to their opposition. Among the participants one them looked into my eyes and shake his ahead and I was wondering why his countenance changed, from his body language I noticed that something is wrong with him, I ordered a bottle of water and he drank, after a short time he told me that his first son was a soldier in Nigerian army and was posted

to Sambisa forest in Maiduguri which is the strongest hold of Boko haram, and his commander told him that he will be among the escort that will deliver ammunition to other soldiers in war front. Unfortunately for his son, he was sent on an errand as a junior officer and could not return on time. He was replaced with one of his friends, and his friend, who went to that escort, was ambushed by Boko haram, and all of them died. With that fear, he told his son to leave the army and run for his life, as he is speaking with me that his son is abroad.

4.7. Reality of Bad Governance as a Catalyst for Boko Haram Attacks (Stage 6)

The first interviewee was an elderly woman aged 60 years. She cried out how her family was devastated and the first time of heard a bomb explosion close to her house, when a question was asked to their group, if bad governance was the root cause of the Boko haram group in northern Nigeria. According to her, she ran away and slept on the mountain for 2 days without water and food because of her life, and since then, she has developed high blood pressure. Then 7 other interviewees lamented on the high level of corruption in the government that made them not trust or believe in the government anymore. Bad governance is an impediment to socio-economic growth in the nation, not only in the north but nationwide. The leaders failed to provide basic amenities to their citizenry, making life uncomfortable for the masses. In the Nigerian national assembly, the lawmakers reported in 2019 as the second-highest paid federal legislators in the world, with each senator earning around $597,000 per year in salaries and allowances. This result in total will be about 20billion naira and 75 billion naira at the end of each legislative tenure. In this context, having seen what a senator from the government, this means that cost of governance in Nigeria is very costly and instead of cutting down cost of governance or salaries of those top government officials, and to invest in the agriculture sector, education or health care, the continue living a celebrity lifestyle As a senator most of them don’t have access to good road in their constituency but money for rural infrastructure was given to them to develop their various communities. No wonder the interviewees, 8 to 15, agreed that bad governance is the root cause of the insurgency. Meanwhile, from their sad feelings about poor performances of the government, especially in the fight against insecurity, which is the brain behind their suffering and devastation, living in the camp for years, and most of them lost their children, husbands, wives and loved ones.

Participant 16 to 22, agreed that corrupt leaders have been trivialized because of war against Boko Haram, the reasons is that their families are not affected, one them know as Awa, a single mother with 2 children said that she has been in this camp for over 6 years and was woman leader under Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) that none of their party members or leaders have visited her in this camp. Based on corruption tendency in the government, this armed group took it as a yardstick to antagonize the government and its security forces. When the war of terrorism came new as in early and late 2000, people perceived the war as only in the north east Nigeria, but the whole part of northern states have been intensified by Boko Haram bombardment, killings and kidnapping. The aggrandizement of Boko haram activities is that when the kidnapped people, for instance school children, government will go and pay ransom to them to release the captives with huge amount of money, likewise individuals who don't want to lose any of their love ones held by this armed group will pay ransom through a bank account that belongs to Boko haram, the questions still remains, is the bank not a financial institutions that operate and regulates under government policies, why can't government order the bank to investigate the account holder and find out where did these money was withdrawn ?. We can see that the optics are clear that fighting against the insurgency by the government has become opprobrium to the leaders, and the masses remain under enfeebled conditions. Interviewee 23 to 3 argued that no clean drinking water in their various communities, government cannot drill an ordinary borehole in their community for people to have access to clean water. One of the participants said that before she could fetch drinking water unless she had to go to the neighbor's house, who is a rich politician who has a personal borehole and buys clean water from them. The other participants also said that she walked from her house to about two and a half kilometers to the river to fetch water every day. The last stage of the interviewee in this stage cried out and said they prefer military rule in Nigeria more than civilian rule, they gave analysis that most infrastructures in Nigeria was under military rule, that democratic government is full of corrupt leaders, until military cease power like other West African countries that Nigeria will not be better place to live.

4.8 Ethnic Cleansing in Northern Nigeria: A Humanitarian Concern (Stage 7 & 8)

Ethnic cleansing in northern Nigeria is a deeply troubling issue that has severe humanitarian, social, and political ramifications. Ethnic cleansing is characterized by a deliberate, systematic removal of an ethnic or religious group through violence and intimidation. This had manifested in various ways, especially in northern Nigeria. Northern Nigeria is an ethnically and religiously diverse region, home to many ethnic groups like Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri, and others. The region is predominantly Muslim, and there is a good population of Christians in the region, especially in the middle belt like Kaduna state, Plateau state, Taraba state, among others. Historical grievance, competition for resources, and political struggle have contributed immensely to division in the region.

Interviewee 1 to 10, concurred that ethnic cleansing has been a trouble issue bedeviled to socio-economic and political instability in the northern states right from onset, they agreed that before the advent of Boko Haram, there have been violence or conflicts within the regions, the Hausas will be attacking the Fulani's and intra tribal war among the people in the same region. The third interviewee, who looked into my camera and said that "See my eyes with red dots on my left eye, this is when I went to collect money from my brother to pay the hospital bill, and I unfortunately ran into a Fulani armed group, I was robbed and beaten to hell". I felt sorry when I saw his condition in the camp, and no proper medical care to take care of his eyes. 11 to 20 participants raised concerns over violence in their community when there was a natural disaster, thus water submerged the whole community because of climate change, and the government offered them humanitarian assistance. All the communities that were affected by the flood are entitled to an equal share with one another, but the sharing was changed into religious segregation and division. According to this interviewee, they stated that humanitarian assistance has nothing to do with religion; rather, those who are the victims of the catastrophic condition should be given those materials. Interviewees 21 to 40 are on the same ideology, stating that isolation is a historical event. Since time immemorial, normalcy has not been seen in the region, tribal war and ethnicity have become prominent in their various communities.

In this segment I will convey the responses of stage 8 and hear their responses, I asked the first 1to10 participants, manifestation of ethnic cleansing involves mass

killings, abduction, and sexual harassment. One of the youngest lady Aisha she is about 19 years, she raised her voice with tears that she was a victim of sexual molestation by Boko Haram, after the kidnapped her for 4 days and she was raped by her abductors, in fact the converted her to be their house wife inside forest until one early morning when military invaded the forest and set them free. The next participants are 11to 20 interviewees. I asked them a question: the manifestation of ethnic cleansing is the cause of the displacement of people. Did you people agree with this? They unanimously agreed that this is the reason they found themselves in this camp: "If we are not displaced, how can we be here?". Displacement of people from their ancestral land to a foreign land where they're seeking refuge is an aberration in Nigeria as a nation state. Nigeria claims to be the giant of Africa, both economically and militarily. Nigerian soldiers brought peace to the ECOWAS region under ECOMOG, but failed to disarm ordinary Boko Haram. This is to show that there is a conspiracy theory. The remaining participants, especially numbers 20 to 40, agreed that ethnic cleansing constitutes a serious violation of human rights.

4.8. Poverty and Illiteracy as Primaries of Boko Haram Recruitment (stages 9 to 10)

Poverty and illiteracy have become major concerns, significantly contributing to the rise of the Boko Haram insurgency in the northern states. Understanding how these factors influence the growth of such extremist groups is crucial in understanding the root cause of terrorism in Nigeria. This is the last stage of this interview, and I took my time in data collection, and I asked the participants technical questions to get comprehensive data, and their cooperation has made it easy to achieve my goals during the interview. Among the participants, one out 1 t0 10 participants shared her encounter with how the murderer, her husband and took his corpse to an unknown destination; the reason is that her husband is a village head who fails to pay royalties to the Boko Haram bandits. In a region where there is economic deprivation and economic opportunities are scarce, young people often face limited prospects for employment and economic advancement. This economic deprivation has created a fertile ground for armed groups, especially Boko Haram, to recruit their members who are desperate for income and stability. Interview 11 to 20 demystify their expression over economic deprivation and job opportunities, one of the group who graduated from a high institution with a good result stated that since he finished school, he couldn't

get a job, so he turned to cycling. When a young man with a certain level of education ends up working as a cyclist, it reflects a state of vulnerability, making him more likely to engage in crime if presented with a better income. Interviewee 21 to 28 are in the same alignment when I asked them a question about whether marginalization in northern Nigeria contributes to their suffering. One of the group members voiced that marginalization is a challenge. This indicates that one community is superior to the other. The illustrated even in political representation, the minority is not allowed to provide eligible candidates who will represent them, either at the local, state, or federal level, as such opportunities are occupied by one particular tribe that has the majority numbers and feels superior to them. The last participant in this stage is interviewee 29 to 40, who voiced out that ongoing violence and instability lead to displacement and economic hardship, creating a vicious cycle of poverty and extremism. The displaced population often becomes a target of the Boko Haram armed group.

Finally, in this stage, “10”, which is the last group of the interviewee in this study, a question about whether illiteracy contributed to the Boko haram uprising in northern Nigeria was asked. The first 1to 10 respondents said that without education, individuals have limited exposure to diverse perspectives and are more likely to accept radical views uncritically. Boko Haram's anti-Western and anti-education rhetoric finds fertile ground in illiterate communities. Interviewees 11 to 19 concurred that illiteracy limits individuals ' ability to critically analyze information and makes them more susceptible to extremist propaganda. Bok haram exploits this by spreading its ideology through simplistic and emotive messages that resonate with an uneducated population. Another interviewed 20 to 30 opined that the group leaders exploit the lack of education, maintain control over their followers, using religion and ideological justification to legitimize their actions and policies. The last set of interviewees, which consists of 30 to 40 people, agreed that poverty is the root cause of insecurity. Based on their experience, the government should provide social amenities to the masses. Poverty and illiteracy are deeply interconnected, creating a circle that perpetuates the conditions conducive to Boko Haram recruitment and influence. Poor economic condition limits access to education, while a lack of education hampers economic opportunities, creating a feedback loop that sustains the group’s power and the rich.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter incorporates a holistic and epistemological discourse on Karl Marx's historical materialism theory for an in-depth understanding of Boko Haram activities in Northern Nigeria. The theory unveiled that the Boko Haram insurgency is deeply the expression of the class struggle in the northern states. In this contemporary, the antagonistic fight between elites and the lumpen class has turned to war without end. Thus, individual and state terrorism have been the cardinal point to focus, especially in the Boko haram perpetrators. This chapter inter alia that Boko Haram intensification cannot be curbed without taking into cognizance the socio-economic and political conditions of people that gave rise to this armed group to emerge. The class nature, structure, and citizens' welfare that made the followers of Boko haram and their supporters back them through Islamic radicalism. The literature review explained the concept of bad government as the downtrodden of the Boko Haram uprising in the northern state.

5.2. Bad Governance as a Reality of Boko Haram Chaos in Nigeria

Based on my illustration in the chapter about the implications of bad government, the rise of Boko haram is attributed to significant failures and indulgences of governance in Nigeria. Poor governance has created an environment where extremists can thrive, exploiting widespread discontent and grievances among the population. One of the challenges in Nigeria is corruption and mismanagement of public funds, and economic inequality, especially in the north, has resulted in the misallocation of resources and wealth, exacerbating economic inequality. The Northern region of Nigeria, where Boko haram originated, has historically been marginalized economically, leading to widespread poverty and unemployment. In the public service, corruption and mismanagement have crippled the sector such as health care sector, education, and infrastructure. Lack of these basic amenities has left many communities in northern Nigeria vulnerable and disenfranchised. In the northern states, exclusion from power in some communities has also become problematic. Some tribes or ethnic groups feel that they don't hold any political portfolio in the

government, thereby feeling marginalized and becoming disgruntled pariah groups or communities. Political marginalization in the northern states by one tribe or community makes those isolated groups feel less important because they don't partake in decision-making either at the state or federal level. The sense of exclusion and disenfranchisement has fueled resentment and anger towards the government.

5.3. Reality of Boko Haram Intensification from Historical Materialism Theory

Karl Marx's historical materialism theory is a framework that examines societal changes through the lens of economic structure and class relations. According to Marx (1818-1883), the material conditions of a society, its mode of production, and the relation of production determine the social, political, and ideological superstructure. A deeper understanding of the Boko Harm insurgency in Nigeria requires an analysis of the economic and class dynamics that have fueled its intensification in the northern states. The economic structure in the north, historically been dominated by a small elite class.

The persistence of these extremist groups, which are anchored on economic inequality in the northeast, which is the stronghold of Boko haram, especially Maiduguri. This group of people or community has experienced a high level of unemployment, poverty, and underdevelopment. These economic conditions can be seen as a "base" in Marx's framework, influencing the "superstructure" of social relations and ideology. Class struggle has been a bone of contention in the north, characterized by economic deprivation in which the bourgeoisie or high class dominates the means of production. The economic deprivation experienced by many people in northern Nigeria creates a fertile ground for class struggle. Disenfranchised and impoverished groups will view the existing socio-economic order as exploitative and unjust, leading to resistance and rebellion against the ruling class. Exploitation, according to Karl Marx, is a fundamental aspect of capitalist societies where the bourgeoisie (owners of means of production) exploit the proletariat (working class). In the context of northern Nigeria, the exploitation can be seen in neglect and marginalization by the federal government and economic elites. All these inequalities and neglect by the central government are the architects of Boko haram extremism because of bad governance (Rotberg, 2014).

5.4. Economic Growth Affected Because of Terrorism in the Northern State of Nigeria

Terrorism in the northern state of Nigeria, which the Boko Haram armed group primarily drives, has had a profound and detrimental impact on the region's economic growth. The insurgency has not only caused humanitarian issues but also significantly hindered economic activities, investment, and overall development.

5.5. Disruption of Agricultural Activities

Northern Nigeria is predominantly agrarian, with a significant portion of the population relying on agriculture or farming for their livelihood. Boko Haram attacks and bombardments have disrupted agricultural activities in the north; people can't go to the farm anymore because of insecurity. For instance, Benue state, which is the basket food of the nation, cannot farm because of armed men causing a shortage of food and hunger in the society, and much of their farmland is under the control of terrorists. Applying Karl Marx's historical materialism theory, it becomes clear that understanding the highlights of deep-rooted economic and class dynamics at work is crucial. This understanding reveals that economic marginalization, exploitation, and alienation, experienced by many Nigerians, especially in the north, have created a fertile ground for Boko Haram members to operate. Boko haram members capitalized on this point, positioning themselves as a revolutionary force against the oppressive and unjust system. Addressing the root cause of insurgency requires not only military and security measures but also substantial economic reform to alleviate poverty in northern Nigeria and reduce inequality, and improve inclusiveness for better development.

Regular attacks by Boko haram and the threat of violence have disrupted local markets and trade routes. The devilish attack by these armed groups has led to a decline in commerce as traders and merchants find it difficult to transport goods and conduct business safely without entertaining fears. The attacks not only targeted traders or businessmen, they engaged in all manner of criminal activities, both robbing banks and kidnappings, and demanding huge ransoms before freeing their captives. Attacking both churches and mosques, police stations, and military bases is not even safe in the northern states. Below are the Boko haram bombardment activities in the2009 and June 2022.

5.6. Human Capital Fight

The armed group has forced people to unnecessary displacement and migration; millions of people in the north have had to flee away from their homes with their families, resulting in large-scale displacement. Many skilled workers and professionals have migrated to safer zones, while millions of people have lost their lives. Migration leads to brain drain and suffering because they leave their comfort zone without planning. The attack in the school by these armed groups has caused many schools, especially public schools where poor family can train their children, have shut down, leading to lower educational attainment and forced work. The Nigerian government has had to allocate substantial resources to combat terrorism, but those resources have been diverted to heads of security officers or the boss without using the resources to buy hard military wares to combat insurgency. This means that Boko haram uses sophisticated weapons than the Nigerian military. Every year, the government increases budgets on security, increases resources on security and military, and undermines other development projects and social services, but in the end, Boko Haram still waxes strong and holds some communities and local governments under its control.

The incessant killings and kidnapping of students have turned into a lucrative business for Boko haram, and also a national news that has attracted the government to quick intervention. This armed group continues kidnapping hundreds of students in a very 2 or 3 months in northern states and demands a huge amount of money for ransom. They understood that such an incident would quickly become breaking news both nationally and internationally, compelling the government and sympathizers to respond urgently and pay the demanded ransom without delay. The set has turned this act into a big industry and avenue of getting huge funds because the government and individuals pay the ransom in order to free the captives. The unclear question still remains: how did this bandit receive this huge amount of money, through a bank, then who is the owner of those accounts, or is it through negotiation, and what connection did he have with the Boko Haram group? The Nigerian government should clear the air on this question; no wonder one of the participants said that Boko Haram is the government and the government is Boko Haram.

5.7. Social and Economic Cost

Many transactions have either closed or shut down because of killings and kidnapping. Most of the foreigners who have large-scale businesses have shut down their enterprises and moved to other cities in the south, where there is peace to start their business. The indigenous entrepreneurs who cannot run away from their ancestral land face extortion and other threats from terrorist groups. As I have stated unequivocally that many local government councils in the northern state are under the siege of Boko Haram. Thus, the armed group collects revenue from those communities. With all these activities perpetrated by the armed group, it hampers business and economic growth in the region. Terrorism has seized the supply chain that leading to a shortage of goods and services, whereby skyrocketed the price of commodities in the market. The violence has resulted in a number of injuries and casualties in the northern rejoin, many suffered from psychological trauma, for instance, those who are in asylum or IDP camps who were frustrated with their life. Many health care centers have closed both in urban centers and urban peripheries, and many medical personnel have traveled out of the region to get a job for the sake of peace and happiness with their families.

The economic impact of terrorism has exacerbated poverty and inequality in the region, the disruption of livelihoods, coupled with vandalism of private and public properties. This armed group has been hiding under the umbrella of religion to unleash their atrocities, especially to women and children, who are most likely to be the victims of war (Jeffery Seoul, 1999). It argued that religious war should be only for spiritual reasons, not for other religions. Boko Haram insurgency and associated terrorism have had a severe and multifaceted impact on economic growth in northern Nigeria. The disruption of agriculture activities, decline in trade and commerce, deterrence on investment, displacement of human capital, increase government security budget, loss of revenue, social and economic cost are most challenges in northern states, without government addressing this issue, the class struggle will continue to erupt which will increase social conflict in the states of the north (Chibber, 1999).

CONCLUSION

Applying historical materialism theory to the Boko haram insurgency in northern Nigeria offers a comprehensive framework to understand the socio-economic and class dynamics that contribute to the rise and persistence of the extremist group. Historical materialism theory, which focuses on the material and economic structure of a society, provides insight into how the economic base changes the superstructure, including ideologies and conflicts. The study examines how the lumpen class or the working class retaliates against social contradictions in the country. We should take into consideration that this research was conducted among Boko Haram members who fall under the category of the lumpen class in the north, but have no financial empowerment from the elite class or the bourgeoisie. In some decades, before the advent of Boko Haram, terrorist groups conducted themselves as individual terrorists to attack the government. Economic marginalization, which has a history before colonialism in Nigeria, has raised a high level of poverty and unemployment in the north. This economic deprivation forms a base that influences all other aspects of society, a lack of economic opportunities creates widespread discontent and a fertile ground for extremist to intensify their bombardment.

Class struggle is the reflection of the economic condition of people in northern Nigeria; the gap between the poor and the rich is vast. The marginalized and impoverished population perceives the existence of the socio-economic order as exploitative and unjust. With a wide inequality gap in the north, this is the reason why Yusuf Mohammed educates his followers to rise and fight against the government by using Islamic doctrines and inciting his members to engage in holy war, based on Islamic doctrine. North east of Nigeria according to the Nigeria Bureau for statistics (NBS) stated that this region has the largest people living under impoverishment in the Nigeria, and irrespective of that most people in the country live beyond $1 per day especially those in the northeast This thesis chapters unveil five perspective of this thesis which include, the dynamism behind Boko haram intensification, the first study unveils Boko haram as a religion expansion in Nigeria. The second study of this thesis viewed Boko haram as organized crime by political elites who lost power during the election from the ruling class. The third perspective traces the historical origin of Boko Haram to the Maitatsin revolt, dated in the 1980s. The fourth perspective conceives inequality in the northern states as a reason behind the Boko Haram Insurgency, while

the last perspective unveils bad governance as a yardstick of the Boko Haram uprising in northern Nigeria.

Findings on the literature about bad governance were unveiled, which was anchored on the conceptual work of Karl Marx (1881-1883) on the historical materialism theory. In the thesis, I stated the effects of bad governance, the principles of lack of accountability, fairness, and equity in society, and citizens should have access to the information about government expenditures and be free to express their views. Another second conceptual framework that guided the researcher to achieve their goal is Tod Gurr's “Relative Deprivation Theory” (RD). According to Gurr, RD is the actors' perception of a discrepancy between their value expectations and their value capabilities (Gurr, 1970).

A review of the findings reveals that, according to Gurr’s definition of relative deprivation theory, the problem underlying the Boko Haram uprising is that the government is unable to meet the basic needs of its people, which include access to good healthcare, clean water, quality infrastructure, and quality education, among others. Both Gurr's relative deprivation theory and Karl Marx's historical materialism theory reveal the Boko Haram catastrophic act in the northern state of Nigeria.

Regarding the findings, the research question was answered by identifying factors that demonstrate dynamism in the Boko Haram uprising, which are primarily rooted in economic factors and societal inequality. This is the reason why Chibber (2011) cited that inequality in the north has resulted in political unrest or conflicts. The research attests that the socio-economic and political activities in the northern state are the major problems that led to the catastrophic act of the armed group, which caused casualties and the displacement of people in the north. The lives of people, especially the victims of Boko Haram, were traumatic, and most of them are so perplexed and live on the brink in a strange land, which makes them unhealthy. Hunger was seen as a weapon of war because most of the people in the northern region are agrarian, whose livelihood is centered in agriculture, and they can’t have access to their farms because of insecurity in their communities. The inequality gap between the lumpen class and the elite class is very wide compared to other regions in society, which makes social relations of production become hierarchical and exploitative (Frank, 1972).

According to findings and my hypothesis, I found that many Boko Haram fans who are proletariat or lumpen class are predominantly the youth who are unemployed, poor people, men and women, boys and girls who fall under the category of have-nots according to Karl Marx's historical materialism theory. Most of these supporters were those who were disappointed by the government and are disgruntled over socio-economic and political activities championed by the bourgeoisie (elites) in society. The empirical facts remain that class struggle remains the problem and prostrates forms of state terrorism because of socio-economic inequalities in the north. Therefore, in the contemporary mode of life or social stratification in the northern states, the working class or proletariat refers to non-state actors' terrorism, while the government (bourgeoisie) represents the use of terrorism by state actors.

The research design of this study is qualitative, aiming to answer fundamental questions about how people perceive the war and their current conditions during the Boko Haram insurgency in their respective communities. Karl Marx argued that it's not the consciousness of a man that determines his present condition, but rather his present conditions that determine his consciousness. Based on this, the research used a philological approach for an in-depth understanding. This approach was guided by a semi-structured system with interview protocols and questions, which I stated clearly in the Appendix. Furthermore, in data collection, I made use of a semi-structured system, which involves a face–to–face, comprehensive sampling method to select the targeted population. Meanwhile, the targeted population is the victims of the Boko Haram war in northern Nigeria who have been living in an IDP camp in Abuja for more than 5 years. and 18 to 70 years were selected, and the population was grouped in stages; thus, each stage consisted of 40 participants, and a total of 400 people were interviewed.

Previous research has not made use of dynamism of Boko haram and how the present conditions of the victims especially those in the IDP camp across the nation, Perhaps, if there is research about any other person on this topic it's unclear to me and this is the reason I feel in the gap by using Historical materialism theory of Karl Marx and Gurr's Relative Deprivation Theory (RB).

REFERENCES

Adesoji, A. (2010). The Boko Haram uprising and Islamic revivalism in Nigeria. *Africa spectrum*, *45*(2), 95-108.

Agbedo, C. U. (2012). Linguistic determinants of militancy and terrorism in Nigeria: The case of MEND and Boko Haram. *Developing Country Studies, 2*(11), 159-169.

Agbiboa, D. E. (2013). No retreat, no surrender: Understanding the religious terrorism of Boko Haram in Nigeria. *African Study Monographs*, *34*(2), 65-84.

Akanji, O. O. (2015). Security crisis in Nigeria: Boko Haram Insurgency and the prospects of peace. *Conflict Studies Quarterly*. Special Issue, 58-73.

Alozieuwa, S. (2014). Understanding the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria: A Lenticular perspective. *Research Institute for European and American Studies, 2*. https://rieas.gr/images/simeon14.pdf

Alozieuwa, S. H. (2012). Contending theories on Nigeria's security challenge in the era of Boko Haram insurgency. *Peace and Conflict Review, 7*(1), 1-8.

Amaraegbu, D. A. (2013). Failure of human intelligence, Boko Haram, and terrorism in Nigeria. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, *15*(4), 66-85.

Arowolo, D. E., & Aluko, O. A. (2012). Democracy, political participation and good governance in Nigeria. *International Journal of Development and Sustainability*, *1*(3), 797-809.

Babatunde, M. M., Unwana-Obong, U. D., & Olanrewaju, M. K. (2014). Historical antecedents of Boko Haram insurgency and its implications for sustainable and educational development in North Central Nigeria. *Journal of Education and Practice*, *5*(22), 59-65.

Bamidele, O. (2012). Boko Haram catastrophic terrorism albatross to national peace, security, and sustainable development in Nigeria. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, *14*(1), 32-44.

Blakeley, R. (2013). Human rights, state wrongs, and social change: the theory and practice of emancipation. *Review of International Studies*, *39*(3), 599-619.

Blanquart, G. (2012). Boko Haram: Terrorist Organization, Freedom Fighters or Religious Fanatics? An Analysis of Boko Haram Within Nigeria, an Australian Perspective, and the Need for Counter Terrorism Responses that Involve Prescribing them as a Terrorist Organization. *Australian Counter Terrorism Conference* (P. 2). West Australian: Security Research Institute Conferences.

Campbell, J. (2014). *US policy to counter Nigeria's Boko Haram* (No. 70). North America: Council on Foreign Relations.

Canagarajan, S., Ngwafon, J., & Thomas, S. (1997, January). The evolution of poverty between 1985 and 1992. *Policy Research Working Paper*, P. 15.

Chibber, V. (2011). What is living and what is dead in the Marxist theory of history? *Historical Materialism*, *19*(2), 60-91.

Early, L., & Scott, Z. (2010). *Assessing the evidence of the impact of governance on development outcomes and poverty reduction.* Government and Social Development Resource Centre.

Herring, E. (2008). Critical terrorism studies: an activist scholar perspective. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, *1*(2), 197-211.

Herring, E., & Stokes, D. (2011). Critical realism and historical materialism as resources for critical terrorism studies. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, *4*(1), 5-21.

Igboin, B. O. (2014). Karl Marx on religion: the perspective of Boko Haram in Nigeria. *Journal of Religious Culture, 183,* 1–17.

Kautsky, K. (1928). The Aims and limitations of the materialist conception of history. social democrat. *Social Democrat*, *6*(12), 375-382.

Maiangwa, B., & Uzodike, U. O. (2012). The changing dynamics of Boko Haram terrorism. *Aljazeera Centre for Studies*, 1-6.

Ogundiya, I. S. (2010). Democracy and good governance: Nigeria's dilemma. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, *4*(6), 201-208.

Ogunrotifa, B. (2012). Putting historical materialism to terrorism studies. *International Journal of Current Research*, *4*(4), 227-235.

Ogunrotifa, B. (2012). Research on terrorism: an overview of theoretical perspectives. *Journal of Asian Research in Consortium*, *2*(9), 1-18.

Ogunrotifa, B. (2013). Class theory of Terrorism: A study of Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, *3*(1), 1-34.

Ogunrotifa, B. A. (2012c). The myth about terrorists: historical materialism as a response to realist approach. *International Journal of Social Science and Education*, *3*(1), 105-117.

Okigbo, P. (1983, March). Economic planning in Nigeria since 1960. In *Proceedings of the National Conference on Nigeria Since Independence* (Vol. 2). Zaria

Okoli, A. C., & Iortyer, P. (2014). Terrorism and humanitarian crisis in Nigeria: Insights from Boko Haram insurgency. *Global Journal of Human Social Science*, *14*(1), 39-49.

Okudiba, N. (N.D.). *The Deteriorating condition of the Nigerian working class. dead-end to nigeria development: An investigation on the social, economic and political crisis in Nigeria.* Nigeria.

Olanrewaju, J. (2015). Globalization of Terrorism: A case study of Boko Haram in Nigeria. *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance*, (6), 1-22.

Olukoshi, A., & Abdulraheem, T. (1985). Nigeria: Crisis management under the Buhari administration. *Review of African Political Economy, 12*(31), 95-101.

Omale, J. D. (2013). Terrorism and counter terrorism in Nigeria: theoretical paradigms and lessons for public policy. *Canadian Journal of Social Science, 9*(3), 96-103.

Omodjohwoefe, O. S. (2013). Insecurity and sustainable development: the Boko Haram debacle in Nigeria. *American International Journal of Social Science, 2*(7), 82-88.

Onuoha, F. C. (2014). *Why do youth join Boko Haram?* (Vol. 5). Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace.

Roman, L. (2012). Boko Haram: The development of a militant religious movement in Nigeria. *African Spectrum, 47*(4-3), 137-155.

Sa'ad, A. (2008). The "challenges" of nation building: Nigeria, which way forward? In C. N. Ogbogbo & O. O. Okpeh Jr (Eds.). *Interrogating contemporary Africa: Dike Memorial lectures 1999-2007* (Pp 26-60). Ibadan: Historical Society of Nigeria.

Santiso, C. (2001). Good governance and aid effectiveness: The World Bank and conditionality. *The Georgetown public policy review, 7*(1), 1-22.

Sergie, M. A., & Johnson, T. (2014). Nigeria's Boko Haram and Ansaru. *Council on Foreign Relations*.

Shimp, K. (2009). The validity of Karl Marx's theory of historical materialism. *Major themes in economics*, *11*(1), 35-56.

Suberu, R. T. (1998). States Creation and Political Economy of Nigerian Federalism. In K. Amuwo, A. B. Agbaje, R. Suberu, & Herault (Eds), F*ederalism and political restructuring in Nigeria* (pp. 276-295). Ibadan: Historical Society of Nigeria.

Sulaiman, L. M. (2014). *The structural adjustment program in developing economies: pain or gain?* Eveiden.

APPENDIX

SEMI-STRUCTURED ORAL INTERVIEW

1. How many years have you been living in the Northern States of Nigeria
2. Since you lived in the North, have you witnessed Boko Haram's operation face-to-face?
3. What was your worst experience of a Boko Haram attack you had ever seen?
4. What do you think the government should do to stabilize peace in the Northern states?
5. In what ways can the government bridge the gap of inequality in Nigeria, especially in the Northern states
6. How can the government curb illiteracy in the Northern states, especially the Almajirs, who don’t believe in Western education
7. Is the interest of the people well represented in the government?

RESUME

Personal Information

Surname, name	: Churchill Uzoma NWEKE
Nationality	: Nigeria
Birth date and place	:
Telephone	:
e-mail	:

Education

Degree	Education Unit	Graduation Date
Master	Istanbul Gelisim University Political Science and Public Administration	2025
Bachelor	Istanbul Gelisim University Political Science and Public Administration	2017

Work Experience

Year	Place	Title
2018-2019	University of Abuja Consultant / Nigeria	Assistant lecturer

Foreign Language

English

Publications

Nweke, C.U. (2025). *Ecowas vision 2050 and its underlying issues.* Independently published

Hobbies

Sports, reading, news