

Social Studies and Special Education as a Panacea to National Security in Nigeria: The Case of Boko Haram

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Abstract: Remarkable development cannot take place in an atmosphere of crises, chaos and disturbances. The insurgency in the North East has become a national concern. Since, its inception, there has been incessant murder of innocent citizens, destruction of properties, worship areas like churches and mosques, kidnapping, looting and raping perpetuated on the citizens of this country. The atrocious activities of this group driven by their ideology has threatened the co-existence, peace, unity and development of this great nation. It has left Nigeria with the highest number of internally displaced people in Africa. This study examined the insurgency of Boko Haram in the Northeast its ideology, the roles of Northern political leaders, traditional rulers and Islamic elites. It also considered social studies education as panacea to insurgency. The study revealed causes of insurgency to include marginalization, social injustice, ideology inequality, poverty, unemployment among others. Recommendations were made which include among others that the ideology of Boko Haram should be discouraged in its entirety as it threatens the unity of Nigeria and that Northern political leaders should by no means encourage, sponsor or use them as political thugs. The study concludes that Northern political leaders should use the resources allocation to the region judiciously to alleviate poverty, provide necessary social amenities, teach social studies at all levels of education, address issues of idleness, beggars and ignorance and reduce the level of inequality among others.

Key words: Social studies education, panacea, national security, Boko Haram, beggars and ignorance, inequality

INTRODUCTION

No country can survive with spate of insurgency, militancy or terrorism. Nigeria at one time or the other has suffered restiveness. Different groups have emerged in Nigeria as militants, terrorists or insurgents such groups include, Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND), Movement for Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Oodua People's Congress (OPC), Arewa People's Congress (APC), Jama' atul Ahli Sunna Lidawati wal Jihad (Boko Haram) and Jama' atul Ansarul Muslimina fi Biladis Sudan (Ansaru). Each of these groups appears to be instigated by a cause or an idea. For example, MEND emerged as a result of environmental degradation, neglect, marginalization, social injustice and political insensitivity which the area suffered in Nigeria. MASSOP is as a result of marginalization of the East in power equation insecurity, deprivation and discrimination. OPC came up as an outcome of massive Yoruba protest consequent the annulment of the June 12th 1993 presidential election won by Chief M.K.O. Abiola and his subsequent death in prison. APC sprang up to protect the interest of the Hausa-Fulani in the West, to counter the growing

influence of OPC reported to have been engaging in increasing confrontations with the Hausa-Fulani in the West (Muzan, 2014).

Boko Haram came on board with the belief that Western education is forbidden and a sin, they emphasized the need to isolate Muslims from secular society, to purify Islam of Western and secular influences and implement Sharia Law in its entirety (Mellgard, 2015) and Ansaru, a new self-proclaimed Islamist Jihadist militant group which broke away from Boko Haram, claimed to be vanguards for the protection of Muslims in Black Africa. Sequel to the analysis it could be deduced that MEND, MASSOP, OPC and APC emerged as a result of social injustice while Boko Haram evolved consequent religious ideology. Muzan (2014) opined that until recently, Nigeria terrorist activity was thought to be motivated by ethnocentric considerations but currently, there appears to be a pronounced religious content in the character of insurgency in Nigeria (Kasali, 2015).

Among these groups, though Ansaru based in the Northeast and the latest of them all whose motto is "Jihad fi Sabilillah", meaning struggle for the cause of Allah and has more international focus than Boko Haram (Muzan, 2014) activities are not yet exposed, the deadliest is Boko Haram. In the attempt of the sect to wrest power from

Nigerian government and create an Islamic state strictly governed by Sharia, has unleashed terror on Nigerian nation. The activities of the Boko Haram have claimed the lives of thousands of innocent people, destroy properties individual and government owned, worth of billions of naira, rendered so many people handicapped, produced many orphan and vulnerable children, produced many widows and widowers, childless parents and millions of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). Nigerians are living as refugees in their own father's land. Since, 2009 the violence the group unleashed on the Nigerian state is unprecedented in the history of insurgency in the country (Akpan *et al.*, 2014). It is pertinent to note that the notorious violence of Boko Haram earned it the first insurgent organized in Nigeria to be classified as a terrorist organization by the United States of America (Akpan *et al.*, 2014). There is the fear that if permanent solution is not sort, the activities of Boko Haram may eat into the rubrics of the peace and unity of the county. This study, therefore, examined Boko Haram and its ideology, the history, causes of insurgency, roles of Northern political leaders, traditional rulers and Islamic leaders and social studies education as a panacea to insurgency.

Even though the aforementioned groups are from different geopolitical zone or region, they share similar intention of trying to present their area of need to the government. What made them differ is the mode of presentation of the need area and what the group expects to take home at the end of the day. This is why the name insurgency cannot be applied to all restive groups in Nigeria. Even though insurgency, terrorism and militancy have been interchangeably used, they do not connote the same meaning.

What is the difference between insurgency, terrorism and militancy?: Insurgency is a violent rebellion against a constituted authority. The ultimate goal of an insurgency is to challenge the existing government for control of all or a portion of its territory or force political concessions in sharing political power (Anonymous, 2015). He observed that the key different between insurgency and terrorism is that insurgency is a movement, a political effort with a specific aim while terrorism is a method available to pursue the goals and aspirations of the political movement. Terrorism does not attempt to challenge government forces directly but acts to change perception as to the effectiveness or legitimacy of the government itself and this is done by ensuring the widest possible knowledge of acts of terrorist violence among the target audience (Anonymous, 2014, 2015, 2016).

Wheat (2011) sees insurgency as a struggle between non-ruling group and the ruling group using political resources and violence. Stewart (2014) distinguished Boko Haram insurgency from Niger Delta Militancy, he said that Niger Delta Militancy originated as a protest movement, provoked into action by any wrong or injustice done to them or their community by the state while Boko Haram insurgents have avowed themselves as being in armed revolt or rebellion against the Nigeria state and its constitution. That they affirm in unequivocal terms that they recognize neither democracy as a form of government nor the concept of social justice, nor the secularity of the state and that Western education is sin. Adetiloye (2014) identified some elements that characterized insurgency from other groups, they are:

- Cell-networks that maintain secrecy
- Terrorism used to foster insecurity among the population
- Multifaceted attempts to cultivate support in the general population, often by undermining the new regime and
- Attacks against the government

To disabuse the mindset and philosophy of this insurgents requires social studies education. Globally, social studies education has been recognized as an instrument of change, restoration of values, morals, peace integrity and the spirit of co-existence. The majority recruits of this group is usually people who received little or no education, who can be easily indoctrinated and deceived. The Almajiri students are common easy recruits for Boko Haram because they have minimal education and what they have been exposed to is often solely memorization of the Quran and very literal interpretations of it (Mellgard, 2015). Almajiris is a group of young itinerant students of Quran who have in no way been exposed to quality education including social studies rather, they live a very simple lifestyle and earned their daily bread, begging on the city streets (Agbiboa, 2013).

Causes of terrorism in Nigerian: The causes of terrorism depend much on the aim and belief of the group. A cause attributed group "A" may not be applicable to group "B". Generally, the following can constitute causes of terrorism in Nigeria.

Marginalization: A situation whereby a region is not adequately involved or carried along on the democratic dividends in terms of resource allocation infrastructure and holding of key political offices. Niger Delta militants

struggle became violent in reaction to government's use of violence to suppress their legitimate demands for a clean environment and a fair share of the proceeds from oil resources found on their ancestral land (Akpan *et al.*, 2014).

Social injustice: When a group feel cheated or denied. For example, the OPC sprang up as a result of annulment of June 12th 1993 presidential election won by Chief M.K. O. Abiola A. Yoruba (Aro, 2013).

Ideology: When a group of people have a belief or philosophy which they want to impose on people by force for example, Boko Haram and Ansaru who want to impose Islamic doctrine on Nigerians. Boko Haram, a militant group based in Borno state whose goal is to institute Sharia law on Nigerians has become more proficient in carrying out attacks, since, 2009. Some Nigerians have described the recent Boko Haram insurgency as primarily politically motivated, though with religious and ideological colour (Muzan, 2014). This shows that Boko Haram is motivated by their ideology to Islamize the country.

Political intolerance: When a particular region or geopolitical zone claims political supremacy and monopolize key political leadership. It could be recalled that South-Eastern region of Nigeria has been on their louder voice for the emergence of Nigerian president from their zone (Aro, 2013). Another example, is the fact that Boko Haram had ulterior political goals and also working as recruiting ground for future jihadists (Agbibo, 2013).

Insecurity: Incessant killing of innocent citizens in the churches, mosques, public places and destruction of properties. Muzan (2014) observed that the scourge of insurgency has posed great challenges in the Nigerian state which seem to be beyond the capacity of our security agencies to deal with the menace effectively.

Leadership: A leadership that is characterized by tribalism, discrimination and corruption is bound to instigate violence. Chukwu (2015) submitted that when the leader or management is found to be inconsistent and unreliable in his/her decisions that can become a source of conflict.

Poverty: It is a saying that a hungry person is an angry person. When one lacks the means of livelihood, the person can be easily deceived with a little income to join any gang and perpetuate evil. Muzan (2014) argued that severity of poverty has a close correlation with the

psychological basis of individual and group relations conduct. He said that it is this psychological basis of individual and group conduct that dictates to a large extent, the character of response that defines the nature and scope of conflicts that result from social condition of poverty.

Unemployment: In Nigeria many graduates are roaming about the streets with no job. This situation can easily lead to taking arms. Muzan (2014) supporting this assertion said that there is the factor of unemployment, especially within the growing stratum of university graduates that when people are pushed to the lowest levels of desperation and hopelessness, they fall prey to religious demagogues who offer them a sense of belonging.

Improper or incomplete education is a challenge: When one is not adequately educated to develop the mind, morals and values, acquire skills that can assist one to be gainfully employed it is a problem. Reciting of religious books is not enough, any education that will subject one to abject poverty and remain a beggar should be discouraged. Parents should monitor the types of mentorship or education being given to their children. Any education that encourages violence, killing, stealing, rapping and kidnapping should be rejected.

Inequality: It is a situation whereby the gap between the poor is very much higher than the rich. For example, the issue of inequality is more prominent in the North. The population of beggars in the North outnumber those of other regions in Nigeria (Agbibo, 2013). No wonder terrorism is more rampant in the North. It is a common saying in Nigeria that Boko Haram is a faceless group. This raises the question, who is the Boko Haram?

Brief history of Boko Haram: Boko Haram is an insurgent terrorist group which emanated from the Northeastern Nigeria. Its real name is Jama'at Ahl al-Suna Lial-Da'awa wa al Jihad which means Sunni group for preaching and Jihad. They exist in states like Borno, Yobe and Adamawa. Boko Haram was founded in Maiduguri the capital of Borno State in the 1990's by Mohammed Yusuf, the ideologue (Mellgard, 2015). Mohammed Yusuf was born on January 29, 1970 in Girgir village in Yobe. Abubakar Shekau from Kanuri tribe was the deputy of Boko Haram founder Mohammed Yusuf from 2002-2009 (Zean, 2014). Yusuf established a religious complex in his home town that include a mosque and a school where many poor families from across Nigeria and from neighboring countries like Chad and Niger enrolled their children. The

centre is also working as a recruiting ground for future jihadists. The sect attracted 280,000 members across northern Nigeria, Chad and Niger. The membership of Boko Haram includes university lecturers, bankers, political elites, security officers, drug addicts, unemployed graduates, almajiris and migrants from neighbouring countries (Agbibo, 2013).

Boko Haram ideology emphasized the need to isolate Muslims from secular society, to purify Islam of Western and secular influences and to implement Sharia Law in its entirety. In 2009, tension erupted between Yusuf's followers and local politicians including Borno State Governor Alimodu Sheriff and the security services. In that clash, the security services responded violently and so many Boko Haram members were killed. Yusuf was captured and extra-judicially killed. This episode marked the violent action of the Boko Haram. After the death of Yusuf, Shekau took over leadership of the group in 2009. It was on record that Yusuf preaches his ideology non-violently.

In 2010, the group under the leadership of Abubakar Shekau launched a violent campaign against the security services and those perceived to oppose Boko Haram's ideology, aims and methods. However, Boko Haram has been involved in at least 26,287 deaths between May 2011 and September 2015 (Mellgard, 2015). Their mode of operation involves use of gunmen on motorbikes assassination, kidnapping, suicide bombing, use of explosive devices petrol bombs and poisoned arrows. The sect conducted the first suicide bombing attack ever recorded in Nigeria on the 16th June, 2011 when a suicide bomber drove a car bomb into the premises of the Louis Edet House in Abuja, the headquarter of Nigeria Police Force (Onuorah, 2015). The insurgency has spread to neighbouring countries like Cameroon, Lake Chad and Niger Republic. The Boko Haram leadership has international connections to Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, Al-Shabaab, the Movement of Unity and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO), Mokhtar Belmokhtar's factions and other militant groups outside the country (Brock, 2012). In 2014, there was sign of communication between Boko Haram and Islamic State of Iraq and Al-Sham (ISIS) (Mellgard, 2015). The Boko Haram pledged allegiance to ISIS and said "we announce our allegiance to the caliph and we will hear and obey in times of difficulty and prosperity in hardship and ease" (Onuorah, 2015). In response, the ISIS said "our caliph has accepted the pledge of loyalty of our brothers of Boko Haram so we congratulate Muslims and our jihad brothers in West Africa" (Onuorah, 2015). This shows that ISIS share the same ideology of jihadism/islamization which has nothing to do with social injustice.

Boko Haram's ideology: Notwithstanding that marginalization, unemployment and social justice are causes of terrorism in Nigeria, Boko Haram emerged as a result of religious ideology. Boko Haram developed within a specifically Salafi jihadi ideology context which focuses on rejecting the authority of the Nigerian state (Mellgard, 2015). Boko Haram formal name is Jama'at Ahl as Sunnah lid Dawah wal Jihad, meaning people of the ways of the prophet for proselytization and jihad. The members gained the nickname "Boko Haram" because of the emphasis of their founder's teaching on rejecting of Western education and its influence (Mellgard, 2015). "Boko" in Hausa language means "book" which is commonly used for education while "Haram" is an Arabic language used for something that is religiously forbidden. Therefore, the members do not call themselves this name. The group believe that partisan government, democracy and Western-style of education including any subject perceived to contradict the Quran are exploitative and intended to degrade Muslim society, traditions and values and convert Muslims to Christianity (Mellgard, 2015) opined. He further observed that the groups ideology developed along "takfiri" lines, meaning it is permissible to kill everyone who rejects it. This led to the member's glory in violence.

One of the members of the sect stated that now our religion and way of worship is nothing but killings, killings, killings! kill and slaughter but don't eat them (Mellgard, 2015) submitted. This belief, led to the killing of some Muslim leaders who disagree with the groups ideology, killing of students including special students and teachers, destruction of school buildings, worship places like Churches and mosques where any imam that challenges them preaches. Boko Haram uses ideas of social injustice wrapped in religious rhetoric to gain support and recruit. They preach corruption, poverty, unemployment and inequality to deceive people and gain support to prohibit Western education, undermine democracy and Islamize Nigeria. The group has continued to carry out guerrilla-style attacks on villages, towns and military positions and has increased its use of suicide bombings using young girls as human bombs. Boko Haram stated, we support Osama bin Laden, we shall carry out his command in Nigeria until the country is totally Islamized which is according to, the wish of Allah (Agbibo, 2013) reported. He observed that Boko Haram's main ambition is to become a key player in the global jihad. In fulfilling this ambition it has fought in Mali alongside groups affiliated to Al-Qaeda. They have received training with Somali-based al-Shabaab, their members were reportedly involved in the April 2012 invasion of Algerian Embassy in Malian city in Gao which

resulted in the hostage-taking of seven Algerian diplomats, a local official in Mali confirmed that there were one hundred Boko Haram fighters in Gao (Agbiboa, 2013).

He stated that Boko Haram members arrested in Nigeria in 2012, revealed that their source of fund is by donations from members its links with Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) opened it up to more funding from groups in Saudi Arabia and UK, Al Muntada trust fund and the Islamic World Society. It was also gathered that Boko Haram claimed that former Kano state Governor Ibrahim Shekarau and Bauchi state governor Isa Yuguda had placed their members on monthly salary (Aziken, 2012) and that they also self-finance by robbing local banks.

Going by the activities of the Boko Haram and taken that Boko Haram erupts as a consequence of poverty, deteriorating social services, educational backwardness, unemployment and corruption (Agbiboa, 2013), Boko Haram is majorly driven by its ideology. Krieger and Mererriek (2011) studied what causes terrorism, the study revealed that the link between terrorism and poverty remains unclear because it failed to explain why some poor people or places do not participate in violence. They argued that terrorism is closely linked to political instability, sharp divides within the populace institutional and international factors. Other terrorist organisations like Al-Qaeda and Al-Shabaab which Boko Haram is linked with did not emerge as a result of poverty, rather it was basically their belief that Western education is mixed with issues that run contrary to Islam. Boko Haram is opposed to what it sees as Western-based incursion that threatens traditional values, beliefs and customs among Muslim communities in the Northern Nigeria (Boyle, 2009). Agbiboa (2013) reported that members of Boko Haram comprise of university lecturers, banker, political elites and security officials. The question is: did this category of individuals joined Boko haram as a result of poverty, unemployment inequality or corruption? from the literature reviewed, the following were revealed as some of the harm Boko Haram has done on Nigerian nation.

Table 1 revealed that Boko Haram has done unprintable harm to the Nigerian nation. This study will further examine the role of key stakeholders from the North in Boko Haram insurgency.

The role of Northern political leaders in Boko Haram insurgency: The political leaders referred to in this study include Presidents, Senators, members of house of representatives, Governors, Ministers, special advisers, Director Generals, Chief Executives of Government Agencies, Commissioners, Chairmen of Boards, Chairmen

of local governments and Councilors of Northern origin. To get to these positions is by political appointment. It is through these positions that Nigeria government pass resource allocation to the regions. Whether the resource allocations to the Northern states are used for the purpose they are meant for is yet to be determined. It does appear that, dearth of infrastructure, social amenities and agricultural development is more prominent in the North. This has resulted to idleness, poverty, unemployment, corruption inequality, poor education and above all increased the population of beggars in the North. No Wonder Africa Report (2014) observed that in many parts of the country, the government is unable to provide security, good roads, water, health facilities and quality education that this situation is particularly dire in the far North. According to him, frustration and alienation drive many to join “self-help” ethnic religious, community or civic groups, some of which are hostile to the state.

It was gathered that Boko Haram claimed that former Kano state governor Ibrahim Shekarau and Bauchi state governor Isa Yuguda had placed their members on monthly salary (Aziken, 2012). Also, the narrative put forward by Boko Haram now dominant in the region is that around 2002, Yusuf was co-opted by the then Borno state gubernatorial candidate, Alimodu Sheriff for the support of his large youth movement in exchange for full implementation of Sharia and promises of senior state government positions for his followers in the event of an electoral victory (Anonymous, 2014). But that Sheriff denied any such arrangement or involvement with the sect. Africa Report (2014) added that the state religious commissioner was accused of providing resources to Yusuf while the government never implemented Sharia. Furthermore, that the state security services arrested Yusuf a number of times but could not prosecuted him because of the intervention of influential officials. These actions made the group popular and they expand into other states like Bauchi, Yola and Kano. No wonder a senior security officer commented that after the politicians created the monster, they lost control of it (Anonymous, 2014).

The erstwhile military ruler of Nigeria between 1985-1993 in concert with other Northern political leaders, registered Nigeria in the Organization of Islamic Conference (O.I.C). He said that this action nearly tore the nation apart. The move aggravated religious tension in the country (Holman, 1986). Uzukwu (2010) observed that without any regard whatsoever for the sensibilities of Nigerians of other faiths, they went further and submitted an application to upgrade Nigeria’s membership from the observer status to full membership. He said that general Babangida’s Regime represented the

Table 1: Boko Haram atrocious activities on the Nigeria nation

Date	Incidence	Number of death	Number wounded	Area of attack
2009	Attack	700	Not mentioned	Police station
Jan. 2010	-	4	-	Borno
May 2011	-	15	55	Abuja
Jun. 2011	-	2	Not mentioned	Abuja police headquarter bombings-Nigeria's first instance of suicide bombing
Sept. 2011	Attack	21	-	United Nations building, Abuja
Nov. 2011	Attack	150	-	Damaturu
Dec. 2011	Attack	100	-	Damaturu
Dec. 2011	-	68	-	Security forces in Damaturu
Dec. 2011	-	41	-	Several Churches
2012	-	900	-	Massacre of students in Yobe
Jan. 2012	-	38	-	Series of attack on Christian Churches in Northeast
Jan. 2012	-	183	-	Civilian and police officers in Kano state
Feb. 2012	Killing of polio vaccinators	9	-	Kano
Apr. 2012	Bombing of churches	38	-	Kaduna
Jun. 2012	Church bombing	19	-	Kaduna
Aug. 2012	Deeper life church bombing	19	-	Kogi
Aug. 2012	Shooting of churches and Mosque	30	-	Maiduguri and Potiskum
Dec. 2012	Killing of christians	15	-	Musari
Apr. 2013	-	187	-	Baga in Borno
Jun. 2013	-	13	-	Killing of students and teachers in Damaturu
July 2013	-	35	-	Bama and Malam (Fatori)
July 2013	State school shooting	42	-	Yobe
Aug. 2013	-	56	-	Maiduguri Mosque
Sept. 2013	-	161	-	Benisheik massacre Borno
Jan. 2014	-	31	-	Chakawa
Feb. 2014	-	121	-	Christian villager in Konduga, Borno
Feb. 2014	-	106	-	Izghe, Borno
Feb. 2014	-	59	-	Students of Fed. Govt. Coll. in Yobe
Apr. 2014	Kidnapping of 276 female students	-	-	Chibok in Borno
May 2014	Attack	118	56	Jos
May 2014	-	300	Not mentioned	Gamboru
May 2012	-	27	-	Northeast
May 2012	-	58	-	Buni Yaoli
Dec. 2014	-	50	Not mentioned	Gwoza local government
Dec. 2014	-	100	-	School dormitory in Bama
Jan. 2015	-	2000	Not mentioned	Baga
Jan. 2015	-	19	-	Not mentioned
Mar. 2015	-	54	-	Monday market Maiduguri
Mar. 2015	-	41	143	On the election day
Oct. 2015	-	10	9	Yola
Oct. 2015	-	4	-	Maiduguri
Mar. 2015	Kidnapping of 400 women and children	-	-	Damasak

beginning of unmitigated Islamization of Nigeria. After the membership of Nigeria in OIC, the push to Islamize states in the Northern region became intensified.

Since, the return of democracy to Nigeria in 1999, Sharia has been instituted as a main body of civil and criminal law in nine Muslim-majority and in some parts of three Muslim-plurality states when the then Zamfara State Governor Ahmad Rufai Sani began the push for the institution of Sharia at the state level of government (Ostien and Dekker, 2008). According to them, this was followed by controversy as to the would-be legal status of the non-Muslims in the Sharia system and this result to a spate of Muslim-Christian riots. Presently, 12 out of 36 states in Nigeria have Sunni Islam as their dominant religion.

By the actions and attitudes of some political leaders in the North it does appear that they have in one way or the other encouraged Boko Haram by supporting and financing issues that borders on Islamizing Nigeria. Some political leaders from the North lost focus of really analyzing the impact of educational backwardness and high level of inequality and addressing them to Islamizing Northern states and Nigeria generally. Aro (2013) submitted that it has been argued that if government officials in the region have utilized judiciously their monthly allocations to better the lots of the ordinary people, through the creation of jobs infrastructural development of the region, the situation would have been better than this current sorry state. He said that there is wide spread of ignorance and poverty in the North and

that when this is mixed with religious intolerance, youthful restiveness and idleness it leads to frustration. Aro (2013) advised that if these entrusted resources can be used for the benefit of Northern youths, they would not be available for easy inducement for terrorism and other social vices that rapid development at the grassroots by elected leaders would curtail future uprisings or revolts that would threaten the country. If this is not done, the people will revolt (Tsokar, 2015) warned. Onyeka Onwenu the Director General for National Development for Women Affairs in her interview with Africa Independent Television (AIT) on October 19, 2015 advised that the youths should be encouraged not to be lazy but to be creative to help themselves. This study examined the role of traditional rulers and Islamic elites in the Northern region.

Roles of traditional rulers in the Northern Nigeria: That Nigeria is endorsed with well-organized and structured traditional institution cannot be over emphasized. It is therefore, critical to examine the role of Northern traditional rulers in mitigating the excesses of the Boko Haram. Traditional rulers are in the position to interact with the people at the grassroots. They have the capacity to reach the members of their communities one-on-one through village meetings, town union meetings and traditional celebrations. When you interact with some traditional rulers, they usually recognize almost all families within their domain by name. When there is a misfit, they are also in the position to be aware. If they discovered a group of people is propagating to the detriment of the community such supposed to be stemmed before it escalates. Onyeka Onwenu, the Director General of National Development for Women Affairs, during her interview in African Independence Television on October 19, 2015 advised that the traditional rulers should speak out when they notice a misnomer in the society. The Boko Haram insurgency and other social upheavals in the Northern part of the country were results of wrong preaching that had gone unchecked for over 30 years (Musa, 2015). Da'wah Coordination Council of Nigeria according to (Aro, 2013) reported that:

A number of Islamic organization including the Muslim Students Society of Nigeria (MSSN) and the National Council of Muslim Youth Organization (NACOMYO) had on a number of occasions informed and warned some traditional leaders of the impending problems they envisage from the Boko Haram group. Unfortunately, they were not taken seriously, (p2)

No wonder Aro (2013) said that it is pitiful that the situation of things would not have been worse up to this extent if all the Northern leaders have interfered in the matter at the earliest stage during the cause of which members of BH would have been tamed. However, some rulers had dialogued with some Boko Haram members but unfortunately it yielded little or no result rather, the group assassinated Muslim clerics and traditional leaders in the North for allegedly cooperating with state authorities (Agbibo, 2013). Mellgard (2015) reported that Muslim leaders who openly disagree with the group including schools (buildings, teachers and students) and places of worship (mosques and churches) are killed and destroyed.

Some Muslim elites did not also fold their arms on issues concerning Boko Haram. Da'wah Coordination Council of Nigeria (Anonymous, 2009) stated that its members organized dialogues and debates to wage the activities of Boko Haram. It said that a number of prominent Muslim scholars, activists and Da'wah workers from various organizations had been involved in dialogue and debates with the leadership and followers of BH convinced some people within its domain to reject their ideology that the challenge was that some scholars focused their attack on the personality of the founder, late Muhammed Yusuf instead of his ideology and that won sympathy for the group. It is envisaged that continuous dialogue and debate to dislodge the ideology would yield more result. The Muslim elites should not relent in their efforts, especially when more factions are warming up to take over when Boko Haram is subdued.

The traditional rulers and the Muslim elites should collaborate and address the root causes of growing radical Islamic terrorism. It is of note that in the Islamic Northern states of Nigeria, a variety of Muslim groups and populations exist who favour nationwide introduction of Sharia Law. Zean (2014) observed that there are different types of Islamic sect factions that have emerged in the North. It is pertinent to note that these factions share similar ideology it is only their modus operandi that differs. For example, the new Islamic Jihadist sect known as Jama'atu Ansarul Muslimina Biladis Sudan commonly called Ansaru, meaning "vanguards for the protection of Muslim in Black Africa". This group came on board in 2012 and reputed to have a more international focus than Boko Haram (Muzan, 2014). Another Islamic sect group call itself Yusufiyya Islamic movement established in 2011 in the Northeast. A group called Shiites led by Sheikh Ibrahim El-Zakzaky, reported to be deadlier than Boko Haram is now gaining ground again in the North. The group poses greater danger to Nigeria than the Boko Haram insurgent, they have started adopting

Boko Haram strategy of intimidation and elimination of “Ulamas” who oppose their doctrines (Akhaine, 2016). He warned that failure of the government to deal decisively with the excesses of this group may put the country in danger in the near future. However, he advised and emphasized that there is need for members of the public to be involved in checkmating the activities of Shiites and some other groups whose names are not yet made open.

The belief of the Boko Haram that Western secular education is islamically prohibited and that there should be another system of education based purely on the teaching of the Quran and Sunnah should be discouraged and disabused from the mindset of Northern youths. Even though the task of bringing back peace and tranquility in the Northern states is the concern of every citizen in this country, the Northern political leaders, traditional leaders and the Islamic elites have a lot to do to bring to bay and eradicate Islamic terrorism. The effort they have put up to deal with the situation using education through debate and dialogue is a step to the right direction. But they require to intensify effort and ensure that social studies are taught in all educational programmes in the North.

Social studies education a panacea to Boko Haram insurgency: Social studies education is the alternative to Boko Haram insurgency. The root cause of Boko Haram insurgency is not far from lost old values morals, illiteracy inadequate education, poor quality education and propagation of wrong education. Cerkez-Robinson observed that social studies education is an alternative to confusion and conflict. He said that an increase in the number of children going to school reduces the chances of conflict. Odukoya (2016) stated that social studies appears to be a mystical wand that wields answers to development of desirable attitudes and values. Social studies education provides positive learning experiences with opportunities for students to interact with others different from themselves. In Nigeria, social studies education aim at inculcating national consciousness and national unity, imbibing the right type of values and attitudes for self and national survival, the acquisition of necessary skills, abilities and competences which individuals need to be able to contribute to national development. To acquire relevant and quality education, requires effective implementation of the national curriculum in schools. Pickett stated that without conscious efforts of adults to promote understanding and respect, children who are busy learning about and categorizing every aspect of their world may accept biased cultural constructs as natural. It therefore, beholds the education providers in the Northeast to ensure that social studies education is taught at all learning

institutions including special schools. It is only social studies education that can confront bias and develop positive dispositions in all children including special needs children (Chukwu, 2008). The social studies contents in the national curriculum should be effectively followed this is because curriculum is the grand plan of national education and by extension, the blueprint of national development (Odukoya, 2016).

Musa (2015) submitted that miscreants and criminals, terrorizing people in the North-East under the guise of Islam have gone out of the real teachings and interpretation of Islam. This type of education, sows the seed of discord and inculcates in the children a sense of narrow nationalism which when nurtured, explodes into terrorism. Anonymous (2008) observed that this type of education is where patriotism is taken in a narrow and selfish way of behaviour. He said that narrow views promote selfish, envy, jealousy and constant fear of others that aggressive attitudes are formed from these feelings and the individuals try to subdue others. There is solution to this form of informal teaching that is social studies education.

Globally, education is a veritable tool for social change, national integration and development. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization opined that education is centre development that it empowers people and strengthens nations. It is a powerful equalizer, opening doors to all to lift themselves out of poverty. Social studies education allows every human being to acquire knowledge, skills and a sustainable future. It is of note that most teenagers and youths who fell victims of Boko Haram recruit, lack the ability of critical and logical thinking. Social studies has the potential of human development and attainment appropriate values, norms and morals. It possesses the ability of bringing about high quality education, understanding, tolerance, appreciation of various cultures and subcultures of component groups in Nigeria (Chukwu, 2008). Tsokar (2015) reported that the Air Chief Marshal Badeh said that all things happened because of poverty of mind and poverty of education. Muslims are faced with ignorance and wrong interpretation of Islam as propagated by Prophet Mohammed (Musa, 2015). Aro (2013) supporting, said, the most pitiable fact is that most of those suicide bombers are teenagers which can be summarily believed to be the resultant effect of brain washing.

Northern leaders should embrace social studies education for the youths to inculcate appropriate values in which people consciously choose to cooperate for the benefit of all mankind, acting in altruism and selflessness, recognizing the values of non-violence and respect for

human rights, tolerance and diversity. Children should be taught at the very early age that Nigeria is one family, everyone irrespective of their ethnicity are citizens of Nigeria. It is strategic to invest in education to reduce ignorance and idleness because it is only education that can promote competencies like critical thinking, imagining future scenarios and making decisions in a collaborative way. Due to lack of matured mind resulting from improper education, the terrorists have no respect for human life including their blood relations. Mellgard (2015) observed that Boko Haram recruit also their family member. Social studies education will develop the ability of critical and logical thinking, knowledge, skills and the capacity to have human feelings for fellow human being, cherish aesthetics and contribute meaningfully for a greater economy in the society. The solution to eradicate Boko Haram is social studies education.

CONCLUSION

This study examined the insurgency of Boko Haram in the Northeast, the history and their ideology which condemns and detests Western education and the secularity of Nigerian nation. Their activities were examined and it was discovered that, since 2009, the violence the group has unleashed on the Nigerian state is unprecedented in the history of insurgency in the country. Their activities have left many, widows, widowers orphans, handicaps, poor and millions of internally displaced persons. The study also provided the overview of causes of terrorism in Nigeria, the role of key stakeholders in the North such as the political leaders, traditional rulers and Islamic elites in Boko Haram insurgency. Social studies education as panacea to Boko Haram insurgency was determined and recommendations were made. The study therefore, concludes that Boko Haram ideology should be discouraged and silenced for the unity of this country. The Northern political leaders should avoid supporting and financing Boko Haram ideology, rather, they should use the resource allocation to the region judiciously to alleviate poverty, provide necessary social amenities, massive teaching of social studies even to Almajiri's, address issues of idleness, beggars and ignorance to reduce the level of inequality. The traditional rulers should inculcate in the community member's qualities of fellow feeling, co-operation, tolerance, adjustment and love for one another's weal and woe instead of developing aggressive nationalism, so that, goodwill and friendship are developed bringing about peace, freedom and happiness among Nigerians. And the Islamic elites to intensify efforts in educating Boko

Haram members to convince them of their wrong position and prevent others from joining or forming more Islamic terrorism. Northerners should embrace massive enlightenment through social studies to develop critical minds and appropriate values.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings, the following recommendations were made: the ideology of Boko Haram should be discouraged in its entirety as it threatens the unity of Nigeria. The Northern political leaders should avoid aggravating the issue of insurgency by sponsoring them and using them as political thugs. Political leaders in the North should judiciously use the state resource allocation to develop the region and provide necessary social amenities. They should invest and provide social studies education in all forms of educational programmes for the youths. Traditional leaders should facilitate and cultivate a culture of co-existence and oneness early in life in their communities by including social studies education in Almajiri's educational programmes. Islamic elites should intensify debate, dialogue, workshop using social studies contents to wage the Boko Haram ideology and research against emergence of future Islamic terrorism.

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