

POVERTY AND YOUTHS RESTIVENESS: EXAMINATION OF BOKO-HARAM INSURGENCY IN ADAMAWA STATE NORTHERN SENATORIAL ZONE NIGERIA (2011-2019)

SA'AD YUSUF KAMA, MUHAMMAD AHMAD USMAN, MATHIAS DANJUMA AND GAMBO AHMAD

Department of Public Administration, Federal Polytechnic, Mubi, Adamawa State.

ABSTRACT

Since independence, Nigeria has recorded a series social, political, economic and ethno-religious crisis. Most of these heinous crimes are perpetuated by youthful population in the country. Restiveness orchestrated by youths has been on the increase in almost all communities in Nigeria, most especially in recent past. Since the inception of our nascent democracy, there has been a proliferation of unraveled violence, killing of innocent people; and, most recently, the insurgency in the North East. This Paper titled "Poverty and youths restiveness: Boko-Haram insurgency in Adamawa State Northern Senatorial Zone Nigeria from 2011-2019" The is divided into three section: namely Background of the paper, statement of the problem, scope and limitations of the paper, significance of the paper, objectives of the paper as to ascertain the relationship between poverty, youth restiveness and Boko-Haram in north-eastern Nigeria. In Methodology the paper used both primary and secondary sources. Section two dwells on Literature Review and Theoretical

Introduction:

Over the years, Nigeria has experienced series of attacks and blasts in most parts of the country. For instance the recent violent agitations by the Shiites (IMON), Maitatsine crises in Kano, 1980, Zuru 1980, Maiduguri 1982, Yola 1984, Ilorin 1984, Bauchi 1984 and Kano 1984. Others are the crises in Kafanchan 1987, Gure Kahugu 1987, Birnin Kebbi 1990, Katsina 1991, Tafawa Balewa 1991, Kano 1991, Jalingo 1992, Kaduna Polytechnic 1992, Kasuwar Magani (Kaduna) 1994, Kaduna 2000, Jos 2001, Kano 2001, Tafawa Balewa (since 2000) and Nasarawa 2001, Jos 2004, 2008 and 2010. There have also been the Chamba-Kuteb crises in Taraba State 2013, Tiv-Jukun crisis 2013, Bassalgbira crisis

BERKELEY RESEARCH & PUBLICATIONS INTERNATIONAL

Bayero University, Kano, PMB 3011, Kano State, Nigeria. +234 (0) 802 881 6063,
Website: www.berkeleypublications.com

Framework utilizing two theories of Social contract by Thomas Hobbes 1651 in Laskar, M.E. (2013) and Deprivation theory by Ted Gurr 1970. While, the last section conclude the paper and the recommendations drawn thereafter that poverty alleviations and youth empowerment can prevent youth restiveness in the region.

Keywords: *Poverty, Youth, Restiveness, Examination, Boko-Haram, Insurgency, Democracy.*

In Toto 2012 and a host of others, Sule, N. R., (2015). Militants in the “Niger Delta” (MEND). So many splinter groups hide under this body to carry out their nefarious acts of rebellion against the Nigerian state to express their grievances over the degradations of their environment through the operation of the multinational oil companies. Parallel groups exist in other parts of the country and they include; the “Oduduwa People Congress” (OPC) which is located in the south-west, they are often called the Afenifere Group. There exists also the “movement for the actualization of sovereign state of Biafra” in the south-East (MASOB), while the “Boko Haram” which mostly operates in the Northern part of the country. According to Alozieuwa, (2012) and Anyadike, (2013) as cited by Awojobi, O. N., (2014). “the challenge posed by Boko Haram in Nigeria is not only about the viciousness of either its terror campaigns or the sect’s avowed mission to impose Islamic law on the country, but about the confusion regarding the exact cause(s) of the violence”. A lot of factors have been attributed to the cause of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria such as socio-economic, political and religious factors. However, Awojobi (2014) and Onuoha (2014) posit that the high-rate of poverty in Nigeria has made the youths enlisted in the ranks of Boko Haram foot soldiers which have elongate the conflict since 2009. Most of the activities of the sect are concentrated in the North-East of Nigeria. Despite the state of emergency that was declared by the Federal government, the killings, bombings and kidnappings by Boko Haram continue unabated. The activities of Boko Haram sect have led to economic, social and psychological implications in the North-East Nigeria where the sect has a strong presence Awojobi, (2014). The purpose of this paper is to examine the implications of poverty and youths restiveness on Boko Haram insurgency in Adamawa State Northern Senatorial Zone Nigeria and proffering solutions with a view to stopping the nefarious activities of the Boko-Haram sect in North-eastern Nigeria.

Presently, the group has an undefined structure and chain of command. It is of a paramount importance to note that the official name of the group is “Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad (People Committed to the Propagation of The Prophet's Teachings and Jihad) Alias Boko Haram Phenomenon”, (Sule, 2015). Since its materialization in 2002 in Maiduguri by the leader of the group Mohammed Yusuf, the Boko Haram has been a thorn in the flesh of Nigeria's security agencies and its populace, precisely the police force, over its opposition to western education that it believes is a sin. In the year 2004, the Islamic fundamentalists group relocated its base to Ranamma, Yobe state. (Stephen, Nd). The new location was named “Afghanistan”, and from there the group set about attacking and leaving members of the Nigerian police lifeless. In an interview with BBC in the year 2004, Yusuf the leader of the group was quoted as saying that “this war that is yet to start would continue for a very long time. Five years later i.e. in the year 2009, Yusuf was killed under the police custody in a violent clash between the Boko Haram and the security forces. Nevertheless, his demise did not quell the activities of the group he founded, it rather made them grow more in aggression. Amongst the various crisis, bombings carried out by Boko Haram are; The Nigeria sectarian violence in the year 2009. The Bauchi prison break 1st and 2nd Abuja the northern Nigeria bombings in the year 2011. The attack on the police headquarters on June 16, 2011. The attack on the Madalla Catholic Church (St Theresa) on the 25th of December 2011, just to mention but a few. The central idea of this study is woven around two major concepts, poverty and youth restiveness. In conclusion, at this juncture, this research work will critically analyze the three concepts i.e. poverty, youth restiveness and Boko Haram in order to create a better understanding in the minds of the readers and more so to contribute to existing knowledge of literature.

Few research questions in a view of obtaining reasonable and positive answers would be asked. Thus:

- i. To examine the nexus between poverty and youth restiveness in Nigeria
- ii. Is there any relationship between poverty, youth restiveness and Boko-Haram in Nigeria?
- iii. It also intends to look at the effect of poverty on youths restiveness on the development of Nigeria as a nation

- iv. Also to show how poverty alleviation and youth empowerment can serve as a viable tool/instrument in the management of youths restiveness for the development of Nigeria
- v. The study is expected to make modest recommendations on how poverty alleviation and youth empowerment can prevent youths restiveness

Objective of the Paper

The general objective:

Poverty and youth restiveness in Nigeria: An Examination of BH crisis in Adamawa State Northern Senatorial Zone

The specific objectives:

- i. To ascertain the relationship between poverty and youth restiveness in Nigeria
- ii. What is the relationship between poverty, youth restiveness and Boko-Haram in Nigeria

Significance of the Paper

This study is out to assess Poverty and youth restiveness in Nigeria: An Examination of BH crisis in Adamawa State Northern Senatorial Zone This study differ with most research conducted in the field of Poverty and youth restiveness, because this study is out to assess and establish a synergy or the connection between the concepts of poverty, youth restiveness and the menace of BH as such the work, is significant to the executive arm of government, policy makers in both public and private organizations. Similarly this study will serves as an important document for adaptation for both the federal, state and local government in ensuring effective policies are formulated and implemented to better the life of citizens at large. Furthermore students and researchers would equally benefits from this work in their information searching, gathering, analysis and referral

Scope and limitation of the Paper

The study is to assess the impact of Poverty and youth restiveness in Nigeria: An Examination of BH Crisis in Adamawa State Northern Senatorial Zone

Limitations of the Paper

Every research has its own challenges/limitations. Albeit this work is not an exemption and so had its own fair share of these constrains. But these

limitations did not affect the validity of the study. These limitation ranges from personal constraints to environmental problems, some of which are described below:

- ❖ **Research** Inadequate information source and unrealistic result. The necessary information needed for the purpose of this work is not sufficient and unrealistic result was obtained due to the staffs' behavior and attitudes towards responses and most of the staffs are busy so it was quite difficult getting in touch with them. Some senior members were reluctant in releasing vital information about their respective
- ❖ **Secrecy:** both executive, legislative members and the staffs alike tend to have a special linking for secrecy, even in government offices. Vital information that otherwise would be for public consumption is merely considered secret.
- ❖ **Financial constraints:** subject to the constant rise in prize of data bundles, there is responding decrease in which the bundles lasted, printing and others,. Transportation fare which also acts as limitation to this study.
- ❖ **Time factor:** the greatest constraints which militated against my project work are time. Due to the limited time, I had to work under great pressure to meet the requirement of other areas and also to beat the deadline for submission of the research work.

Questions

- i. To examine the nexus between poverty and youth restiveness in Nigeria
- ii. Is there any relationship between poverty, youth restiveness and Boko-Haram in Nigeria?
- iii. It also intends to look at the effect of poverty on youths restiveness on the development of Nigeria as a nation
- iv. Also to show how poverty alleviation and youth empowerment can serve as a viable tool/instrument in the management of youths restiveness for the development of Nigeria
- v. The paper is expected to make modest recommendations on how poverty alleviation and youth empowerment can prevent youth's restiveness.

Methodology

Methodology has been considered as the bedrock of any research work. Under normal circumstances, no work can be effectively executed without a systematic

way or plan of doing it. Methodology in this context describes the instrument and procedure that is used in this study. It describes the sampling procedure, the instrument used for collecting information and the method of analysis of the data collected. Both the primary and secondary sources are indispensable instruments in this study. The primary sources focus on the use of questionnaire to collect data from respondents. The secondary sources are obtained from both published and unpublished materials. These include books, journals, magazines, research papers, and other publications related to this study.

Sampling and sampling techniques

According to Daniel (1989:793) sample refers to a limited number selected from a population. Sampling is the process of selecting observations or number (Babbie, 2008). There are two types of sampling; probability and non-probability sampling. Sampling techniques simply means the method or techniques used to select a sample. Random sampling was used to select the study area used for this study. Under this technique, the researcher used the “fish bowl” methodology in which names of local governments in the zones were placed in a bowl and shuffled and three LGA was picked. This method was found to be useful and has limited chances of been bias.

To this end, Dales et al (1960:10) stated that:

To prevent the investigator from biasing of exercising direct control over the choice of units, some mechanical device is employed to draw sample. The name of the units may be placed in a “bowl” or on cards and shuffled thoroughly before the desired number of ships is drawn.

In a similar vein, Adeforo, (1986:22) explained that random sampling methodology allows every member in the population an equal opportunity for being selected. Through this method, one senatorial zone local was selected from across the three senatorial zones in Adamawa State. The zones are: Central zone, Northern zone and Southern zone. This method was adopted in order to give equal representation to the study population.

Operational Definition of Terms

- **Poverty:** inability of someone to stand up for his/her basic needs
- **Youth:** young age, with energetic vigour

- **Restiveness:** resistant to control, rebellious or disobedient
- **Examination:** to assess or evaluate a situation
- **Boko:** is an “Hausa” dialect meaning western education
- **Haram:** Is an Arabic term which referred as forbidden
- **Crisis:** an unstable condition, situation or change in political, social or economic affairs

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Conceptual Review of Poverty

Boko Haram and other similar politically, culturally and religious sects have often led to loss of property, lives and even the breakdown of law and order, peace and security in the Nigerian society at large. It has been observed that some of these attacks been made on so many states which include even the state capital (F.C.T) Abuja. What puzzles most observers is that a good number of these attacks appears not been executed by only suicide bombers, yet the culprits often get away unharmed. This leaves a big question mark in our security agencies as regards their duty in the protection of lives and properties, Poverty has been increasing despite relatively strong economic growth; 112.5 million – over 70 per cent of the population – are classified as poor and absolutely poor. Sokoto state in the North West has the highest poverty rate (86.4 per cent), Niger state in North Central the lowest (43). The North East, Boko Haram’s main operational field, has the worst poverty rate of the six official “zones (Africa Report N°216, 2014), failure of the state to ameliorate the sufferings, unemployment, poverty and restiveness of the people, have pushed or rather forced the inhabitants/citizens of the region, specifically the youths to the edge, hence: frustration aggression emerged. These amongst other perceived injustice such as low earnings, have made youths to become very hostile and violent, therefore creating an atmosphere of fear, chaos and restiveness. This drift to violence has unleashed a monster that is now a predator to everyone irrespective of personality. The attacks are so indiscriminate that even babies, the aged, government and private properties are frequently targeted for attacks and vandalization. According to Usoro, N. A & Essien, E. I., (2017). In today’s Nigeria, life has become more precarious and issues of security are dangerously drifting towards complete decay. Unfortunately, despite huge government spending on security in the form of security related votes, the situation has remained unabated as we continue to fear for our lives from kidnappers, political and

economic related assassinations, extra judicial killings, religious violence and unwarranted intimidation by agents and or enemies of Government among others. Most of these heinous crimes are perpetuated by youthful population in the country. Restiveness orchestrated by youths has been on the increase in almost all communities in Nigeria, most especially in recent past. Since the inception of our nascent democracy, there has been a proliferation of unravelled violence, killing of innocent people; and, most recently, the insurgency in the North East, To this end, this research no doubt, will critically examined and explain the nexus amongst the three concepts, i.e. poverty, youth restiveness and Boko Haram in order to create a better understanding in the minds of this reader on how poverty can lead to restiveness amongst youths in Nigeria, thereby breeding Boko Haram sect in the Adamawa State northern Senatorial district.

This review is precisely concerned with pre-existing views and perceptions of various scholars and academicians as regards their contributions to the subject matter, which is the research study. It is as a result of this, that we will take two major variables into review/ these related variables are poverty and youth restiveness. When talking about poverty, there exist different definitions. Okojie (1999:8) observed that there is no general consensus on any meaningful definition of poverty in the literature. Due to the fact that poverty affects many aspects of human condition-including physical, moral and psychological, a concise and universally accepted definition is elusive. Thus, the literature is sated with multifarious conceptualization of poverty. To this end, Ogwumike (1998:14) noted that the most common practice is to conceptualize poverty as absolute. This means that, poverty is lack of adequate resources to obtain bundle of goods and services. Such bundle of goods and services would contain an objective minimum of basic necessities such as food, shelter and clothing. There are two major problems associated with this definition. The first is: what do we include in the objective minimum? And the second is: how do we set minimum standards for basic necessities like clothing, food, transportation etc. which often depend on individual taste, cultural norms and values, and the prevailing socio-economic conditions within a given society or nation?

Again absolute poverty is sometimes defined as the approximate maximum proportion of income that a family spends on subsistence commodities (Agbaegbu, T. (2010). An alternative is to define poverty as being relative poverty with respect to the living standards that prevail in a given society or nation. A major advantage of this approach is that it reflects the changing perceptions of

acceptable minimum living standards. The concepts of absolute poverty and relative poverty have been given alternative but similar definitions by many economists. Absolute poverty is characterized by low calorie intake, poor housing conditions, inadequate health facilities, low life expectancy, high infant mortality, low income, unemployment (Aluyo, 2000:230). Similarly, the World Bank (1996:6) defined relative poverty as existing where households have per capital income of less than one third of the average per capital income of the country concerned. The World Bank defined absolute poverty in terms of a household's command over resources, which are sufficient to obtain a basket of goods and services required to guarantee a minimum decent living standard: it is a condition of life degraded by disease, illiteracy, malnutrition and squalor. Oladeji and Abiola (1998:8) categorized poverty along five dimensions of deprivations namely: personal and physical deprivation, economic deprivation, social deprivation, cultural deprivation and political deprivation. Personal and physical deprivation can be experienced in nutritional, educational, health and literacy deficiency and lack of self-confidence. Economic deprivation includes lack of access to property, income, assets finance, and factors of production. Social deprivation is manifested in impediments to full participation in social, political and economic life. Cultural deprivation is when people are deprived in terms of values, beliefs, attitudes, knowledge orientation and information. Based on these, they are not able to take advantage of economic and political opportunities. Under political deprivation, we see ignorance is a fundamental barrier to the elimination and deprivation. Ignorance, among other things undermines access to legal institutions. The poor lack political voice. Those who are politically deprived occupy lowly positions and subjected to humiliation through economic and/or physical threat.

Thus, poverty can be made between temporary and chronic poverty. The transient poverty otherwise known as poverty of the hopeful is temporary. It may arise from theft, drought, war, flood and fire. The victims are poor in the short run. The unemployed as a result of economic recession fall into this group. Chronic poverty on the other hand is long term and persistent. Its causes are largely structural. This kind of poverty may be transmitted from one generation to another and it is very persistent (Atuyor, 2000:19). According to the World Bank organization; Poverty is defined relative to the standards of living in a society at a specific time. People live in poverty when they are denied an income sufficient for their material needs and when these circumstances exclude them

from taking part in activities which are an accepted part of daily life in the society (UKCAP, 1997; Galloway, 2002). What the World Bank organization is saying in essence is that poverty cannot be defined separately without talking the economic situation into keen consideration. When individuals or a given greater number of citizens in a country cannot purchase their insatiable needs (both material and non-material), then they can be referred to as wallowing in an abject poverty. This, according to the world bank, (2006) is as a result of the denial of their income as a result of the fact that the principles of "PAYE" i.e. pay as you earn, is not always applicable to every society; therefore, individuals tend to pay higher taxes than they earn, and this leaves the bourgeoisies richer while the peasants and proletariat keep on getting poorer; (Galloway, 2002 According to the prime minister, social exclusion can be defined as a shorthand label for what can happen when individuals or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown. From the aforementioned, we can see that the farmer i.e. WBO, concluded or rather condensed the absolute and relative poverty definitions of the latter into a single meaning. Nevertheless, the definition given by the House of Commons Scottish affairs committee is more comprehensive because it encompasses all facets of human existence. We must note that definitions differ according to their narrowness or breath that is in terms of whether they are confined to the material core. The nature of that material core and whether they embrace also rational/symbolic factors associated with poverty. Nolan and Whelan (1996:193) are among those who arouse for a definition towards the narrower end of the scale on the grounds that too broad a definition runs the danger of losing sight of the distinctive „core notion of poverty". Following Townsend (1996:188), they define poverty in terms of the inability to participate in society (which is broader than more absolute" definitions confirmed to subsistence needs), but emphasize that what is distinctive is the inability to participate owing to lack of resources.

At this juncture, we must note that relative poverty and inequality are not necessarily synonymous as they are sometimes juxtaposed. Inequality is concerned solely with the comparison between groups, while relative poverty adds to that comparison, the notion of the incapacity to meet certain needs, broadly defined to include participation in society. Thrust of these analyses is that it directly leads to restiveness of youths all over the country (Nigeria).

Moreso, failure to give quality attention to the review of the meaning of youth restiveness as propounded by scholars, will render this review incomprehensive. This is because by so doing by reviewing the concept of “youth restiveness”, we will be able to establish a relationship between the two variables (poverty and youth restiveness).

Youth Restiveness

The National Youth Development Policy (2001) defines youth as people aged between 18-35. They constitute about 40 percent of the more than 140 million people of Nigeria. The total population of youth between 10 and 24 in Nigeria was 45.4 million in 2006, which is 34 percent of the total population. Etim, and Wilfred., (2013). The Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary defined youth as the time of life when a person is young, especially the time before a child becomes an adult. In all, youth is seen as a phase, a transition from dependence to independence as a result of the strength and vigor. Elegbeleye, (2005) defined youth restiveness as “a sustained protestation embarked upon to enforce desired outcome from a constituted authority by an organized body of youths.” It is marked by violence and disruption of lawful activities. The authors further alluded that youth restiveness has been a major device employed by youths to obtain what they want from relevant authorities. Similarly, Elegbeleye (2005) views restiveness as a sustained protestation embarked upon to enforce desired outcome from a constituted authority by organized body of youths. It is accompanied by disruption of law, conflict and violence. The common features of these organized bodies of youth are the resort to violence, and wanton destruction of lives and property

Youth restiveness, however, is a situation of the inability of youths to be still or quiet and difficult to control, especially when they are unsatisfied with something. It relates to matters of agitation by youths over issues of deprivation, neglect, marginalization, and other feelings of dissatisfaction (Ozohu-Suleiman, 2006). It can also be viewed as the engagement by youths in agitation for the restoration of their rights and dignity or self-seeking and criminal activities. Youth restiveness is the extreme form of deviant behavior among youth which is socially unacceptable in any society. Youth restiveness involves the combination of actions behaviors and attitudes exhibited by youths which are socially unacceptable and unwholesome in the society (Igbo and Ikpa 2013). In a similar vein, youth restiveness refers to the reactions by youths, both constructive

(positive) and destructive (negative) to the “use and dump” mentality and attitude of those considered to be involved in acts of oppression and repression against their interests. Usoro, N. A & Essien, E.I., (2017). It is equally a deliberate instrument of organized response to perceived grievances that has an increasing potency and capability for destruction. Essentially too, youth restiveness is a manifestation of anxiety that encompasses the dysfunctional effects of anxiety on human body and the description of the psychological activities of the body that give vent to anxiety. It is, in fact, a sustained protestation embarked upon with an eye to enforcing a desired outcome from a constituted authority by an organized body of youths. It is thus an excess behavior attribute that is commonly marked by violence and disruption of lawful activities. The usage of the word “youth restiveness” became ubiquitous in Nigeria since the wake of the activities of youths in the oil-bearing communities of the Niger Delta. The phenomenon is usually associated with adolescents because of the fact that they confront a host of new, varied, and difficult problems of adjustment that make the search for identity and a place in society imperative. (Ogbeifun, 2007)

The famous political bureau report of 1986 also affirmed linkages of youth and national destinies without recourse to philistine, pejorative slander. In the context of Nigeria’s historical experience, youths and students have rendered very valuable and vital contributions to the struggle for liberation and national development. They can constitute a reservoir of energy and dynamism. For any national struggle or campaign if they are correctly guided, mobilized and fully integrated into the social fabrics of the nation. They may also, constitute a threat to national survival and stability if they are allowed to drift, are unemployed, if they are undisciplined and morally bankrupt. We must note that there is no nation umpiring to major national greatness and success that can afford to ignore the youths and allow them to often constitute a major social problem in the society. This is because of the fact that they i.e. the youths happen to be or rather constitute a very vital source of manpower and they have in their possessions the existence of availability of leadership potential. The youths can also acquire knowledge and are so full of future promises and positive expectations. It is often believed that once these innate potentials in them are fully exploited and properly channeled, only then can their contributions to national development be immense. The youths can also be referred to as the most committed group in the organization of voluntary social work or community development (CD) projects in their various localities. They often engage in these acts of nation

building during their service years in the (NYSC) that is “National youth service corps”. As student, they are always in the fore front as regards the struggle against injustice oppression, subjection, subjugation and exploitation. They therefore constitute a militant force in any political system. Many of these activities have been recognized and acknowledged in Nigeria. Unfortunately, however, their positive contributions have tended to be drowned by rather frequent and sometimes violent protest actions. These incessant protest actions are promptly suppressed by authorities and sometimes by ruthless means. So far, it has deduced that the youths still remain one of the greatest assets that any community cans posses. Potentially, they are the greatest investments for a society’s sustainable development and future. This among others is the reason why it is universally acknowledged that positive fundamental and meaningful changes can steer and or shaped by the generation of youths in the society. Therefore we can now say that any culture or community, whether macro community or a micro community i.e. big or small community, that allows a good percentage of her youth to be misdirected or misled, risk her future viability and survival into jeopardy. The activities of the youth are now perceived as a social problem or menace. This is because they have been alleged defilement of traditional “core values” and have rather stooped or resorted to carrying out public or societal vices. In Nigeria today, economic and religion problems have provided a platform for expression of violence and conflict, be it political, ethics or religious. Youth restiveness is a despicable act being perpetrated by a significant proportion of the youth in various communities that can no longer be ignored. As the name denotes, it is a combination of any action or conduct that constitutes unwholesome socially unacceptable and worthless activities engaged in by the youths in any community. It is a phenomenon which in practice, has led to a the total breakdown of law and order, lost of lives and properties ranges in billions of naira, low revenue generations, low productivity due to disruption of production activities, increasing crime rate, intra-religious hostilities, and other criminal tendencies. In the Adamawa state northern senatorial zone in Nigeria, the communities also lack basic social infrastructural facilities culminating largely into high levels of poverty, mass unemployment and other social vices. The resultant future of this today is that we have a near dicey situation in our hands as far as youth’s population now abounds and there is now a national crisis on the youth front. When considering youth’s questions, they are often grouped into categories. These include the following: The notional dimension is reflected

in formal bodies such as the OPC, Arewa youth, Massob, Egbesu boys of Africa etc. These are publicly acknowledged bearers of structured political and economic agendas of geo-ethnic divisions. There is also a rise in organized youth delinquencies in Nigeria cities today popularly known as “area boys” resident mostly in Lagos. They often operate under the umbrella of a specific city turf. There are a number of smaller youth associations in the states, local governments and towns across the country today. There is emergence of cult gangs on campuses which has facilitated the assimilation and sub assumption of students in the inclusive category of the youth. There is an increase in the number of youth and flee the country through illegitimate means in order to make a living in other countries, facilitated by global network. It is often perceived that this restiveness in youth is usually caused by certain factors which can be individual or societal. These include: marginalization youths often stoop to restiveness or rather tend to be restive when they perceive marginalization by selfish government personnel. Unemployment: they contribute a large army of the unemployed; therefore they tend to look at their plough as the making of a cruel society that does not seem to care for them. Exuberance: They often channel their raw energy into wholesome and socially unacceptable vices. Having said this, we can see that it is only a thin that separates poverty from youth restiveness.

An Analysis of Poverty and Youth Restiveness in Nigeria

Poverty and youth restiveness are two interrelated concepts because one cannot exist without the other, it is as a result of poverty that most youth often stoop to association with various political groups which makes them become restive in the society. Poverty can be traced as far back as human existence itself, this is because human wants are insatiable in relation to the available resources at their disposal. Most third world countries and under developed nations often suffer from this endemic problem which is vast becoming a disease, this is as a result of the fact that they lack the necessary since technology needed to enhance or rather ensure coordinated growth of their economy when compared to the giant or developed countries. Poverty could mean different things to different people, to the layman, it could mean a state of being poor, to the economist it could mean the availability of limited or little resources needed for everyday life while the politician could see poverty as the lack of necessary wherewithal with which to acquire political power in its highest order. As earlier stated, poverty can be seen in terms of; absolute poverty, relative poverty and or social exclusion. Absolute

poverty in this sense is referred to as the lack of sufficient resources with which to keep body and soul together. Relative poverty on the other hand, as that which defines income or resources in relation can be seen as a shorthand label for what can happen when individuals or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems.

Poverty has been a serious challenge to governments in Nigeria. Aigbekhan (2000:1) sees poverty as the inability to achieve a certain minimum standard of living. In Africa, the incidence of poverty has been increasing significantly for many years. For instance, it is documented that the number of poor people increased by about two thirds between 1970 and 1985, and rose from 180 million (47% of the population) in 1985 to 265 million by the year 2000 (Aluyor,2000:18). Different groups of the poor in Africa are affected differently because they are faced with different constraints, needs and roles in the society. In fact, virtually all African countries are known to be in poverty, and their people experience very poor living conditions, it is true that there may be pockets of rich people in these countries, but vast majority of the people wallow in object poverty. (Obadan, 2009, and Ndekwe, 1998:10).

These incidences suggest deterioration in living conditions and increased incidence of poverty. As a matter of fact, the sights of various groups of people looking desperately malnourished and in obvious want of every basic need of life is a common feature in Africa and other less developed regions of the world. Thus, it is instructive to state at this juncture that poverty in extreme cases is a condition that dehumanizes people and reduces them to a sub human level of destitution. In what seems to be an overview of the incidence of poverty Ogwumike (1999:4) observed that poverty is a world-wide problem that plagues over one billion people in the world. Of the about six billion people on earth, about 1.3 billion earn less than 370 US Dollar a year (that is about one US Dollar a day). Most of the poor live in the developing world- in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Over 200 million people in Africa are trapped in the net of abject poverty.

In sub Saharan Africa, the incidence of poverty is manifestly tremendous. On the average, 45 to 50% of sub Saharan Africans live below poverty line- this is a much higher proportion than in any other region except South Asia (World Bank 1997, cited in Ogwumike, 1998:12). In West Africa, virtually all countries (including Nigeria) are classified as low income countries by the World Bank and low human development countries by the United Nations Development Program: in these

countries, human poverty afflicts about half of the population. In Nigeria, there is very high level of poverty. According to 1999 report of the Federal Office of Statistics (FOS) on poverty profile in Nigeria, the incidence of poverty in Nigeria increased sharply between 1980 and 1985 and between 1992 and 1996 to further strengthen this assertion that there is high level of poverty in Nigeria, Abdulraheem (2010:2) rightly observed:

...poverty has earned recognition in the extent of its ravaging society and the affairs of humanity at the international, national and local levels...the need exists now for urgent actions towards its eradication and control. indeed, poverty in Nigeria is snare. It is dehumanization...It must be eradicated.

Notwithstanding, scholars and administrators alike have argued that Nigerians have no reason to be poor because of the abundance of human and natural resources including oil and gas available in the country. For instance, Nigeria realized the sum of 300 billion US Dollars from crude oil between 1970 and 1990. In addition, the government earned the total sum of 998.4 billion naira from crude oil in 2003, yet nothing meaningful to show in terms of development. (Abdulraheem, 2010:2).

Table 1: Nigerian Poverty ratio against State Population

S/N	States	% of Poverty	Population	% of the Poor & excluded people
1	Jigawa	95.0	4,348,649	4,131,216.55
2	Kebbi	89.7	3,238,628	2,905,049.3
3	Kogi	86.6	3,278,487	2,839,169.74
4	Bauchi	86.3	4,676,465	4,035,789.29
5	Kwara	85.2	2,371,089	2,020,167.82
6	Yobe	83.3	2,321,591	1,933,888.30
7	Zamfara	80.9	3,259,846	2,637,215.41
8	Gombe	77.0	2,353,879	1,812,486.83
9	Sokoto	76.8	3,696,999	2,839,295.23
10	Adamawa	71.7	3,168,101	2,271,528.41
11	Bayelsa	20.0	1,703,358	340,671.6
12	Anambra	20.1	4,182,032	840,588.43
13	Abia	22.3	2,833,999	631,981.77

14	Oyo S+	24.1	5,591,589	1,347,572.94
15	Imo	27.4	3,934,899	1,078,162.32
16	Rivers	29.1	5,185,400	1,508,951.40
17	Enugu	31.1	3,257,298	1,013,019.67
18	Ogun	31.7	3,728,098	1,181,807.06
19	Osun	32.4	3,423,535	1,109,225.34
20	Edo	33.1	3,218,332	1,109,225.34
21	Kano	NA	9,383,687	NA
22	Lagos	NA	9,383,687	NA
23	Kaduna	NA	6,066,562	NA
	Katsina	NA	5,792,578	NA
25	Borno	NA	4,151,193	NA
26	Delta	NA	4,098,391	NA
27	Niger	NA	3,950,249	NA
28	Akwa Ibom	NA	3,920,208	NA
29	Ondo	NA	3,441,024	NA
30	Cross River	NA	2,888,966	NA
31	Ekiti	NA	2,384,212	NA
32	Ebonyi	NA	2,173,501	NA
33	Taraba	NA	2,300,736	NA
34	Nassarawa	NA	1,863,275	NA
35	Plateau	NA	3,178,712	NA
36	Benue	NA	4,219,244	NA
37	FCT, Abuja	1,405,210	1,405,210	NA
	TOTAL		140,003,542	

Adopted from Etim O. Frank and Wilfred I. Ukpere, (2013)

Relevance of Youth

Youth occupy a prominent place in any society. Apart from being the owners and leaders of tomorrow, they outnumber the middle-aged and the aged (Onyekpe, 2007). Besides numerical superiority, youth have energy and ideas that are society's great potentials (Onyekpe, 2007). The National Youth Development Policy (2001, p.1) asserts that: Youth are the foundation of a society. Their energies, inventiveness, character and orientation define the pace of

development and security of a nation. Through their creative talents and labor power, a nation makes giant strides in economic development and socio-political attainments. In their dreams and hopes, a nation finds her motivation; on their energies, she builds her vitality and purpose. And because of their dreams and aspirations, the future of a nation is assured. The statement above acknowledges the role of the youth in the peace and security of a nation. As the most active segment of any society, youth are the major determiners of peace and stability of a nation (Ozohu-Sulaiman, 2006). Conversely, the degree of disorderliness and instability in society is also determined in part by youth. Peace is a precursor of development. The absence of peace means that no meaningful development can take place. The National Youth Policy (2001) affirms that the extent of the youth's "responsible conduct and roles in society is positively correlated with the development of their country".

Causes of Youth Restiveness in Nigeria

A number of studies have identified factors responsible for youth restiveness. Elegbeleye (2005) identifies three major factors: the peer motivated excitement of being a student, the jingoistic pursuit of patriotic ideas, and perceived victimization arising from economic exploitation. Another study carried out in Niger Delta region by Ofem and Ajayi (2008) identified lack of humanitarian and social welfare, lack of good governance, corrupt practices of government officials, inadequate training programs, unemployment, inadequate recreational facilities, lack of quality education, and so on, as the reasons for incessant youth restiveness. This implies that a catalogue of closely-related factors are responsible for youth restiveness.

Bad Governance

Good governance is required for the growth and development of any nation. Unfortunately, in Nigeria bad governance is more common than good, resulting in disjointed development. The World Bank (1992) identifies the main characteristics of bad governance to include: failure to properly distinguish between what is public and what is private, leading to private appropriation of otherwise public resources; inability to establish a predictable frame work for law and government behavior in a manner conducive to development, or arbitrariness in the application of laws and rules; excessive rules, regulations, licensing requirement and so forth which impede the functioning of markets and encourage rent-seeking; priorities that are inconsistent with development, thereby resulting in misallocation of national resources; and exceedingly narrow base for, or non-transparent, decision making. These and more are the features of most administration in Nigeria. For instance, Onyekpe (2007) observes that successive administrations in Nigeria

have not allocated much to the needs of the youth, and, worse still, the meager allocation are often diverted by government officials to their private accounts and projects. Thus, youth are restive and agitated when they perceive that resources meant for them are being wasted by those in authority. Unemployment is a hydra-headed monster which exists among the youth in all developing countries. Experts believe that the number of jobless youth is twice as high as official estimate. Ozohu Suleiman (2006) notes Nigerian youth are trapped by unemployment. Zakaria (2006) believes that “the rising tide of unemployment and the fear of a bleak future among the youth in African countries have made them vulnerable to the manipulations of agents' provocateurs”. These include aggrieved politicians, religious demagogues, and greedy multinationals that employ these youths to achieve their selfish ambitions. Zakaria (2006) strongly believes that the absence of job opportunities in developing countries is responsible for youth restiveness with disastrous consequences. Poverty connotes inequality and social injustice and this traumatizes the poor. More than 70 percent of people in Nigeria are in abject poverty, living below the poverty line, and one- third survive on less than US \$1 dollar a day (Zakaria, 2006). This figure includes an army of youth in urban centers in Nigeria who struggle to eke out a living by hawking chewing sticks, bottled water, handkerchiefs, belts, etc. The sales-per-day and the profit margin on such goods are so small that they can hardly live above the poverty line. Disillusioned, frustrated, and dejected, they seek an opportunity to express their anger against the state. Aworawo (2000) and Zakaria (2006) agreed that there is a link among poverty, loss of livelihood, inequality, and youth restiveness as evidenced by the numerous violent protests against the wielders of power in Nigeria. Inadequate Educational Opportunities and Resources Quality education has a direct bearing on national prestige, greatness, and cohesion. The knowledge and skill that young people acquire help determine their degree of patriotism and contribution to national integration and progress. Between 2000 and 2004, about 30 percent of Nigerian youth between 10 and 24 were not enrolled in secondary school (Population Reference Bureau, 2006). Perhaps the prohibitive cost of acquiring education is responsible. The aftereffect of this situation is that thousands of young people roam the streets in cities in Nigeria. Those who manage to complete secondary school have no opportunities for tertiary education. Having being denied the chance to reach their potential, they are disorientated and readily available for antisocial actions (Onyekpe, 2007). Worse still, some who struggle to enroll in various educational

institutions drop out due to lack of basic learning facilities. This situation is attributable to the dwindling resources of government at both federal and state levels as a result of an economic meltdown. Lack of Basic Infrastructure Most rural communities and urban slums in Nigeria have no access to potable water, health facilities, electricity, communication facilities, industries and commercial facilities, etc. Behind social unrest and youth restiveness in the country is the agitation for equitable distribution of resources.

THE IMPLICATION OF BOKO-HARAM CRISIS IN NIGERIA

The Boko-Haram crisis has severe implications in Nigeria on the following:

1. Corporate existence
2. Economic development
3. Foreign relations

1. The Implication of the Boko Haram Crisis on Nigeria's Corporate Existence

Prior to the infestation of the society with series of attacks and Bomblasts master minded in members of the religious cum political sect known as the Boko Haram, Nigeria existed as a nation free from chaos, internal wars, political unrest and many other social vices which is now very much visible in our present day society. These attack ranges from; the Nigeria sectarian violence in the year 2009, down to the bombast which occurred in Bauchi on June third (3rd), 2012. so many other attacks and bombings were visible between this interval and they include, the northern Nigerian bombing in the year 2011, the attack on the police head quarters on June 16, 2011, the attack in the Madala Catholic church that is the St Theresa Catholic Church on the 25th of December 2011 just to mention but a few. These incessant crises has led to sustained injuries, ill health, loss of property and even loss of human lives in their uncountable numbers. It is sacrosanct at this juncture to note that this unhealthy upsurge that has bedeviled the society has over the years, thrown Nigeria"s corporate existence to a state of Comatos and quag-mira. Having said these therefore, we shall be looking at some of the consequences of the Boko Haram crisis as regard Nigeria"s existence.

2. The Implication Boko Haram Crisis on Economic Development

Amidst crisis that is, in the middle of crisis it is often almost possible for growth to be obtained. This is because the atmosphere of war is not always conducive for proper and adequate economic activities to take place. During a period of crisis, Nigeria often experiences a lot of economic problems ranging from food famine, deflation, over population due to the fact that the surviving few people are

relatively scarce when compared to the available resources and production does not meet is apex but rather as at its minimal stage. If the Boko Haram crisis is not well controlled, Nigeria will experience withdrawal and denial of social securities accrued to the nation from imperialist capitalist nations such as the United States and this will create a situation of despondency in the country because it will compel them to leave their troubles in the hand of God. As a result of this, they will now stoop to religious means to solving political problem instead of adopting a political approach. This according to Nwakanma (2007:16) creates a frenzy of Holy Ghost and Jihadist fire as faith, now becomes the biggest industry. Since it is only religion that promises light at the end of the tunnel of every ugly situation and gives hope to the hopeless, religious faithful always become restless in the face of a rival religion threatening to eclipse theirs. Therefore, the Boko Haram menace could be understood from the argument that Islam which gives hope to the poor Moslems is being threatened out of extinction by Christianity and the Moslem youths who derive hope of a brighter future from the teachings of Islam are fighting to defend the survival of the hope of the hopeless Moslems. Poverty at this juncture, is not only a cause of the Boko Haram bombing but also becomes and effect of their nefarious activities. This is because a lot of properties are lost, people are rendered homeless and worthless in time of crises and they tend to experience hardship in their quest to regain economic balance in the society. Generally, Nigeria has experienced a high death rate at the expense of mortality rate which has been accompanied by a general fall in the level or standard of living of the people in the country over the years.

3. The Implication Boko Haram Crisis on Nigeria's Foreign Relation

We cannot really ascertain the effects of the Boko Haram crises on Nigeria's foreign relation without clearly understanding the meaning of foreign policy. Therefore it is of a paramount importance at this juncture to take a look at the meaning of foreign policy. According to Wolfran Handrilder foreign policy is a "co-ordinated strategy with which institutionally designated decision makers in a country seek to manipulate the international environment in order to achieve certain national objectives". He is of the view that through foreign policy, a country seeks to promote and protect its national interest in the course of its interaction with the outside world and with regard to relationship with specific countries in the international system. In the process, countries react to situations in the international system in ways conducive to their interests and in accordance with their perception of the world order. Mazrui says "there is indeed a cultural

theme at the centre of the history of the international system complete with a moving frontier of cultural exclusivity” we must note here that one of the international costs of perestroika is that the quantity of aid from the north to the south would decrease. K.J. Holsti: He defined foreign policy as “actions and ideas designed by policy makers to solve or promote changes in the international environment”. From Karl Deutsch’s point of view (1954) foreign policy is defined as “the search for the preservation of a country’s independence and security, the pursuit and protection of its economic interest. According to Rodee (1957), foreign policy can be seen as “the formulation and implementation of a group of principles which shape the behavior pattern of a state while negotiating with others to protect its vital interest”. Joseph Frankel (1968), sees foreign policy as “that consisting of decision and actions which involves to some appreciable extent, relationship between one state and another”. According to Nnoli Okwudiba (1986), foreign policy can be defined as “a nation’s reaction to the external environment involving the organization of both domestic external relations. At this juncture, we can now sum up the definition of foreign policy as the general principles which govern a state’s international behavior. Again, Nigeria’s foreign policy is the rules and regulations guiding the behavior of Nigeria in her dealings or interaction with other countries as a member of the world community. This brings us to Boko-Haram crisis and its implications on Nigeria’s foreign relations. Just as Joseph Frankel (1968), asserted that foreign policy consists of actions involving states relationship, it is very important to note here that the state or rather condition of the political, economic, social institutions of states can either make or mar their relations. This is because if Nigeria were to be without recent security problems, foreign countries will be encourage to maintain a free flow of trade transactions and foreign investors will be attracted to invest in our local industries. On the other hand, foreign investors will be scared to invest in a war torn atmosphere which is the case of the present day Nigeria, due to fear of loosing their capital. Furthermore, the crisis could lead to a withdrawal of the security pact which was entered into by Nigeria and the United States. This pact was signed by the Director General of the Nigeria civil aviation authority (NCAA) Marold Domaron as Nigeria’s representative, while John .W. Halinski who was the assistant administrator of global strategies signed on behalf of the United States. The anti-terrorism law which was signed by the Nigeria federal government as regards the support of international law on terrorism, declared Nigeria a terrorist nation recently. This is as a result of the

incessant Boko Haram crisis coupled with past terrorist tendencies which the country has posed to the global world such as the attempt by Nigerian born Abdul Murtala .L. Farouk to bomb a united states bound aircraft from England. The success of so many bomblasts and series of attacks which have been executed by the Boko Haram, has left a big question mark on the minds of not just only the entire Nigeria citizens, but also citizens of other states which have diplomatic relationship with Nigeria. These series of doubts as to Nigeria"s security competence has made it almost impossible for the United Nations (UN) to grant Nigeria her appeal to be granted a permanent seat in the security council of the multinational organization. Conclusively, these amongst others just to mention but a few, are some of the underlying effects of the Boko Haram crisis. Necessary measures need to be adopted in order to control or if possible quell this cankerworm which has eaten deep into over political system else Nigeria will to continue to record more security challenges which could be detrimental to her corporate existence.

From the foregoing, there dare need to advance strategies to curb the influx of the Boko-Haram insurgence. Therefore:

Strategies to Curb the Boko Haram Crisis

In every state, there exists a sovereign body. This body is vested with all the power and maximum legal authority to make and enforce laws which will regulate the behaviour and activities of the people in the society in order to prevent the society from becoming or deteriorating into what Thomas Hobbes referred to a primitive society where life is short, solitary, poor, nasty brutish and short. This sovereignty ordinarily resides on the electorates who often elect their leaders or representatives in order to represent their interest in higher governmental activities. These people that is, the elected representatives are accorded full legitimacy by the masses therefore the sovereignty of the state automatically rests on them. In Nigeria, the federal government is the highest law making authority and by virtue there is no group that is greater in strength than the government. Therefore the federal government has to stand its grounds without any form of fear in order to combat the activities of the Boko Haram sect and to prevent any trace of future occurrence of such religious cum political sects. It is in a bid to curb the activities of the Boko Haram sect that we therefore specify or rather suggest the following approaches to be adopted by the federal government.

i- The Military Approach

The former Chinese leader Mao Tse Tung, defined military power as “power which emanates from the barrel of gun”. According to him, the might is always right that is to say, he who wields the instrument of coercion is the political sovereign. This view or rather opinion is true to a large extent because even if it were to be a little child of a teenager that possess the gun power in a situation of crisis, the adult being has no choice than to adhere to the whims and caprices of the teenager. Over the years, the most preferred option for combating or fighting such societal problems has been the armed confrontation population known as the military option or approach. To a great extent, this largely explains why president George Bush Jnr. Immediately or rather instantly declared war on terrorism in response to the terrorist attacks on the United States on that memorable beach Tuesday of September 11, 2001. this meant that the United State adopted the military option to avenge the attack. Several other countries in the west have often employed this approach in solving their political problems in order to avoid political instability. The British army can boast today of moving achieved a truly impressive record in combating major terrorist outbreaks around the world. Specifically, its experience in countering terrorism placed it on the vantage position of the day decided to put the army into Northern Ireland to maintain public order (Callagha,1972). In the same vain, the response of the Francoist regime to both Basque nationalism and the emergence of ETA were utilize to the extreme the coercive apparatus of the states (Pollack and Hunter, 1988:130). Anti-terrorist special forces are often erected to demonstrate their preference to armed confrontation in other countries which have been encroached by terrorism. Nigeria just like every government that tries to exhibit or show its capability to protect the lives and property of its citizen, has to encourage its successive governments to adopt military confrontation in tackling terrorism through the establishment of Joint Task Force (JTF) and declaration of state of emergency. Subsequently in the year 2000 the Olusegun Obasanjo government launched a military expedition at Odi in Bayelsa state to quell the menace of the militants. In 2007, it then set up a joint military and police taskforce (JTF) to battle the militants in River state. The same military action has been at play in the Boko Haram crisis since 2009. it is of a paramount importance to note that

the adoption of this option is not only derived on the fact that most governments and leaders of the world see or rather regard terrorists as criminals who must be brought to book and penalized but also because “the general principle of non negotiation” with terrorists state that: The government should not engage in dialogue and negotiation with groups which are actively engaged in promoting, committing, or supporting terrorism. To do so only lends the terrorists publicity, status and worst of all, a spurious respectability (Wilkison 1981). The government therefore believe in the principle of tit-for-tat as a form of deterrent measure and that terrorism is not a matter subject to be negotiated and won. Nevertheless, experience has shown that military action can only provide ameliorate solution and often becomes counterproductive hatching more terrorists in the process. For example, the United States eleven years war on international terrorism has not been able to stem the tide of the phenomenon just as the Nigeria’s military action could not deter the Niger Delta militants or succeed in containing the Boko Haram menace in the country. At this juncture, it is necessary to note that these military actions are often discharged by the judicial arm of the government in Nigeria.

ii- **The Legal Option**

Legal authority are often referred to as the authority backed by law as stipulated in the rules and regulations, principles and laws guiding a state that is, the constitution. The high court are usually vested with this form. Abuja high court on the extra judicial killing of Yusuf on the 30th of July 2009, to dismiss three junior officers and suspension of four senior officers indicted by a probe on the matter after finding the accused policemen culpable. This approach involves the tackling of terrorism through the legal instrument. Various leaders who have adopted this option believe that peace achieved through Coercion or force has always often than not been exiting for a short time or illusory. According to them “sheer force including the building of a good military coalition to eliminate terrorists will perhaps at best succeed, but the scourge of terrorism is bound to fester or rather worsen ever after (Mbah, 2001:63). That is to say that military option can be effective in stabilizing ethnic tensions and preserving the unity of a country but it has not been able to achieve permanent peace as the insurgents usually adopts new tactics to overcome the suppression and unleash further chaos on the society. Take

for example, the regressive anti-Euzkadi policies not only failed to undermine Basque nationalist aspirations but also served to nurture and act as a catalyst upon the very movement they were intended to crush (Pollack and Hunter, 1988:130). Similarly, the America's war on terrorism has not been able to step the incidence in parts of the world. As a signatory to all legal instruments on international terrorism, Nigeria domesticated them by statutory adaptation not only to make them enforceable under domestic law but to offer the Nigeria. Government the chance of tackling their incessant internal terrorism posed by groups or religious and political sects such as the Boko Haram At this juncture, it is important to understand the role of the law court in controlling the Boko Haram crisis through its agencies. Such as the judiciary and the police force who help to implement the laws. We should also note that this approach as opted for because it encourage equality and fair hearing which eradicates any sense of injustice by the less privileged who often feel that their human rights are been infringed upon the internal capitalist bourgeoisies. Conclusively, of the principle of the rule of law which stipulates for; the supremacy of the constitution, equality before the law and safeguard of human rights is upheld as pounded by A.V. Dicey, and then the attacks and series of bombasts by the Boko Haram will be effectively controlled and checkmated

iii- **The Dialogue Approach**

In pursuing a stable economy free from all forms of social vices and to maintain a peaceful coexistence in the society, the dialogue approach often recommended to the federal government for adoption. This approach is also referred to as the diplomatic approach. At this juncture it is necessary to give a brief definition of the term diplomacy for a clearer understanding of this option as delving into its importance or necessity will be putting the cart before the horse and a negation on existing protocol. The big question now is "what is diplomatic instrument"? According to Ernest Satow, diplomacy can be defined as the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the governments of independent states". This is seen as one of the most effective instrument of curbing societal problems. For peaceful interaction to take place, war, hostilities and tension must be avoided. However, in a world system, whose mechanism is deeply enmeshed in distrust,

animosity and permanent rivalry, skirmish"s, wars and other forms of hostile actions remain largely an acceptable mode of states" interaction with one another. Diplomacy aims at averting wars between different ethnic groups in the society. Diplomacy in the modern world has become very fashionable as an effective means of pursuing national interest and achieving national goals in all spheres of international involvement. Diplomacy has come a long way from the credit and prettiness of the old order when great emphasis was placed on formal honours and prestige and an unseemly scramble for precedence and etiquette. The second half of the twentieth century ushered in the era of high-tech diplomacy as interaction between states and non state entities became increasingly dynamics and highly sophisticated Ogunsawo, A., (1993) believes that a diplomat must poses "extraordinary qualities" such as knowledge breath of character and personality to enable him function effectively in view of challenges facing him. I am David west also noted that the diplomacy as different from the politician saying that: A politician says what he does not mean and so often shuffles from one stratagem to the other, while a diplomat says less than what he means, but this is carefully calculated discretion (1983:196) As a result of the failure of the military and legal approach to achieve success in tackling the menace of the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria, President Goodluck Jonathan in 2011 declared that he would prefer the use of stick and carrot approach to resolve the Boko Haram threats (Ajaero etal, 2011:20). The implication is that since this government has tried both the military and legal options to no avail, he was resorting to the option of dialogue. Consequently, President Goodluck Jonathan has asked the sect for identify themselves and state their terms for unconditional talks. Other eminent Nigerians have also shared similar position on the ground that even the most violent conflicts are often revolved on a round table. In any case most Nigerians are strongly opposed to the dialogue option as they contend that negotiations with the Boko Haram sect amount to applauding them with talks for their numerous and uncountable killings. They therefore hold that: Even if talks unavoidable then they must take place at a time when the Nigerian nations can negotiate from a position of strength; at a time when the sect has seen it cannot prevail through violence (Eriye, 2012:11). The Boko Haram menace is very sporadic in nature and even as the debate is increasing, the

sect has bluntly refused the offer for dialogue because the group has continued to carry out more attacks on the country. In an interview with their spokesman, he made a statement thus: "we will consider negotiation only when we have brought the government to their knees". To buttress their point of view in affirmity, the Arewa youths congress recently suggested that Jonathan should take a cue from Yar'adua's tactics in tackling the Niger Delta militants menace by offering general and unconditional amnesty to Boko Haram members to create an enabling environment for proper negotiation. At this juncture, it is necessary to state that the major problem which Nigerian leaders are faced with is the fact that they are skeptical on whether to fight to fight it out or rather surrender their power by granting amnesty to the Boko Haram as was the case with the Niger-Delta militants despite the fact that the Boko Haram insurgents have not or rather are yet to present any reasonable grievance. Conclusively, having said all these, the question still remains "what then is the way forward".

Theoretical Framework

According to Kerlinger (1977) a theory is a set of interrelated constructs (concepts) and propositions that presents a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relations among variables with the purpose of explaining and predicting the phenomena. Although there are several theories that can fit in for this study, but for purpose of this study, Social Contract theory by Thomas Hobbes (1651) cited in Laskar, M. E (2013) and the Deprivation theory by Ted Gurr, 1970 was adopted. This became expedient because all the factors that are commonly advanced as an explanation for poverty and youth restiveness were presented in a systematic view of the phenomena by specifying relations amongst variables with the purpose of explaining and predicting the phenomena in the below context due to the fact that they all relate to the bottom line, which is poverty-dissatisfaction-frustrations and vulnerability. Therefore:

Social Contract Theory by Thomas Hobbes (1651) cited in Laskar, M. E (2013)

Analysis of Thomas Hobbes theory of Social Contract appeared for the first time in Leviathan published in the year 1651 during the Civil War in Britain. Thomas Hobbes legal theory is based on Social contract. According to him, prior to Social Contract, man lived in the State of Nature. Man's life in the State of NATURE was

one of fear and selfishness. Man lived in chaotic condition of constant fear. Life in the State of Nature was solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short. Man has a natural desire for security and order. In order to secure self-protection and self-preservation, and to avoid misery and pain, man entered into a contract. This idea of self-preservation and self-protection are inherent in mans nature and in order to achieve this, they voluntarily surrendered all their rights and freedoms to some authority by this contract who must command obedience. As a result of this contract, the mightiest authority is to protect and preserve their lives and property. This led to the emergence of the institution of the ruler or monarch, who shall be the absolute head. Subjects had no rights against the absolute authority or the sovereign and he is to be obeyed in all situations however bad or unworthy he might be. However, Hobbes placed moral obligations on the sovereign who shall be bound by natural law. Hence, it can be deduced that, Hobbes was the supporter of absolutism. In the opinion of Hobbes, law is dependent upon the sanction of the sovereign and the Government without sword are but words and of no strength to secure a man at all. He therefore, reiterated that civil law is the real law because it is commanded and enforced by the sovereign. Thus, he upheld the principle of Might is always Right. Hobbes thus infers from his mechanistic theory of human nature that humans are necessarily and exclusively self-interested. All men pursue only what they perceive to be in their own individually considered best interests. They respond mechanistically by being drawn to that which they desire and repelled by that to which they are averse. In addition to being exclusively self-interested, Hobbes also argues that human beings are reasonable. They have in them the rational capacity to pursue their desires as efficiently and maximally as possible. From these premises of human nature, Hobbes goes on to construct a provocative and compelling argument for which they ought to be willing to submit themselves to political authority. He did this by imagining persons in a situation prior to the establishment of society, the State of Nature. Hobbes impels subjects to surrender all their rights and vest all liberties in the sovereign for preservation of peace, life and prosperity of the subjects. It is in this way the natural law became a moral guide or directive to the sovereign for preservation of the natural rights of the subjects. For Hobbes all law is dependent upon the sanction of the sovereign. All real law is civil law, the laws commanded and enforced by the sovereign and are brought into the world for nothing else but to limit the natural liberty of particular men, in such a manner, as they might not hurt but to assist

one another and join together against a common enemy. He advocated for an established order. Hence, Individualism, materialism, utilitarianism and absolutions are inter-woven in the theory of Hobbes.

Deprivation theory by Ted Gurr, 1970

This theory based its analysis on the assumption that poverty breeds conflict. Academic debates continue on the correlation between poverty and insecurity. Some scholars have argued that most of the conflicts in developing countries are caused by the prevalence of poverty. There is causality from high poverty rate to conflict. Kanbur (2007). Ted Gurr, (1970), deprivation theory subscribed to this assumption. The theory explains why the youths are always taking to violence. According to the deprivation theory, "aggression is always a consequence of frustration" and "frustration always lead to aggression" (Leeds 1978). "The poor are led to violence owing to their relative deprivation and needs" (Odumosu 1999 cited in Awojobi 2014). Frustrations, lack of income, unemployment have prompted the youths in the northern Nigeria to become foot soldiers of Boko Haram (Awojobi 2014). Insecurity, terrorism, conflicts and violence are caused by the high poverty rate in most societies (Gurr 1970 and Burton 1997). Sarmiento and Bacerra (1998) and Sarmiento (1999) are the leading scholars on the poverty breeds conflict hypothesis. However, the likes of Gaitan (1995); Rubio (2000); Sanchez and Nunez (2001) and Sanchez, Solimano and Formisano (2005) objected to this hypothesis. Empirical evidence from the works of Collier and Hoeffler (2002); Bellows and Miguel (2006); Ford (2007) indicated that poverty was the major cause of conflict in Africa. For instance, Collier and Hoeffler (2002) examine conflicts in Africa, from their findings; they notice the interface between income and conflict. Rice et al. (2006); Collier and Hoeffler (2002); Fearon (2004); Walter (2004) subscribed to the notion that poverty helps to extend conflicts once it started. Evidence has shown that when income drops there is a tendency for conflict to surface or reignited. A study by Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler from the Oxford University, James Fearson and David Laitin both from the Stanford University, and Professor Nicholas Sambanis from the Yale University gave credence to this hypothesis (Collier and Hoeffler 2004). Given this assertion, the paper fill it deems to adopt this theory to analyze on the topic poverty and youth restiveness in Nigeria: An Examination of Boko Haram Crisis in the Adamawa State Northern Senatorial Zone.

Findings

The paper found among the things the following:

1. That there is wide gap between the rich and the poor.
2. That there is both social, economic, political and regions factors and absence of basic social infrastructural facilities culminating largely into high levels of poverty, Mismanagement and other social vices which has made the youths to be enlisted in the ranks of the Boko Haram foot soldiers which have elongated the conflict.
3. There is avalance of social injustice, oppression, subjection, subjugation and exploitation of the youth which signalled their aggressiveness for restiveness.
4. The youths' exuberance
5. The relevance of youths cannot be over emphasized.
6. There is nexus between poverty and youth restiveness which breeds Boko Haram in worth eastern Nigeria.
7. That the proliteration of youth restiveness especially the Boko Haram sects in North-eastern Nigeria has implication on Nigeria's corporate existence, economic development and foreign relations.

Recommendations

From the above findings, the papers without menacing words recommend the following:

1. The government is to ameliorate suffering of the masses through poverty reduction strategies.
2. The youths are to be meaningfully involved in small and medium scale enterprises.
3. Social injustice and maladministration at all level of government is to be stopped.
4. The government should provide good governance and dividends of democracy to the youth.
5. The government should provide gainful employment to the youth in all ties of government.
6. The government is to embark upon the usage of all enabling strategies like the legal option, dialogue and military approaches to checkmate the menace of the Boko Haram sects, kidnapping, youth restiveness and other vices in Adamawa State Northern senatorial zone and other parts of the country.

REFERENCES

- Abdulraheem, Y (2010) *Globalization and Nigerian Economic Development: Essays on Economic Development*. Ilorin. Franlin Publishers
- Abonyi, C.J. (2006). The Impact of September 11, Attack on the World Politics. *Journal of International Current Affairs, Vol.2, No.1*
- Achebe, C. (1983). *The Trouble with Nigeria*; Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers.
- Ade, A. (1992). *Culture and Foreign Policy*; Victoria Island, Lagos: Printing Press Division
- Adeforo, A. (1980). *Introduction to Research Method*; Lagos, Malthous Press Limited
- Adetola, O.F. (2002) "Extent Domestic Realities and Nigeria"s Illusory Quest for Foreign Direct Investment" *Nigeria Forum* Vol.23, No. 5-6.
- Adullah, G. and Odundo,U. (2009) "Democratic Governance and the Challenges of Religious Disturbance in Nigeria: A Study of Boko Haram Sectorial Crisis. *International Journal of Social and Policy Issues* Vol.6, No.1.
- Africa Report N°216. (2014). *Curbing Violence in Nigeria (II): The Boko Haram Insurgency* Curbing Violence in Nigeria (II): The Boko Haram Insurgency Crisis Group Africa Report N°216, 3 April 2014
- Agbaegbu, T. (2010) A Dream Threatened. *News watch Magazine*, August 30. P. 14.
- Agbaegbu, T. (2010) A Dream Threatened. *Newswatch Magazine*, August 30. P. 14
- Ake, Claude (1987) *Political Economy of Africa*. Ibadan: University Press.
- Aluyor. V (2000) "World Bank, Women and Poverty Alleviation" *The Punch Newspapers of Nigeria*, April 28, 2000
- Aluyor. V (2000) "World Bank, Women and Poverty Alleviation" *The Punch Newspapers of Nigeria*, April 28, 2000.
- Amorawo, D. (2000). Mal-distribution and poverty as factors in the crisis of the Nigeria state. *The Constitution: A Journal of Constitutional Development* 1 (2): 1-13.
- Anasi, S. N.I., (2010). "Curbing Youth Restiveness in Nigeria:The Role of Information and Libraries" *Library Philosophy and Practice* (e-journal). 388. <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/libphilprac/388>
- Available: <http://www.prb.org/pdf06/WorldsYouth2006/Data Sheet.pdf>

- Awojobi, O. N., (2014). The Socio-Economic Implications of Boko Haram Insurgency in the North-East of Nigeria; International Journal of Innovation and Scientific Research ISSN 2351-8014 Vol. 11 No. 1 Oct. 2014, pp. 144-150 © 2014 Innovative Space of Scientific Research Journals <http://www.ijisr.issr-journals.org/>
- Banjo, W.S. (1998) "Terrorism: A Short Overview in Nigerian Forum, Vol.19, Nos. 11-12, Nov-Dec.
- Callaghan, James (1972) A House Divided. London: Collins.
- Collier, P. and Hoeffler, A. (2002). "On the Incidence of Civil War in Africa," Journal of Conflict Resolution 46, no. 1 (2002): 13-28
- Daily Sun (2011) "Boko Haram, How it all Started" June 17. Daily Sun (2012) "Boko Haram Spokesman Arrested February 2.
- Daily Sun (2012) "Confusion at Police Headquarter March 20.
- Daily Sun (2012) „Boko Haram, Sultan as our Target Capital Letter" March 8.
- Dales, G. (1960) Essentials of Research Methodology; New Delhi, Giant Publishers
- Demola, A. (2012) "Nigeria"s Threatened Federation" Newswatch, February 6.
- Dudley, Billy (1982) An Introduction to Nigerian Government & Politics. London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Elegbeleye, O.S. (2005). Recreational facilities in schools: A panacea for youths' restiveness. Journal of Human Ecology 18 (2): 93-98.
- Ezechukwu, U. (2011) "As Nigeria comes under Attach" Daily Sun, June 20.
- February 9. The Nation (2012) "The Politics of Poverty in Nigeria" March 4. The Federal Government of Nigeria (2001). National Youth Policy. Available: http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/docs/policy/_national_youth_policy.pdf
- FOS, 1999 report of the Federal Office of Statistics (FOS) on poverty profile in Nigeria
- Guardian (2012) "Govt. Lists Boko Haram to Economy. Defense Chiefs Meet".
- Gurr, T. R. (1970), Why Men Rebel, Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Gusa, I.G. etal (2009) "Boko Haram Leader Killed" Daily Trust, July 31.
- <http://www.isokonorthamerica.org/sogbaper.html> Act establishing the Niger Delta Commission, NDDC Act, Section 7(1)(b). Retrieved on: 23rd august. 2019 via Google
- Ikelegbe, A. (2001) "The Perverse Manifestation of Civil Society: Evidence from Nigeria", The Journey of Modern African Studies Vol. 39, No.1. Omemma D.A.

- (2012) "Terrorism and the Challenges of Leadership: The Nigerian Experience June 15.
- Johnson, U.A. (1991) Comprehensive Government Surelere, Lagos: A Johnson Publishers Ltd. Lacaquer,
- Laskar, M. E., (2013). Summary of Social Contract Theory by Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau; Available: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2410525>. Retrieved on: 23rd august. 2019 via Google
- Lodge, Juliet (1988) "Introduction-Terrorism and Europe: some General Considerations" in Juliet Lodge(ed) The Threat of Terrorism Sussex: Wheatsheaf Books Ltd.
- Madike, I. (2011) "Boko Haram: Rise of a Deadly Sect: National Mirror, June 19.
- Marczyk, G. DeMatteo, D. And Festinger, D., (2005). Essentials of Research Design and Methodology: New Jersey Canada. Published by John Wiley & Sons, Inc., Hoboken
- Merkel, P.H.(ed) (1986) Political Violence and Terrorism: Motifs and Motivations. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Nation (2012) Time to Jaw-Jaw" January 29. This Day (2012) "Fresh Explosions Kills 10 in Bauchi January 23.
- Ndagana, B.L., & Ogunrombi, S.A. (2006). Blazing the trail in poverty alleviation among students in Nigeria: The Federal University of Technology, Yola. Library Philosophy and Practice 9 (1). Available: <http://unllib.unl.edu/LPP/ndagana.htm>
- Ndoh, C.A., and Emezie, C.E. (eds) (1997). The Military and Politics in Nigeria. Owerri: Achugo Publications Ltd.
- Obadan, M. I. (1996) "Poverty in Nigeria : Characteristics, Alleviation Strategies and Programs", NCEMA Analysis Series, Vol. 2, No. 2.
- Obadan, M.I (2009,) Poverty reduction in Nigeria: The way forward, NCEMA Analysis series, vol. 2, No. 2. Obadan, M. I. (1996) "Poverty in Nigeria : Characteristics, Alleviation Strategies and Programmes", NCEMA Analysis Series, Vol. 2, No. 2.
- Obadan, M.I (2009,) Poverty reduction in Nigeria: The way forward, NCEMA Analysis series, vol. 2, No. 2.
- Obasanjo, Olusegun (1987) Nzeogwu. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd.
- Ofem, N.I., & Ajayi A.R. (2008). Effects of youth empowerment strategies on conflict resolutions in the Niger Delta of Nigeria: Evidence from Cross River State. Journal of Agriculture and Rural Development 6 (1,2): 139-146.

- Ofem, N.I., & Ajayi A.R. (2008). Effects of youth empowerment strategies on conflict resolutions in the Niger Delta of Nigeria: Evidence from Cross River State. *Journal of Agriculture and Rural Development* 6 (1,2): 139-146.
- Offiong, A.D. (1980) *Imperialism and Dependency* Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publications.
- Ogwumike, F. O. And Aromolaran, A. B. (2000) *Poverty Dynamics in Nigeria*. Lagos , Trust Publishers
- Ogwumike, F. O. And Aromolaran, A. B. (2000) *Poverty Dynamics in Nigeria*. Lagos , Trust Publishers.
- Okanya, Dan Osy (1995) "Religious and Violence in Nigeria: The Maitatsine Rebellion Explained", in Dan Osy Okanya (ed), *Great Issues in Nigerian Government and Politics* Enugu: Marydan Printing Company.
- Okojie, A. (1999) *mass Poverty in Nigeria*; Unpublished
- Okojie, A. (1999) *mass Poverty in Nigeria*; Unpublished.
- Oladeji, S. I. and Abiola A. G. (1998) "Poverty Alleviation with Economic Growth Strategy: Prospects and Challenges in Contemporary Nigeria In *Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies (NJESS)*, Vol. 40, NO. 1.
- Oladeji, S. I. and Abiola A. G. (1998) "Poverty Alleviation with Economic Growth Strategy: Prospects and Challenges in Contemporary Nigeria in *Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies (NJESS)*, Vol. 40, NO. 1.
- Omotayo, B.O. (2005). *Women and conflict in the new information age: Virtual libraries to the rescue*. A paper presented at the world Library and Information Congress: 71st IFLA General Conference and Council August 14th, 2005, Oslo, Norway.
- Omotayo, B.O. (2005). *Women and conflict in the new information age: Virtual libraries to the rescue*. A paper presented at the world Library and Information Congress: 71st IFLA General Conference and Council August 14th, 2005, Oslo, Norway.
- Omotoa, Shola (2003) "Combating International Terrorism: Possibilities and Limitations", in *Nigerian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol.29, Nos.1 and 2
- Onuoha, F. C. (2014). *Why Do Youth Join Boko Haram?* United States Pace Institute. 2301 Constitution Ave., NW. Washington, DC 20037; 202.457.1700; fax 202.429.6063
- Onwuamaeze, Dike (2011) "A Thorn in the Flesh of the Nation" *Newswatch*, July 4.

- Onyekpe, N. (2007). Managing youth at election. *The Constitution: A Journal of Constitutional Development* 7 (1): 76-87.
- Onyekpe, N. (2007). Managing youth at election; *The Constitution: A Journal of Constitutional Development* 7 (1): 76-87.
- Onyohule, F. (2011) "Police Confused our Intelligence Report on Abuja Bombing Punch, June 22.
- Ozohu-Suleiman, A. (2006). The Nigerian youth in contemporary political development: Relevance, challenges, and role expectation. *The Constitution: A Journal of Constitutional Development* 6 (4): 97-
- Ozohu-Suleiman, A. (2006). The Nigerian youth in contemporary political development: Relevance, challenges, and role expectation. *The Constitution: A Journal of Constitutional Development* 6 (4): 97-
- Population Reference Bureau (2006). The World's youth 2006 data sheet. Available: <http://www.prb.org/pdf06/WorldsYouth2006DataSheet.pdf>
- Population Reference Bureau (2006). The World's youth 2006 data sheet.
- Shehu, S. (2012) "Poverty Alleviation Program is a Mirage" *Newswatch*, April 23.
- Soriwe, F. (2011) "Federal Government sends more Troops to Maiduguri. The Sule, N. R., (2015). Ethno-religious conflicts, mass media and national development: the Northern Nigeria Experience; A thesis in the department of religion and philosophy, Faculty of Arts
<file:///C:/Users/HP%20PC/Desktop/doctor/RAPHAEL%20NOAH%20SULE.pdf>
- This Day (2012) "SSS Storms NTA, seizes Boko-Haram Video Tape" February 9; Online/internet:<http://www.freedominfo.org/survey>. Retrieved on: 13rd august. 2019 via Google
- Usoro, N. A & Essien, E. I., (2017). Implications of youth restiveness on sustainable development in Nigeria; *South-South Journal of Culture and Development* Vol. 19 (1) April, 2017
- USORO, N. A & ESSIEN, E.I.,(2017). Implications of Youth Restiveness on Sustainable Development In Nigeria. *South-South Journal of Culture and Development* Vol. 19 (1) April, 2017
- Walter (1997) "Postmodern Terrorism", in Helen E. Purkitt (ed) *World Politics*: 97198. Connecticut: Dushkin/McGraw-Hill.
- World Bank (1992). *Governance and development* . Washington, DC: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

World Bank (1996) Nigeria, Poverty in the midst of plenty: The challenge of growth and inclusion, Washington D. C World Bank

World Bank (1996) Nigeria, Poverty in the midst of plenty: The challenge of growth and inclusion, Washington D. C World Bank.

Zakaria, Y. (2006). Youth, conflict, security, and development. Available: <http://www.realityofaid.org/roareport.php?table=roa2006&id=6>