

## RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM, YOUTH RESTIVENESS AND NATIONAL SECURITY IN KADUNA NORTH-WEST NIGERIA

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**Citation:** Achimugu, H., Ifatimehin, O.O., & Daniel, M. (2020). Religious extremism, youth restiveness and national security in Kaduna North-West Nigeria. *KIU Interdisciplinary Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 1(1), 81-101

### ABSTRACT

This paper includes the analysis of religious extremism, youth restiveness and national security in Kaduna northwest Nigeria. The Christian and Islamic radicalism promote religious allegiance, ethnic identity and youth restiveness in the major parts of Kaduna northwest Nigeria. As such, youth without sufficient knowledge and critical information about religion easily finds agitation to answer the thrilling questions of human basic needs. This has led both Christian minority and Muslim majority in the state to open confrontation. This however, endangered Nigerians national security, fundamental human right, peace and unity in many parts of the country. This confrontation has taken ethno-religious dimension in Kaduna state. Indeed, the effort of state to resolve this ethno-religious conflict is challenging; this is because the state has failed in its ability to manage her diversity. The paper examined how religious extremism and youth restiveness threatened peaceful coexistence of different groups in Kaduna state. Data for this paper were drawn from both primary and secondary source, mainly from focus group discussion and relevant literatures that were analyzed via content analysis. Abraham Maslow theory of human needs was utilized, this is predicated on the notion that all humans have basic needs, which they seek to fulfill, and the denial of these needs by other groups will lead to conflict. The paper revealed that religious extremism and youth restiveness are consequence of ignorance, illiteracy, unemployment, poverty, unhealthy communication, among others. These problems create possibility for vulnerability among the warring parties. As such it is recommended that government should initiate social security programs to cushion poverty, unemployment and illiteracy among Nigeria youths.

**Keywords:** Religious extremism; Youth restiveness; National security; State

### INTRODUCTION

In the past two decades, Kaduna state had experience open confrontation prompts by various radical religious organisation leaders (Shite & CAN). This however, propelled Christian's Majority in southern Kaduna and Muslim majority in northern Kaduna into a fist-play. This has endangered Nigerians national security, peace and unity, fundamental human right and wellbeing of many communities in Nigeria. This confrontation has taken ethno-religious dimension in Kaduna northwest Nigeria. Generally, examining the position of the state in nation building, where peace

and justice shall reign in the context of ethno-religious conflicts is always challenging. This is because the state failed in its ability to manage her diversity (Hussaini, 2010). In the subsequent context of this paper, it will read that the state in Nigeria has a colonial origin. As a result, the security apparatus of the state was designed with the primary intention of promoting capitalist expansion and therefore serves the interest of those who are in control of the machinery of government. However, since these individuals and groups belong to certain ethnic and religious groups, therefore, uses their influence to sustain religious extremism in Kaduna state. The state therefore, serves the ethnic categories of those who exercise state power. For instance, Kaduna state government led by governor El-Rufia and federal government faces enormous pressure to act. Both have been accused of conspiracy of silence. More so, his identity as Hausa-fulani and Muslim is used by CAN to measure their neutrality. The study revealed that most Hausa-fulani led government in the past pay deaf ear to provocative statement from Muslim extremist and fundamentalist, even when such message is directing to Christians in the state. This makes religious extremism more powerful than the state. Until their later encounter with high profile military officer (Buratai entourage) leading to their clampdown.

As such, before now the state has not been able to stand above the society, as defined by both liberal and Marxist scholars. Perhaps, Kaduna state is not exception; this is because it is deeply trapped in societal politics and on some occasions leads to conflict and it is openly seen as part of the entire disagreement. It is in this context that the role of the state in ethno-religious conflict is examined.

Ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria and Kaduna state in particular, probably had aggravate a serious violence than any other forms of communal crisis. This conflicts has taken the dimension of religious violence, this however, is most likely caused by extremism among the religious leaders (the leader of Christian Association of Nigeria & Shite) and youth restiveness in Kaduna state.

Although at present, Nigerians are witnessing the intensification in religious extremism in many parts of the country. However, the incident of youth restiveness is very delicate in the Northwest Nigeria. Perhaps, Kaduna State in particular is described as most intolerant society.

The religious extremism has been on the rise in recent decades. Studies have shown how religious extremism and youth restiveness are factored by ethnic identity and religious allegiance. In the last two decades, the activities of religious extremism in Kaduna state has provoke youth restiveness, this breed ethno-religious conflicts in most parts of the State. For instance, Karsfelt, shows how the Christians religious became an essential component in the definition of ethnic group among Bachama people and other minority ethnic groups in Adamawa state (Karsfelt, 1994). Salamane, express how Christianity provided means to influence her ethnic minority groups to resist outside forces and the control of Hausa-Faulani (Salamane, 1991). This is because, both Christianity and Islamic religion provided a primary element in the definition of ethnic identity among ethnic minority and majority groups in Kaduna northwest Nigerian.

Kaduna is one of the old largest cities in Northern Nigeria and viewed by some as the symbolic capital of the northwest. Kaduna state covers the area of Zazzu emirate (Kaduna north) and

Kaduna south. These include Hausa-Fulani group, which constitute about 60 per cent of the emirate population, occupies mainly the northern part of the state and the second segment is the population of thirty ethnic groups that are predominantly Christians from Kaduna south (Smith, 1960 & National Bureau Statics, 2006). In fact, the core population of the youths from both provinces represents 51 per cent (National Bureau Statics, 2006).

The northern Nigeria is predominantly Muslim; but Kaduna state has a significant population of Christians, from thirty ethnic groups that are mostly found in the southern parts of the state. Perhaps, close to half of Kaduna south populations are Christians. The majority of the populations in the northern parts of Kaduna state are Muslim from the Hausa/Fulani ethnic groups. In Kaduna state, especially in Kaduna town different groups have lived side by side in the same areas for many years; until the outbreaks of violence and fighting between different groups. Despite the violence, it is the most developed state in the North West Nigeria as well as host to other northern states and beyond (Hussani and Umra, 2002). Therefore, Kaduna state has become host to settlers of many ethnic groups from different parts of the country, including the Christians from other states.

Religious extremism is the expression of unjust actions taken by some believers, based on their understanding of religious teaching and scripture. Yet, many believers regard such actions as unacceptable and unrepresentative of their faith (Nicolas, 2017). This belief was born out of the fact that Religious extremists are willing to murder because they embrace theologies that sanction violence in the service of God. They have no sympathy for their victims, because they view those victims as enemies of God. And they readily sacrifice their own lives because they expect huge and immediate afterlife rewards in return. At a point religious extremist with the patronage of religious organization (Shite and CAN) continue to flourish because they provide their members hope for the future, benefits for the present, and insurance against misfortune. In fact, they assist those who suffer financial setbacks and ill health. Their social networks help members to establish long-term friendships, find suitable marriage partners among others were the reasons members act diligently to the instructions of their leaders.

For instance, in the year 2000, Kaduna crisis took dimension of religious violence involving Christians and Muslims over the introduction of Sharia law in the state. Thus, Kaduna State branch of Christian association of Nigeria organized a public protest within the Kaduna city. Then Muslim youths in Kaduna north front another protest to counter Christian association of Nigeria public protest. This however, led to clash of interest and the situation that spiraled out of control, with massive violence and destruction of both sides. The government reported the official death toll to be 1,295 (Human Right Watch, 2003 & Johannes, 2008).

Youth restiveness been a declaration embarked upon to enforce desired outcome from a constituted authority by an organized body of youths; is a mark of violence to disrupt lawful activity (Elegbeleye 2005). Youth restiveness represents the negative attitude of youths in a particular society and their involvement in crime. It was alleged that religion extremism among other factors are responsible for the negative attitude of youths in Kaduna state. For instance, Parents of Quranic students (Almajirai) were no longer committed to western education and the training of their children due to the belief that being an Almajirai will gave them opportunity to

acquire Islamic education and self-discipline.

Thus, children of these categories who lack western education and parental care are helpless, therefore, turned ardent kidnapper, armed robbery and tools of religion conflicts; leading to national security problem in Nigeria. Religious conflicts and militancy are common features of social vices in Kaduna state. Conversely, the study revealed that Kaduna state favours one religious group over another, thereby raising the risks of both sides. Unfavoured part of religious group will take great risks to defend their member, while the most favoured groups are well positioned to assemble their resources and members in opposition to their religious-political competitors. This however, led to conflicts in Kaduna state, which had claimed many lives, especially the unemployed youths in the state.

The paper revealed that youth restiveness in Kaduna state is provoked by unemployment, poverty, ignorance, illiteracy, lack of parental care. Simply because religious fanatics took advantage of these categories of youths to misinform them to carry out unjust action, while providing them little means of livelihood. These however, require domestic dialogue of the warring parties in the state to bring an end to this bigotry. In other words, this is critical issue which requires urgent government attention. In Kaduna state, religious extremism and youth restiveness raises many fears regarding freedom of worship, between Muslim and Christians.

For example, nature of freedom of worship acknowledged by Nigeria constitution represent right to follow a rite, preach, and express religious beliefs in public and, more generally, to be allowed to build a church, a mosque, or a temple across the state. But this freedom is lacking in across the state. This is because Kaduna state is partition along religion line. For instance, Kaduna south is Christians predominant areas and Kaduna north is Muslim predominant areas, whose religious activities have limited boundaries. This however, ignites tension and likely creates crises as both religious extremist take advantage of this division, poverty and ignorance among the youth to spread unjust actions, based on their understanding of religious teaching and scripture. Subsequently, this paper will utilize Abraham Maslow theory of human needs. This is predicated on the notion that all humans have basic human needs which they seek to fulfill, and that the denial and frustration of these needs by other groups or individuals led to conflict.

Against this background, the paper set out to review religious extremism, youth restiveness and national security question in Kaduna; Northwest Nigeria.

## **STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

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Over the past two decades, Kaduna northwest Nigeria, like other states of Nigeria, has experienced a sharp segregation along religion and ethnic lines hurried by numerous outbreaks of violence and fighting between different groups. Kaduna's Hausa-fulani residents, who are mostly Muslim, are the majority in the Northern half of the state, while the people of southern Kaduna are predominantly Christians, although tribally and linguistically diverse. This has pitted Muslims against Christians, under the auspices of religious extremism and youth restiveness. This patronage became stronger because of the influx of unemployed youth to the state, who see

religion as their social networks that help them to establish long-term friendships, an avenue to find suitable a hope for the future, benefits for the present, and insurance against misfortune (Human Right Watch, 2003 & Johannes, 2008). Thus, religious extremism took advantage of this factor to stir up violence through youth agitation. Since 2000, in particular, the religious dimension to the tension in Kaduna state emerged openly, where conflicts of this nature threatened Nigeria national security. This however, claimed lives of both Christians and Muslims across the country. For instance, between 10,000 and 20,000 people are estimated to have died in various armed violence across the state since 1980 to date (National Emergency Management Agency Report, 2016). The following ethnic identity among others are victims of ethno-religious conflict bred by religious extremism in Kaduna northwest Nigeria; namely: Hausa/Fulani 29%, Yoruba 21%, Igbo 18%, Ijaw 10%, Kanuri 4%, Ibibio 3.5%, Tiv 2.5% (www.cia.gov.com). Reason has been that Kaduna is one of the old largest cities in Northwest Nigeria; as such, play host to Christians and Muslims alike, which represents citizens of 36 states in Nigeria.

As such, state whose citizen's profess their allegiance to the two greatest faiths in the world (either Christianity or Islam), while doing the opposite that indeed is a sad commentary. Against this background the paper sets out to examine religious extremism, youth restiveness and national security question in Kaduna Northwest Nigeria.

### Research Questions

The research question includes:

1. What are the causes of religious extremist and youth restiveness in Kaduna state?
2. How does various religious extremist and youth restiveness in Kaduna state affect National security in Nigeria?

### Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the study is evaluate the effect of religious extremist and youth restiveness in Kaduna state on issue of national security in Nigeria. The specific objectives include to:

1. Examine the causes of religious extremist and youth restiveness in Kaduna state.
2. Evaluate how various religious extremist and youth restiveness in Kaduna state affect national security in Nigeria.

### METHODOLOGY

Data for this paper were drawn from the primary and secondary source mainly from focus groups' discussions and structure interviews with the key actors, namely: the youths and religious leaders. Historical analysis were also analyze via content analysis. It is believed that both sources of data improve the understanding of religious extremism and youth restiveness in Kaduna state in particular and in Nigerian at large, in order to ensure a comprehensive analysis on religious extremism and youth restiveness, two (2) religious leaders were selected and interview. These represents two major religion in Nigeria more so, a group of ten (10) men were also selected for group discussion on the effect of religious extremism, youth restiveness and national security

problem in Kaduna northwest Nigeria. This paper also benefited from the collection of academic journals, books, and government reports Gazettes, Newspaper, Nigeria dailies and websites to explain the historical context and veracity of this paper.

## REVIEW OF CONCEPT

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This part of the paper deals with the review of related literature. According to Lunenberg and Irby (2008); a literature review is a “critical analysis of a segment of a published body of knowledge through summary, classification, and comparison of prior research studies, reviews of literature, and theoretical articles”. Literature review is also an assessment of a body of research that addresses a research question. Burton, Brundrett, and Jones (2008) write that conducting a high quality review of existing ideas is probably the most important element of any successful research study in Social Sciences. For Leedy (1997), review of concept has several purposes. Primarily, it is to assist in confronting the research problems. The review of concept for this paper will be discussed under the following sub-themes:

1. The state and Religious extremism in Nigeria.
2. The concept of Youth restiveness
3. The concept of national security in Nigeria.
4. Theoretical framework
5. Effects of religious extremist and youth restiveness on national security

### The state and Religious extremism in Nigeria

The state and religious extremism relationship in Nigeria is quite intimidating. The country is essentially diverse society, where the two major religions (Christianity and Islam) enjoying the loyalty of most Nigerians. During colonialism Christians and Muslim religious were used as instrument of politics in Nigeria. Although, available evidence suggests that the colonial administration deliberately employed religion as an instrument of pacification. Agbaje (1990:288) established how colonial administration endorsed Islam in the Northern part of colonial Nigeria and used it as the basis of political authority in local administration. It not only kept the Christians missionaries from the North, so as to preserve the assumed Islamic homogeneity of the region, it also adopted the emirate system of political administration with its strong religious content. In spite of this early trend, the issue of religion did not come to the front burner as a critical issue dividing Nigeria along religious streak until 1986 when General Babangida regime upgraded Nigerian’s membership in the Organization of Islamic Countries, from observer to a substantive one (Mimiko, 1995:261). This move was seen by Christians as a ploy to turn Nigeria into an Islamic State against the strength of the constitution. This singular action of the Babangida regime marked the era where the state instigates inter-religious violence in Nigeria. This unstable situation gets worsened, with the broadcast of Sharia law in the North. This move took Sharia away from its constitutional and historical domain in customary law in the North, and places it in the criminal/civil law domain.

Religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, uniting into a single

moral community for all those who adhere to those belief and practices. Marshall (1998:562) defined religion as asset of beliefs, symbol and practices, which is based on the idea of the sacred and which unites believers into socio-religious community. It means that religious belief and practices exist in every known society, from the most simple and isolated to the most complex and urban. From the various definition of religion structured above, all the proponents failed to attribute religion as the belief in the supernatural beings. Therefore, the paper defines religion as the belief in the supernatural beings which cannot be approach directly because of its immaterial nature.

Extremism literally, means the state of being extreme or the act of advocating extreme view (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2010). The term is primarily used in a political or religious sense, to refer to an ideology that is considered to be far outside the mainstream attitudes of society (Mogahed, 2006). Religious extremism is the expression of unjust actions taken by some believers, based on their understanding of religious teaching and scripture. Yet, the many believers regard such actions as fanatical, unacceptable and unrepresentative of their faith (Nicolas, 2017). For instance, the expressions of unjust actions taken by some believers, particularly religious extremist who advocated Jihad (Holy war) the use of force against non-believers and brought them under control for seven virgin awaiting them in paradise. This teaching is like wild spread of fire because it is spread by use of force. The spread of Islam unlike Christianity was not peaceful, because the followers waged jihad (Holy war) the use of force against non-believers to spread Islam (Obiade, 1978).

The phrase religious extremism describes faith-based actions that are deliberate attempts to bring peace or cause harm to other people (Human rights and religions info, 2019). Most extremist uses available religious movements, e.g. CAN & Shiite, to spread theologies that sanction violence. For example, most Islamic extremist advocated for Jihad (Holy war), the use of force against non-believers and brought them under control. Likewise, to Christian preacher today, who consider themselves Fire movement or the Pentecostal had turn away from scriptural teaching towards gaining materials benefits and militant theology. To them religious militancy is most effectively controlled through a combination of policies that raise the direct costs of violence, foster religious competition, improve social services, and encourage private enterprise (Eli, & Laurence, 2005). These sets of Religious extremists are willing to murder because they embrace theologies that sanction violence in the service of God. They have no sympathy for their victims, because they view those victims as enemies of God (Wintrobe, 2003). And they readily sacrifice their own lives because they expect huge and immediate afterlife rewards in return for “martyrdom”.

Similarly, Most Fire movement or the Pentecostal movements flourish because they provide their members hope for the future, benefits for the present, and insurance against misfortune. They assist those who suffer financial setbacks and ill health. Their social networks help members establish long-term friendships. This is to remind the reader the majority of services provided by radical religious groups are help to feed the hungry, aid the sick, educate children, and house the poor. This is reinterpreting their most sacred texts, so as to promote militant theology. The study also distinguishes between the religious organizations that gain her membership, popularity and

strength through providing material services to the poor and the most active members. Perhaps, within these organizations, some have the mandate to win souls to God, while others have mandate to win souls to the gods.

The word extreme represents negative expression of view against the moderate position of the majority. I assume that most religious extremists associate with those organizations, has mandate to win souls to gods through teaching violence. Good examples of association religious extremist are Al-Shabaab in East Africa and Boko Haram in Nigeria justifies religion brutality and the expression of unjust actions taken by some believers (Nicolas, 2017). Their teaching is synonymous to violence.

It is true that religion is used as a tool to fuel conflict because whenever people are poor, unhappy, suffering and are in state of despair, the only light and hope comes from religion. Religious groups chose violence to improve the lot of their institutions and constituents, by resisting repression and gaining political power.

The paper establishes that the arrogance of some people and especially of religious extremists who regard themselves as pious messiahs and good saviours of others can easily cause them to mistake their personal protection to evil, as well as power to influence negative situational forces that surround them. To brand religious extremism, it is therefore considered as the product of ignorance and compulsion that foster misunderstanding. It means religious extremists are good reason for brutality.

The concept of Youth Restiveness

The National Youth Development Policy (2001) defines youth as people aged 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 years in Nigeria was 45.4 million in 2006, which is 34 percent of the total population. 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 asserts that:

*Youth are the foundation of a society. Their energies, creativity, character and orientation define the pace of development and security of a nation. Through their creative talents and labour power, a nation makes giant strides in economic development and socio-political attainments (The National Youth Development Policy, 2001:1).*

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 country. On the contrary, the degree of disorderliness and instability in society is also determined in part by youth. The United Nations General Assembly and World Bank cited in Adewuyi (2008) defined the youth as people between ages 15 to 24 years. In Nigeria, the people within the age limit of 30 years are considered as youths hence they are allowed to participate in



the National Youth Service Scheme.

Elegbeleye (2005) writes that youth restiveness is a declaration 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 activity. Chikuezi (2009) defined youth restiveness as a combination of actions that runs contrary to accepted societal norms and standard. The Advanced Learner Dictionary (1999) observes that restiveness is the inability to stay still or unwilling to be controlled, especially because of dissatisfaction. So far, Youth restiveness had silent dimension of social inclusive in all the communities around major cities in Kaduna state where the youths are unsatisfied with government policies or where religion extremist misled believers and nonbelievers from gaining essential truth revealed in the scriptures to instill negative thought and capture restiveness in youth. For example, the miss- world beauty pageant held in 2002, in Kaduna state led to a serious religion crisis. This is because the youth were misinformed on the news from Nigeria dailies which triggers youth restiveness in the state.

On the other hand, when the energy is negatively channeled, restiveness and its resultant effects are likely to be felt. Chika and Onyene (2010) observed that to be restive is to be unable to stay still, or unwilling to be controlled especially because one is bored or not satisfied with certain decisions, changed or existing laws considered to be unfavourable. Youth restiveness involves the combination of actions, conducts and behaviour that is socially unacceptable in Nigeria.

Youth restiveness is anti-social vices adopt to gain presence from the relevant authority. Chika and Onyene (2010) asserted that youth in 1934 has resisted Herbert Macaulay administration, when he floated a political party to kick against dependency with fellow elite youths that had contact with the West. This is show positive character.

Perhaps, number of studies shown has that many factors are responsible for the negative attitude of youth's restiveness in Kaduna state. Parents are no longer committed to the training of their children due to frantic rush to make money and make ends meet. Children are now left to their own whims and caprices while the elders watch helplessly as youths perpetrate all manner of crime. Apart from poor parental care of children, inadequate knowledge religion leaders and followers are the foundation of religious crisis in Nigeria.

Peer group influence cannot be discounted. Our youths are neck-deep in joining secret cults; some are ardent smoker, drug addict, arm robbery, kidnapper, and armed rebellion. These are activities prominent in Kaduna state and beyond. Elegbeleye (2005) identifies three major factors that cause youth restiveness in Nigeria. These include the peer motivated excitement of being a student, the xenophobic pursuit of patriotic ideas, and perceived victimization arising from economic exploitation. Better still, Ofem and Ajayi (2008) identified lack of humanitarian and social welfare, lack of good governance, corrupt practices of government officials, inadequate training program, unemployment, inadequate recreational facilities, lack of quality education, and poverty are the basic reasons youth are as instrument of violence and restiveness. They agitations did not yield any positive results rather than causing havoc that led to the destruction of life and properties.

## The Concept of National Security in Nigeria

Security is the feeling of being safe and protected, against loss, attack or harm. National Security is the safety of a whole people within (Microsoft Encarta premium, 2004). It is the defence of a nation's interest from internal or external aggression.

The essence of security is premised on the emergence of threats. Threat is the aggregate of hostile activities designed to subvert the interest of an individual, organization or a nation. It includes anything that constitute danger to a nation's existence or that undermines her stability and progress.

The concept of security is subjected to different definitions by various scholars. Imobighe cited in Takaya (1989) describe security as "one that reasonably freed from danger, or not exposed to external aggression and internal sabotage. The problem with this definition is the use of the word "reasonably free," as no country could really be reasonably free from or not exposed to, internal and external threats. It is therefore, safe to define security as fundamental social concept of a state with ability to guarantee protection, right, safety of the society and legitimate interest to enhance the well-being of the people.

The term national security has attracted the attention of many writers. McNamara among other writer defined national security as development. He argues that in a liberal society security is development (McNamara, 1968:42). Although, security is not military force it may involve it. Security is not military hardware though it may include it. Security is development and without development there can be no security. He also argues that any country that seeks to achieve adequate military security against the background of acute food shortage, population explosion, and low level of productive, fragile infrastructural base for technological development, inadequate public utilities and chronic problem of unemployment has false sense of security. Against this background, I disagree that the concept of security by McNamara deforms Nigeria's national security. This is because his submission mainly depends on concentric circle theory, which places the nation's security mainly on defence of the territorial integrity and sees military power as sine qua non in the security of the Nigeria nation. Therefore, the paper defined national security as the sum total of the efforts of government and the general citizenry to prevent or eliminate sources of danger and risk, either internal or external, threatening the collective interest of any nation.

For instance, if the nature of the nation's security has been rightly situated, it could have given it a better reasoning to know that security is to prevent external aggression while securing internal resources within it. But the faulty nature of Nigeria national security pursuit has created a big gap between her and the developed world.

National security is one of the most controversial concepts in the social sciences literature. Despite its widespread usage, there is still no universally accepted definition of the concept. All the same all these definition of national security can be classified under two schools of thought; namely minimalist and maximalist perspective. Most of the definitions of national security fall

within the minimalist approach. This is depend on the assumption that only a military system can effectively attack and also use force to ensure security of lives and properties (Galtung, 1983:35). But today with the proliferation of fire arms people resort to seeking for self help. This had bred all manner of criminal activities among youth ranging from kidnapping, armed robbery among others.

From the foregoing discussion therefore, it is clear that issue of national security has occupied a crucial position in both domestic and foreign policies of most state. For example, when situation took citizens out of his comfort zone, such lack basic right and privilege to satisfy his or her basic need and security no matter how much weaponry an individual may have at its disposal.

### **Theoretical framework**

The theoretical framework adopted for this paper is Human Needs theory. Human needs theory is an element of conflicts theories which propose that all humans have certain basic universal needs and when these needs are not met, conflict is likely to occur. Abraham Maslow proposed a hierarchy of needs beginning with the need for food, water, and shelter followed by the need for safety and security, then love, self-esteem and, finally, personal fulfillment and self-actualization. Burton (1990) identifies a set of needs, which he considers to be universal in their occurrence but with no hierarchical significance. His list of needs includes distributive justice, safety and security, self-esteem, personal fulfillment, identity, cultural security, and freedom. While Maslow and Burton emphasize human biological, psychological, and social needs, Marshall Rosenberg introduces a new set of needs that could best be categorized as psycho-spiritual in nature, among them the need for “love integrity,” “celebration and mourning,” and “spiritual communion.” Likewise, Kok and his colleagues added their own uniquely understood human needs, including the need for “creation,” and “leisure and idleness” (Kok, 2007). Hertnon (2005) proposes the Theory of Universal Human Needs based on just two needs: survival and betterment. Under survival needs he identifies physical and mental well-being, respect from others, and self-esteem and a safe and healthy environment, logical reproductive practices, appreciation of life and doing good things. There are still many other formulations of human needs.

The Human needs theory is significant and important as it shows us how conflicts can be managed and resolved through the satisfaction of basic human needs. Human Needs can be defined as ‘State of felt deprivation and necessity which have to be satisfied’ (Burton, 1990). It is clear from this brief review, the concept of human needs is an evolving concept in the search for a more universal, integrated framework.

Human needs theorists distinguish between human needs and interests, and argue that human conflicts emerge when people’s efforts to meet their fundamental needs are frustrated. It is further argued that conflict and even violence are inevitable because human needs are non-negotiable, while human interests are open to negotiation and compromise. The line of demarcation between needs and interests, however, is not very clear and itself subject to dispute. While human needs theory is accepted as a valid and useful model for understanding some of the fundamental aspects of human behavior, there are nevertheless significant questions that remain

to be answered. How can we define human needs? Are human needs universal or cultural in nature? Is there indeed a hierarchy of needs, making some needs more important than others? How can we distinguish between human needs and human interests? Is the nature of conflicts emerging from unmet needs essentially different from those caused by differing sets of interests? These questions concerning needs, interests, and conflict require a better understanding of the nature of human conflicts and their genesis.

In this regard it should be noted that there is a general agreement among most scholars that issues of security, identity and recognition play fundamental roles in the creating brutal conflicts (Danesh, 2011). This is because conflict is useful for identity development and social change to fortifying human relationships. To make theory of human needs clear, let us have a look at Abraham Maslow's Hierarchy of needs. The hierarchy of needs, as suggested by Maslow is a linear progression of needs which have to be satisfied by the Human being ([www.omafra.gov.on.ca](http://www.omafra.gov.on.ca)).

This conflict is centered towards the unsatisfied security and identity needs of Kaduna state citizens. The Christians youth are agitating that their religion identity, their freedom of worship is being denied to them they lack the sense of security because of the numerous killings and suicide attacks as their freedom of worship is not recognized by Muslims extremist in Kaduna state. Therefore, the only viable solution to this conflict is when the identity needs of the religious extremism (Shiite and CAN) and the security needs of youth restiveness (Christians & Muslims) are addressed. These needs are non-negotiable and have to be met and satisfied.

### **The Basic Assumptions of Human Need Theory**

The theory rest on three major assumptions; these include:

1. Human beings have many needs that are different in nature, ranging from biological needs at the lower level to psychological needs at the upper extreme,
2. Individuals are in a constant state of motivation, never achieving a state of satisfaction except for a very short time. Man is therefore, motivated by constantly unsatisfied and changing needs and
3. These needs are arranged in a hierarchy, so that lower level needs must be satisfied before higher level needs arise.

The paper revealed that for peace to prevail, at least the human needs, must meet the four basic needs. These include: need for security, identity, well-being and self-determination have to be satisfied. Let us now look at these individual elements and study how they contribute towards the formation of a conflict, violence and eventually how peace.

### **Need for Security**

There has always existed an unpleasant relationship between the need for security & conflict. The need for security is a basic need for a human being which he experiences at all times and places irrespective of the situation. But, this need for security is not always apparently visible and it only comes into the open when it is threatened. Thus, fear always the act that restrict or prevent the

security and safety needs of the Human being. As long as the human being does not feel safe or secure to practice her faith (religion), there will be no prevailing peace over him, his family and in the society at large. Thus, the feeling of security is of utmost importance and this need must be satisfied in order to maintain peace and harmony in the society. Now, let me illustrate with the help of an example the result of need for security not being met the dimension of jihad introduction of sharia law in 2002. Therefore, it is very imperative for state intervene to secure the volatile area of Kaduna state.

### **Need for Identity**

The need for identity is very important and is required in every human life. The need to distinguish oneself from others, be identified in a group, have a unique piece of resource or asset which no outsider has access to (e.g quality education, wealth etc), all these are attributes ensuing need for identity. For example, I have in mind the sorry case of Boko Haram, which deprives her member from acquiring western education an avenue to improve their status and identity in the society. This strategy is to perfect their plan and teachings that sanction use of force to deprive others freedom of worship, since students under their mentorship are ignorant and illiterate of their teaching. Most students of this theology are used as instrument of violence to cause mayhem among religious denomination in Nigeria. Perhaps, Kaduna state is not an exception. Government need to put in place social security to cushion poverty, unemployment and illiteracy a deficit to human identity.

### **Need for Well-being**

The need for well-being refers to gaining of material and immaterial resources which are required by the human being to attain self-growth and development. This by implication refers to those human needs that ensure youth development and expansion of place of worship across the State. If these needs are not met, they can result in disturbances and eventually lead to a conflict. By 'well being' the paper refers to those people who live above the poverty line are well to do. The need for well-being arises out of human basic needs, in order to live a happy and healthy life; these needs have to be met. For Example, when this need is not met, youths that are extremely poor or terrible without hope are used as instrument of violence by religious extremism.

### **Need for Self-Determination**

The need for self-development is similar to a self-actualization role portrayed in the Maslow's Hierarchy of needs. The need for self-development stresses on the need for providing equal opportunities to all human beings to improve the standards of their living or freedom of worship. This level of need helps the human being to establish his potential. This need when unmet can result in a dispute which can be intra-personal, interpersonal, Intra-group or intergroup conflicts.

For Example, referring Christian as infidel by Muslim extremist or Christians referring Muslim as sects or terrorist is a good example. Better still, if the minority Christians communities, were not awarded the same facilities awarded to Muslim, it will create unpleasant relationship that is deteriorating and eventually led to conflict. As such, if the need for self-development is not met, both extremists lobbied their youths to cause havoc in the name of agitations to attain the need for self-development.

### Application of Human Needs Theory

The position of human needs theory is similar to that of Frustration-Aggression and Relative deprivation theory. Its main assumption is that all humans have basic human needs which they seek to fulfill, and that the denial and frustration of these needs by other groups or individuals could affect them immediately or later, thereby leading to conflict. 'Basic human needs' in this sense comprise physical, psychological, social and spiritual needs. In essence, to provide access to one (e.g. food, freedom of worship etc.) deny access to another. This is amounting to denial and could make people to resort to violence in an effort to protect these needs.

Even though needs scholars identify a wide range of human needs, some of which they consider to be basic human needs, they are agreed on the fact that the frustration of these needs hampers the actualization of the potentials of groups and individuals, subsequently leading to conflict.

Even though there are many steps in the formation of conflict, there are always some common factors which lead to the conflict or which are responsible for the conflict evolution. Mainly, conflicts are characterized by the emergence of aggressive positions and their eventual resolution and settlement through determining the underlying causes of the conflict and employing problem solving tactics (Jeong, 2010). Unmet needs are one important source of conflict and they mostly lead to conflict evolution or conflict formation. Lack of feeling of security, identity, well-being and self-determination can result in misunderstandings between the parties and can eventually lead to conflict. The Human Needs theory provides parties with strategies to deal with conflicts and resolve them in a mutually peaceful manner without the use of violence or shed of blood.

Burton is renowned for his work with the theory of human needs. He observes salient needs to understanding the dynamics of destructive social conflicts. Those salient needs include security, identity, recognition and personal development.

### Criticism

Even though there is usefulness in the Human needs theory as widely discussed, I would like to bring to the reader's attention that there are some fallacies and criticism regarding this theory.

1. The major criticism is that there is no concrete or stable way to identifying Human needs in a conflict situation. It is therefore difficult to judge which needs of the parties have been unmet and not satisfied.
2. It is also difficult to identify priority of the interests. For example, how can we prioritize need for well being over the need for security? This is an important question; researchers were not able to provide answer to.
3. Another fault to this theory is that it is not practical for parties in conflict to sit together and identify self in order of their needs.

These faults suggest more extensive study on Human needs theory but there have been many

real life cases, where the application of this theory, have brought successful results, and this makes the theory favourable to intermediate and negotiate for peace across the world. Despite the above criticism the paper still adopt Human Needs theory because it provide an objective platform for transforming political and cultural differences, making it relatively easier to understand the various sources of conflict and the whole process of conflict resolution.

### **Effects of Religious Extremist and Youth Restiveness on National Security**

Religious extremism and youth restiveness have been on the increase in almost all communities in Nigeria, most especially in recent past. Since the inception of transition from military to civilian regime, religious extremism and youth restiveness has lots of influence over large number of violence leading to the killing of innocent people, the bomb blasts, kidnapping and abduction of Nigeria citizens. The incidence of religious extremist and youth restiveness in Kaduna state has affected Nigeria's national security through frequent violence, kidnapping, and instrument of political violence (thugs), discouragement of foreign and local investors, loss confidence and trust, it frustrate sustainable development among others.

Yusuf, (2014) write that restiveness among youth has become one of the global phenomenon and those in Nigeria has been on unprecedented increase.

In the last 10 years or more there have been cases of kidnapping, abduction and wanton destruction of valuable infrastructures as well as lives and personal properties. These are mostly the activities of youth that are socially unacceptable. This negative development according to Igbo and Ikpa (2013) is unfortunate and has become one of the security challenges facing man in the present society. It is commonly reported that poverty, unemployment and lack of access to education, which prompt religious leaders to take advantage of their youths ignorance to orchestrate high level of insecurity and youth restiveness in Nigeria. This is in form of bombing mosques, churches, markets and killing of innocent people.

The phenomenon of insecurity has become one of the major concerns of the citizen in Nigeria and particularly Borno, Niger, Plateau, Kaduna, Kano and Yobe states respectively. This has affected level of sustainable development in Nigeria. The violent nature of these religious extremist and youth activities have been responsible for the wanton destruction of valuable infrastructures, kidnapping and killing of people. These acts had not only created dirty atmosphere but also endangered the security and affects of national sustainable development. Perhaps, Tenuche (2009) has also examined the role of the Ebira youth in the irregular burst of violent conflict in Ebira land and north central Nigeria. This study indicates that Ebira youth were involved in most of the crises in the area as a result of various factors such as poverty, unemployment, outdated system of education, and inability of state to live up to expectation.

Haruna and Ayuba (2011) they have identified the emergence of different groups of thugs since the inception of fourth republic 1999-2011, the groups includes Ecomog in Borno and Yobe, sara-suka in Bauchi, Yan-kalare in Gombe, Banu-israila in Taraba and Yan-shinko in Adamawa state. According to them most of these groups that perpetrates election crises in those state are armies of unemployed youth and the most unfortunate was that they were employed and sponsored by



desperate politicians to protect their political interest. There are also the activities of young graduates and undergraduates, which most of whom have dropped out of universities and colleges. Their major focus was to establish Islamic law at any cost. While attempting to do so, they were engaged in bloody battles. For instance on 21 September, 2004 youth from so called local Taliban movement were said to attacked Bama and Gwoza police stations in Borno state, in Bama six police officers were killed, while in Gwoza Taliban killed more policemen and the police stations were set ablaze (William, 2004). These activities metamorphosed to what is today being referred as boko haram phenomenon. The activities of these youth have deeply rooted in instability and sectarian strife.

Herskovit (2012) observed that boko haram began in 2002 as peaceful Islamic splinter group after sometime Politicians started exploiting it for electoral purposes, after the extra-judicial killing of its leader Mohammed Yusuf, they seek for revenge, and they began to target the police, the military and even politicians which mostly are Muslims. While the original core of the group remains active other criminal groups have adopted the name boko haram to claim responsibility of attack when they wish. So far, the various contributions of the above proponents identified effect of the religious extremist and youth restiveness ranging from destruction of lives and properties and decline of economic activities of the most affect state in the north east and north central Nigeria.

Conclusively, religion extremist and youth restiveness and its attendant consequences have greatly contributed to insecurities and Uncertainties in Nigeria. It has hindered and destroyed a lot of developmental programmes and other business activities. In 2009, for instances in Maiduguri during Boko Haram crisis, people were killed, houses were destroyed, market and schools were closed and destroyed. This demonstrated clearly how educational and other business activities were halt in the Maiduguri city. The security agencies deployed there to bring back peace have turned hostile to the people. A part from that people was subjected to shortage of food, water and other medical facilities. This bleak situation has rendered a lot of government projects uncompleted in the area; ditto to Yobe State, where statistically 139 students were killed in separate attacks and in less than a year, 4 schools and colleges were destroyed.

Furthermore, Vandalization of oil pipe lines and kidnapping of oil company staff in oil producing areas have posed threat to the Nigerian foreign investment and economic recovery; this is because crude oil is the sustainers of the Nigerian economy. The vandalization of oil pipe lines also causes health hazards and environmental pollution, economic activities such fishing and farming was affected. These are responsible for our under development. Another implication of youth restiveness is it potential of destroying the unity of the country, which is the basis of development in any country and it has direct correlation with the security.

## **DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS**

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The paper identified illiteracy, unequal distribution of natural resources, poor child upbringing, unemployment, poverty, proliferation of fire arms among others were the causes of youth restiveness. Illiteracy among Nigerian youths has been a thing of concern to many citizens. Some religion leaders take advantage of ignorance among Nigerian youths, using religion as tools to fuel



conflict between Christians and Islam.

In other words, religion extremist have in mind the people who are poor, unhappy, suffering and in state of despair, to light up their hope. Perhaps, it's a means to win and mobilizing communities of believers and non-believers regardless their tribes and language. Whereas, knowledge acquired through various religious leaders most often reduce the value of patriotism and healthy lifestyles. Against this background, Maslow advocated need for self-development. This set of needs will provide equal opportunities to all human beings to improve the standards of their living and freedom of worship. This level of need helps the human being to establish his potential. If this is not carefully met, it will results in dispute which can be intra-personal, interpersonal, Intra-group or intergroup conflicts and disputes.

National Population Bureau (2006) observes that between 2000 and 2004 about 30% of Nigerian youths were not enrolled in secondary schools. Hence, this finding is agreement with Onekpe (2007) assertion. He observes that most youths that did not have access to formal education, whose consequence breed ignorance and illiteracy where the religious extremist took advantage of them to cause mayhem (youth restiveness). This is drawing from the belief that the need for identity is missing among various religious denominations and youths across the state. As such, this breeds all manner of social conflict in Kaduna state. Perhaps, Maslow advocates for the need for identity to distinguish oneself from others. An access to formal education is a means of distinct among groups while making the youth a unique piece of resource or asset devoid of instrument of violence having distinguished oneself from others through formal education. Sharing this attributes citizens will tends to cooperate and sustain peace among communities.

Chukwuemeka and Aghara (2010) agree that incidence of marginalization, denial of social right and inclusion, and lack of social security and poor Governance are reasons for youth restiveness. For example, southern Kaduna was predominantly Christians who felt marginalized by the political elite in the northern Kaduna. Thus, the furious youths among southern Kaduna use all sorts of restiveness to express they grievance under the auspices of religion violence. Ofem and Ajayi (2008) also writes that youth restiveness is associated with lack of compassionate promoted by religion extremist, lack of good governance, unemployment and lack of quality education. These indications are the causes of youth restiveness that are multifaceted in nature. It therefore means that curbing youth restiveness of this nature in Nigeria required a multidimensional approach. Maslow advocates need for well-being, which he refers to the needs that ensure youth development and expansion of place of worship across the State. These refer to the gaining of material and non-material resources which are required by men to attain self-growth and development. If these needs are not met, they can result in disturbances and eventually lead to a conflict.

The paper also identified proliferation of fire arms, upsurge of social vices and crimes (armed robbery, hostage, abduction) among others. Incidences of such threaten Nigeria national security. So long as Nigeria continues to experience a broken social system that deprives the majority of Nigerians of basic needs of life criminality will depart from us. This is linked to continual harassment of traders in Kaduna central market any day clash between Christians and Muslim occurred. This is borne out of the fact that citizens' well-being in the state is not reasonable. To

overcome the question well-being, government should initiate social security program to cushion poverty, unemployment and illiteracy among Nigeria youths.

Increase in unemployment rate is associated with high rate of youth restiveness that discourages investors. Zakaria (2006) agrees that youth restiveness increases youth unemployment because most of the local and foreign investors were discourage from investment in the conflicts prone environment as it is in the sorry case of Kaduna state. He however asserted that the absence of job opportunities in developing countries like Nigeria is responsible for youth restiveness with disastrous consequences. In fact, to overcome this Maslow advocated for Need for Security; this is because it is a prominent inhibitor of Human needs. So long as human being did not feel safe or secure, there will be no peace in the society.

## CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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Enlightenment campaigns against youth restiveness are also important. During this period relevant information is disseminated to change the attitude of citizens. Religion is therefore is a change agent that will assist the youths to change their misconceived ideas and opinions, rather than on the contrary. Most especially violent that will arise from religious extremism, whose emphasize in on militant theology.

This paper offers unique analyses that explain persistent demand for religion and the different types of religious in Nigeria. This is because; various religious denominations became skillful at producing good spiritual materials to perfect their ideology and religious violence in Kaduna state and beyond. For example, where governments and economies function poorly, the religion extremist often become major suppliers of social services, political action, and tendency to display might. Their success as providers is much more due to the advantages of their organizational structure than it is to their theology. This however, led to religious militancy and youth restiveness that provoke diverse teaching that foster violence and religious competition in Nigeria.

### Recommendations

The paper recommends a guideline for religious practice in Nigeria and public enlightenment campaign for children of Single parents. Parents too should make child education their priority; Political leaders at various levels of governance put law in place to criminalize youth restiveness in Nigeria.

Government should adopt proactive poverty alleviation programs rather than pay lip service to the issue of masses welfare; also leaders should strengthen their roles and responsibilities in addressing societal ills and problems; especially the problems of tribalism, nepotism, selective prosecution, sectionalism, and marginalization in the country.

Government should initiate social security program to cushion poverty, unemployment and illiteracy among Nigeria youths.

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