



## RESEARCH ARTICLE

### THE PUBLIC, MILITARY AND BOKO HARAM: A CRIMINOLOGICAL DIAGNOSING

\*Dr. Baba Gana Kolo

Department of sociology and anthropology, University of Maiduguri, Maiduguri, Borno State, Nigeria

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#### ABSTRACT

Whatever it is, Crime takes from law (either written or unwritten) and qualified by existence of application of punishment for an act defined so by a group concerned. And public is a group of people who, in facing a similar problem, recognize it and organize themselves to address it. The military on the other hand is generally consisting of an Army, Navy, Air force, and in certain countries the Marines and Coast Guard are forces authorized to use lethal or deadly force and weapons to support the interest of the state and some or all of its citizens. The task of the state is usually defined as defense of the state, and its citizens, and the prosecution of war against another state. The military may also have additional sanctioned and non-sanctioned functions within a society, including, the promotion of a political agenda, protecting corporate economic interests, internal population control, construction, emergency services, social ceremonies, and guarding important areas. The profession of soldiering as part of a military is older than recorded history itself. Boko Haram is a group so labeled at the peak of the 2009 riot declared by Mohammed Yusuf a young preacher who seems to be an Arabic and Islamic scholar determined to practice and implement what to his understanding the true practice of the religion islam. A good proportion of Borno state youth and beyond has already been idealistically and so dogmatically chained into the component parts of Boko Haram activism. The public is the society or the larger population from which the military was extracted and the Boko Haram split out as a radical group of terrorist. The emergence of Boko Haram terrorist group in the North East is a testimony that Nigeria is underdeveloped. The public is central and it is formed of structure and institutions. Significantly level of economic advancement dictates other institutional manifestations, particularly the educational and religious institutions. The main determinant of Boko Haram's emergence and its perpetration unfortunately is the institution of religion. Religion according to Karl Marx is a demoralizing catalyst in process of sustainable development in human societies. It is highly disturbing that more than half of the school age children are outside school and particularly more than 70% of Borno State areas affected by Boko Haram terrorism are already victims of displacement and forceful rejection from school from 2014 to date. The public has been apparently deceived of the general facts on grounds of the ills created by the proclaimed and accepted sangaya/Islamic education as a system. A closer focus will reveal that sangaya/Islamic education was characterized by all forms of abuses, such as exploitation, inequality, stratification, injustice and mockery. And few recommendations are made. Stakeholders must refocus to ensure the full scale and continuous implementation of the 1999 constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria. Thus accordingly; section 18 (1) Government shall direct its policy towards ensuring that there are equal and adequate educational opportunities at all levels, (2) Government shall promote science and technology, (3) Government shall strive to eradicate illiteracy and to this end Government shall as and when practicable provide (a) Free, compulsory and universal primary education (b) Free university education, and (c) Free adult literacy program. Section 15(5) the state shall abolish all corrupt practices and abuse of power.

#### INTRODUCTION

It is almost impossible to have a universally accommodative description of an act called a crime. This is because what constitute a crime is very complex and complicated though it appears to be common and simplistic to a layman. Crime is a product of evolutionary transitions which involved the inevitable actions and reactions of these basic institutions in making a society which seem to be constant with a complex, generative, and dynamic realism. What constitute a crime is therefore relative to time, place and person involve.

\*Corresponding author: Dr. Baba Gana Kolo,  
Department of sociology and anthropology, University of Maiduguri,  
Maiduguri, Borno State, Nigeria.

What is crime by a conduct differ in history, location and more basically in cross-section. Whatever it is, Crime takes from law (either written or unwritten) and qualified by existence of application of punishment for an act defined so by a group concerned. This presentation is an attempt to diagnose in a criminological perspective the challenges characterizing components of the society (the public, military and Boko Haram) and accordingly prescribe for a cure.

**The concept of public, military and Boko Haram:** Dewey (1927) defined public as a group of people who, in facing a similar problem, recognize it and organize themselves to address it. Grunig (1983) identified four types of public; Non publics (who have no problem), Latent publics (who have a

problem), Aware publics (who recognize that they have problem), and Active publics (who do something about their problem). According to Vasquez (1993) public is a collection of individuals that develop a group consciousness around a problematic situation and act to solve the problematic situation. Public schools are often under controversy for their "agenda-building" especially in debates over whether to teach a religious or secular curriculum. The promotion of an agenda is commonly placed whenever one is in a public environment, but schools have exceptional power in that regard. It is the responsibility of those within the system to determine what agenda is being promoted. Mateus (2011) defined public as neither a simple audience constituted by media consumers nor just a rational-critical agency of a public sphere. The public may be regarded as a result of the social activities made by individuals sharing symbolic representations and common emotions in publicness. The general public also sets social norm which causes people to express themselves in socially acceptable manners, which is present in every community, this is often especially applicable within the transgender community as they feel the need to "perform" to a certain set of expectations to be seen as their true gender.

The first recorded use of the word military in English, spelled *militarie*, was in 1585. It comes from the Latin *Militaris* (from Latin *miles*, meaning soldier) through French, one suggestion being derived from *Mil-it-going* in a body or mass. The word is now identified as denoting someone that is skilled in use of weapons, or engaged in military service, or in warfare. In general it refers to the physicality of armed forces, their personnel, equipment, and physical area which they occupy. Military originally referred only to soldiers and soldiering, but it soon broadened to apply to land forces in general, and anything to do with their profession.

The names of both the Royal military Academy (1741) and United States Military Academy (1802) reflect this. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century expressions like "military service", "military intelligence" and "military history" encompass naval, Marine and air force aspects. It now connects any activity performed by armed force personnel (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/military>). The military on the other hand is generally consisting of an Army, Navy, Air force, and in certain countries the Marines and Coast Guard are forces authorized to use lethal or deadly force and weapons to support the interest of the state and some or all of its citizens. The task of the state is usually defined as defense of the state, and its citizens, and the prosecution of war against another state. The military may also have additional sanctioned and non-sanctioned functions within a society, including, the promotion of a political agenda, protecting corporate economic interests, internal population control, construction, emergency services, social ceremonies, and guarding important areas. The profession of soldiering as part of a military is older than recorded history itself. The battle of Kadesh in 1274 BC was one of the defining points Pharaoh Ramses II's reign. A thousand years later, the first emperor of unified China, Qin Shi Huang, was so determined to impress the gods with his military might, he was buried with an army of Terracotta Soldiers. (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/military>).

Boko Haram is a group so labeled at the peak of the 2009 riot declared by Mohammed Yusuf a young preacher who seems to be an Arabic and Islamic scholar determined to practice and implement what to his understanding the true practice of the religion Islam. A good proportion of Borno state youth and

beyond has already been idealistically and so dogmatically chained into the component parts of Boko Haram activism (Kolo, 2014). According to Muntz (2016), Boko Haram is also known as (*Jama'at ahlal Sunnah Li-da wa' wal- qital*), was established in 2002 in the town of Maiduguri northeastern Nigeria, by 32 year old Muhammed Yusuf. Yusuf set up his own mosque in a run-down neighbourhood, there was a lot of curiosity in his radical rejection of the Nigerian State the mosque was packed with people. Yusuf fed the orphans and the street children. It became more than just a mosque. Yusuf talked more about lies emphasizing politicians as liars. Yusuf's message quickly resonated with people in the Borno region where the level of poverty was as high as 69% in 2011. Poor people identified with Yusuf's discourse because they were promised paradise. They promised Islamic state with shariah, which is a form of social justice. Then the rich would no longer siphon off public money. They joined this group because they believed it would improve their lives through the rigorous and more practice of Islam.

**The relationship between public, military and Boko Haram:** The public is the society or the larger population from which the military was extracted and the Boko Haram split out as a radical group of terrorist. The emergence of Boko Haram terrorist group in the North East is a testimony that Nigeria is underdeveloped. The public is central and it is formed of structure and institutions. Level of development of comprising institutions determines the level of its development. Significantly level of economic advancement dictates other institutional manifestations, particularly the educational and religious institutions. The economy of Nigeria is dependent capitalism and subsequently the economic activities of the North East and particularly of Maiduguri is shaped by such indices.

It is characterized by confused institutional structures. The effect of colonialism is glaring but has not fully displaced and restructured indigenous principles and practices in all ramifications. There is colonial legacy of bureaucracy which is highly cherished, but paradoxically the monarchical structure is still living in parallel with the legitimate bureaucracy. The level of education is too low that the monarchy is still appreciated by the large population of illiterates and with disgrace by even the embarrassing political elites. It is very clear the bureaucracy is the apparatus of the state and the state itself, the monarchy is a marginalized group criminally operating against smooth democracy and contemporary based development initiatives. Efforts are not made by the legislative arm of government to smartly dismantle it as the large majority of the legislators are semi-illiterates and the literate among them are deeply corrupt and opportunists who mask in the status quo to exploit. Unfortunately, legacy of the subsaharan slave trade, the cultural domination are also not in any way displaced expectedly by the colonial activities and the neocolonial struggles. The culture derived from the religion of Islam is still very effective and a serious determinant on general activities of the northeast region. Informal education is still considered seriously and large population of school age children are embarrassed in to the *almajiri* system of informal education that proclaimed the religion of Islam. It is this *almajiri* that inculcate general state of hatred against the formal educationists (western education system). The religious teachings must include teaching of jihad which involved element of violence to an extent of killing certain category of classified deviants as inevitably prevailed. While this is the reality there is no effort demonstrated to pull down the status

quo. In fact Islamic sangaya education is well cordoned in all communities of the northeast and they constitute a large proportion of the recruits of Boko Haram and of course all the commanders of Boko Haram must have attained specific level of sangaya education before they could become preachers and subsequently commanders.

Coupled with these characteristics of underdevelopment is the evidence of unpunished corruption and corrupt practice of the bureaucrats that further impoverished the community and made it vulnerable to all sorts of mischief. Corruption in Nigeria has not permitted perfect democracy. It further crippled educational growth and development by lack of infrastructures and provision of enabling environment to have effective education on fundamental human rights and freedoms. The public is the real picture of functions and effect of all elements of society, including the impact of post colonialism and institutional transmissions. Development is measured by economic gains from skills acquired through provided infrastructures and policies and program of government. The reality of evolution and acculturation is that there is imbalance between principles of government policies and program and their benefits by the public as prescribed. Of course a good percentage of school leavers are employed as predominantly teachers in existing schools and other public service, yet large population of school leavers are not automatically employed as it should be. This defeats the purpose of acquiring skills from institutions predominantly maintained by state. In recent reports the total work force of Borno State government is less than 50,000 persons. But university of Maiduguri alone admitted about 10,000 students and matriculated in 2016/2017 academic session alone. By average at least 10,000 students similarly graduate as admitted from same institution annually.

And there are about 10 tertiary institutions that graduate students annually in addition to the university. If an estimated total of 1000 is graduated by each of the tertiary institutions, Borno State produce graduate of diploma allied of at least 10,000 annually. Then the average total graduate from the state will be an estimated 20,000 annually. This is more than 40% of the total civil servants on ground. And Borno State government placed embargo on employment since the 1990s and no full scale annual employment has been made since then. This proved the facts of cumulative frequency of school leavers and graduates that remain unemployed for years. If the purpose of skill acquisition is employment and to become productive and significantly improve on the individuals income certainly the public will not appreciate the situation and the level of unemployment experience by school products that were painfully sponsored by same public. There must a correlation between degree of employment of school leavers and graduate and appreciation of government policies and programs by the public. The frequency of unemployment experienced by graduates is the real systemic marginalization gap that must significantly result in the effects as diagnosed by Robert k Merton. Significant proportion of those unemployed will be forced to adopt inevitably criminal ways of living. And that is certainly responsible for the successful emergence of Boko Haram terrorist group that could without any hindrance readily employ large systemically frustrated, marginalized, deprive and totally unemployed youth to launch a war against the system.

Muhammad Yusuf as Islamic preacher within the context of the conservative approach was necessarily considered as

messiah both theoretically and practically, since he could mobilize and armed the marginalized youth and formed a rebellious group that successfully or unsuccessfully faced the state in 2009. And it is still very clear that battle map was drawn, and the engaged youths who are supposedly victims of ignorance and frustration were consumed by the accident and yet those who survived the war are still on a melting pot uncompromised and readily striking to end themselves and victimizing the public that they considered as betrayers damped in frustrating circle of injustice and criminality. It is indeed a confusion and worrisome situation.

### **Role of public in the emergence and perpetuation of Boko Haram terrorism**

The main determinant of Boko Haram's emergence and its perpetration unfortunately is the institution of religion. Religion according to Karl Marx is a demoralizing catalyst in process of sustainable development in human societies. In his words;

*Religion distress is at the same time the real distress. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of a spiritless situation. It is the opium of the people. The abolition of religion as the illusory happiness of the people is required for their real happiness. The demand to give up the illusion about its condition is the demand to give up a condition which needs illusions (Marx, 2017;1).*

Religion according to Auguste Comte is the lowest stage of societal development constituting helpless individual conditioned by ignorance to dogmatize and live in created impression that spirit existed and determined a material existence, their functions and processions. He described religion as initial step of man on the line of evolution for better understanding and transformation. That it is natural that man will inevitably get out of the ignorance enshrined by religiosity and develop accordingly from philosophical to scientific stage of development. Comte predicted that no magic can prevent the extinction of religiosity and the emergence of science and positivism. Belief will naturally die and science must permanently stand. That there is only one guide to mankind and that guide is SCIENCE and not religion. It is therefore not surprising that Boko Haram emerged in Maiduguri confirming the level of dogmatism and dominance of religiosity and ignorance all summarized as significantly a revelation of the true state of underdevelopment of the community and indeed Nigeria. It is highly disturbing that more than half of the school age children are outside school and particularly more than 70% of Borno State areas affected by Boko Haram terrorism are already victims of displacement and forceful rejection from school from 2014 to date. All schools of the affected areas have been closed and students are automatically out of schools except those that are highly privileged. This compound the situation and fuelled the level of deterioration, negated human productivity, sustained and enhanced level of ignorance and perpetuated underdevelopment. Yet no resolutions are made and religion has never been categorically labeled as a main factor for Boko Haramism. And therefore this presentation is in a way an accomplishment to that effect.

Sangaya system of Islamic education is still operated, more and more islamiya schools are smuggled in to house perpetuation of religious domination and recycle ignorance and

stagnate process of natural evolution and journey toward actualization of SCIENCE as weapon and instrument of guidance to humanity. From the trend that we are undergoing as a community it is very dangerous and confusing. Furthermore, the Universities which live as our hope must gear itself intellectually and face the inevitable challenge that it is the only hope and the only hope in the agenda of public education, research, discoveries and mobilization.

**The criminological solution:** The Trump administration of United State of America wants to revamp and rename a U.S. government program designed to counter all violent ideologies so that it focuses solely on Islamist extremism. The program, "Countering Violent Extremism," or CVE, would be changed to "Countering Islamic Extremism" or "Countering Radical Islamic Extremism," the sources said, and would no longer target groups such as white supremacists who have also carried out bombings and shootings in the United States. Islamic State has claimed responsibility for attacks on civilians in several countries. The CVE program aims to deter groups or potential lone attackers through community partnerships and educational programs (Ainsley, et al Feb. 1, 2017). Some 74% of the 72 military officials said Boko Haram attacks on civilian forced military counter terrorism in Maiduguri metropolis, 68% said Boko Haram damage on properties forced military counter-terrorism, 91% said Boko Haram hindered socio-economic activities forced military counter-terrorism, 83% said military counter-terrorism restored peace in Maiduguri, 84% said counter-terrorism restore law, 91% said counter-terrorism restored order, 91% said counter-terrorism restored socio-economic activities, 86% said poor level of education on civilian activities by the military challenged the counter-terrorism strategies in the Northeast, 99% said inadequate weapons for combating terrorism was a challenge against military strategy of counter-terrorism, 83% said unethical operation of some men in the process of counter-terrorism operation was a challenge against military strategy against counter-terrorism. About 88% said inadequate number of military men in counter-terrorism was a challenge against strategy for counter-terrorism. About 63% said Boko Haram is a threat to national sovereignty, and severely attacked civilian of Northeast Nigeria. And 56% of the military respondents observed that Boko Haram terrorism was highly planned and intensive. About 77% said sponsors of Boko Haram terrorists can be eliminated through sorting out information from public and intelligent officers and therefore the public must volunteer information favorably(Dachia et-al; 2017). However, members of the public, who constitute about 150 respondents maintained thus. About 75% said deceitful religious teaching is responsible for the emergence of Boko Haram terrorism in Maiduguri metropolis. About 76% said also that religious extremism is responsible for the emergence of Boko Haram terrorism. And 54% maintained that lack of knowledge of the concepts of religion from scientific perspectives is responsible for the emergence of Boko Haram terrorism in Maiduguri. About 71% said Nigeria's corrupt custom officials also contributed toward the emergence of Boko Haram terrorism in Maiduguri. About 78% said corrupt Immigration officials contributed for the emergence of Boko Haram terrorism in Maiduguri. About 70% said unemployment contributed for the emergence of Boko Haram terrorism in Maiduguri metropolis (Dachia et-al; 2017).

About 75% of the public respondents recommended a stopping of religious preaching to end Boko Haram's re-occurrence in

Nigeria. About 76% recommended the scrapping of sangaya schools to end Boko Haram re-occurrence. About 92% called for the strengthening of remand homes to end Boko Haram re-occurrence. About 70% called for legislation of laws against child's street begging, compulsory and free primary/secondary education for the poor children to end the occurrence of Boko Haram. And 78% said the criminalization of informal education (eg sangaya/church teaching) and strict adherence to formal education will end occurrence of Boko Haram in Nigeria (Dachia et-al; 2017). While above are clear positions of the victims of Boko Haram insurgency, it has confirmed the critical position of Marx that religion subsequently has to be abolished to realize enduring peace and related development in Nigeria and humanity at large. The Boko Haram that started around 1999 and specifically launched a war in 2009 is responsible for the displacement of about 2 million people of their homes since September 2014 to date and is responsible for over 100,000 deaths in Nigeria.

More than 50 people were killed in a Boko Haram ambush on an oil exploration team in northeast Nigeria in the Magumeri area of Borno state on a convoy of specialists from the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) (The Telegraph, 28 July, 2017). About 17 local government areas of the 27 local government areas in Borno state were sacked and fall under the command of the Boko Haram in 2014 and almost all are yet to regain their functions at the headquarters of their council since then. Properties worth billions of naira were destroyed and the entire activities of people of such areas are put to stand still. The larger populations of such areas are forced to live in Internally Displaced Persons camps of distress with all socio-economic activities reduced to zero. No farming was possible in those areas since then. People were left in zero income with the exception of those that on the payroll of the state. It has been a serious social problem with begging becoming the only business for these victims. The role played by United Nations supportive bodies is highly commendable together with other government based aid agencies and Non Governmental Philanthropist Organizations for their necessary and timely intervening in terms of basic provision and service in all ramifications (education health, security, feeding, housing etc). The main and shocking factor in Boko Haram terrorism is the stimulant to their grand force, the Islamic and sangaya education that was soiled in the community in the forceful name of propagating the religion of Islam. The fueling factor is the deviling corruption and corrupt practices of the state officials and the unfortunate systematic failure characterizing modernization and post colonialism. The better life and development promised by colonialism and modernization have apparently failed as the employment promised for after completing schools and Universities is not forth coming. There is a class of unemployed school leavers and graduates created by this evolution. Paradoxically the privileged elites are busy embezzling public funds and appearing richest in the midst of mass poverty and glaring unemployment of large educated youth.

While the formal education has clear purpose of skill acquisition with attached promises of job provision to the skilled products which is in delusion, the so called islamic/sangaya education was not promising any employment to it products and therefore considered by its patronizers as an end and duty. This is further cemented by the propagation that Islamic education is a responsibility of all Muslims and a spiritual call and necessity associated with spiritual advantage

only. That it is a God's direction to have Islamic education and the teaching is considered as the only guide in all ramifications. It is the only tool of adjudication and the only law that must be known by all and a code of conduct in all social activities but certainly not promising job for its products. Spiritually reciting the Qur'an has Godly rewards as the believers believe to certainly end in paradise. That serves as morale booster for the believers and so considered as an end and mandatory duty to send all their children at the age of seven to sangaya schools and may end their lives in the system. This is responsible for poor turn out of school age children out of schools in Borno state and particularly the islamically dominated areas of the state. These are Bama, Konduga, Mafa, Kaga, Damboa, Kalabalge, Ngala, Dikwa, Marte, Mangumeri, monguno, Nganzai, Kukawa, Mobbar and so on. While this was the consideration, the public has been apparently deceived of the general facts on grounds of the ills created by the proclaimed and accepted sangaya/Islamic education as a system. A closer focus will reveal that sangaya/Islamic education was characterized by all forms of abuses, such as exploitation, inequality, stratification, injustice and mockery.

The propagation forced public to be submissive and send all their children to such schools particularly male children. However, Qur'an teachers that shoulder this responsibility cannot afford feeding, clothing, and sheltering of this mass flow of children leaving parental care to their custody. Though at the take off such teachers were given token in forms of food items among others. Such pays are supposed to be the first and the last, and a complete responsibility is transferred to the teachers with an agreement that the teachers are solely responsible and shall not be charged for any act against such child just as the parents.

It was upon this back drop the teachers used the children just like their blood children. The children were forced to work for the teacher and all economic benefit derived by such children are 100% taken over by the teacher. The children were responsible for farming activities, trading on non-school days, they engaged as potters, stewards in hotels etc. In addition they beg all days for food and everything including clothing from the public, to feed themselves, the teacher and his families. Everything realized through such activities are handed over to the teacher. In instances of failure to comply the child is unconditionally punished in corporal terms. This form of exploitation makes the teachers criminally richest amongst their associates. And the public has never focused this as deviance nor crime.

The Nigerian government declared state of emergency in the north east and subsequently deployed 8000 soldiers to combat the insurgency in the affected states. However, at the beginning the operation was characterized by unethical operations by some men and this resulted in some civilian casualties. On Saturday April 21, 2013 soldiers searching for Boko Haram suspects killed over 200 civilians who were unproved as true members (Akande, 2013). This and similar acts portrayed Nigerian army of negative image from the eyes of the civilians of the north east. This and other related evidences of corruption in the circles of the military particularly at the era of President Goodluck Jonathan's administration is a manifestation of systemic problems characterizing the Nigerian state, which subsequently slow down the acceleration of anti corruption and anti Boko Haram terrorism.

## Recommendation

- Stakeholders must refocus to ensure the full scale and continuous implementation of the 1999 constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria. Thus accordingly; section 18
- Government shall direct its policy towards ensuring that there are equal and adequate educational opportunities at all levels, (2) Government shall promote science and technology, (3) Government shall strive to eradicate illiteracy and to this end Government shall as and when practicable provide (a) Free, compulsory and universal primary education (b) Free university education, and (c) Free adult literacy program. Section 15(5) the state shall abolish all corrupt practices and abuse of power.

To that effect the public must be enlightened, by ensuring that all school age children are taken to schools. All schools that emphasize religious teaching and propagation must be closed particularly Sangaya schools and church teachings. Preaching must be stopped to avoid demobilizing a large population as jihadist (or killers in the name of religion). There must be emphasis on science and technical education including broadened social science perspective to understand processes of social change and dynamism.

There is need for special training of the military on activities of civilians and a special training on military codes and counter terrorism approaches. Government must strengthen the anti-corruption agencies and sanitize the judiciary of corrupt judges, plus set up a special centre for adjudication of corruption cases. There must be an end to capitalism which is the mother of all crimes including corruption.

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