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POVERTY, INTERNAL INSURRECTION AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE: A FOCUS ON THE FOURTH REPUBLIC

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Abstract

The economic fortune of the nation has nose-dived, marginalization ,deprivation, poverty and unemployment are the order of the day . Using secondary method of data collection and analysis, this study exposed and unveiled that absence of, rule of law, constitutionalism, responsible, willing, accountable and committed leadership among others as the factors responsible for the current state of the nation. Thus, inconsistency and lack of coherence in Nigeria's national development apparatus became glaringly clear. The study further discovered that factors such as, poor states of economy, poverty as serious problems that have to be tackled. Among others the study concludes and recommends that eclectic or holistic approach to the problem of Internal insurrection is needed rather than just a policy, as the country have to learn from other nations of the world with the same problem and have been able to overcome their challenges critically.

KEY WORDS:
Poverty, Internal Insurrection, Democracy, Governance, Fourth Republic

Introduction

After decades of dictatorships, Nigeria saw its fourth democratically elected president take office in 1999. Today, the country's nascent democracy is being tested by rampant crime and an unprecedented campaign of terror such that in the south, civil unrest threatens safety and stability, to the east; gangs who kidnap expatriates for ransom lie in wait on the roads, in bars, and cities; and to the north, the

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Islamic terrorist group called Boko Haram is growing both in number and brutality hence the group has posed brazen challenges to the government and issued the ultimatum "leave or die" to Christians living in the northern Nigeria and confidence that the government can protect the people at all time.

Unemployment rate in Nigeria has continued to be on the increase despite the abundant human and natural resources available in the country. Chronic youths' unemployment is evident in Nigeria (Adebayo, 2013a). Unemployment has become a major problem tormenting the lives of Nigerian youths and this poses a serious risk to the Nigerian society. The phenomenon of youth unemployment is devastating to both the individual and the society as a whole both psychologically and economically. The magnitude of the danger which youth unemployment poses to the society is better understood when, according to Awogbenle and Iwuamadi (2010), that over 64 million youths are unemployed and 1.6 million are under-employed. Unemployment causes frustration, dejection, desperation and dependency on family members and friends who also have their own problems to contend with. This precarious situation has left the youths in a vicious cycle of poverty that daily erodes their confidence and bright future (Adebayo, 2013a). The magnitude and expansion of poverty in Nigeria and the threat it poses makes it one of the biggest challenges in the nation today. The rate of poverty in Nigeria has worsened since the late 1990s, to the extent that the country is now considered as one of the twenty poorest countries of the world (Adebayo, 2013c). The frustration and desperation that daily torments the unemployed creates a fertile ground for crime to thrive. In recent times, there have been notable adverse social, economic and political developments in Nigeria, a consequence of youth unemployment and underemployment, particularly exemplified by increasing militancy, violent crimes, kidnapping, restiveness and political instability (Ajufo, 2013). The scariest undertone of Nigeria's socio-economic underachievement, by far, is the steady rise in youth crime, nurtured in a climate of increasing national income and the simultaneous failure of employment-generation and poverty alleviation programmes. Armed insurgency and terrorism culminating in wanton destruction of lives and property by Boko Haram extremists in the Northern part of the country are now competing for space in international headlines. The season of discontent has special ramifications for a nation with unemployed millions, and the net effect has been a tragic precipitation of violent crimes: assault, burglary, extortion and kidnapping etc. Decades of social and political turmoil has helped turn the strategically located African nation into an established junction for international drug smugglers (Osalor, 2010).

Other highlights of Nigeria's prolific crime syndicates are economic fraud usually in the form of innovative internet schemes, money laundering and racketeering. Furthermore, Adejumola and Tayo-Olajubulu (2009) contended that unemployment has been identified

as the major cause of social vices like armed robbery, destitution, prostitution, political thuggery, kidnapping and many more. What holds true for Nigeria and most other nations of equivalent human development indicators is the fact that crime is often a means of survival.

Statement of the Problem

The Nigeria's national security is largely centered on traditional method of security with emptiness in almost all the security apparatus. The security apparatus are given primacy without considering the impact of other factors such as ethnicity, religion, despotic tendencies, foreign intervention and poverty among others as pillars that could trigger and heighten the level of perceived threat on Nigeria's national security.

From the threat analysis perspective, it could be argued that the Western approach to national security remains largely within the confines of nuclear demands, arms balance and hostile international alliance. But since the end of the cold war, and with attempts by states at changing the paradigm of the international global security system, international policy makers and statesmen have increasingly become attentive to national occurrence and national security question. These occurrences include factors mentioned in-ta alia, which often for good or bad impacted on the national security.

It is however pertinent to note that the fundamental question that yet remain unanswered in our daily discourse is centered on whether the government is aware of the gravity at which absence of good and responsible governance, absence of justice, equity and rule of law, institutional and endemic corruption in both public and private conduct, cyclical nature of poverty which metamorphose as a result of wealth circulating only in the hands of few individuals which further domesticate certain group within the society as ordained to be segregated and marginalized for eternity put together breads ethnic and religious terrorist groups such as the Bakassi boys, Odua people's congress and the Boko Haram. Manipulation of socio-economic, political, regional or religious factors for personal gains all put together or separately can serve as a great threat to peace, unity, development and progress and by extension affecting the national security.

Objectives of the Study

In outlining the objectives of this paper, attempt shall be made to among other things:

i. Identify the main causes of internal insurrection in Nigeria.
ii. Describe the linkages between internal insurrection and poverty
iii. Determine the extent of damage caused by internal insurrection activities in relation to governance and national security question in Nigeria

Research Questions

i. What are the causes of internal insurrections in Nigeria
ii. What are the linkages between internal insurrection and poverty in Nigeria.
iii. To what extent does internal insurrections deter national security in Nigeria?

Hypotheses of the Study

i. That poverty is one of the major causes of internal insurrection in Nigeria.
ii. That there are strong linkages between poverty and exponential rise of internal insurrection activities in Nigeria.
iii. That the activities of internal insurrections has serious negative consequences on Nigeria' national security.

Methodology

This work employs the secondary source of data as its method of data gathering and also uses the content approach to effect the analysis of the data generated via other people's documentations on the socio-economic effects of internal insurrections on the security of the Nations.

Concept of poverty

Many writers have pointed to the difficulties involved in defining poverty. Some of the difficulties are associated with the fact that those defining poverty are usually not the poor themselves (Iyayi, 2002). Another difficulty in defining poverty is that it is perceived as a complex and multi-dimensional concept. For example, poverty has been defined as a "dynamic process of socio-economic and political deprivation, which affects individuals, households or communities resulting in lack of access to basic necessities of life" (National Policy on Poverty Eradication of the Federal Republic of Nigeria cited in Iyayi 2002:5), and as a state of "marginalization and exclusion" that has economic, structural or relational and personal or psychological dimensions (Engberg, 2002:7). While poverty may have several dimensions, it could be argued that it is largely an economic and social category. For example, there were many black South Africans who were marginalized and excluded under the apartheid regime but who were not poor. In Nigeria also, minority ethnic groups or nationalities often see themselves as marginalized and excluded from control of the polity but this is not to say that all the members of such groups are poor.
Viewed from another perspective Enberg (2002), further contested that, poverty involves a judgment of basic human needs and is measured in terms of the resources required to maintain health and physical efficiency. To Alcock (1997), poverty is "going short materially, socially and emotionally. It means spending less on food, on eating and on retching than someone on an average income above all; poverty takes away the tools to

build the blocks for the future life chances". These definitions emanate from those who are not poor. Patel et al, captured a definition from a poor man. The man said "Don't ask me what poverty is because you have met it reside my house. Look at the house and count the number of holes. Look at my utensils and the cloths that I am wearing. Look at everything and write what you see. What you see is poverty" (A poor man, Kenya, cited in Patel et al. 2000:30). Another definition captured in Patel e.tal's work was a woman from Moldova she ac "Poverty is pain; it feels like a disease. It attacks a person not only materially but also morally. It eats away one's dignity and drives one into total despair," (A Woman from Moldova cited in Patel et al. 2000:65).

Security

The concept of security generally, is a crosscutting, and multi-dimensional concept which has, over the last century, been the subject of great debate. However, long before that, the history of mankind was interspersed by the frenzied search for the best way of ensuring the security of the people, their properties, territories, states and institutions among others. In all places and countries, security has been considered as a "first order value" worth preserving. The aforementioned notwithstanding, there is no consensus on the definition of security. This is not surprising because as a social phenomenon, it is often approached from different perspectives.

Security has been seen as a situation where a person or thing is not exposed to any form of danger or risk of physical or moral aggression, accident, theft or deterioration. Some security experts argued that the concept of security has always been associated with the safety and survival of the state and its citizens from harm or destruction or from dangerous threats. Those conceptions generally hold that the state is the only institution with the primary responsibility and power for the safety of its territory and its people (Zabadi, 2005:3). Therefore the concept of security in this paper is operationalised within the context of a nation hence the concept of "national security".

National Security

The concept of "national security" is often misunderstood says (Wolfer, 1962) and as such elusive says (Carey, 2000). Hence a strange phenomenon, a subjective "felling", and therefore relational and relatives, rather than an objective "thing" than can be seen and handled.

However, National security is the requirement to maintain the survival of the state through the use of economic, diplomacy, power projection and political power. The concept developed mostly in the United States of America after World War II. Initially focusing on military might; it now encompasses a broad range of facets, all of which impinge on the non-military or economic security of the nation and the values espoused by the national society.

Accordingly, in order to possess national security, a nation needs to possess economic security, energy security, environmental security, etc. Security threats involve not only conventional foes such as other nation-states but also non-state actors such as violent non-state actors, narcotic cartels, multinational corporations and non-governmental organizations; some authorities include natural disasters and events causing severe environmental damage in this category. Measures taken to ensure national security include: using diplomacy to rally allies and isolate threats; marshalling economic power to facilitate or compel cooperation; maintaining effective armed forces; implementing civil defense and emergency preparedness measures (including anti-terrorism legislation); ensuring the resilience and redundancy of critical infrastructure; using intelligence services to detect and defeat or avoid threats and espionage, and to protect classified information; using counterintelligence services or secret police to protect the nation from internal threats Generally, Braithwaite (1988:9) quoting the encyclopedia of the social sciences defines national security as "ability of a nation to protect its internal values from external threat". Also, Lipmann defines it by stating that "a nation has security when it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate interest to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by war". Morgenthau (1948) posits that national security and national interests are inter-related; where the former is seen in terms of power and therefore is the essence of politics.

Insurrections

insurrections or Insurgency and its tactics are as old as warfare itself. Joint doctrine defines an insurgency as an organized movement aimed at the overthrow of a constituted government through the use of subversion and armed conflict. These definitions are a good starting point, but they do not properly highlight a key paradox: though insurgency and counter-insurgency are two sides of a phenomenon that has been called revolutionary war or internal war, they are distinctly different types of operations. In addition, insurgency and counter – insurgency are included within a broad category of conflict known as irregular warfare.

This approach does not consider the morality of the conflict, or the different viewpoints of the government and the insurgents. It is focused more on the operational aspects of the types of actions taken by the insurgents and the counter-insurgents. The Department of Defense's (DOD) definition focuses on the type of violence employed (unlawful) towards specified ends (political, religious or ideological). This characterization fails to address the argument from moral relativity that: one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter. In essence, this objection to a suitable definition submits that while violence may be "unlawful" in accordance with a victim's statutes, the cause served by those committing the acts may represent a positive good in the eyes of neutral observers.

An insurgency is a rebellion against a constituted authority (for example, an authority recognized as such by the United Nations) when those taking part in the rebellion are not recognized as belligerents. An insurgency can be fought via counter-insurgency warfare, and may also be opposed by measures to protect the population, and by political and economic actions of various kinds aimed at undermining the insurgents' claims against the incumbent regime. The nature of insurgencies is an ambiguous concept. In the context of Nigeria terrorist and insurgent group are found in all nationalist such as: Ansaru, Arewa people's Congress, Bakassi Boys, Bakassi Movement for Self-Determination, Boko Haram, Civilian Joint Task Force, Egbesu Boys, Igbo's People's Congress, Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta, Niger Delta Liberation Front, Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force Niger Delta Vigilante, Oodua People's Congress, Yan Tatsine.

Literature Review and Theoretical Discourse

Theoretically, Relative Deprivation Theory, Ted Robert Gurr in his book, *Why Men Rebel* (Gurr, 1970) pointedly explicated that instead of an absolute standard of deprivation, a gap between expected and achieved welfare leads men to discontent and eventual violence. This theory also applies to individuals who find their own welfare to be inferior to that of others to whom they compare themselves. He argues that relative deprivation is the term used to denote the tension that develops from a discrepancy between the "ought" and the "is" of collective value satisfaction, and that disposes men to violence". This gap between an individual's expected and achieved welfare results in collective discontent.

To Gurr (ibid), violence and extremism like the Boko Haram insurgency in the North is as a result of collective discontent caused by a sense of relative deprivation by the young people who contrary to believe that democracy will improve their living conditions worsened it off. In his assertion, Obi (2008: 7) noted that "the high expectations of the people that democracy would reverse decades of poverty, corruption and underdevelopment have hardly been met by the new democrats". This ultimately created feelings of deprivation and impulse to form a rebel group and undertake senseless terror attacks on both the innocent citizens and government.

Historically, the concept of relative deprivation dates back to ancient Greece. For example, Aristotle (Gurr, 1970 cited in Richardson, 2011) articulated the idea that revolution and other actions such as terrorism are driven by a relative sense or feeling of inequality, rather than a natural instinct. In other words, the impulse to attack or desire terrorism by (young) people stems from a discrepancy between what people perceived are theirs or considered to be legitimately theirs but are deprived of getting by others. Invariably, Gurr believes that this perceived discrepancy between value expectations and

value capabilities is what leads to discontent rather than seeing instinct to become violent as a natural reaction. Hence, relative deprivation theory is illustrated this way: Mr A feels deprived of object X, Mr A does not have X but wants to have it. Mr A knows of other people who have object X and believes obtaining X is realistic only that it he or she was deprived of it by a person or group of persons. This deprivation engenders frustration that eventually leads to aggression in form of terrorism and other violent conflicts.

Internal insurrections in Northern Nigeria: The Boko-haram example.

Boko Haram's origin seems to lies in a group of radical Islamist youths who worshipped at the Alhaji Muhammadu Ndimi Mosque in Maiduguri a decadeago hence in 2002, an offshoot of this youth group (not yet known as Boko Haram) declared the city and the Islamic establishment to be intolerably corrupt and irredeemable. Thu the group declared that it was embarking on hijra (a withdrawal along the lines of the Prophet Muhammad's withdrawal from Mecca to Medina). It moved from Maiduguri to a village called Kanama, Yobe state, near the border with Niger, to set up a separatist community run on hard-line Islamic principles. Its leader, Mohammed Ali, espoused anti state ideology and called on other Muslims to join the group and return to a life under "true" Islamic law, with the aim of making a more perfect society away from the corrupt establishment.

The above assertion cannot be said to be correct as there are conflict in the literature as to the actual date of origin and formation as well as the leadership of the Boko Haram sect hence Alozieuwa (2012) documented that the confusion not only reflects in the narratives about the exact date, and whothe actual founder was, but also as to the true source of these expositions. For instance, Adibe (2012), has observed that while the popular belief is that it was founded around 2001 or 2002, Madike, traced date to as far back as 1995, and argues that, one Lawan Abubakar, who later left for further studies at the University of Medina, Saudi Arabia, actually founded the Boko Haram sect. Under Abubakar, the sect was known as Sahaba, (Madike 2011 cited in Adibe, 2012: 50). Elsewhere, these expositions are credited to Shehu Sani, a civil right activist in northern Nigeria, who helped broker the first peace deal with the sect which failed (Business Day, online, February 1, 2012). While Uzodike and Maiangwa on the other hand acknowledge the Lawan Abubakar angle, they attribute their source to Ujah et al. in Uzodike and Maiangwa, 2012: 100). But just as the sect itself may be less concerned about whom to credit forits formation than waging its war against the Nigerian state, the state too may be less concerned with theorigin than it is with the threat that the group now poses to national society. The obscurity surrounding its true origin perhaps informs why initially, the sect "had no specific name as its members attractedseveral descriptions where they operated based on the perception of the local population" (Okereke, 2012: 450).

Although Yussuf allegedly drew inspiration from radical Islamist, IbnTaymiyya, he reportedly resisted some of his followers relentless advocate that"an Islamic state was realizable through preachingand mobilization of the people to reject secularism, by way of taking up arms and fighting to conquer the unbelievers"; "Yussuf was said to be against any form of violence, saying it was against the teaching of Islam" (Suleiman cited in Uzodike and Maiangwa, 2012: 101). It is, therefore, yet uncertain whether the sect's current level of radicalization is a function of the deaths of its initial leadership and subsequent clampdown by the State or the accession to its leadership of the taciturn psychopath, Abubakar Shekua,a Kanuri native, who once boasted "I enjoy killing anyone that God commands me to kill – the way I enjoy killing chickens and rams," (BBC, online, June 22, 2012). Along with two other top leadership, Abubakar Adam Kambar and Khalid al-Barnawi, Shekau in June 2012 recently made the United States' list of international terrorists (Alozieuwa, 2012) hence the use of lethal weapons such as explosives and guns as well as machetes and dagger for the purposeof meting our mayhem to the Nigerian state which has affected her economy adversely considering the high rate of loss of lives and properties.

Conclusion

Boko Haram is an Islamic sect that believes politics in northern Nigeria has been hijacked by a group of corrupt and false Muslims; and also that westernization has bread corruption in the Nigerian polity and therefore wants to wage war against westernization of all sorts in the country by creating a theocratic state ruled by Shari'a law. Resultantly, since August 2011 Boko Haram has planted bombs almost weekly in public places and churches in Nigeria's northeast. Later on, the group broadened its targets to include setting schools on fire hence inMarch 2012, some twelve public schools in Maiduguri were blazed down, and as many as 10,000 pupils wereforced out of school. Their activities further escalate to attacking mosques and other Islamic top Mallams. The dimension of Boko Haram activities in recent times is taking a dramatic turn by waging serious attack on basically villages, some selected states, important individuals from the opposition party as in the case of General Buhari of the opposition party (APC) and the most terrific act of kidnapping more than 230 school girls from the Chibok in Maiduguri.

Recommendations

1. A viable reorientation on the value for life and unity even in diversity is strongly recommended.
2. No doubt, the impoverishment of the North is traceable to the long history of insecurity in the region. The insecurity has led to mass exodus of investors from the North on one hand and the exodus of foreign investors from Nigeria on the other.

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
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3. It is equally recommended that the Nigerian government should establish special force that counters the terrorism of Boko Haram caliber as well as open a viable channel for information sharing between the government agencies and the individuals or private security outfits because security is every body's responsibility.

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