

The Radicalization of Islam: Case Study of Media Reportage of Boko Haram Insurgency in Northern Nigeria

Radikalisasi Islam: Studi Kasus Pemberitaan Media tentang Pemberontakan Boko Haram di Nigeria Utara

Sulaiman A. Osho

Robert Gordon University, Aberdeen, Scotland, United Kingdom

Submitted 3 Desember 2024

In Review 3 Desember 2024

Accepted 3 January 2025

Published 1 February 2025

Abstract

One of the challenges of the world today is the plethora of wars, hostilities, violence, and pogrom engineered by the militarization of religions. From the north, to the south, east and west of the globe, there is religious war cloaked in political gimmicks. And the human devastation continues endlessly in Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Turkey, Iraq, Greater Sahel and Lake Chad Basin, North Eastern Nigeria, South Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Afghanistan, Myanmar, Israel and Palestine, Ukraine, Mexico, and among others including pockets of terrorist acts in United Kingdom and United States. This study examines the radicalization of Islam and its multiplying effects on the peace in the world. It looks at the media reportage of the Boko Haram terrorist religious group in Nigeria. It analyzes the coverage of the insurgencies in the Radio Nigeria news bulletins at the height of the mutinies. It concludes that the coverage of Radio Nigeria of the Boko Haram radicalization in the killing, kidnapping, and destruction of property in the north eastern Nigeria hasn't reduced the hostilities of the terrorist group. The research offers recommendations for the ways out of the crises.

Keywords

Islam, Radicalization, Boko Haram, Radio Nigeria

Abstract

Salah satu tantangan besar dunia saat ini adalah meluasnya peperangan, kekerasan, dan pembantaian yang dipicu oleh militerisasi agama, seringkali diselimuti oleh kepentingan politik. Konflik ini menyebar dari Suriah, Irak, Yaman, Turki, Nigeria Timur Laut, hingga Palestina, Ukraina, dan Amerika Serikat. Studi ini menyoroti radikalisasi Islam dan dampaknya terhadap perdamaian global melalui analisis terhadap pemberitaan kelompok teroris Boko Haram di Nigeria. Penelitian ini mengulas liputan Radio Nigeria saat puncak pemberontakan dan menemukan bahwa pemberitaan mengenai pembunuhan, penculikan, dan penghancuran oleh kelompok tersebut tidak berhasil meredakan kekerasan. Penelitian ini kemudian memberikan sejumlah rekomendasi sebagai langkah keluar dari krisis yang sedang berlangsung dan untuk membangun narasi media yang lebih konstruktif dalam menangani isu radikalisme.

Keywords

Islam, Radikalisasi, Boko Haram, dan Radio Nigeria

*Corresponding Author

Sulaiman A. Osho, oregon2018@iamcr.org

3026-5398 © 2025 The Authors. Published by Universitas Darussalam Gontor. This is an open access article under the CC BY license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/deed.id>).

Introduction

Beyond the facts that religion only caused 7 percent of conflicts in the world, and that Islam only account for 4 percent of crises in the globe, the devastation triggered by the September 11, 2001 invasions in United States, actually put Islam on the world map as a radical religion.¹

The claim by the Al-Qaeda Terrorist Group as responsible for the killing of 2,996 people and injuring over 6,000 during the hijack and crashing of airplanes into the 110-story twin-towers in Manhattan, New York and ten other large buildings, as well as in Pentagon in Washington, D.C., was a climax of the retinue of the radicalization of Islam in the world.²

Since the September 11 incident, Ali (2017) reveals that, United States had spent “at least \$1.7 trillion on combat and reconstruction costs in Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. The total budgetary cost of the wars and homeland security from 2001 through 2016 is more than \$3.6 trillion”. Also, more than 5,000-armed service personnel have lost their lives since 9/11 and the tens of thousands of American soldiers who have been wounded in the battle against terrorism.

Besides, 32,765 people are discovered to have died in 2014 in ninety-three countries; which is described as the most devastating, and 29,376 deaths recorded in 2015, since 2001 from terrorist attacks. Last year, four radical Islamic groups were said to have been responsible for 74 percent of all deaths from terrorism: the Islamic State (also known as ISIS), Boko Haram, the Taliban, and al-Qaeda. Although the Muslim world itself bears the heaviest burden of jihadist violence, the West is increasingly under attack.³

¹ Douglas Little, *Us versus them: The United States, radical Islam, and the rise of the green threat*. UNC Press Books, 2022.

² Ameer Ali, "From Islamophobia to Westophobia: The long road to radical Islamism." *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs* 3.1 (2016): 1-19.

³ Ayaan Hirsi Ali, "How to counter political Islam." *Defining Ideas—A Hoover Institution Journal*. March 22 (2017). <https://www.hoover.org/research/how-counter-political-islam>.

More deaths are however recorded by Western inspired civil wars in the Middle East and North Africa, such as in Iraq, Libya, Somalia, and Syria, not forgetting northern Nigeria, in the course of efforts to combat terrorism. Thus, people of these countries are displaced as refugees around the world especially, the West which now makes France, Britain, France, Germany, United States, and others to be in a permanent state of emergency. And Ali (2017) further discloses that the United States has been profoundly shaken by terror attacks in Boston (the Marathon bombers); Fort Hood, Texas; San Bernardino, California; Orlando, Florida; and Ohio State University, to name but a few.

Today, Islam is being projected as a terrorist religion by the media, but historical accounts shows that Islam spreads more across the globe in peacetime, to demonstrate the true meaning of its name, and Islam didn't cause the First World War (July 28, 1914 – November 11, 1918) where more than 130 million military personnel fought in Europe leading to the death of over 9 million combatants and seven million civilians.⁴

In the estimation of Pope Francis,⁵ in his speech to the congregation in the Vatican City in Italy, the Global Catholic leader insists that, "Terrorism is not fueled by the religion of Islam itself; terrorism is fueled in large part by a lack of work and opportunity for people". This attests to the fact that, Islam didn't lead to the Second World War (September 1, 1939 – September 2, 1945) involving more than 100 million people from 30 countries, in the Western and Eastern Europe, and described as the deadliest conflict in human history with the death of over 85 million people including massacres, genocide, holocaust, starvation, disease, strategic bombing, and the first use of nuclear weapons.⁶

⁴ Jay Winter, ed. *The Cambridge History of the First World War: Volume 2, The State*. Cambridge University Press, 2014.

⁵ Pope Francis, *"Fundamentalism in All the Religions". Press Conference with Journalists in the Polish Airlines Flight*. (Rome, Italy: Romereports.com, 2018).

⁶ Elizabeth Lunstrum, *War, violence, and population: Making the body count* – By James A. Tyner. Guilford Press, 2009.

Also, just as Pope Francis,⁷ maintains that “I think that in almost all religions, there is always a small fundamentalist group...including Christianity, Islam, Judaism and others...”, At least, Islam didn’t cause the Frontier Wars and indeed genocide of millions of aborigines in Tasmania and other indigenous people of Australia between 1788 and 1920’s at the start of the British colonization leading to the killing of the millions of the natives at the 150 massacre sites identified so far.⁸

Just as Pope Francis,⁹ asserts that “I don’t think it’s fair to identify Islam with violence. This is not fair and it’s not true...” After all, Islam didn’t cause the Troubles between the Protestants and Catholic Christians in Ireland between 1968 and 1998 killing millions of people and spilling to Great Britain, the Republic of Ireland and the Gibraltar.¹⁰

Yet, today, different terrorist acts in different parts of the world are being associated with the radicalization of Islam, especially by the ISIS, Boko Haram, Al-Qaeda, and among others. But are the Muslims or Islam responsible for the spate of killings in the United States of America and around the world?

Much as the terrorist acts of the Muslim organizations are unjustifiable and condemnable, this paper explores the radicalization of Islam and how Radio Nigeria has reported the hostilities of Boko Haram terrorist group in north-eastern Nigeria, in its news bulletins. It concludes that the news construction of Radio Nigeria on the Boko Haram radicalization in the killing, kidnapping, and destruction of property hasn’t reduced the hostilities

⁷ Pope Francis, “*Fundamentalism in All the Religions*”. Press Conference with Journalists in the Polish Airlines Flight, (Rome, Italy: Romereports.com, 2018).

⁸ Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, eds., *Intangible Heritage*, Key Issues in Cultural Heritage (London ; New York: Routledge, 2009).

⁹ Pope Francis, “*Don’t Be Fooled! Hear What Pope Francis REALLY Said About Islam and the Root of Terrorism*”. Catholic News Online. (Vatican City, Italy: Catholic News Online, 2016).

¹⁰ Richard English and Charles Townshend, eds., *The State: Historical and Political Dimensions* (London New York: Routledge, 1999); Dominic Bryan, *Orange Parades: The Politics of Ritual, Tradition, and Control*, Anthropology, Culture, and Society (London ; Sterling, Va: Pluto Press, 2000), 94.

of the terror group. The research offers recommendations for the ways out of the crises.

Finding and Discussion

It is necessary to examine the religion of Islam; the radicalization of Islam, political Islam, Boko Haram, and Radio Nigeria national news Bulletins. Islam as a Religion Islam as a religion is Arabic name which means peace. It is derived from one of the 99 Names of Almighty God, Peace (As-Salam) (Q. 59:23). According to Osho (2000),

Islam is the only religion that is not named after any individual like Buddhism, Christianity, and Confucianism. It is the only religion that is not named after any race like Hinduism, Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Taoism, and Shintoism. And it is the only religion that is not named after any idea, concept, philosophy or ideology, like Marxism, Socialism, Christian Science, Scientism, and Globalization.¹¹ As a way of life, Islam has the great influence over much of the North African, Middle and Far East regions for almost 1,500 years, when its great Prophet Muhammad (PBOH) spread the message and culture from the heart of the world, Saudi Arabia.¹²

Islam as a religion of peace and a way of life has its unique culture, tradition, mannerism, and etiquette which are rooted in the Unity and Indivisibility of the Almighty Allah, the Supreme Being; and acceptance of Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBOH) as the Seal of all prophets. It is the religion of all prophets from Adam to Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus (Holy Qur'an 42:13).

The Religion before God Is Islam (submission to His Will): Nor did the people of the Book dissent there from except through envy of each other, after

¹¹ George W. Braswell, *Understanding World Religions: Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, Judaism, Islam*, Rev (Nashville, Tenn: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 1994).

¹² Frank Peters, "Historical Atlas of Islam - By Malise Ruthven with Azim Nanji," *The Muslim World* 98, no. 1 (January 2008): 149-51, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-1913.2008.214_3.x.

knowledge had come to them. But if any deny the signs of God, God is swift in calling to account (Holy Qur'an 3:19).

Islam has its unique culture which is being demonstrated by its over two billion adherents in the six habitable continents of the world. Its practice is based on five pillars which are

a) Faith: Belief in the Unity of God (Allah) and total submission to His cause and that the Holy prophet Muhammad (PBOH) is His Servant and Messenger (Holy Qur'an, 2:112; 6:153,162). This is also based on six the articles of faith:

- (i.) Belief in the Oneness of Allah
- (ii.) Belief in the Angels
- (iii.) Belief in the Prophets
- (iv.) Belief in the Holy Books such as Sufi sent through prophet Ibrahim; Zabur (Psalm) sent through Prophet Daud; Torah sent through prophet Musa; Injil (Bible) sent through Prophet Isa (Jesus Christ) and the last scripture of Holy Qur'an sent through Prophet Muhammad (PBOH).
- (v.) Belief in pre-destination or Pre-measurement (Qadar).
- (vi.) Belief in the Day of Judgment.

b) Salat: Observance of five daily obligatory prayers at dawn (Subhi) noon (Zuhr), afternoon (Asr) sunset (Maghrib) at night (Ishai) (Holy Qur'an 4:103; 24:56).

c) Zakat: The giving of alms and charity to the poor from our income, property, and savings annually (Holy Qur'an 2:110; 22:78; 24:56; 73:21; 9:59).

d) Ramadan Fast: The observance of compulsory fast in the full lunar month of Ramadan by Muslim faithful annually for those who are

sane, healthy, not on a journey and reached the age of puberty (Holy Qur'an 2:183-187).

- e) Hajj: The performance of Holy pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina at least once in a lifetime during the twelfth lunar month of Dhul-Hijjah for Muslims who are healthy, sane, matured, and has the means to make the Holy journey (Holy Qur'an 3:97; 2:196-203; 22:28-33).

The Islamic culture reflects in:

- Islamic Architecture: This reflects in the unique architectural structure of its Mosques in Mecca, Medina, and Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, El-Azhar Mosque and Hussain Mosques in Cairo, Egypt; Umayyad Mosque; Faisal Mosque; and the many styles of Arabesque.
- Islamic Literatures: This reflects in the Arabian Night and poetic stories literature like Hayy Ibn Yaqdhan; The Madman of Layla; The conference of the Birds; and the Masnavi.
- Islamic Arts and Crafts: This reflects in the unique Arabic calligraphy, artworks, hand crafts, foot mats, rugs and others.
- Islamic Philosophies: The early Muslims ruled the world with Islamic civilization between 7th and 13th centuries from Cordova, Spain through intellectualism. The earliest Universities in the world, were established by the Muslims. They are University of Qarawiyyin or Karaouine – 859 AD, established by Fatima Al-Fehri, daughter of a rich merchant in Fez, Morocco; El-Azhar University – 969 AD, Cairo, Egypt; and University of Timbuktu – 988 AD, Mali.¹³ The universities were centres of excellence in Sociology, Astronomy, Astrology, Architecture, Medicine, Geometry, Arithmetic, geography, among others. The great inventors of these philosophies which form the focal point of human civilizations

¹³ Fekri A. Hassan, ed., *Droughts, food, and culture: Ecological change and food security in Africa's later prehistory*. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2002.

include Ibn Khaldun, Ibn Bajjah, Ibn Tufail, Ibn Sina (Averroes) and others.

- Islamic Law: This is the Qur'anic laws called Sharia that regulates the civil and criminal aspects of life of the Muslims.
- Islamic Moral Values: This reflects in the moral systems of the religion through:
 - a. Sacredness of life against murder, abortion, manslaughter, pogrom, and all forms of killing and hostilities against humanity by Islam (Holy Qur'an 2:30; 2:178; 5:32; 6:151; 17:32; 17:70; 28:4). And there are more than 47 Sayings of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) i.e., Hadith on the Sanctity of Human Life in Islam.
 - b. Human Rights and Equality of Humanity (Q. 4:124; 5:8, 32; 9:71; 16:90; 17:33, 70; 49:13; 51:19).
 - c. Lawful foods and forbidden foods (Q. 2:168-173); 5:4).
 - d. Lawful drinks and forbidden liquor (Q. 2:219; 5:90).
 - e. Justice to all even towards an enemy (Q. 5:8).
 - f. Goodness to parents and respect for elders (Q.4:36; 17:23).
 - g. Fulfilment of covenants and promises (Q. 2:177; 5:1; 16:91; 17:34; 23:8; 70:33).
 - h. Chastity by both male and female adherents It was chastity that Mariam, (Mother of Jesus Christ) as anointed woman (Q. 17:32; 23:5-7; 24:30; 25:68; 33:35; 70:29-31).
 - i. Cleanliness of the body and environment (Q. 2:22; 4:43; 5:6.22:29; 74:4).
 - j. Forgiveness and the control of anger (Q. 3:134; 41:34).
 - k. Co-operation, harmony, togetherness, goodwill, and general consensus and cultural integration (Q. 5:22).
 - l. Muslims to be courageous in the face of all odds to command what is right and forbid what is wrong even in the face of wicked

and tyrannical leaders (Q. 2:177; 3:172,174; 9:39; 20:72; 33:39; 46:13).

- m. Good treatment of employees. In fact, prophet Muhammad (PBOH) emphasizes that the sweat of the employees must not dry before they are given their dues (Q. 4:36).
- n. To give true evidences in disputes and the law courts as against false evidences (Q. 4:135; 5:8; 25:72).
- o. Excelling in doing good at all times (Q. 2:148).
- p. Feeding the hungry (Q. 76:81; 90:14-16).
- q. The Show of Forgiveness to those who offend us (Q.2:109; 3:134; 4:149; 5:13; 7:119; 12:92; 24:22; 41:34; 42:37-40).
- r. Gratefulness (Q. 2:152).
- s. Humility (Q. 6:63).
- t. Casting down of looks (Q. 24:30).
- u. Good treatment of neighbours (Q. 4:36).
- v. Patience, endurance and perseverance (Q. 2:45; 11:11; 13:22).
- w. Peace-Making between people (Q. 4:114:49:9).
- x. Purity of the mind and body (Q. 2:222; 5:6).
- y. Good treatment of relatives (Q. 2:177; 16:90; 30:38).
- z. Sincerity of purpose and self-control against the evil deeds of gambling, adultery, fornication, back-biting, envy, theft, niggardliness, defamation, giving short measures (Profiteering), boasting, derision arrogance etc (Q.4:135; 7:201; 18:28; 30:29; 38:26).
- aa. Discharge of trust faithfully (Q. 2:283; 4:58; 23:8; 70:32).
- bb. Spending wealth for the love of Allah (Q. 2:177; 17:26).
- cc. Unselfishness (Q. 2:207; 11:51; 59:9; 64:16; 76:8; 92:19).
- Islamic Festivals and Celebrations: These are mainly the celebration of the festival of fast breaking (Eid-l-Fitr) at the end of a full-month fast in Ramadan; the festival of Sacrifice; (Eid-l. Kabir

or Eid-l-Adha) on DhulHijjah 10, when Muslims slaughter rams, after Eid prayers around the world when Muslim pilgrims descend from Mount Arafat in Saudi Arabia.

The Islamic culture has been seen to be the next to rule the world in a few years' time, to overthrow the Uni-polar culture of the West. Islam is in fact perceived as the next American religion. According to the great American poet, Wolfe (2009, 34).

Islam is the third, largest and fastest growing religious community in the United States. This is not just because of immigration. More than 50% of America's six million Muslims were born here. Statistics like these imply some basic agreement between core American values and the beliefs that Muslims hold. Americans who make the effort to look beyond popular stereotypes to learn the truth of Islam are surprised to find themselves on familiar ground. Is America a Muslim nation? Here are several reasons the answer may be yes.

These reasons given include:

- Islam is monotheistic
- Islam is democratic in spirit
- Islam, contains an attractive tradition
- Islam is egalitarian
- Islam is way of life
- Islam promotes lawful food and drink. Islam is tolerant of other faiths
- Islam encourages the pursuit of knowledge and religious freedom.

Attesting to the great influence of Islamic culture in the past and dictating the present civilizations in the West, Al- Siddiqui (2009 , 36) notes that,

From 750 C.E. i.e., after the revelation of the Qur'an, there is unbroken succession of the ages of the Muslim scientists. They are Jabber, Charisma, Raze, Maude, Afar, Bruin, and Avicenna etc., etc. till the 13th

century. Muslims' achievements continued in the field of mathematics, chemistry, geography, physics, astronomy, and medicine.

Though, the Muslim civilization were destroyed by the Tartar and Genghis attacks through the devastation of the treasures of scientific knowledge and inventions in Baghdad, Spain, and Portugal, Al- Siddiqui (2009 , 37) agrees with Wolfe that the Islamic culture will soon rule the world. According to him,

Baghdad was the seat and the Muslim rule of Spain was the era of learning when Europe was in the dark ages. The Muslim scientists' works and notions were carried to Europe as they studied there. The Muslim rule in India attained the master progress in architecture and woven cloth. The Taj Mahal is counted among the 8th wonders of the world.

The 44th President of United States, Barrack Obama (2009 , 43) quite agrees that Islam has contributed immensely to the development of America and improving the culture of the people. According to him, ...Islam as we know is part of America. And like the broader American Citizenry, the American Muslim Community is one of extraordinary dynamism and diversity...American Muslims are successful in business and entertainment; in the arts and athletics; in science and in medicine...Muslims have enriched America and its culture – in ways both large and small...

2.2 Political Islam

Political Islam is definitely not a new concept as erroneously being defined by some Western and Eastern scholars. Political Islam is dated to the creation of humanity by Almighty God. It is mistaken for Khan¹⁴ to have described political Islam as the composite of diverse movements to revive the lost glory and civilization of Islam in the world, and the establishment of a global Islamic Caliphate. It is incorrect for Kramer

¹⁴ MOHOMMED A. MUQTEDAR KHAN, "US Foreign Policy and Political Islam: Interests, Ideas, and Ideology." Security Dialogue 29.4 (1998): 449-462.

(2004) to assert that “political Islam is a recent developed term to label the wide-scale activities of individuals or organizations advocating transformation of the State and entire society according to Islamic rules”. It is mistaken for Voll and Sonn (2018) to have considered “political Islam in connection with the movements which represent the current political powers in the name of Islam, emerging at the end of 20th Century”.

Truly, Political Islam or Islamism is the ideological foundation of humanity with the enthronement of man as the Vicegerent (Khalifah) of God on earth, with knowledge, powers, spirituality, and free will over other creatures including the Angels, Jinn, and the brute animals (Holy Qur'an 2: 30 – 34). After the creation Adam, the first human being and first Prophet of God to proclaim Islam to the people i.e., the worship of one true God, he taught Adam the full Knowledge of all things which the Angels couldn't name. As Ali (2009) translates, the Holy Quran (2: 30 – 34) says: Behold, thy Lord said to the angels: "I will create a vicegerent on earth." They said: "Wilt Thou place therein one who will make mischief therein and shed blood? - whilst we do celebrate Thy praises and glorify Thy holy (name)?" He said: "I know what ye know not." And He taught Adam the nature of all things; then He placed them before the angels, and said: "Tell me the nature of these if ye are right." They said: "Glory to Thee, of knowledge We have none, save what Thou Hast taught us: In truth it is Thou Who art perfect in knowledge and wisdom." He said: "O Adam! Tell them their natures." When he had told them, Allah said: "Did I not tell you that I know the secrets of heaven and earth, and I know what ye reveal and what ye conceal?" And behold, We said to the angels: "Bow down to Adam" and they bowed down. Not so Iblis: he refused and was haughty: He was of those who reject Faith. The Political Islam actually takes its root on the foundation of the State on the Almighty God as the Sovereignty and the Vicegerency (khalifah) of man to rule based on the Divine trust, rather than entrusting the Sovereignty of the State to the people as erroneously being done in Western democracy.

Thus, the Islamic political theory called 'Theo-democracy' entrusts State powers under the rulership of Almighty God, Who is the creator and Who governs Divinely. And man is entrusted with the powers to govern State as the Vicegerent (khalifah) of God on earth.

That is why, Mawdudi (1976) debunks Western democracy as a misfit, as it entrusts powers or the Sovereignty of the State on the people rather than God. And Osho (1996) explains that the sovereignty in the Islamic State does not belong the ruler or the ruled, but belongs to God, and the appointed leaders exercises such powers as trust from God to enforce the Law of God (Sharia) and enhance the Will of God in the administration of the State by being just, fair, and responsible to the needs of the people.

Political Islam or Islamism actually negates the Western Theocracy of which Europe has had a bitter experience wherein the Priestly Class sharply marked off from the rest of the population, exercised unchecked domination, and enforced laws of its own in the name of God, thus virtually imposing its non-divinity and godhood on the common people.¹⁵ Meanwhile, Political Islam may be considered as the ideological inclinations of in-built political system in Islam to gain political powers in the administration of the State with the Islamic Law (Sharia), and to rule over non-Muslims with their respective religious laws as practiced by Prophet Muhammad (SAW) in Medina, Saudi Arabia as Head of State, Religious Leader, and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces over Muslims, Jews, Christians, and the idol worshippers.¹⁶

2.3 Institution of Political Islam

¹⁵ Philip Jones, "Divine and Non-Divine Kingship." *A Companion to the Ancient Near East* (2020): 243-259.

¹⁶ Mohsen Joshanloo, "Islamic conceptions of well-being." *The pursuit of human well-Being: The untold global history*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017. 109-131.

Since the chain of the Prophets and Messengers of God is the same as all the 124,000¹⁷ of them sent to the world at different times in history from Adam to Noah, to Abraham to Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Jesus Christ, and Muhammad (SAW) preached the unity and indivisibility of God under the banner of Islam. The 313 of them are Messengers, while the stories of twenty-five Prophets are told in the Holy Qur'an, 104 of the Prophets were given Holy Books; and five of them are considered as unique. But while all of them were national Prophets sent to their families, communities and nations only, Prophet Muhammad (SAW) is the last Prophet sent to the entire humanity with the message of the Holy Qur'an till eternity. According to the Holy Qur'an (3:84):

Say, We have believed in God and in what was revealed to us and what was revealed to Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob, and the Descendants, and in what was given to Moses and Jesus and to the prophets from their Lord. We make no distinction between any of them, and we are Muslims [submitting] to Him. The Qur'an (3:67 – 68) states further that: "Abraham was neither Jewish, nor Christian; he was a monotheist; a Muslim; he never was an idol-worshiper. The people most worthy of following Abraham are those who follow him and this prophet (Muhammed), and those who believed. God is the Lord of the believers. "And, indeed We have sent prophets before you (O Muhammad), of some of them We have related to you their story, and of some We have not related to you their story..." (Quran 40:78).

The radicalization of Islam is actually one of the ideological courses in Islam. Unlike Judaism and Christianity that separates religion from politics, Islam combines politics with religion from inception in 622 A.D. This shows in the fact that Prophet Muhammad (570 – 632 A.D.) was both the political Head of State, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces as well as Religious Leader on his arrival in Yathrib (Medina) in Saudi Arabia

¹⁷ Howard Barry Schatz, "The God Table: A New Origins Theory of Religion and Civilization." *Archaeological Discovery* 10.4 (2022): 215-261.

after Hijrah (Emigration from Makkah to Madinah) on July 16, 622 A.D. on the Julian calendar (Encyclopedia Britannica 2012)¹⁸.

Thus, the institutionalization of political Islam was carried out during the Prophethood of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) as the Seal of all Prophets and Messengers of God from the tenure of Adam.

The Western scholars actually agrees that Political Islam doesn't separate religion from politics as practiced and institutionalised by Prophet Muhammad in Medina, Saudi Arabia.¹⁹ In fact, Reverend R. Bosworth-Smith (1946), notes that,

By a fortune absolutely unique in history, Muhammad is the threefold founder of a nation, of an empire and of a religion. Head of State as well as the Church, he was Caesar and Pope in one; but he was without Pope's pretensions; a standing army, without a bodyguard, without a police force, without a fixed revenue. If ever a man had the right to say that he ruled by a right divine, it was Muhammad, for he had all the powers without their supports. He cared not for the dressings of power. The simplicity of his private life was in keeping with this public life.

The practice of Political Islam was continued by the Islamic Caliphates to rule the entire Muslim Community globally, that succeeded Prophet Muhammad (Bin Abdullah Bin Abdul-Mutalib) of the Hashim Family in Makkah, Saudi Arabia.²⁰ They are:

a. Rashidun Caliphate (632 – 661 A.D.).

The First Caliph or Successor to Prophet Muhammad (SAW) is Abu Bakr. He is considered as the first righteous guided Caliph of the four Rashidun. As the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces for the

¹⁸ Imam Taufik Alkhotob, Daud Rasyid, and Siti Nuri Nurhaidah. "The Dawah Strategy of Prophet Muhammad in the Development of the Madinah Community." *Jurnal Bina Ummat: Membina dan Membentengi Ummat* 6.2 (2023): 123-150.

¹⁹ Adil Rasheed, "Political Islam: Parallel Currents in West Asia and South Asia." Pentagon Press, 2023.

²⁰ Harvey J. Sindima, Major issues in Islam: The challenges within and without. Rowman & Littlefield, 2017.

entire Muslims, his administration subdued rebel tribes in the Ridda wars. Abu Bakr first compiled the Holy Qur'an, on the advice of Umar Bin Al-Kattab when the Memorizers of the Holy Qur'an were dying the wars against the rebels of Islam and his government. The copy of the Qur'an was kept with Hadhrat Afsat, one of the widows of Prophet Muhammad (SAW). The First of the Rashidun nominated Umar Bin Al-Kattab as his Successor on his sick bed with the wounds sustained from the wars. The Islamic Empire expanded to Egypt, Jerusalem, and Persia under Umar, the second Caliph.

The Third of the Rashidun is 'Uthman Bin Affan who finally compiled the Holy Qur'an, using the Abu Bakr compilation as the authentic version. This was when there were variations in the recitations of the Holy Qur'an in Arabic dialects, whereas the standard language of the Holy Qur'an is Classical Arabic. It remains the authentic version of the Holy Qur'an till eternity. 'Uthman was actually elected by a Council of Electors (Majlis) as the Third Caliph. But his tenure was fraught with crises as some rebels considered him more as a "King" rather than elected leader. Thus, 'Uthman Bin Affan was killed by members of an opposition group. Then the Fourth Caliph, Ali Bin Abu-Talib, cousin of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) took control of the Islamic Empire and was very popular. But the Governors of Egypt refused to recognise him as Caliph. Oppositions rose against him, including his guard. He had two major rebellions during the first Islamic civil war, which is described as Period of Crises (Fitnah). Ali was eventually assassinated after tumultuous rule of five years.

The thrust of Political Islam is demonstrated by the direct successors of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) under the Rashidun Caliphate (632 – 661 A.D.) as they were chosen through the process of Community

Consultation (Shura) which is the early form of Islamic democracy.²¹ The qualities of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) were demonstrated by the Rashidun Caliphate. During this period, the Muslim Empire allowed Jews, Christians, and others to practice their faith, and they were governed with their respective Holy Books, as practiced by Prophet Muhammad (SAW). Contrary to misconceptions, when the Muslims began to rule Palestine in 637 A.D. under the Rashidun Caliphate, they invited the Jewish people to live in Jerusalem after 500 years of exile.²² In 1187 A.D., after retaking Palestine from the Crusaders, Muslims treated Christians with honor despite the brutality they had endured at the hands of the Crusaders. Christians were allowed to live in peace or to stay in harmony.

This was also demonstrated when Spain was under Muslim rule, the city of Cordova was considered the intellectual center of Europe, where students went to study philosophy, science and medicine under Muslim, Jewish and Christian scholars. This rich and sophisticated society took a tolerant view towards other faiths, while peaceful coexistence was unheard of in the rest of Europe (Awan 2018). This peaceful co-existence where thousands of Jews, Christians, and Muslims lived together in safety and harmony in the Muslim Spain is described by the historian, Burke²³ as “the day the universe changed...the pivotal moment in time that radically altered the course of human history”.

But the Hereditary Monarchies that followed the Rashidun Caliphate didn't have the same acceptance and powers as the prophetic powers of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) and the Rashidun

²¹ Bashir Malam, "The Political Model of the Prophet Muhammad and His Rightly Guided Caliphs: An Overview." *International Journal of Research and Innovation in Social Science* 5.2 (2021): 251-259.

²² Danya Tayseer Mohammad, *Islamic Jerusalem*. University of California, Riverside, 2023.

²³ James Burke, *The Day the Universe Changed: Pivotal Moments in Time that Radically Altered the Course of Human History*. (London, UK: London Writers Limited, 1995).

Caliphates, as they claim to be Caliphates²⁴ (Pollard, Tignor, and Clifford 2011).

The split of the Muslim Community (Ummah) into Sunni and Shia sects during the tenure of Ali Bin Abu-Talib a fourth Caliph is remarkable in the annals of political Islam. The Sunni branch of Islam maintains the tradition of Prophet Muhammad (SAW), and stipulates that as Head of State, a Caliph should be elected by Muslims or their representatives. After all, a Caliphate is a State ruled by Islamic leader elected by Community Consultative Council (Shura System), who serves as Trustee of Allah (Caliph) to govern in the fulfilment of the Will of God and serve the needs of the people.²⁵

But the followers of the Shia sect believes that a Caliph should be an Imam chosen by God from the Family of the House of Prophet Muhammad.²⁶

b. Umayyad Caliphate (661 – 760 A.D.).

Actually, the Governor (Wali) of Syria, Muawiyah, a relative of 'Uthman Bin Affan, the Third Caliph was a major challenger of Ali Bin Abu-Talib, the fourth Caliph.²⁷ He became the Caliph after the assassination of Ali, and made the office hereditary by appointing his son, Yazid I to succeed him, and thus established Umayyad Dynasty. The trend continues through the subsequent Caliphates. Umar Bin Abdul-Aziz was the sixth Caliph under the Umayyad Caliphate. The Umayyad Caliphate actually expand the frontiers of Muslim Rule to the West in North Africa, Hispania, and to the East in Persia, Sindh and

²⁴ Luiz Alberto Moniz Bandeira, and Luiz Alberto Moniz Bandeira. "A Short History of Islam: From Muhammad to the War on Terror." *The Second Cold War: Geopolitics and the Strategic Dimensions of the USA* (2017): 369-402.

²⁵ M. Abdul Aziz, "The Principles of Islamic Polity in the Qur'an and Sunnah: Revisiting Modern Political Discourse." *Al-Burhān: Journal of Qur'ān and Sunnah Studies* 7.1 (2023): 5-28.

²⁶ Toby Matthiesen, *The Caliph and the Imam: the making of Sunnism and Shiism*. Oxford University Press, 2023.

²⁷ Ani Mulyani, Tabroni, I., Agustina, T. N. U., Wei, Z., & Xu, S, "Islam's Classical Period: Examining the Great Contribution of the Khulafahur Rashidin." *International Journal of Educational Narratives* 1.4 (2023): 219-233.

Punjab in India and Pakistan. This made it one of the largest unitary States in history as it covered three continents of Africa, Europe, and Asia. In fact, people from Saharan Africa paid homage to the Caliphate, especially from among the nomad Berber tribes. The Caliphate actually regarded Islam as Arab religion rather than the religion of humanity from the inception of human race, and were wary of Persian culture.²⁸ The Arabic language was enforced in Persia, leading to the demise of Middle Persian or Pahlavi alphabet in favor of Arabic/Persian alphabet in use to date. The Umayyad Caliphate tried to assimilate the Egyptians and the Assyrians.²⁹ But the Umayyad Caliphate had the set-back of acceptance by prominent early Muslims such as Al-Zubayr and others who felt that it is Dynasty not elected by a Community Consensus (Shura), and that only the Descendants of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) i.e., Banu Hashim or Ahl al-Bayt or the Descendants of Ali Bin Abu-Talib, cousin of the Prophet. A lot of rebellions were organized against the Umayyads, as well as the internal rivalry between the Yaman and Qaya within their ranks. In 750 A.D., the Shi'at Ali – "the Party of Ali" waged war against the Umayyad Caliphate.³⁰ But the Abbasid Dynasty took over power, because the Abbasids were descended from Muhammad's uncle, Abbas Bin Abdul-Muttalib, and not Ali. Thus, the Shi'at Ali decided to split from the majority Sunni Muslims and formed the Shi'at Denominations.

- c. Abbasid Caliphate (750 – 1258 A.D.).
- d. Caliphate of Cordoba in Hispania (929 – 1031 A.D.)
- e. Shadow Caliphate (13th – 16th Century A.D.).

²⁸ Mahmoud Haddad, "Arab religious nationalism in the colonial era: rereading Rashīd Riḍā's ideas on the caliphate." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1997): 253-277.

²⁹ Mohamed Awad, "The assimilation of nomads in Egypt." *Geographical Review* 44.2 (1954): 240-252.

³⁰ Patricia Crone, "Were the Qays and Yemen of the Umayyad period political parties?." (1994): 1-57.

- f. Ottoman Caliphate (16th – 20th Century A.D.).
- g. Khilafat Movement, 1920 A.D.
- h. End of Caliphate, in 1924 A.D. by Ottoman Empire.

2.4 Types of Political Ideology in Islam

The political ideology in Islam can be classified into the following:

- a. Conservative Political Islam
- b. Progressive Political Islam
- c. Militant Political Islam
- d. Radical Political Islam
- e. Jihadist Political Islam³¹

2.5 Radicalization of Islam

Just as Huntington (1993) affirms, that Islamic civilization has bloody borders, the hostilities against the Muslims since the sack of the Umayyad Caliphate by Europe during the Battle of Tours in 732 A.D.; the overthrow of the Islamic civilization and the Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad in 1258 A.D.³² by Europe through the Mongol invasions; the take-over of Palestinian land for Israel in 1948 by Britain; the Indian army violence against Muslims in Kashmir; the Indian Hindu destruction of the Ayodhya Mosque in 1992 and among others must have led to the radicalization of Islam to defend Muslim's rights and protection from the pogrom.³³

Meanwhile, Huntington (2003, 129) submits that these religious and cultural conflicts and wars are inevitable because of:³⁴

³¹ Mohammed Ayoob, "Political Islam: image and reality." *World policy journal* 21.3 (2004): 1-14.

³² Huntington Samuel, "The clash of civilizations." *Foreign Affairs* 72.3 (1993): 22-49.

³³ Šumit Ganguly, "Explaining the Kashmir insurgency: political mobilization and institutional decay." *International Security* 21.2 (1996): 76-107.

³⁴ John Trumbour, "The Clash of Civilizations: Samuel P. Huntington, Bernard Lewis, and the Remaking of Post-Cold War World Order." *The New Crusades*. Columbia University Press, 2003. 88-130.

- a. Those differences have always generated the most prolonged and the most violent conflicts;
- b. Because the world is becoming a smaller place, and the increasing interactions will intensify the civilization- consciousness of the people which in turn invigorates differences and animosities stretching or thought to stretch back deep in history;
- c. Because of the weakening of the nation-state as a source of identity and the secularization of the world with the revival of religion as basis of identity and commitment that transcends national boundaries and unites civilizations;
- d. Because of the dual role of the West. On the one hand, the West is at the peak of its power. At the same time, it is confronted with an increasing desire by elites in other parts of the world to shape the world in non-Western ways;
- e. Because cultural characteristics and differences are less mutable and hence less easily compromised and resolved than political and economic ones; and finally,
- f. Because increasing economic regionalism will reinforce civilization-consciousness.

But this militarization of religions cannot go unabated as all religions profess to command what is right; and forbid what is wrong; as divinely enjoined, and seek to promote love, justice, and peace in the world and among their respective adherents.³⁵

2.6 Boko Haram Insurgencies in Nigeria

It is pertinent to explore the genesis of the Boko Haram terrorist group in Nigeria as it affects the policy of multiculturalism in the country

³⁵ Sulaiman A. Osho, "The Militarization of Religions in the Digital Age." *Religion Online: How Digital Technology Is Changing the Way We Worship and Pray*. USA: ABC-CLIO Corporate 194 (2019).

through the declaration war against the government from the north-east axis of the country.³⁶ The north-eastern geo-political zone of Nigeria consists of Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba, and Yobe states. The height of the terrorist acts of Boko Haram in 2012 has been chosen as yardstick for the time frame for this research, to measure how Radio news has been able to report the violent activities of Boko Haram religious group.³⁷

The Boko Haram (Jama'a Ahl al-Sunnah Li Da'wa Wa Al-Jihad – Congregation of the People of Tradition for Proselytes and Jihad) means Western education is Forbidden. It is a militant extremist political organisation that camouflage under the cloak of Islam to attack mosques, churches, schools, and public institutions with the aim of instituting Sharia system in Nigeria, fighting against western education, poverty and democracy.³⁸

It was established in north-east Nigeria in Maiduguri in 1995 named Shahab, a Muslim Youth Organisation under the leadership of Mallam Lawal. It metamorphosed to Boko Haram in 2001 under Mallam Mohammed Yusuf who took over the leadership when Lawal went for further studies.³⁹

The playwright and Nobel Laureate, Soyinka (2012) warns that 'Nigeria could descend to (another) civil war as a faceless army of people brought up under religious restrictions was now out of control and rebelling against corruption'.⁴⁰

³⁶ Olumuyiwa Temitope Faluyi, Sultan Khan, and Adeoye O. Akinola. "Boko Haram's terrorism and the Nigerian state." *Advances in African Economic, Social and Political Development* 21 (2019): 1-15.

³⁷ Leila Demarest, Amélie Godefroidt, and Arnim Langer. "Understanding news coverage of religious-based violence: Empirical and theoretical insights from media representations of Boko Haram in Nigeria." *Journal of Communication* 70.4 (2020): 548-573.

³⁸ Abdul Raufu Mustapha, "Understanding Boko Haram." *Sects & social disorder: Muslim identities & conflict in Northern Nigeria* 147 (2014).

³⁹ Olumuyiwa Temitope Faluyi, Sultan Khan, and Adeoye O. Akinola. "Boko Haram's terrorism and the Nigerian state." *Advances in African Economic, Social and Political Development* 21 (2019): 1-15.

⁴⁰ Ukoha Ukiwo, "Politics, ethno-religious conflicts and democratic consolidation in Nigeria." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 41.1 (2003): 115-138.

This statement refers to the menace of the politico, religious and ethnic killings being perpetrated by Boko Haram since July 2009 with suicide bombings in churches, mosques, police headquarters, United Nations secretariat, banks, political offices and parade grounds in different states of the northern Nigeria including Abuja, the Federal Capital territory.⁴¹

The political insurgency group continues to call for the suspension of the constitution, democracy, and western education and the enthronement of government based on Islamic law of Sharia which form its ideological foundation.⁴²

This is apart from the fact that Nigeria has had ethno-religious riots and massacre in the north by Maitatsine sect in 1980; Kafanchan religious killings in 1987; Zango-Kataf genocide in 1992, 1993, 1995, and 1999.⁴³ Others include Kaduna riots in 2000 and 2002; Jos carnage in 2001, 2002, 2004, 2008, 2010, 2011, and 2012; Kano bloodbath in 1991 and 2001; and Tafawa Balewa butchery in Bauchi in 1991, 1995, 2001 and 2009.⁴⁴ The insurgent activities of the Boko Haram group actually came to a crescendo in January 2012 when the group mounted unprecedented violent attacks on mosques, churches, schools, and government establishments in north-eastern Nigeria including the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Abuja on a single day assault with bomb and gun attacks where an estimated 185 people were killed.⁴⁵ By early 2012, over 900 deaths were recorded from the onslaughts of Boko Haram in the north-eastern Nigerian states.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Ignatius Akaayar Ayua, and Dakas CJ Dakas. "Federal republic of Nigeria." *Kincaid, J & Tarr, GA (eds)* (2005).

⁴² Abdullah Sahin, "Critical issues in Islamic education studies: Rethinking Islamic and Western liberal secular values of education." *Religions* 9.11 (2018): 335.

⁴³ Daniel Egiegbia Agbiboa, "Ethno-religious conflicts and the elusive quest for national identity in Nigeria." *Journal of Black Studies* 44.1 (2013): 3-30.

⁴⁴ Godfrey Naanlang Danaan, *Conflict Reporting Strategies and the Identities of Ethnic and Religious Communities in Jos, Nigeria*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2020.

⁴⁵ Freedom C. Onuoha, and Temilola A. George. "The Abuja bombings: Boko Haram's reaction to President Buhari's actions." *African Security Review* 25.2 (2016): 208-214.

⁴⁶ Chris Kaiser Granville, *The impact of Boko Haram insurgency on the people of Borno State*. Diss. Walden University, 2020.

This has informed the choosing of the first quarter of 2012 as the period of the case study for this research in examining critically the national news of Radio Nigeria, Abuja in constructing the news about the religious and ethnic issues and multicultural events.⁴⁷ The intensity of the attacks by Boko Haram insurgent group spans Borno, Bauchi, Yobe, Kano, Nasarawa, Benue, Plateau, Taraba, Gombe, and Adamawa states as well as Abuja which has prompted the declaration of State of Emergency by the government of President Goodluck Jonathan in the three states of Borno, Yobe, and Adamawa on May 15, 2013.⁴⁸

This stems from the take-over of Boko Haram leadership by Abubakar Shekau in July 2010 after the death of the Founder, Muhammad Yusuf in police custody in July 2009, and the eventual assault on United Nations headquarters in Abuja on August 26, 2011 killing 23 people and injuring 81 others; jail break in Bauchi in July 2010 to free about 700 in-mates; the bombing of St. Theresa Catholic Church at Madalla, Niger State on Christmas Day – December 25, 2011; the bombing of police headquarters in Abuja in June 2011; and among other hostilities in Benue, Plateau, Gombe, Nasarawa, and Kano states.⁴⁹

The targets of Boko Haram since 2009 had been Private Citizens and Property 25%; Police 22%; Government 11%; Religious figures and Institutions 10%; Military 9%; Business 8%; Education 7%; and Other 8%.⁵⁰ To demonstrate its hatred for Western education and civilization, Boko Haram insurgent group attacked three schools between 2009 and 2011; 47 attacks on schools with 77 fatalities in 2012; 14 attacks on schools in 2013

⁴⁷ Lilian Ewuzie, and Isaiah Ilo Ilo. "Framing ethno-religious crises: An examination of studies on media and conflict dynamics in Jos, Nigeria." *The Abuja Communicator* 4.2 (2024): 73-88.

⁴⁸ Olly Owen, and Zainab Usman. "Briefing: Why Goodluck Jonathan lost the Nigerian presidential election of 2015." *African Affairs* 114.456 (2015): 455-471.

⁴⁹ Preventing War Shaping Peace, "Herders against farmers: Nigeria's expanding deadly conflict." *Africa Report* 19.252 (2017): 1-32.

⁵⁰ Wisdom Oghosa Iyekepolo, "Boko Haram: understanding the context." *Third World Quarterly* 37.12 (2016): 2211-2228.

with 119 deaths; and in February 2014, Boko Haram rebel group destroyed a boarding school in Yobe state and killed 29 male students releasing the female students to go home and get married.⁵¹

However, the United States Department of State announced the designation of Boko Haram as a Foreign Terrorist Organization on November 13, 2013 due to the propensity of its insurgency and its connections with Al-Qaidah, Taliban, Al-Shabaab, Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO), Ansar Al-Dine (Mali), and Azawald National Liberation Movement (MNLA) since 2008.⁵²

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) followed suit on May 22, 2014 to blacklist Boko Haram as terrorist organization at the request of the Nigerian government; while the government of Turkey has also listed the insurgent group as terrorist organisation on June 10, 2014 because of the abduction of about 300 female students from their school dormitory at Chibok, Borno state, Nigeria.⁵³

But the hostilities of Boko Haram has actually reached its climax attracting world attention with protests in major cities across the globe following the abduction of 276 female students at the Federal Government Secondary School, Chibok, Borno State in the night on April 15, 2014 and threatened to sell the girls in a video news on May 15, and to marry them off in Cameroon, Niger, and Chad.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Angela Ajodo-Adebanjoko, "THE IMPACT OF BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY IN NORTHEAST NIGERIA ON WOMEN AND GIRLS." *Journal of Behavioral & Social Sciences* 7.2 (2020).

⁵² Lauren Ploch Blanchard, "Nigeria's Boko Haram: Frequently Asked Questions." 10 Jun. 2014,

⁵³ Medinat Abdulazeez Malefakis, *Humanitarian Displacement and Boko Haram in Nigeria*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2022.

⁵⁴ Ezra Danladi Mallam, *Boko haram insurgency and human rights violation in North Eastern Nigeria*. Diss. Kampala International University, College of Humanities and social sciences., 2019.

Though the Nigerian military had been asking for military hardware assistance from the world powers on Boko Haram without success, dismissing it as internal problems of Nigeria; the protests of ‘#Bring Back Our Girls’ in Washington, D.C.; New York, Atlanta, London, Paris, Brussels, Beijing, Ottawa, Toronto, Tel Aviv, Lagos, Abuja, Kuala-Lumpur, and other major cities have prompted the military interventions of United States, United Kingdom, France, Canada, Israel, and China to rescue the girls from the stronghold of Boko Haram insurgents in Borno State, Nigeria.⁵⁵

This was prompted by the peaceful protests in Lagos and Abuja by the civil right organisations following the alleged lukewarm attitude of the Nigerian government from taking prompt action to rescue the female students from the shackles of the Boko Haram insurgent group.⁵⁶

This global campaign for the ‘#Bring Back Our Girls’ to free the abducted female students from Boko Haram mutinous group had been supported by the Amnesty International, UNICEF, and world leaders like President Barack Obama and his wife Michelle; David Cameron; Hillary Clinton; and celebrities like Malala Yousafzai, rappers Wyclef Jean, and Chris Brown whose tweet had been retweeted for over 10,000 times.⁵⁷

In fact, as the search continues for the school girls after over two months and the national conference discourse lingers, Nigeria’s Nobel Laureate, Wole Soyinka has declared that ‘if we don’t find the girls, then for me it will be better we sit down and decide that Nigeria is too much to

⁵⁵ Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ). *Attacks on the Press: Journalism on the World’s Front Lines*. Vol. 167. John Wiley & Sons, 2013.

⁵⁶ Jibril Omuya Abdulmalik, Dahiru, A. M. C., Jidda, M. S., Wakil, M. A., & Omigbodun, O. O, "Boko Haram insurgency and Nigeria’s mental health response." *An International Perspective on Disasters and Children’s Mental Health* (2019): 45-61.

⁵⁷ Martin Farr, "Barack Obama and David Cameron: The Ostensible Relationship." *The Palgrave Handbook of Presidents and Prime Ministers From Cleveland and Salisbury to Trump and Johnson*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2022. 347-381.

manage. That it is easier, for instance, to manage a crisis of this kind or to prevent it if we were a smaller nation'.⁵⁸

But Soyinka may be echoing the predictions of the National Intelligence Council of United States on the possible dismemberment of Nigeria by 2015 into the four Federations of Sharia in the north; Middle Belt; Oduduwa in the South-West; and Lower Niger.⁵⁹ It is being speculated that the United States of America is poised to strategically liquidate Nigeria as an entity in order to weaken it through internal strife of ethnic and religious crises using Boko Haram insurgent group to achieve its purpose.⁶⁰

This is because the United States perceives Nigeria as a potential strategic rival in the African continent through its roles in the liberation of Southern African countries such as Angola, Namibia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and the apartheid South Africa in the 1970's and 1980's, as well as its efforts in financing ECOMOG with over 90 per cent troops to salvage wars in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Mali, Central African Republic and among others.⁶¹

Thus, the United States Africa Command (AFRICOM) was set up on October 1, 2008 as well as the African Crises Response Initiative (ACRI) were meant to counter the activities of ECOMOG and actualise the objectives of the United States to weaken Nigeria and take control of its economic potentials as well as checkmate Chinese economic interest incursions in Africa.⁶² The Central

⁵⁸ Victor E. Dike, "Why Nations Fail" to Develop: The Case of Nigeria." *Sage Open* 5.4 (2015): 2158244015611714.

⁵⁹ Innocent Chiluwa, and Akin Odebunmi. "On terrorist attacks in Nigeria: Stance and engagement in conversations on Nairaland." *Communication and the Public* 1.1 (2016): 91-109.

⁶⁰ Wisdom Oghosa Iyekekpolo, "Boko Haram: understanding the context." *Third World Quarterly* 37.12 (2016): 2211-2228.

⁶¹ "Tola Odubajo, and Solomon Akinboye. "Nigeria and South Africa: Collaboration or competition?." *South African Journal of International Affairs* 24.1 (2017): 61-77.

⁶² Mkpoinke Ezekiel Udoh, "An Analysis of China's Economic Engagement in Nigeria and Its Impact on Economic Development: Perpetuating or Challenging Neo-colonial Structures in Nigeria." (2024).

Intelligence Agency (CIA) of America is allegedly being used to finance the Boko Haram insurgent group through Saudi Arabia, Libya, and then Mali.⁶³

Meanwhile, in the aftermath of former President Olusegun Obasanjo meeting with the Boko Haram insurgent team in his hometown, Abeokuta on Saturday May 24, 2014, over the abduction of 276 female students at Chibok, Borno state from their dormitory, the Army General declares that, 'I believe that some of the school girls will never return. We will still be hearing about them many years from now. Some will give birth, but they cannot take care of them in the forest. If you get all of them back, I will consider it a near miracle.'⁶⁴

Blaming President Goodluck Jonathan for taking 'too long to respond to the April 14, 2014 mass abduction of the school girls', Chief Obasanjo asked rhetorically that, 'Do you think they (Boko Haram) will hold all of them (the school girls) together up till now?', insisting that, 'if the administration had acted quickly, we could have rescued them'.⁶⁵

However, President Muhammadu Buhari has confirmed that 21 of the abducted Chibok school girls have been rescued from Boko Haram in exchange for four Boko Haram militants after 913 days, following the outcome of negotiations between the government and Boko Haram, brokered by the International Red Cross and the Swiss government.⁶⁶

According to Sheu the names of the released Chibok school girls are:⁶⁷ Mary Usman Bulama; Jumai John; Blessing Abana; Luggwa Sanda; Comfort Habila; Maryam Basheer; Comfort Amos; Glory Mainta; Saratu Emmanuel;

⁶³ Simon Gray, and Ibikunle Adeakin. "The evolution of Boko Haram: From missionary activism to transnational jihad and the failure of the Nigerian security intelligence agencies." *African security* 8.3 (2015): 185-211.

⁶⁴ Wendell Berry, "Life is a Miracle." *COMMUNIO-SPOKANE THEN WASHINGTON*- 27.1 (2000): 83-97.

⁶⁵ Muhammad Abdullahi Maigari, and Uthman Abdullahi Abdul-Qadir. "Social media in an emergency: use of social media in rescuing abducted school girls in Nigeria." *Dhaulagiri Journal of Sociology and Anthropology* 13 (2019): 67-75.

⁶⁶ Signe Marie Cold-Ravnkilde, and Sine Plambeck. *Boko Haram: From local grievances to violent insurgency*. No. 2015: 21. DIIS Report, 2015.

⁶⁷ Talabi Rasheed Ayegbusi, "Armed Banditry and Kidnapping in Nigeria." *The Political Economy of Kidnapping and Insecurity in Nigeria: Beyond News and Rumours*. Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland, 2024. 105-134.

Deborah Ja'afaru; Rahab Ibrahim; Helin Musa; Maryamu Lawan; Rebecca Ibrahim; Asabe Goni; Deborah Andrawus; Agnes Gapani; Saratu Markus; Glory Dama; Pindah Nuhu; and Rebecca Mallam.

It will be recalled that in the face of the onslaught of Boko Haram after the death of its leader, Yusuf Muhammad in police custody, General Obasanjo who left office as civilian President in 2007 embarked on fact-finding mission and visited Babakura Fuggu, the father-in-law of Yusuf Muhammad in Maiduguri on September 15, 2011, after meeting with the leaders of Jamatu Nasrul Islam (JNI) and Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) in Jos, Plateau state on Wednesday, September 14, 2011 to find solution to the crisis.⁶⁸

In his description of the challenge as 'media globalization', which Huntington calls 'clash of civilizations', Hafez notes that three cultural changes reflect in globalization: a, the adoption of the 'other' culture (above all in the form of 'westernized' globalization); b, the emergence of 'glocalized' hybrid cultures, which are influenced both by global and local elements; and c, the revitalization of traditional and other local cultures as a reaction to globalization.⁶⁹

Just as Huntington declares that 'people identify with ethnic groups, religious communities, nations, and at the broadest level civilizations', ethnic and religious riots continue to erupt in Nigeria incessantly without end, which further manifests Huntington's postulations that 'other Confucian and Islamic societies attempt to expand their own economic and military power to resist and to "balance" against the West'.⁷⁰

1.0 Theoretical Framework Huntington's Theory of Clash of Civilizations

⁶⁸ Reuben Turbi Luka, and David Luka Gofwan. "Faith-Based Financial Accountability in Nigeria: A Theological Perspective on Stewardship in Religious Organizations." *International Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* 13.1 (2025): 8-19.

⁶⁹ Diana Crane, "Culture and globalization: Theoretical models and emerging trends." *Global culture* (2016): 1-25.

⁷⁰ Samuel P. Huntington, "The clash of civilizations?." 1 Jan. 1994,

There are some basic theories that are relevant to this study, to form the basis for measuring the paradox between the functions of religions, and the underlining expansion of immorality in the society. In the study of the militarization of religions in the digital age, the theories of Integration; Modernization; Secularization; Conflicts; and Just War are relevant to investigate and serve as bedrock of discourse.⁷¹

But the theory of Clash of Civilizations by Samuel Huntington is more relevant, when we realize the fact that it replaces the Cold War theory since the Soviet Union crumbled in 1991 after fifty years of perpetration of political adventurism in the heat of the political bi-polar system in the world by United States and Russia.

The age-long conflicts between the Western civilization, Christianity, Judaism, and Islam actually proves right the inevitability of clash of civilizations in the world, especially in the digital age when the world has been imploded into 'Global Village. According to Huntington (1993, 25 - 31), Civilization identity will be increasingly important in the future, and the world will be shaped in large measure by the interactions among seven or eight major civilizations. These include Western, Confucian, and Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin American and possibly African civilization. The most important conflicts of the future will occur along the cultural fault lines separating these civilizations from one another...Conflict along the fault line between Western and Islamic civilizations has been going on for 1,300 years. After the founding of Islam, the Arab and Moorish surge west and north only ended at Tours in 732. From the eleventh to the thirteenth century the Crusaders attempted with temporary success to bring

⁷¹ Ian Hunter, "Secularization: The birth of a modern combat concept." *Modern intellectual history* 12.1 (2015): 1-32.

Christianity and Christian rule to the Holy Land. From the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, the Ottoman Turks reversed the balance, extended their sway over the Middle East and the Balkans, captured Constantinople, and twice-laid siege to Vienna. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as Ottoman power declined Britain, France, and Italy established Western control over most of North Africa and the Middle East. After World War II, the West, in turn, began to retreat; the colonial.

The six basic reasons why there is Clash of Civilizations in the world, according to Huntington⁷² are:

1. The differences among civilizations are real and basic, as they are differentiated by history, language, culture, tradition, and most importantly, religion. These differences include their views about God; human rights and responsibilities; family set up; State and citizens; as well as liberty, authority; equality; and hierarchy. These are age-long differences that will subsist forever, and cannot fizzle away.
2. The International Networking (Internet) has reduced the world to 'Global Village', and has increased human interactions among different civilizations. These intensify consciousness, awareness of differences between civilizations and commonalities within civilizations. This reflects in the French people being hostile to the North African

⁷² Huntington, Samuel P. *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*. Braille Jymico Incorporated, 2004.

immigrants, while the same Frenchmen are receptive to the European Catholic Poles. Also, while Americans are hostile to the Japanese investments and brands; they are receptive to larger investments from Canada and European countries. In fact, Horowitz (1985) points out that “An Ibo may be...an Owerri Ibo or an Onitsha Ibo in what was the Eastern region of Nigeria. In Lagos, he is simply an Ibo. In London, he is a Nigerian. In New York, he is an African”.

3. The world religions as forms of Movements have filled in the gap of social and economic changes, which had weakened nation States. The religious Movements of Western Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism, and Hinduism, as well as Islam are prevalent among the the peasants, young educated elite, middle-class technicians, professionals, politicians, and business moguls. This is called “un-secularization of the world” in the 20th Century by George Weigel, and “The Revival of religion” by Gilles Kepel.
4. The end of the Cold War and the collapse of socialism and communism of the Soviet Union and in some States that adopted the politico-economic ideology has made the countries of the world to go back to the roots of their indigenous polity and socio-cultural milieu. This reflects in the adoption of unorthodox or alternative medicines in Africa and Asia; the “Asianization” of Japan; the “Hindunization” of India in the post Jawaharu Nehru’s India; the re-Islamization of Middle East; and Westernization or Russianization of Israel. The reaching of

the peak by Western civilization has made the other civilizations to confront the West. Non-Western trained people around the world are taking mantle of leadership locally in various countries.

5. The cultural characteristics and differences are less mutable and cannot be compromised, changed, or resolved as political, economic, and ideological issues. Though a Democrat can become republican in the United States, and the poor commoners can be rich in the former Soviet Union, but Russians cannot be Estonians and Azeris cannot become Armenians. In fact, someone can be half-French and half-Arab, but cannot be half-Catholic or half-Muslim. Thus, ethnicity and religion are major cultural characteristics that cannot be negotiated or reduced to the background.
6. The continued increase in the trade and commerce among regions will further bring about civilization consciousness because of the affinity in cultures, identities, and religions. The European Community whose policies and polity rests on shared foundation of European culture and Western Christianity increase communal trade from 51 per cent in 1980 to 59 per cent in 1989. The East Asia also increased its regional trade from 33 per cent in 1980 to 37 per cent in 1989. Also, the Free Trade Zone area in North America has proved successful. But this brings to the fore, the civilization consciousness, which has forced President Donald Trump (2018) to bring up policies that will alienate Mexico from the American economy, and his desperation to build a

wall to demarcate the two civilizations and curtail immigrants from the country into United States.

Meanwhile, Clash of Civilizations occur at two levels as given by Huntington:⁷³

A, Micro-Level: The adjacent groups along fault lines between civilizations struggle often violently, over the control of territory and each other.

B. Macro-Level: States from different civilizations compete for relative military and economic power, struggle over the control of international institutions and third parties and competitively promote their particular political and religious values.

The end of the Cold war actually brought to the fore the cultural and religious divisions between:⁷⁴

- Western Civilization;
- Orthodox Christianity;
- Protestant Christianity;
- Judaism; and
- Islam.

⁷³ Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations? Originally published in *Foreign Affairs* 72 (3), 1993." *Culture and Politics: A Reader* (2000): 99-118.

⁷⁴ Mike Grimshaw, "Encountering Religion: Encounter, Religion, and the Cultural Cold War, 1953–1967." *History of Religions* 51.1 (2011): 31-58.

In his discourse of the redefinition of its civilization,⁷⁵ Huntington says a torn country must meet three requirements:

- a. Its political and economic elite has to be generally supportive of and enthusiastic about this move.
- b. Its public has to be willing to acquiesce in the redefinition.
- c. The dominant groups in the recipient civilization have to be willing to embrace the convert.

The three requirements exist with Mexico. The first two in large part exist with respect to Turkey. None however exist in respect of Russia joining the West.

From historical context, Huntington⁷⁶ actually observes the conflicts of culture in the Middle East, and its spread to other countries in Africa, especially shifting focus of oppositions against paganism to Christianity. According to him,

Historically, the other great antagonistic interaction of Arab Islamic civilization has been with the pagan, animist, and now increasingly Christian black peoples to the south. In the past, this antagonism was epitomized in the image of Arab slave dealers and black slaves. It has been reflected in the on-going civil war in the Sudan between Arabs and blacks, the fighting in Chad between Libyan-supported insurgents and the government, the

⁷⁵ Huntington, Samuel P., and Robert Jervis. "The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order." *Finance and Development-English Edition* 34.2 (1997): 51-51.

⁷⁶ Samuel, Huntington. "The clash of civilizations." *Foreign Affairs* 72.3 (1993): 22-49.

tensions between Orthodox Christians and Muslims in the Horn of Africa, and the political conflicts, recurring riots and communal violence between Muslims and Christians in Nigeria.⁷⁷ The modernization of Africa and the spread of Christianity are likely to enhance the probability of violence along this fault line. Symptomatic of the intensification of this conflict was the Pope John Paul II's speech in Khartoum in February 1993 attacking the actions of the Sudan's Islamist government against the Christian minority there.

However, in his repudiation of the concept of 'clash of civilizations' by Huntington (2003) as 'fallacious and unsubstantiated', ⁷⁸Drammeh (2009, IV) notes that ethnic and religious crises around the world are being caused by poverty and unemployment. He adds that humanity share many things that are inevitable and sustainable till eternity. These commonalities are given as 'social justice, equity, fair distribution of both economic power and political power, provision of good health, education and housing for all.'

Just as the dominant cultural groups dominate the minority cultures in multicultural societies, the industrial nations are more beneficial politically, economically, and technologically in the promising information revolution brought by globalization.

⁷⁷ Ukoha Ukiwo, "Politics, ethno-religious conflicts and democratic consolidation in Nigeria." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 41.1 (2003): 115-138.

⁷⁸ LeBeau, Patrick. *Term paper resource guide to American Indian history*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA, 2009.

Besides the cultural imbalance and suppression,⁷⁹ Drammeh 2(2009, 153) opines that,

Poverty is on the rise and marginalization as opposed to globalization...with alarming and disturbing figures and statistics...about 826 million who are under fed, a billion without proper water, four billion without proper health facilities, three hundred and twenty-five million children without basic education about two billion live on a dollar (per day).

This quite agrees with the position of Sultan Sa'ad Abubakar III⁸⁰ that, 'poor leadership at governmental levels is a major cause of our (Nigeria's) social tensions today, especially the Jos crises and Boko Haram phenomenon...dividends of democracy must begin to show for the benefit of the populace and there should be the efficiency of consensus building within the polity.'

In his own critique of the theory of 'Clash of Civilizations' by Huntington⁸¹, another scholar, Chomsky (2001) notes that it is a ploy by the academic to help give a shield for the 'atrocities' of the West against the Third World in the aftermath of the Cold War. According to him,

Conclusion

⁷⁹ Thompson-Jones, Mary. To The Secretary: Leaked Embassy Cables and America's Foreign Policy Disconnect. WW Norton & Company, 2016. p153

⁸⁰ Osho, Sulaiman A. "The Radicalization of Islam: Case Study of Media Reportage of Boko Haram Insurgency in Northern Nigeria:: Case Study of Media Reportage of Boko Haram Insurgency in Northern Nigeria." Indonesian Journal of Islamization Studies 2.2 (2025).

⁸¹ Samuel, Huntington. "The clash of civilizations." Foreign Affairs 72.3 (1993): 22-49.

the context of Huntington's thesis, the context in which it was put forth. This was after the end of the Cold War. For fifty years, both the US and the Soviet Union had used the pretext of the Cold War as a justification for any atrocities that they wanted to carry out. So if the Russians wanted to send tanks to East Berlin that was because of the Cold War And if the US wanted to invade South Vietnam and wipe out Indo-China, that was because of the Cold War. If you look over the history of this period, the pretext had nothing to do with the reasons.

The reasons for the atrocities were based in domestic power interests, but the Cold War gave an excuse. Whatever the atrocity carried out, you could say its defence against the other side. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the pretext is gone. The policies remain the same, with slight changes in tactics, but you need a new pretext. And in fact, there's been a search for pretexts for quite a long time. Actually, it started twenty years ago. When the Reagan Administration came in, it was already pretty clear that appeal to the pretext of the Russian threat was not going to work for very long. So, they came into office saying that the focus of their foreign policy would be to combat the plague of international terrorism. That was twenty years ago.

There's nothing new about this. We have to defend ourselves from other terrorists. And they proceeded to react to that plague by creating the most extraordinary international terrorist network in the world, which carried out massive terror in Central America and Southern Africa and all

over the place. In fact, it was so extreme that its actions were even condemned by the World Court and Security Council. With 1989 coming, you needed some new pretexts. This was very explicit.⁸² Remember, one of the tasks of intellectuals, the solemn task, is to prevent people from understanding what's going on. And in order to fulfil that task, you have to ignore the government documentation, for example, which tells you exactly what's going on. This is a case in point.

Meanwhile, it is imperative to note that Huntington's thesis on the 'clash of civilizations' is well laid out, proved, synthesized, articulated, and convincing. And the prevalent reduction of the world to a 'Global Village' through the digital media and the subsequent militarization of religions based on the reaction of other cultures to the Western civilization proves right the authenticity and manifestations of the postulations of the theory.⁸³

Indeed, Huntington is very pragmatic, detailed, deep, analytical, realistic, honest, and scientific in coming up with the clash of civilizations theory tracing the history of the cultures, religions, ethnic groups, and others in relation to the political, economic, and socio-cultural development of the world.

Author(s)

Sulaiman A. Osho is Scholar and Researcher, Department of Communication, Marketing and Media, Aberdeen Business School, Robert Gordon University, Aberdeen, Scotland, United Kingdom. Conference: International Association of

⁸² Abraham D. Sofaer, "On the Necessity of Pre-emption." *European Journal of International Law* 14.2 (2003): 209-226.

⁸³ Mariano Barbato, and Friedrich Kratochwil. "Towards a post-secular political order?." *European Political Science Review* 1.3 (2009): 317-340.

Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) Conference, 2018. Date: June 20 – 24, 2018. Venue: School of Journalism and Communication, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, USA

References

- Abdulmalik, J. O., Dahiru, A. M. C., Jidda, M. S., Wakil, M. A., & Omigbodun, O. O. (2019). *Boko Haram insurgency and Nigeria's mental health response*. An International Perspective on Disasters and Children's Mental Health, 45-61. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-15872-9_3
- Agbiboa, D. E. (2013). Ethno-religious conflicts and the elusive quest for national identity in Nigeria. *Journal of Black Studies*, 44(1), 3-30. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0021934712463147>
- Ajodo-Adebanjoko, A. (2020). *THE IMPACT OF BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY IN NORTHEAST NIGERIA ON WOMEN AND GIRLS*. *Journal of Behavioral & Social Sciences*, 7(2).
- Ali, Ayaan Hirsi (2017). *How to counter political Islam. Defining Ideas—A Hoover Institution Journal*. March, 22.
- Ali, A. (2016). *From Islamophobia to Westophobia: The long road to radical Islamism*. *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs*, 3(1), 1-19. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2347797015626792>
- Alkhotob, I. T., Rasyid, D., & Nurhaidah, S. N. (2023). *The Dawah Strategy of Prophet Muhammad in the Development of the Madinah Community*. *Jurnal Bina Ummat: Membina dan Membentengi Ummat*, 6(2), 123-150. <https://doi.org/10.38214/jurnalbinaummatstidnatsir.v6i2.199>
- Awad, M. (1954). *The assimilation of nomads in Egypt*. *Geographical Review*, 44(2), 240-252. <https://doi.org/10.2307/212358>
- Ayegbusi, T. R. (2024). *Armed Banditry and Kidnapping in Nigeria. In The Political Economy of Kidnapping and Insecurity in Nigeria: Beyond News and Rumours (pp. 105-134)*. Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-47168-1_7
- Ayoob, M. (2004). *Political Islam: image and reality*. *World policy journal*, 21(3), 1-14.
- Ayua, I. A., & Dakas, D. C. (2005). Federal republic of Nigeria. Kincaid, J & Tarr, GA (eds). <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780773572553-011>
- Aziz, M. A. (2023). *The Principles of Islamic Polity in the Qur'an and Sunnah: Revisiting Modern Political Discourse*. Al-Burhān: *Journal of Qur'ān and Sunnah Studies*, 7(1), 5-28. <https://doi.org/10.31436/alburhn.v7i1.296>
- Barbato, M., & Kratochwil, F. (2009). *Towards a post-secular political order?*. *European Political Science Review*, 1(3), 317-340. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755773909990166>
- Berry, W. (2000). *Life is a Miracle*. COMMUNIO-SPOKANE THEN WASHINGTON-, 27(1), 83-97.
- Braswell, George W. (1994). *Understanding World Religions: Hinduism Buddhism Taoism Confucianism Judaism Islam*. B&H Publishing Group.

-
- Bryan, Dominic. (2000). *Orange Parades: The Politics of Ritual, Tradition, and Control*. London: Pluto Press.
- Blanchard, L. P. (2014, June). *Nigeria's Boko Haram: Frequently Asked Questions*.
- Burke, James. (1995). *The Day the Universe Changed: Pivotal Moments in Time that Radically Altered the Course of Human History*. London, UK: London Writers Limited.
- Chiluwa, I., & Odebunmi, A. (2016). *On terrorist attacks in Nigeria: Stance and engagement in conversations on Nairaland*. *Communication and the Public*, 1(1), 91-109. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2057047315624926>
- Cold-Ravnikilde, S. M., & Plambech, S. (2015). *Boko Haram: From local grievances to violent insurgency (No. 2015: 21)*. DIIS Report.
- Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ). (2013). *Attacks on the Press: Journalism on the World's Front Lines (Vol. 167)*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Crane, D. (2016). *Culture and globalization: Theoretical models and emerging trends*. *Global culture*, 1-25.
- Crone, P. (1994). *Were the Qays and Yemen of the Umayyad period political parties?*. <https://doi.org/10.1515/jislm.1994.71.1.1>
- Danaan, G. N. (2020). *Conflict Reporting Strategies and the Identities of Ethnic and Religious Communities in Jos, Nigeria*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Demarest, L., Godefroidt, A., & Langer, A. (2020). *Understanding news coverage of religious-based violence: Empirical and theoretical insights from media representations of Boko Haram in Nigeria*. *Journal of Communication*, 70(4), 548-573. <https://doi.org/10.1093/joc/jqaa011>
- Dike, V. E. (2015). *"Why Nations Fail" to Develop: The Case of Nigeria*. Sage Open, 5(4), 2158244015611714. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244015611714>
- English, R., & Townshend, C. (Eds.). (1999). *The State: Historical and Political Dimensions*, Charles Townshend. London: Routledge.
- Ewuzie, L., & Ilo, I. I. (2024). *Framing ethno-religious crises: An examination of studies on media and conflict dynamics in Jos, Nigeria*. *The Abuja Communicator*, 4(2), 73-88. <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5946-1907>
- Faluyi, O. T., Khan, S., & Akinola, A. O. (2019). *Boko Haram's terrorism and the Nigerian state*. *Advances in African Economic, Social and Political Development*, 21, 1-15. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-05737-4>
- Farr, M. (2022). *Barack Obama and David Cameron: The Ostensible Relationship*. In *The Palgrave Handbook of Presidents and Prime Ministers From Cleveland and Salisbury to Trump and Johnson* (pp. 347-381). Cham: Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-72276-0_16
- Ganguly, Š. (1996). *Explaining the Kashmir insurgency: political mobilization and institutional decay*. *International Security*, 21(2), 76-107. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2539071>
- Granville, C. K. (2020). *The impact of Boko Haram insurgency on the people of Borno State (Doctoral dissertation, Walden University)*.
- Gray, S., & Adeakin, I. (2015). *The evolution of Boko Haram: From missionary activism to transnational jihad and the failure of the Nigerian security intelligence*

-
- agencies. African security, 8(3), 185-211.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2015.1069120>
- Grimshaw, M. (2011). *Encountering Religion: Encounter, Religion, and the Cultural Cold War, 1953–1967*. History of Religions, 51(1), 31-58.
<https://doi.org/10.1086/659608>
- Haddad, M. (1997). *Arab religious nationalism in the colonial era: rereading Rashīd Ridā's ideas on the caliphate*. Journal of the American Oriental Society, 253-277. <https://doi.org/10.2307/605489>
- Hassan, F. A. (Ed.). (2002). *Droughts, food, and culture: Ecological change and food security in Africa's later prehistory (pp. iii-vii)*. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers. <https://doi.org/10.1007/b110045>
- Hunter, I. (2015). *Secularization: The birth of a modern combat concept*. Modern intellectual history, 12(1), 1-32. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1479244314000158>
- Huntington, S. P. (1994, January). *The clash of civilizations?*.
- Huntington, S. P. (2004). *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*. Braille Jymico Incorporated.
- Huntington, S. P. (2000). *The Clash of Civilizations? Originally published in Foreign Affairs 72 (3), 1993*. Culture and Politics: A Reader, 99-118.
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-62965-7_6
- Iyekekpola, W. O. (2016). *Boko Haram: understanding the context*. Third World Quarterly, 37(12), 2211-2228.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2016.1177453>
- Jones, P. (2020). Divine and Non-Divine Kingship. A Companion to the Ancient Near East, 243-259. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119362500.ch14>
- Joshanloo, M. (2017). *Islamic conceptions of well-being*. In The pursuit of human well-Being: The untold global history (pp. 109-131). Cham: Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-39101-4_5
- KHAN, M. A. M. (1998). *US Foreign Policy and Political Islam: Interests, Ideas, and Ideology*. Security Dialogue, 29(4), 449-462.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010698029004006>
- LeBeau, P. (2009). *Term paper resource guide to American Indian history*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA.
- Little, D. (2022). *Us versus them: The United States, radical Islam, and the rise of the green threat*. UNC Press Books.
- Luka, R. T., & Gofwan, D. L. (2025). *Faith-Based Financial Accountability in Nigeria: A Theological Perspective on Stewardship in Religious Organizations*. International Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization, 13(1), 8-19.
<https://doi.org/10.11648/j.ijebo.20251301.12>
- Lunstrum, Elizabeth. (2011). *War, violence, and population: Making the body count – By James A. Tyner*. Guilford Press.
https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4959.2010.00388_4.x
- Maigari, M. A., & Abdul-Qadir, U. A. (2019). *Social media in an emergency: use of social media in rescuing abducted school girls in Nigeria*. Dhauagiri Journal

<https://doi.org/10.3126/dsaj.v13i0.22188>

- Malam, B. (2021). *The Political Model of the Prophet Muhammad and His Rightly Guided Caliphs: An Overview*. International Journal of Research and Innovation in Social Science, 5(2), 251-259.
- Malefakis, M. A. (2022). *Humanitarian Displacement and Boko Haram in Nigeria*. Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-99784-7>
- Mallam, E. D. (2019). *Boko haram insurgency and human rights violation in North Eastern Nigeria*. Doctoral dissertation, Kampala International University, College of Humanities and social sciences.
- Matthiesen, T. (2023). *The Caliph and the Imam: the making of Sunnism and Shiism*. Oxford University Press.
- Mohammad, D. T. (2023). *Islamic Jerusalem*. University of California, Riverside.
- Moniz Bandeira, L. A., & Moniz Bandeira, L. A. (2017). *A Short History of Islam: From Muhammad to the War on Terror*. The Second Cold War: Geopolitics and the Strategic Dimensions of the USA, 369-402. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-54888-3_27
- Mulyani, A., Tabroni, I., Agustina, T. N. U., Wei, Z., & Xu, S. (2023). *Islam's Classical Period: Examining the Great Contribution of the Khulafahur Rashidin*. International Journal of Educational Narratives, 1(4), 219-233. <https://doi.org/10.55849/ijen.v1i4.343>
- Mustapha, A. R. (2014). *Understanding Boko Haram*. Sects & social disorder: Muslim identities & conflict in Northern Nigeria, 147. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781782044734.008>
- Odubajo, T., & Akinboye, S. (2017). *Nigeria and South Africa: Collaboration or competition?*. South African Journal of International Affairs, 24(1), 61-77. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10220461.2017.1314224>
- Onuoha, F. C., & George, T. A. (2016). The Abuja bombings: Boko Haram's reaction to President Buhari's actions. African Security Review, 25(2), 208-214. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10246029.2016.1156878>
- Osho, S. A. (2025). *The Radicalization of Islam: Case Study of Media Reportage of Boko Haram Insurgency in Northern Nigeria*. Indonesian Journal of Islamization Studies, 2(2). <https://doi.org/10.21111/injas.v2i2.13497>
- Osho, S. A. (2019). *The Militarization of Religions in the Digital Age*. Religion Online: How Digital Technology Is Changing the Way We Worship and Pray. USA: ABC-CLIO Corporate, 194.
- Owen, O., & Usman, Z. (2015). *Briefing: Why Goodluck Jonathan lost the Nigerian presidential election of 2015*. African Affairs, 114(456), 455-471.
- Peace, P. W. S. (2017). *Herders against farmers: Nigeria's expanding deadly conflict*. Africa Report, 19(252), 1-32.
- Peters, F. (2008). Historical Atlas of Islam - By Malise Ruthven with Azim Nanji. The Muslim World, 98(1), 149. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-1913.2008.214_3.x

-
- Pope Francis. (2016). *"Don't Be Fooled! Hear What Pope Francis REALLY Said About Islam and the Root of Terrorism"*. Catholic News Online. Vatican City, Italy: Catholic News Online.
- Pope Francis. (2018) "Fundamentalism in all the Religions". Press Conference with Journalists in the Polish Airlines Flight. Rome, Italy: Romereports.com.
- Rasheed, A. (2023). *Political Islam: Parallel Currents in West Asia and South Asia*. Pentagon Press. <https://doi.org/10.9390095964>
- Sahin, A. (2018). *Critical issues in Islamic education studies: Rethinking Islamic and Western liberal secular values of education*. Religions, 9(11), 335. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel9110335>
- Samuel, H. (1993). *The clash of civilizations*. Foreign Affairs, 72(3), 22-49.
- Schatz, H. B. (2022). The God Table: A New Origins Theory of Religion and Civilization. Archaeological Discovery, 10(4), 215-261. <https://doi.org/10.4236/ad.2022.104008>
- Sindima, H. J. (2017). *Major issues in Islam: The challenges within and without*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Smith, Laurajane and Akagawa, Natsuko. (2009). *Intangible Heritage*. London: Routledge/Taylor & Francis.
- Sofaer, A. D. (2003). *On the Necessity of Pre-emption*. European Journal of International Law, 14(2), 209-226. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ejil/14.2.209>
- Thompson-Jones, M. (2016). *To The Secretary: Leaked Embassy Cables and America's Foreign Policy Disconnect*. WW Norton & Company.
- Trumpbour, J. (2003). *The Clash of Civilizations: Samuel P. Huntington, Bernard Lewis, and the Remaking of Post-Cold War World Order*. In *The New Crusades* (pp. 88-130). Columbia University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2539071>
- Udoh, M. E. (2024). *An Analysis of China's Economic Engagement in Nigeria and Its Impact on Economic Development: Perpetuating or Challenging Neo-colonial Structures in Nigeria*.
- Ukiwo, U. (2003). *Politics, ethno-religious conflicts and democratic consolidation in Nigeria*. The Journal of Modern African Studies, 41(1), 115-138. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X02004172>
- Winter, J. (Ed.). (2014). *The Cambridge History of the First World War*. Volume 2, The State. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CHO9780511675676>