

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

This thesis analyses upon the Transforming Boko Haram to be a Terrorism Organization. Terrorism is a phenomenon and Boko Haram is the example of Terrorism movement. Its popular understanding the term 'terrorism' refer to an act that is wrong, evil, illegitimate, illegal, and a crime. The term was used to describe a wide range of violent, and sometimes not-so violent. Conduct (especially in the hands of the media since 11 September 2001), acts characterized as terrorist in nature can occur both in conflict and peace-time. They may constitute crimes in domestic and international law, and they are motivated by a complex matrix of reasons and ideals (Conte, 2010)

According to William Outhwaite, there are two major sorts of terroristic behavior should be distinguished. Terrorism may be method of action to achieve the actor goal, this case violence is pragmatic more or less under control of the actor who may, if circumstances change, turn away from this method and resort to other strategies, not necessarily violent. Terrorism as a method of action is specifically a political phenomenon situated within a boundary that may circumscribe one country or delimit an international, geopolitical space. It may be the work of groups or movement but also of governments. And also, Terrorism may be method of action, not as a Prominent way specifically political phenomenon but as a combine between thinking and action of politic and ideology. A phenomenon where is the clerisy has concrete role of organizing terrorist action. In this case, violence reverses ends and the actor seems to be caught up in a chain reaction that is endless unless stopped by repression, imprisonment

or death. This actor is born within politically bounded space, but he leaves it following a process of ‘inversion’ that involve ideology and relations between experience and them that claim their self as the actor of terrorism, but they can’t change it even replaced (Outhwaite, 2008).

In Nigeria, there was a terrorist group named Boko Haram. It is a group of people of sunnah of Preaching and Jihad (BBC, 2015). Boko Haram is the Islamic extremist Terror group based in Nigeria, Boko Haram is the group with the goal to make a Caliphate state they are fighting to controlling the Territory, by conducting violent action in Nigeria. It Captured Local people, force them to follow Boko Haram rule. The sheer prospect of success in realising a caliphate has also proved an effective tool for recruiting member.

Jama’atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda’awati wal-jihad or People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet’s Teaching and Jihad or we know it as a Boko Haram was founded by Mohammad Yusuf . Its main goal was to expand and create islamic state, while there is no violent at first. Since it was established, the organization was far from conflict. Bu since 2009, after some of its member were arested, it trigerred a clash that lead to a war with Nigerian army that killed 800 people. After that, Boko Haram turned horribly violent and became far than its ideology. According to Istvan Meszaros Ideology is a series of preference owned by the political community. In general ideology contains thinking, belief and action that owned by the community, usually ideology started by how they see about the world (world view). How one or the community describing the world in their minds. Of course, the image of that world in the intellectual elite bunk later transferred to its members. Therefore, the ideological nature of socially shared formed a social process through its spread through spoken language as well as writing, with which people give meaning to the particular

social realities. Frustration does not necessarily lead to violence (Meszaros, 1972) To run its operation, the organization fund itself by Robbing the banks, stealing cash to buy weapons.

Boko Haram has become significantly militant in their actions. For the instance, there were few attacks done by the organization. Since 2009 is in the range of multiple thousands, with high estimates claiming some 6,000 deaths in 2014 alone, While most of these deaths are focused in the north, against other Muslims, all of Nigeria feels close to the issue. Most of these deaths are accounted for by bombs, suicide attacks, and gun attacks on or near government institutions, such as police or military bases, although attacks on civilians have become more frequent (Pichete, 2015).

Boko Haram was a Islamist military in Nigeria. They Forbid for muslims people to join in political or social activity associated with Western system especially democracy. This ideology is emphasized by Islamic extremism adopted from Al-Qaeda as a result of the alliance between the two groups. Under Muhammad Yusuf, Boko Haram built mosque and Islamict school to accommodate poor people that have limmited access to have education. Even if the main goal of Boko Haram is not in the education sector, but the school and mosque were tools to gain political interest, especially to recruit member to expand its organization.

Before Nigeria was established, the region was occupied by The Sokoto Caliphate. But there was a war, called the *Fulani Jihad* started from 1804 to 1808 imposed Islam on the Hausa majority in the north, fusing the Hausa states. Then, British government came attempted to colonize the region but were resisted The Sokoto Caliphate's member. But the resistance was

failed. Resentment against Western influence has remained. The northern population resisted activities of early Christian missionaries who used western education for evangelism. Nigeria was created in 1914 from an amalgamation of northern and southern regions by British colonial authorities.

Since the Borno Sultanate and the Sokoto Caliphate, which ruled parts of what is now northern Nigeria, (as well as parts of the Republic of Niger, and southern Cameroon), fell under British control in 1903, British influence and control over what would become Nigeria and Africa's most populous country grew through the 19th century. There has been strong resistance to Western education among the Muslims of the area. A series of constitutions after World War II granted Nigeria greater autonomy. After independence in 1960, politics were marked by coups and mostly military rule, until the death of a military head of state in 1998 allowed for a political transition. In 1999, after that a new constitution was adopted and a peaceful transition to civilian government was completed. The government continues to face the daunting task of institutionalizing democracy and reforming a petroleum-based economy, whose revenues have been squandered through corruption and mismanagement (Central Intelligence Agency, 2015).

Anger against Western influence resulted in emergence of Islamist fundamentalism among people in northern Nigeria. Mohammed Marwa, known as Maitatsine, who is considered by Boko Haram's inspirational actor. He worked as a preacher in Kano, northern Nigeria. He denounced Western education and claimed that reading any book except the Koran was sinful and a sign of paganism. Moreover, He and his followers started riots and armed clashes during 1970s and 1980s, which killed an estimated 4,000 people including Maitatsine himself (The Historical

Background of Boko Haram, 2015). The image below shows map where Boko Haram conducted their attacks.

Boko Haram-attributed Attacks in Nigeria Since July 2009

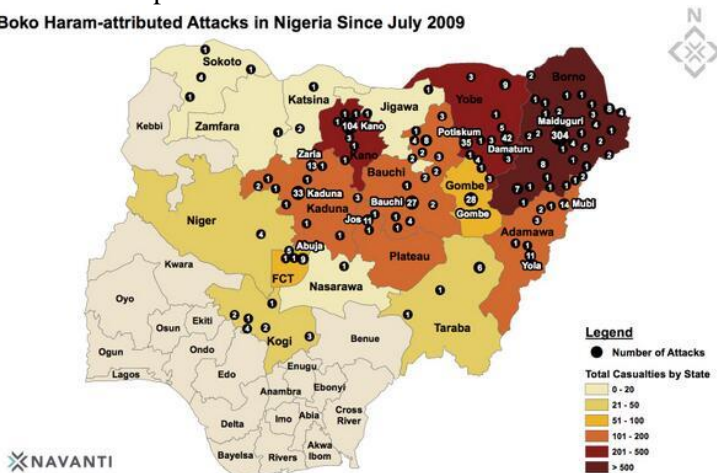


Figure 1.1 Boko Haram Map in Nigeria(Beauchamp, 2014)

Nigeria almost divided into 2 (two) side, which is Muslims side and Christians side, religious fundamentalism has not been a defining characteristic of political divisions. Maitatsine's movement was among the early warning signs that religious tolerance was endangered, and that Islamic fundamentalism was finding a home in Nigeria.

In the Independence of Nigeria Act of 1960, Nigerian Muslim could not impose sharia law in their states until 1999. In 1960s some muslims leaders began to demand impositions of Sharia Law more Quickly. This state has undergone long period process of substituting its system, between democratic government and corrupted, military dictatorship, therefore basically this state has been developed and constructed through many times of internal conflict

in 2009 Boko Haram and Nigeria become the focused of the International world. Boko haram started violence

actions by attacking Nigerian's and in 2014 they attacked schools and kidnapped 276 female students in Chibok, North Nigerian (Abubakar, 2014). Since March 2014, the conflict has left at least 125 dead and more than 200 wounded among the security forces and led to at least 1,400 civilian deaths. In the course of more than 100 attacks, Boko Haram abducted more than 1,000 people, mainly women and girls. some have been used to stage suicide attacks, while others have been forcibly married to members of the group In May 2013.

Not only attacking its own country, but Boko Haram also started to attack Cameroon. They attacked the northwest side then looting of villages and killing and kidnapping civilian or innocent people including children. The deployment of Cameroonian and Chadian troops to Cameroon's far north region has thus far proven insufficient in containing cross-border raids carried out by Boko Haram. (The Impact of Boko Haram and Armed Conflict , 2015).

Boko Haram's attack 120 Schools were Force to close in 10 districts of the Far North for the current school year (2014-2015) 33,163 children (43 % girls) are out of school, they forced to have schooling outside. The impact is 30% of assessed host schools reported being occupied by displaced population since the onset of the conflict , 8% of assessed host schools reported being occupied by armed groups since the onset of the conflict, 18% of host schools reported having been structurally damaged as a direct result of the conflict, 11% of schools reported having been looted or pillaged as a direct result of the conflict, 4% of host schools indicate unexploded ordinances and reminisce of war in and around school grounds (The Impact of Boko Haram and Armed Conflict , 2015)

Due to security constraints along the Nigerian border and other conflict-affected areas of the Far North, no

sectoral needs assessment has been carried out in affected communities to date in order to better understand the impact on schooling in regions directly-affected by the presence of Boko Haram. As a result, little qualitative and quantitative data exists enabling actors engaged in emergency response programming in the region to effectively respond to the educational needs of affected communities.

Boko Haram's growing base in Cameroon is equally unsettling. It is now relatively certain that the group is recruiting members in Cameroon, and by no means only through coercion. Religious/ideological preferences, social affinities among the Kanuri (who live on all sides of the Nigeria–Cameroon–Chad border triangle), and not least financial and social incentives make the group attractive to some. In a densely populated region with above-average poverty, membership of Boko Haram offers young men opportunities that are otherwise unattainable: income and employment, marriage, and social status. At the same time, economic problems are worsening. Given that 80 percent of all consumer goods in northern Cameroon are imported from Nigeria, border closures and other restrictions have negative repercussions on trade and livelihoods. (Tull, 2015).

Boko Haram has without doubt become the central challenge for the Cameroonian government and the dominant domestic political issue. From a political and security perspective, Cameroon is in fact experiencing an undeclared state of emergency, where the external shock of Boko Haram encounters a politically and socially fragile system that less than casual observers regard as susceptible to crisis and violent escalation.

Therefore, referring to above background, this academic writing is aiming at research focus on what Factor

triggered of Boko Haram to become a Terrorist Organization.

B. Research Question

Why did Boko Haram Rebellions Nigeria 2009?

C. Theoretical Framework

According to Muhammad Hafez book, *Why Muslim Rebel:*

Repression and Resistance.

The title of Hafez's book, *Why Muslims Rebel*, plays on Ted Robert Gurr's outstanding book, *Why Men Renegade* (Princeton College Press 1970). The getting does not mirror a common enthusiasm for relative hardship; rather, Hafez's title features the more extensive inquiry of whether speculations created through the investigation of popularity based Western settings head out well to nondemocratic, non-Western settings, or whether Muslims revolt for reasons other than those that rouse non-Muslims. Hafez contends that Islamist activism can be contemplated with an indistinguishable hypothetical instruments from different types of activism and can even show us some things about activism as a rule.

Hafez structures his examination around the three subjects that have turned into a kind of heavenly trinity in social development ponders, however the names are now and again challenged: political opportunity, authoritative assets, and ideological casings. Hafez structures his investigation around the three subjects that have turned into a kind of heavenly trinity in social development considers, however the marks are in some cases challenged: political opportunity, authoritative assets, and ideological casings. Hafez bargains first with political opportunity,

separating it into two sub-topics: political prohibition and restraint. Political avoidance has not without anyone else's input produced Islamist disobedience, he contends, indicating the instance of Tunisia; and fractional consideration has not forestalled Islamist insubordination in Pakistan. By differentiate, Hafez proceeds with, constraint of a specific sort — receptive rather than proactive, aimless rather than focused — has created disobedience in various nations. Hafez presents citations from development pioneers — frequently referred to from Arabic hotspots for the North African cases — demonstrating their attention to a move in constraint and their resulting radicalization.

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The differences between terrorism and Rebel is Intention, In short, a terrorist undertakes their action with an explicit intent to maximize the amount of terror being inflicted on the other hand undertakes their action with a specific strategic goal in mind. Strategic deliberately. As both terrorist and rebel organization both likely have broad or overarching strategic goals (the overthrow of a state, for example) but differ

primarily in their methods. To make use of a specific example, both a terrorist and rebel group might undertake the same action of blowing up a gas plant and killing many civilian and military personal in the process. As a consequence, the economy of the area is destabilized, opposition supply chains are interrupted and the local civilian population is gripped with terror. For us to categorize this as a terrorist act the goal of the attack must have been to inflict fear or terror on the local population, the end result of the terrorizing notwithstanding (that is to say, the terror could be for any purpose, it doesn't matter). A rebellious act, on the other hand, will be intended to result in a strategic gain for the group that undertook the attack. Perhaps the gas plant was a key point the opposition supply lines or served as a depot for military fuel reserves. Regardless, the motive was strategic. At this point some of you might have noticed that attacks can have more than two motives and as such my present description creates a false dilemma.

Restraint and Protection as the way to accomplish a comprehension of why Muslim radical. Muslim Uprisings as a Response to the savage activity of state debilitated by Islamist upsurge however whose political desire they on a very basic level contradict and prohibit from standard political procedures.

D. Hypothesis

Boko Haram Change from Islamic Organization in to a Terrorism Organization because of the Limited of Political Opportunity from Nigerian Government

E. Purposes of Writing

The Purpose of this Undergraduate thesis is to explain the reason why Boko Haram Changing their Ideology into a Terrorism organization 2002-2009 The group Emerge in 2002 and in 2009 the group Activity has to be major concern in the International Public, Boko Haram began its Insurgency in Nigeria and conflicted with the Armed Forces even until 2014, Beside that this research is also conducted to find out more about Boko Haram itself.

The other important purposed is to implement of the knowledge which has already been obtained from the process of studying in the International Relations program by analyzing theory with the existing phenomenon in hope that it will give a positive contribution for a student of International Relation. This undergraduate thesis is required to achieve he undergraduate degree in international Program, Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

F. Research Methodology

This research is formulated in two methodologies: method of data collecting and method of explanative research. The method of data collecting is conducted through the library research and also through the media; printed and electronic media, internet, articles or journals and some reference book.

The other method is the method of explanative research; a research which studies the factor cause of the effect the phenomenon. The explanative research is used to decide whether the connection of the cause and the effect is true or false. Referring to the research question, the aim of explanative research is able to explain why Boko Haram Rebel from Nigeria.

The Descriptive research can be clarified as an announcement of undertakings as they are at give the analyst

having no influence over factor. Also, enlightening examinations might be portrayed as just the endeavor to decide, depict or recognize what is, while systematic research endeavors to set up why it is that way or how it became

G. The Scope of Research

To Explain the Factor Islamic Religion In Nigeria create the Boko Haram as the Terrorist Organization in Nigeria, and Why they want it to Rebel and Fight against the Government of Nigeria in 2009, Whereas in 2002 Boko haram they trying to attack Nigeria government but no to much gain the attention from the world but then in 2009 they Rebel, the impact the action of Boko Haram was really bad that make gain a big attention to the world, that make the Image that Boko Haram became terrorist movement that has to be eradicate. This research will focused on factor-factor and the reason why Boko Haram Emerge in Nigeria.

H. Organization of Writing

This thesis consist of 5 chapters and the explanation of each chapter will be elaborated in detail through sub chapters. CHAPTER I: Describes the background to the problem, research question. Theoretical framework, hypothesis, purposes of research, research methodology, the scope of research and organization of writing. CHAPTER II: Boko Haram, Leader Profile, The Activity of Boko Haram. CHAPTER III: Nigeria Government CHAPTER IV: Boko Haram in 2002 and Boko Haram in 2009. CHAPTER V: Contains the conclusion of all the explanation has been presented in the previous chapters.