

## **CHAPTER III**

### **THE TRANSFORMATION ACTIVITY OF BOKO HARAM**

Nigeria does not form homogeneous groups, but is divided into small, movements and groups that exist within the country, which are a reflection of social, religious and political orientation and division. Some groups oppose the Nigerian state, and are involved in transforming the dynamics and politics of government positioning. Growing problems and insecurity resulting from frustration of hope from the society for a Nigerian government that gave birth to an aggression.

#### **A. The Context of Boko Haram**

The root of Boko Haram lies in Islamic history, precisely in northern Nigeria. Boko Haram is described as a terrorist group that attacks with violence on a religious basis. However, this group began as a social movement actively voiced about the rejection of Westernized education, and the level of inequality in the community. The community is disappointed with the system, policies and performance implemented by the Nigerian government.

Crucial issues that facilitate the emergence of the group, as well as the continuing cruel activities carried out by Boko Haram have emerged for the introduction of Islamic Sharia law in many parts of northern Nigeria. Soon sharia law became a competitive and comparative legal principle in the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, while sharia courts were the main body of civil and criminal justice in these states. The Boko Haram Sect began its activities in Maiduguri, the capital city of Borno. Then moved to Kanamma, which is a border village between Borno and the Republic of Niger later in 2004. While in

Kanamma, the sect indoctrinated young people, young people dropping out of school, street children, unemployed until 2009, when members of Nigerian security considered their activities.

In 2009, Boko Haram increasingly adopted the tactics of global Salafi Jihad groups, including targeted killings, suicide bombings, kidnappings and hostages. Although Boko Haram emerged as a group that grew in his own country and caused a tantrum in his own country and this group is increase ingly seen in the international world because of its growing jihadist network.

## **B. Boko Haram: Islamic Movement (Phase I)**

Boko Haram was formed in 2002 in Maiduguri, northern Nigeria. This group was founded by a preacher named Mohammed Yusuf. Yusuf is a charismatic and fundamentalist Salafi fundamentalist scholars who have a literal interpretation of the Qur'an led him to advocate the prohibition certain aspects of Western education. While the name Boko Haram itself is translated from Hausa, which is "western education is evil/forbidden". In the colonial period, the western education system was the core of the mastery, inequality, oppression, and exploitation that marked colonialism.

In this phase, Boko Haram was a da'wah group. There are no criminal and criminal records in this group. Boko Haram has a focus on withdrawing from the community. As an application for early withdrawal, Mohammed Yusuf built a mosque for his group. In addition, it made an Islamic complex which became a base after the eviction of two mosques in Maiduguri by local Muslim clerics because it was considered to spread radical views.

Boko Haram began his movement by attracting people to join him and established Islamic schools in remote areas in the states of Borno and Yobe during 2002-2005.

Many Muslim citizens are poor, and then put their children into the school. The educational institution founded by Yusuf in fact has an ulterior motive for political purposes and as one way to create an Islamic state and enact sharia law. In addition, Yusuf used the educational institution he had founded for future jihad recruitment against the state.

Many backgrounds, why Boko Haram became a radical group. There are several government policies that are considered detrimental to Boko Haram. One of them is like the policy on the use of helmets for motorcycle riders. But according to Boko Haram that is not Islamic. The military then caused controversy between the state security forces and Boko Haram, and from that clashes occurred.

The incident, Mohammed Yusuf was angry and wrote open criticism by the Federal Government. Yusuf gave forty days to make a resolution between of both. But the government never responded to what was openly conveyed by Yusuf. From there began to emerge radical actions carried out by Boko Haram. After this incident, Yusuf continued to preach for jihad and military confrontation. The end of the period in this first phase was a direct confrontation between the police and the military with Boko Haram which occurred in 2009. As a result of the attack killed at least 800 people, including Mohammed Yusuf the leader of Boko Haram.

### **C. Boko Haram: Transformation to terrorist organization (Phase II)**

The military of Nigerian on July 28<sup>th</sup>, 2009 carried out an offensive attack on the leader of Boko Haram, Mohammed Yusuf. The attack was carried out at a mosque in Maiduguri, northern Nigeria. The attack involved nearly 1,000 people, and killed at least 800 people. From the attack, killed Mohammed Yusuf the leader of Boko Haram. The crisis incident spread to other countries, such as Kano, Yobe, Yigawa. As a result of this attack in addition to the

number of people killed and displaced. People leave their homes, because they avoid violence.

Shortly after the death of Muhammad Yusuf, they rose and the leadership position was replaced by Abubakar Shekau. The 2009 attacks resulted in the da'wah activities of this group being lost and no longer focused on spreading through education. With new leadership, radical attacks have increased their frequency and demonstrated their existence. The group carried out its first attack after the new leadership, at a large prison in September 2009 in Bauchi. The attack caused 700 prisoners to flee, and some of the prisoners were members of Boko Haram who had been captured by police.

Boko Haram's next action was a suicide bombing carried out at the UN Building in Abuja, which killed 23 people and caused 60 serious injuries. In 2012, they repeated the actions of a series of deadly bombings back in Kano, northern Nigeria. The attack killed more than 180 people, the victims of the attack were large numbers of Nigerian security personnel and civilians. From the criminal actions carried out by Boko Haram, it makes a starting point for those groups that get world attention.

In 2013, the Federal Government declared a state of emergency to some of the most influential regions in Nigeria. This was done because of the increasingly intense Boko Haram activities. The climax in 2014, Boko Haram has a new tactic of kidnapping. Abduction victims are female students, one of the incidents happened in Chibok, they kidnapped 270 female students. The abductees, they were used as bait as suicide bombers. The allegations were reinforced, that there had been a suicide bombing by women in the city of Kano before and after Idul Fitri, the incident occurred in November 2014. From the bomb explosion, 300 people and 100 of them died. This crime was committed because of the Boko Haram response which was designated as a terrorism group by the United Nations.

Boko Haram then carried out a massacre in the city of Bagan, one of the cities in the state of Borno. The massacre killed 2000 people. Amnesty International believes that the attack was the worst carried out by Boko Haram. The victims who fell between 2013-2014 almost 5000 people died as a result of violence carried out by Boko Haram. The Nigerian government has reported that 30,000 people have fled to avoid violence carried out by Boko Haram. The threat posed by this group undermines the existence of Nigeria as a whole territory. In August 2014, under the leadership of the Abubakar Shekau region that had been successfully conquered would become a Khilafah State according to Islamic law, and regulated by strict Islamic rules.

#### **D. Boko Haram: Connection with International Terrorism**

Boko Haram is a terrorist group that cannot be considered trivial. Some crime cases, such as bombing, kidnapping, murder, how big the threat posed by Boko Haram. A terrorist group whose incident is only domiciled in a poor area tends not to be able to have great power and commit major crimes without cooperation with other groups. Similar to Boko Haram, this group has an alliance with other groups outside Nigeria who assist in funding and weaponry. The following terrorist groups that have an alliance with Boko Haram:

##### **D.1 Alqaeda in Maghreb (AQIM)**

Intelligence reports indicate a connection between Boko Haram and international terrorists, one of the events that revealed the suicide bombing on August 26, 2011 (VOA-Islam, 2011). The suicide bomb was detonated in the PPB building, in Abuja, the capital of Nigeria. The international terrorist network in question is Alqaeda in Maghreb (AQIM). In January 2010, more precisely after the change of leadership of Boko Haram, the leader was Abubakar

Shekau. AQIM leader Abd al-Malik Droukdal offered to provide training and material assistance to Boko Haram. (Gourley, 2012)

Nigeria's Foreign Minister, Mohamed Bazoum stated openly, that it is true that the connection between Boko Haram and the international terrorist network. Boko Haram is claimed to have received training and weapons by Al-Qaeda's North African wing, as well as training in camps in the West African Sahel and explosives from Al-Qaeda in the Maghreb. Mohamed Bozoum's statement at a regional security summit in the capital Muiritania, Nouakchott.

The 9 August 2009 press statement was an important step, because Boko Haram officially declared an alliance with Al-Qaeda. Boko Haram is an Islamic revolutionary group which is not only limited to northern Nigeria, but in all 36 states in Nigeria. Boko Haram is considered an embodiment of Al-Qaeda in Nigeria, which wants to establish an Islamic state. This was not denied by a spokesman for Boko Haram. Abu Qaqa. In an interview, Abu Qaqa explained that the goals of Boko Haram and Al-Qaeda were in harmony and the same. So no doubt they help each other in carrying out its objectives. (Mark, 2012)

Boko Haram is known to have received financial assistance, when Abubakar Shekau performed the Hajj in 2011 with Al-Qaeda. AQIM not only provides financial assistance, but also in terms of sophisticated training and new techniques in dealing with threats from international security. The AQIM training given by Boko Haram is reflected in the use of the internet, which Boko Haram spreads his teachings of violence on YouTube so that the world community knows. For example a video uploaded by

Boko Haram, is a torture committed by members of Boko Haram to kill people who do not want to join as well as members of Boko Haram who defy. The attack ended with such tragic chaos. ((VOA), 2017)

## **D.2 Ansaru**

Ansarul Muslimina Fi Biladis-Sudan, or better known as Ansaru, is a splinter group from Boko Haram. Ansaru has been named a terrorist group by the United Nations, the United States and others. The group's full name is "Vanguard for the protection of Muslims in Black Africa" (Smith, 2016). Ansaru was officially formed in the 2012, this group is motivated to anti Nigerian Government and anti-Western. A spokesman claimed the group was separate from Boko Haram. Between 2009 until 2010, Mamman Nur was considered to have joined Al-Shaahab and in 2010 made contact with AQIM. Ansaru avoided fellow Muslim victims and did not actively attack Christian churches and government officials. Ansaru has introduced a tactic that is usually associated with Sahel and al-Qaeda was previously unknown in the West Africa. ((UN), 2014)

Since 2012, Ansaru has kidnapped at least 8 hostages, mainly people especially. They were also believed to have killed 2 hostages including 2 British citizens. Ansaru is a terrorist group that is not active now. Some Ansaru fighters, now joined by Boko Haram, all happened after the invasion of the French army through the Malian army. With many Ansaru members joining Boko Haram, the threat to this group remains a threat to Nigeria.

## **D.3 Al Shabaab**

Al-Shabaab is a terrorist group that is not much different from Boko Haram. The group was born

from a brutal Ethiopian invasion of southern Somalia in the winter of 2006. Al-Shabaab is a militant wing of the Somali Islamic Courts Council which took over most of Somalia in 2006. Although the group has been defeated by Somalia forces, Al-Shabaab continue perpetrated a rebellion against Somalia. The targets of these terrorist opponents are the Federal Government of Somalia (FDS), the African Union peacekeeping mission in Africa (AMISOM), and NGOs).

Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram have a lot in common. The group has collaborated with Boko Haram, and has participated in joint training. Boko Haram was taught to carry out suicide bomb attacks, and to build weapons in the Al-Shabaab training camp. Boko Haram members were trained in Somalia in 2010-2012, in south central Somalia. The region is an area that has been ruled by Al-Shabaab. There have been many criminal agendas that Boko Haram has committed, and one of them received support and assistance from Al-Shabaab. (Ingiriis, 2019)

### **E. Opposing Western Education**

The most well-known attitude of Boko Haram is that they are so opposed to the existence of western-style schools. Boko Haram is not alone in hating the highly educated Nigerian elite, who have failed to provide welfare for their people. Some Muslims live in the north, north is a classic place for the education of the Al-Qur'an and Islam. They feel the ambivalence towards western-style educational institutions. On one hand they feel proud of the existence of educational institutions or institutions in their area. But on the other hand, they believe that western-style schools fail to instill Islamic values.

Boko Haram represented the extreme manifestation of the emergence of the western style school. They reject it



like an "Islamic" school which blends curriculum between the government curriculum and religious teaching. Mohammed Yusud, at that time objected to the effects of western-style education. Ideas like Darwinism, it is contrary to the Al-Qur'an. The school provides teachings in which the students are Muslim children, but adopts the behavior of Jews and Christians. Children of various sexes interact with one another, which promotes "fornication, lesbianism, homosexuality, etc."

The "Christian school" in British colonialism, which was considered a school, was no different from the postcolonial government school where the prospect of material benefits blinded Muslims to the truth. "Because of love for this world, many people whose hearts have been saturated with the love of these schools, until they do not see in them what makes it contrary to Islamic law. "According to Yusuf, their step is to refuse to work under any government in power by something other than what God has revealed. Joseph believes the solidarity between Muslims for the rejection of western-style schools and the rejection of democracy is forming in one package.

## **F. Political uprising**

From the 1980 Maitatsine uprising to the 2002 Boko Haram uprising, Nigeria was plagued by ethno-religious conflicts with enormous human and material losses. But the Boko Haram rebellion in 2009 became very broken because it strengthened the efforts of conservative Islamic elements in imposing a variant of Islamic religious ideology on a secular state. The development of the Boko Haram sect was also aided by the economic dislocation prevailing in Nigerian society, the rise of party politics (and the despair of politicians regarding political power), and the ambivalence of some Islamic leaders. (Montclos, 2014)

After the outbreak of the attacks that occurred in 2009, Boko Haram aims to further shake Nigeria by going south to attack target strategies such as bridges, power

plants, international airport radar facilities, and radio and television transmitters. If it does not yet have the capacity to do so, this does not mean Boko Haram is not involved in fighting the Nigerian government. In addition, the expansion of the Boko Haram network into the Christian community has proven this radicalization and sect.

Meanwhile, Boko Haram has now received a claim that as part of a global holy war (jihad) when pretending to defend Muslims against Christian aggressors in Kaduna or the Plateau States. As well as external support from organizations based in Arab countries. In addition, it was forced to attack Christians to get support / alignments from Nigerian Muslims. That is the implication of the outbreak of the attacks in 2009. The remnants of the Boko Haram group who were forced to flee Maiduguri, and once in exile to face a higher probability of dealing directly with the transnational jihadist movement that was clearly involved against the Jews and the "Crusaders".

Boko Haram also targets for security forces, and Muslims who are not strict in following Sharia. Initially it was inspired by the Salafi doctrine of the Izala movement. Mohammed Yusuf, the leader of Boko Haram at the time, was so opposed to the "deviation" in Nigeria of Islamic practices by the Sufi brotherhood. At that time, the target of Christians by Boko Haram was not a community but several individuals who were killed because they told the security forces to condemn Mohammed Yusuf or violate the Islamic ban on alcohol.

Inevitably, another problem arose in 2006 about the publication of the controversial cartoon of the Prophet in Denmark, triggering riots by Muslim gangs in Maiduguri. As a result, they killed 50 Christians and the burning of churches. As well as the 2009 attacks, Boko Haram was accused of killing 37 Christians, including three pastors, and burning 29 churches in Borno. The incident requires

clarification that the actual protests against Danish cartoons were manipulated by politicians to express dissatisfaction with President Olusegun Obasanjo, a Christian who ruled out his Muslim Vice President Abubakar Atiku, in an attempt to run for a third term in his office.

December 2010, Boko Haram actually planned to bomb the deadly churches in Jos and Maiduguri. In this case there can be a way to understand the Boko Haram expansion target. The first is evolutionary analysis as a strategic step to disrupt the government led by Christian president, Goodluck Jonathan. These developments can be seen after Boko Haram has collaborated with international terrorists namely Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM).

To launch the Boko Haram strategy, the role played by political patronage participants in supporting the sect is clear. Yusuf's close relationship with the politicians in power at the time and those who had high ideals because their decision was in line with his plans to promote strict adherence to Islamic law. But Yusuf was so disappointed, with his belief that the office holders were not serious Muslims or that their Western education was hampering or limiting their commitment. In addition, Yusuf felt disadvantaged that they were using his group to help the political elite to secure political power, which would eventually be used to protect and possibly advance his career. From this, the disappointment he felt made his desire to make changes through violence. (Adesoji, 2010)

## **F.1 Timeline of the Manifestation of the Terror**

### **Activities**

Since the founding of Boko Haram in 2002, there have been many criminal agendas committed by the group. The crimes committed by Boko Haram were not only confined to northern Nigeria, but also spread to other parts of Nigeria and outside Nigeria. The following records of the health of Boko Haram 2002 until 2013 in tabular form:

<b>No</b>	<b>Time</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Event</b>	<b>Victim</b>
1.	2002	Maiduguri	Emergence of Boko Haram	-
2.	2003	Yobe	Weapon attack	200 people died
3.	2009	Borno, Kano, Yobe, Yigawa	Weapon attack was carried out at a mosque in Maiduguri, northern Nigeria with policies	800 people died
4.	2010	Bauchi	Murdered and prisoner release	5 people died and 700 inmates released
5.	May 29 <sup>th</sup> , 2011	Bauchi	Murdered	10 people died
6.	August 25 <sup>th</sup> , 2011	Adamawa	Weapon attack	12 people died
7.	August 26 <sup>th</sup> , 2011	Abuja	Bombing	23 people died and 75 people injured
8.	January 20 <sup>th</sup> , 2012	Kano	Weapon attack	200 people died
9.	February 17 <sup>th</sup> , 2013	Kano	Weapon attack	2 people died
10.	February 19 <sup>th</sup> , 2013	Cameroon	Shooting	7 people died
11.	February 20 <sup>th</sup> , 2013	Maiduguri	Weapon attack between Boko Haram and Nigeria police	2 people died
12.	February 22 <sup>nd</sup> – 23 <sup>rd</sup> , 2013	Maiduguri	Murder and weapon attack	6 people died
13.	February 28 <sup>th</sup> , 2013	Maiduguri	Weapon attack	people died and 3 people injured
14.	March 9 <sup>th</sup> , 2013	Jamaare	Murder	1 people died

15.	March 12 <sup>th</sup> – 15 <sup>th</sup> , 2013	Kano	Shooting	6 people died
16.	March 18 <sup>th</sup> , 2013	Kano	Suicide bombing	41 people died
17.	March 22 <sup>th</sup> , 2013	Adamawa	Weapon attack	25 people died
18.	March 31 <sup>th</sup> , 2013	Kano	Clash of weapons	15 people died
19.	April 19 <sup>th</sup> , 2013	Baga	Clash of weapons	187 people died
20.	May 3 <sup>rd</sup> , 2013	Maiduguri	Shooting	Killed a Nigerian oil minister
21.	May 5 <sup>th</sup> , 2013	Njilang	Shooting	10 people died
22.	May 7 <sup>th</sup> , 2013	Bama	Weapon attack	55 people died
23.	June 11 <sup>th</sup> , 2013	Maiduguri	Shooting	15 people died
24.	June 17 <sup>th</sup> – 18 <sup>th</sup> , 2013	Maiduguri	Shooting	22 people died
25.	June 29 <sup>th</sup> , 2013	Cameroon	Shooting	7 people died
26.	July 6 <sup>th</sup> , 2013	Yobe	Shooting	42 people died
27.	July 26 <sup>th</sup> , 2013	Maiduguri	Shooting	23 people died
28.	July 27 <sup>th</sup> , 2013	Borno	Shooting	20 people died
29.	August 10 <sup>th</sup> – 16 <sup>th</sup> , 2013	Konduga	Shooting	68 people died
30.	August 21 <sup>th</sup> , 2013	Ngala	Shooting	4 people died, 8 people injured
31.	August 31 <sup>th</sup> , 2013	Borno	Shooting	36 people died
32.	September 5 <sup>th</sup> – 8 <sup>th</sup> , 2013	Maiduguri	Shooting	39 people died
33.	September 15 <sup>th</sup> – 17 <sup>th</sup> , 2013	Borno	Weapon attack and shooting	159 people died
34.	September 20 <sup>th</sup> , 2013	Maiduguri	Shooting	14 people died
35.	September 25 <sup>th</sup> – 28 <sup>th</sup> , 2013	Yobe	Shooting	43 people died
36.	October 31 <sup>th</sup> , 2013	Bama	Shooting	13 people died
37.	November 3 <sup>rd</sup> , 2013	Adamawa	Weapon attacks	30 people died

38.	November 4 <sup>th</sup> , 2013	Borno	Weapon attacks	27 people died and 12 people injured
39.	November 21 <sup>th</sup> , 2013	Yola	Weapon attacks	4 people died
40.	November 23 <sup>th</sup> – 28 <sup>th</sup> , 2013	Maiduguri	Shooting	29 people died

Table 1.1 Data is processed from various sources

Based on the timeline table above from 2002 until 2013, victims of these crimes, reached more than 3000 people died, but Boko Haram has also expanded to outside Nigeria.