# CHAPTER IV THE CAUSES OF BOKO HARAM'S TRANSFORMATION

The increasingly existing Boko Haram movement, the maker of Boko Haram, has become more aggressive in achieving its goals. They want to show the government that what they are doing now is in response to the dissatisfaction with their work which makes the people suffer. Boko Haram's confession of the use of violence committed is certain. In addition to being an organization that has a complicated plan, its courage serves as an extraordinary commitment to the struggle that they do.

# A. Secularism Nigerian Government

One of Boko Haram's main goals is the coronation of an Islamic state in Nigeria. This goal is contrary to Nigeria's constitutional secularity. Rebellion Boko Haram received a response, that his rebellion was an insult to Nigerian secularity. In the contents of *The Nigerian Constitution 1999*, it states that "the Federation or State Government will not adopt any religion as the state religion". The controversy over the status of Sharia Law in Nigeria has led to speculation in the country. (Ezedikachi, 2016)

Nigeria was granted political independence by the British on October 1, 1960, and was given republic status on October 1, 1963. For 55 years after its independence under parliamentary democracy violated by military rule and then followed by the capitalist system of the President of democracy since 1999. Nigeria is a populous country dense, which often makes the Constitution, even up to 5 times in 1960, 1963, 1979, 1989, 1999, making Nigeria more than a secular state. In the draft constitution, the legal position is that religious belief does not affect Nigerian

public or government decisions. But in their interactions, Islam and Christianity show each other to try to defeat other religions through aggressive conversion into political associations and religious practices.

## A.1 Interactionism in religion practice in Nigeria

Secularism plays a role in the Nigerian Constitution that a person has the freedom to practice his own chosen religion without government interference. Secularism is the legal position in the highest law in Nigeria, which states that religious beliefs should not influence public and / or government decisions. In other words, there is a separation of religion and state. Communities are allowed to practice anything as a religion they believe in, but may not influence public policy.

Religion is a form of service or worship to gods. In Durkheim's theory (Durkheim, 1982), Durkheim's theory of religion further sees God as a private person. According to him all the laws and commands of God are demanded from community for community self-preservation. With this concept, that a country must adopt state religion to demand good religious behavior from all members of its community. Danbatta as political correspondent of the Nigerian Citizen, he is worried that religion will become a non-governmental affair. He wrote a clause on religious freedom in the Nigerian Constitution, "By writing a clause on religious freedom in our Constitution, we are causing the abolition of that freedom, inviting riots." And what was feared happened after 55 years of Nigerian independence. (Yesufu, 2016)

#### A.2 Influence secularism in education

In the 1950s and 1960s, there were many religious-based educational institutions and minimal Federal educational institutions. In the mid-1970s, there was a takeover of faith-based schools in Nigeria. Some residents believe that Nigeria will become a religious state (non-secular state), if the government has not yet taken over the institution of religious education at that time. However, there are some who believe that the takeover of schools is a grave mistake and a violation of the principle of secularism that is embedded in the Nigerian Constitution. (Ezedikachi, 2016)

The inclusion of educational goals in the Constitution makes the achievement of secularism in Nigeria. In the goal of secularism, it wants to be able to liberalize education so that it will not depend on religion. Secularism allows public education to be based on reason and science but as the choice of each adherent any religion can base its education or morals on its religion as a personal choice.

# A.3 Quest for the Implementation of Sharia Law

The Federal Government of Nigeria makes it possible with a sharia state court of appeals this is to expand the Sharia into the scope of the criminal justice in question. While Yusuf was so critical of the circumstances and the government, Yusuf was involved in official efforts to introduce and implement Sharia in northern Nigeria in the 2000s. Not achieving these desires has angered young people over government fraud and insincerity and calls for an authentic Islamic revolution.

The Boko Haram sect is a form of strict adherence to the Qur'an and the Hadith, their

interpretation was also approved by Ibn Taymiyyah. Abu Qaqa, a spokesman for Boko Haram, explained when interviewed that the agenda of the Boko Haram group was to destabilize Nigeria and bring it back to the pre-colonial period when Sharia law was practiced. In addition, he said they would consider government negotiations to kneel, and see what was being done in accordance with God's command. As well as their wishes, the imprisoned Boko Haram members were immediately released.



Figure 4.1 The 12 Northern States that Practice Sharia Law (Parramouth, 2017)

Aliyu Tishau, a member of the Boko Haram group, in his interview stated that "what we demand is that countries that declare independence to implement sharia must be carried out in full. Is there a Shari'ah value, if a thief is cut off by corruptors while left free? Or they have forbidden drinking alcohol, but they still drink imported spirits in their respective house. Is that all Sharia already? The leaders of the Boko Haram group argue that this is the reason for the country's misery and all this is because

of its secular nature which is compounded by the apparent injustice in this country.

### B. Repressive Policy to Islamic Idea

From 2002 to 2009, Boko Haram was a moderate social religious movement with limited demands in Nigeria. Gradually they became a group that radicalized as a result of Nigeria's repressive policies. The policy encourages Boko Haram to move towards a strategy of violence, one of which is using neighboring countries as a retreat base to facilitate the rationalization of its threats. (Luntumbue, 2015)

The Nigerian government also considers that with Boko Haram, they consider that Boko Haram is a growing terrorist movement, and the country's security forces have reacted with violent repression. On the other hand, the government provides recommendations for the Boko Haram movement that wants to launch its movement in developing an Islamic state in Nigeria. The policy is used so that there is no development of Islam or any religion in the state structure or as a law in Nigeria.

First, the people in Nigeria to obey and resist the temptation to not do something incessant Boko Haram gave a warning to the Nigerian government. Every action taken by outsiders, all must be informed by their knowledge and sensitivity to the religious dimension which is the current Nigerian crisis. The intervention carried out by Boko Haram will be felt by all people and governments as an attack on the basis of religion against Islam.

Second, there must be a focus on humanitarian assistance aimed at meeting basic human needs millions of people who have been internally displaced by the struggle between Boko Haram and the country. Like that assistance must also be available for Nigeria

neighbors, which accommodate thousands of refugees. Third, the principle that as a sovereign nation the ideals of democracy must be upheld to a higher standard than terrorist groups. Sensitivity and understanding of the religious dimension the crisis in Nigeria in general has made policy repression for Islamic ideas that want to Nigeria mentally develop in rejected government. (Campbell, Boko Haram: origins, challenges, 2014)

# **B.1** Radicalization of Islam in Contemporary Society

Radicalization is often a gradual process and requires time. Entering into an organization is not necessarily immediately radicalized. New members / newcomers can be radicalized because of a group dynamic. Initially influenced, and then turned to extreme views among those who thought the same, extreme cohesion under isolation and threats. As well as competition for gaining support and popularity within radical group. (Institute, 2017)

Radicalism occurs because of a driving factor. Nobody radicalizes itself. If there is something that resembles consensus in growth evidence based on what supports or attracts people back for radicalization, a personal relationship is important. This can be relatives, friends, or group connections. In addition, social ties become strong in recruitment. Relationships become very influential through various mechanisms, all of which can be identified to be very important factors to motivate people to engage in radical thinking or a radical practice of violent action. From this radicalism refers to acts of terrorism.

Questions from the book Why men Rebel, from Tedd Robert Gurr. "Why do people engage in political violence (riots, rebellions, coups, etc)?". The study of rebellion, radicalization, transformation leading to terrorism, answers in the analogy of "the ladder for terrorism". On the ground floor, people feel injustice, but some of them don't do anything. Unlike those who think critically, immediately find solutions to their problems and some still not satisfied. The frustration kept pushing them up to the second floor. Their positions are receptive, they are influenced by leaders to divert their aggression into someone they consider an enemy. Then some of them moved to the third floor, by creating groups and their involvement in the morality of radical organizations that allowed them to see radicalism as a justified strategy. And on the fifth floor, they are individuals who are trained to avoid the inhibition of mechanisms that can prevent them from being injured or who they consider enemies, killing enemies or who disagree with them, and they equipped and sent to carry out acts of terrorism.

Radicalization must be understood in a broad context, in which a political and cultural resistance to a person is delegated and central authority stagnates. The history of the uprising is very strong against colonialism and is very receptive to radical Islam. So many populations in the area, such as Nigeria, question the concept of a secular state. Boko Haram members described his violence as a response to a decade a long history of persecution against Muslims in the north Nigeria.

Radicalization can occur because it resonates with populations in the region with economic and social inequalities, and the lack of access to education that disproportionately affects those who are already poor and marginalized. And cause feelings of anger towards the central authority. In addition, the level of unemployment of young people in Nigeria is recorded as a contribution to the factor of radicalization.

Actually there are so many causes and processes of radicalization in northern Nigeria. The report was strengthened by the case of students attending the Qur'an (almajirai). It was found that they had been radicalized, and the majority of those interviewed expressed this view as opposed to the basic principle of Boko Haram's ideology itself, namely Radicalization of women is connected to the broader context of gender roles in Nigeria. The expectation of women to depend on men disappears when they see their husbands joining Boko Haram. Or the kidnapping case committed by Boko Haram against women. They finally shared their ideology and participated in the operation. They serve in logistics experts, recruiters, or operational leaders, even as bait to carry out suicide bombings.

Research conducted by Mercy Corps, that Boko Haram members do not share a demographic profile. The ex-members who have been interviewed, there are so many backgrounds of Boko Haram members. Of those who have jobs or are unemployed. Some of those present from Islamic or secular schools were forced into, and those who dropped out. How did the sect initially attract everyone from various backgrounds to be able to join it. In addition, in the Mercy Corps study, Boko Haram was indeed frustrated with the Nigerian government and then created a group. Which is Boko Haram taking advantage of deep complaints from the community around government shortcomings and security breach to get a foothold in the community. They were former members of Boko Haram, recounting that at some time they supported the group, hoping it would bring change in the Nigerian government. Then the support is then reduced as Boko Haram tactics become more brutal.

Lack of confidence in the government, state forces and security, added with injustice, self-protection and economic hardship the main driver of Boko Haram's readiness to use radicalism in practice, take up arms and finish off those who disagree with them. With radicalization they assume all can be conquered, and the ideals of the group can be realized.