

Understanding Boko Haram Crisis in Nigeria

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INTRODUCTION

On close examination of complexity of Boko Haram in Nigeria, the only undeniable fact remain that there is a crisis going on under the auspices of Boko Haram. To have better understanding of the crisis one needs to understand what Boko Haram really means. The acclaimed group simply called themselves “**Jama’atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda’awati Wal-Jihad**’ meaning (People Committed to the Propagation of Prophet’s Teachings and Jihad), not Boko Haram. Some school of thought claimed that the movement is a derivative, it is not a new phenomenon in the country and that it came into existence in the 1960’s but survived through the decades under various names^[1]. Some especially at the Federal Government circle said. “it is a faceless organization”^[2]. Upon all these intellectual display, the impact of Boko Haram can be felt by every living soul in the country, even the International Community can attest to the existence of the organization. These therefore raised the questions who are the so called Boko Haram?

General Mohammed Buhari (rtd) former Head of State and Presidential aspirant of CPC said quoting Professor Ango Abdullahi:

“.....*There are three Boko Harams including the original on led by Muhammed Yusuf who was killed and his supporters tried to take revenge by attacking the law enforcement agencies and politicians. There is another Boko Haram of criminals who steal and kill..... While the biggest Boko Haram is Federal Government.*”^[3]

With this observation of General Buhari (rtd) the complexity of Boko Haram crisis can then be seen through three lens, first and foremost, the original Boko Haram, followed by the criminal Boko Haram and thirdly, the Federal Government of Nigeria that terrorize through informal repression theory.

THE ORIGINAL BOKO HARAM

The original Boko Haram is the group called, “Jama’atul Alhal-sunnal lida’wati waljihad” meaning “The people committed to the propagation of Prophat’s teaching and jihad” is a rejectionist and anti-establishment Islamic religious sects, which emerged in Yobe State and Boron state in North-Eastern part of Nigeria. Although the group came into the lime light in 2003, but it really emerged from the so called “Nigeria Taliban” in 2002. The “Nigeria Taliban” is an adaptation of name from Afgahan Taliban of late 1990s which serves as inspiration but no established link between them^[4].

As a typical religious terrorist movement that employed insurgent tactics, the group has Mohammed Yusuf as their original leader and mentor. Mohammed Yusuf was a charismatic ideological leader who was capable of transforming wide spread grievance and frustration, such unemployment, poverty which is the effect of prolong military rule and constrain brought about by the structural adjustment programme^[5], corruption, police brutality, police exploitations among other, into political agenda, and further transform abstract political ideologies and objectives into religious imperative to mobilize, win and sustain his audience and admire as followers for his struggle, either violence or otherwise depending on the situational dictate.

The group aims at establishing shari’ah legal system across the country. Although, this is not the first time such a development will occur in this part of the country but unlike before the group came onboard with fresh style notable among those are: Self – exclusion of its members from the so called corrupt society led by modern elites, who are product of secular school popularly known to people of the area as *yan boko*. The *yan boko* government especially those of military are unjust, evil, full of all misconducts of secular ideology and no Devine background, it is bound to fail as it is indeed. Hence, *hijrah* a replica of movement of the Holy Prophet Mohammed from city of Mecca to Medinna was organized. The group moved from Maiduguri, -the legend capital of ancient Kanem Bornu Empire, to imaginary virgin land between Yobe state of Nigeria and Niger Republic boarder.

Furthermore, the group define Islam in their context, and anybody who does not fixed into the definition is considered infidel and unworthy of living. For instance, when Mohammed was interviewed about the group, he said, “These youths studied the Koran with me and with others, afterwards they wanted to leave the town, which they thought impure, and head for the bush, believing that Muslims who do not share their ideology are infidels”^[6]. This dehumanized term ‘infidels’ often used to justify violence and blood shedding by portraying the terrorist victims as either sub-human or unworthy of living.

Due to the outspoken nature of Mohammed Yusuf and most of his follower on corrupt nature of the Western influence perpetrated through school, hence the acronyms Boko Haram was given to the group by the

people living around Maiduguri. The word ‘*boko*’ is derived from English word book and it has been coined at the inception of colonial rule in the Northern Nigeria. It has been a figurative expression used by the Islamic clerics and scholars to describe any northern elites that acted, spoke, ruled and operates like the colonial masters^[7], long before now anybody who has acquired western education and has occupied a position or currently in power or government (the modern elites) is consistently refer to as ‘*yan boko*’. Therefore, the idea of ‘*boko*’ is not just about western education as it is widely expressed in most of Nigeria’s local newspaper but it symbolized the failure of the northern elite who has failed to provide opportunity for better lives. Like most of the ethnic militias in Nigeria such as OPC (Oodua People’s Congress), Bakassi Boys, MASSOB etc, Boko Haram considers itself to be law enforcement agent against those who oppose to the doctrine of the group especially the elite, Christian, Islamic cleric. Hence, people coupled the word *boko* with ‘*haram*’ which means forbidding.

This term was used to mobilize many unemployed, unskilled and poverty - stricken youth to join its cause in total removal of secular and boko controlled state^[8]. All these became more noticed in the Boko Haram statement, for instance, April 2011 BBC monitored report by Daily Trust (Abuja) released the following statement which Boko Haram has never debunk as done to others.

“We want to reiterate that we are warriors who are carrying out jihad (religious war) in Nigeria and our struggle is based on the traditions of the holy prophet. We will never accept any system of government apart from the one stipulated by Islam because that is the only way that the Muslims can be liberated. We do not believe in any system of government, be it traditional or orthodox except the Islamic system and that is why we will keep on fighting against democracy, capitalism, socialism and whatever. We will not allow the Nigerian constitution to replace the laws that have been enshrined in the Holy Qur’an, we will not allow adulterated conventional education (Boko) to replace Islamic teachings. We will continue to fight its military and the police because they are not protecting Islam. We do not believe in Nigerian judicial system and we will fight anyone who assists the government in perpetrating illegalities.”^[9]

Therefore, since 2009 after Boko Haram has regrouped the attack wide array of people which they considered to be assisting ‘the government in perpetrating illegalities, and who the group consider infidel notable among those are, Christians, Muslims, including their cleric, traditional leaders, and politicians who have criticized its ideology or tactics or were perceived to have collaborated with the government^[10]. For instance, Boko Haram distributed leaflets around the city of Kano, in January 2012, which read:

“We have on several occasions explained the categories of people we attack and they include: government officials, government security agents, Christians loyal to CAN (Christian Association of Nigeria) and whoever collaborates in arresting or killing us even if he is a Muslim.”^[11]

From the foregoing one can easily pinpoint those that are on the target list of Original Boko Haram as follows:

- Anybody who criticizes the sect ideology, this is evident in bombing of Nigeria police headquarters, which Boko Haram has claimed the responsibilities^[12], and ‘to prove a point to all who doubt the capabilities of the sect’ that the sect can reach anywhere it desires. It is also in reaction to declaration by the Inspector General of Police, Alhaji Hafiz Ringim in Boron State three days earlier that the days of Boko Haram were numbered, and that the police will soon flush out the group which triggered their anger. Same is true of the attack carried out at the United Nation Headquarter on August 26, 2011, according to Boko Haram spoke man *Abu Qaqa* (The PRO), “UN represents unbelief and they support the Nigerian government whom we are fighting^[13].”
- The Christian, the group classified their attack on Christian into three first avenge and two liberation from the hands of infidel and finally collaboration and sabotage. Going through the utterances of the sect member, especially their new leader, Abubakar Shekau which was made available in a tape posted online in January 2012, he said the Christian, ‘killed our fellows and even ate their flesh in Jos’^[14]. Opinion had it that he was referring to August 29, 2011 attack on a Muslim Religious Service in city of Jos during Eid-el Fitr Muslim holiday. Also the long standing grievances in the historical background of the radicalism among the northern Muslim that began when Sokoto caliphate was replaced with secular ideology following the advent of British colonialism. Before the colonization, Sokoto Caliphate served as an important center of Islamic learning. Caliphate promoted a culture of knowledge and intellectualism, such that “education became the yardstick for all opportunities in the states and knowledge a ladder for climbing heights of respect and dignity”^[15]. This is further complicated by the 1914 amalgamations of northern and southern protectorates and 1950s tri-parties regional based politics. These gave birth to religious in affiliation with ethic – politics. Islam and Christianity being the two principal religious in the front line became political tools under various names and disguise mostly in the Northern part of the country and this does not exclude the other part of the country. Original Boko Haram attack on the Christian especially on the eve of Christmas day is not new tactics when analyzing terrorism as a strategy of insurgency. When two parties of asymmetrical power engaged each other as indeed between security operatives (representing Federal Government of Nigeria) and the original Boko Haram, it is not unusual for the weaker or the secondary party (the Boko

Haram) to attack the third party (the Christian), in order to force the primary or the stronger party into negotiation table. Base on this Boko Haram attack on the Christian is aimed at provoking religious crisis by attacking Christian first, after which the Christian will like to take a revenge, the Christian could not differentiate who is who, then attack any Muslim on the street, and as such there would be attack and counter attack then creating war situation. The Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) is there for the Christian and being the only Muslim community that is most prepared and active at the front line will definitely represent the Muslim of which there must be no objection within Islamic community.

- Attack on the security agency, Boko Haram claimed it is strictly a retaliatory mission, at initial stage there were about 200 clashed with police in Geidam and Kanamma, although opinion differ some claimed police provoke it, while others were of opinion that the group's sophisticated organization preclude their battle ready. Whichever the opinion of the Boko haram matter most. According to ideological statement of issued by the temporary Boko Haram leader, Sani Umar on August 9, 2009;

“..... 3) That Mallam Yusuf has not died in vain and he is a martyr. His ideas will live forever.

4) That Boko haram lost over 1000 of our Martyr members killed by the wicked Nigerian Army and police mostly of Southern Nigeria extraction. That the Southern states, especially the infidel Yoruba, Igbon and Ijaw infidels will be our immediate target.....”^[16].

Their grievances against law enforcement agency range from thousand of their members including their leader Muhammed Yusuf locked up and even died in the police custody and violent and frequently target their camp.

- Attack on Muslim cleric, critic and community leaders, on the allegation of cooperating with government authority against the group. The attack usually involve gunmen arriving on motorcycles, quickly identifying their target, and gunning down the victims, mostly inside mosques or private homes.

WHAT ORIGINAL BOKO HARAM REALLY WANTS

Going by Gen. Buhari's comments which was quoted earlier on “....the original Boko Haram led by Muhammed Yusuf who was killed and his supporter tried to take revenge...” we will like to view the activities of the original Boko Haram through two lens, first, nature and demand of Boko Haram when Muhammed Yusuf was alive and secondly nature and demand of Boko Haram after the died of Muhammed Yusuf in police custody on 30 July 2009.

BOKO HARAM DURING MUHAMMED YUSUF LIFE TIME

The sect has claimed responsibility for several attacks on the media, for example bombing of This Day Newspaper, a Lagos based private newspaper and killing of Cameraman who worked with government owned National Television Authority (NTA) on the allegation of lies, misrepresentation and informant of security agencies. The sect who has sent several messages through media still called the media a liar, and then the only possible means of assessing their demand is through their various actions this will provide clear understanding of 'why' and 'how' of the sect.

For the purpose of analysis this work employs Martha Creshaw ^[17], explanation on the causes of terrorism. The concept is based on two concepts, namely, 'the root cause' (that is the precondition) and 'the trigger effect' (that is precipitants). The root cause are those factors that set the stage for the initiation of Boko Haram while the trigger effect are the specific events that immediately precede the occurrence of Boko Haram movement in 2003.

The Root Cause

The factors that set stage for the movement c revolve round the political elite of the north, The Federal government of Nigeria and the British Colonial master. The Federal Government has been dominated by the elite mostly from the northern Nigeria whose are generally referred to by their people as the 'yan boko'. It could be recalled the Nigeria Federation is becoming more decentralized and part of the decentralization is taking cultural self-determination. In Yoruba land, the south-west Nigeria for instance, this cultural self-determination assumed the form of Yoruba Nationalism with Oodua People's Congress (OPC) as their youth and militant wing. In Igbo land it manifested in demands for confederation, Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) stand as a secessionist youth movement to the region. It is in the wake of these that the political elite of the northern extraction capitalized on initiation Shari'ah legal system which was favoured by the large composition of Islamic faithful of the region in 1999. Shari'ah was used as a bargaining chip by the northern elite to claim their relevancy in the Federal seat ^[18], since the power has shifted to the south-west which the northerner perceived to have been controlling the economy of the country.

The shari'ah introduction as a political bargain constitute a grievance to the Islamic faithful of the region, for instance, Jeans Herskovits, emphasis the experts comment on the 'disillusionment' with the way

Shari'ah was implemented, and that Boko Haram has tapped into dissatisfaction, quoting one of the Boko Haram leader, "you punish somebody for stealing a goat or less..... but a governor steals billions of naira, and gets off scott-free"^[19].

Another serious root cause is the effect of post-structural adjustment era of late 1980's. The effect which former UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali considered as unpopular on the streets of Africa, characterized in African state by unripe fruit that "the hardships they have brought out are already very apparent^[20]." This introduced a new form of neo-liberal market economy that encourages the privatization of the state and resulted in University educated graduates struggling to find employment. Employment became a matter of patron-client relationship, coupled with access to state power^[21]. This was attested to by former Nigerian Minister for Federal Capital Territory, Mallam Nasir Ahmad El-Rufai that, "indeed, most of the apparent ethnic and religious crisis in the north, and the youth violence and criminality in the south, can be linked to increasing economic inequality^[22]." At this juncture it could be wise to link the emergent of the sect with dissatisfaction associated with weak economic policy of Nigeria government, which is characterized by poverty, deteriorating social services and infrastructure, educational backwardness, raising number of unemployment, dwindling fortunes in agriculture, inadequate or near lack of support for agriculture by the government knowing fully that majority are peasant farmers.

The third and important aspect of the root cause that has been largely under-reported by the media both local and international is the issue of constitution. I was privilege to be part of Mohammed Yusuf audience some-time around July 2002, it was my first and the last time I met him, I was on my way from Wukkari a Local Government in Taraba State to Jalingo Taraba State Capital, we had a stopover at Mutum biu, a settlement located along the road. He had been speaking but I did not paid any attention until when I heard him saying, "this is Nigeria where crime is rewarded with power, a country where criminals are worshiped by the cleric." If you want to know the weaknesses of man-made constitution then come to Nigeria and so on. Speaking in comparatively fair English language at least with his audience. He gained more crowd of which I happened to be one when he started sighting examples of various civilization that had come and fell. He argued that many third world leaders that worship foreigners and who are infatuated with non-Islamic system of Western Power have failed and that Islamic law is ready and waiting for Nigerian to execute. Going further into constitutional development in Nigeria, he remarked that in 1904, the Lugard administration in northern Nigeria introduced criminal code that consolidated criminal law at the expense of Islamic law that has being in existence. Lugard further expanded the same code to the whole country after 1914 amalgamation. The code was a copy cat of the Queensland code of Australia 1899 written by one of the most eminent English Criminal Lawyer, Sir James Fitz Stephen in 1878. The law was never enacted by the British parliament that canonizes Nigeria. At this point people were overwhelmed, more people were coming from the motor park and started moving closer. These constitute the basis of the sect rejection of Nigeria constitution.

Also among his ideology is the concept of knowledge in which he tried to draw a clear demarcation between western education and knowledge. For instance, while fielding an interview on why his residence is so equipped with sophisticated media instruments and computer, Yusuf said, "What you saw are materials used by blacksmiths, not Western education, which is a different thing entirely."^[23]

Due to his eloquences and preference on his ideology, Muhammed Yusuf became more popular in Yobe state, first, because he was the only man who can stand and openly challenged Governor Ali Modu Sheriff, this quality attracted more followers to his ideology. Secondly police seems to be his target not only because it represents the state but because corruption has infected the organization^[24], and the group is simply ready to take revenge against the police any time their member is attacked or arrested or killed by police.

TIMELINE OF BOKO HARAM ATTACKS AND ACTIVITIES DURING LIFE TIME OF MUHAMMED YUSSUF

Table 1

Sn	Date	Events	Focus	Victims
1	30 July 2009	Commander of Military Task Force in Maiduguri Col. Ben Ahonta, handed over Muhammed Yusuf to the police. Later died that day at Police custody ^[25] .	Probably for prosecution	Muhammed Yusuf the original leader of Boko Haram
		Police and Government Security Official claimed that they had killed Abubakar Shekau, Yusuf Deputy. Soldier took Yusuf to Giwa military barrack in Maiduguri for interrogation	Several well-informed security sources believe that Yusuf's and Foi's killing were intend to stop any information concerning the support they had previously received from local political authorities coming in-out ^[26] .	Dozens of Muhammed Yusuf followers
2.	Between 28 – 29 2009	The army shelled Muhammed Yusuf's compound, killing and flushing out his followers.	Chasing Muhammed Yusuf and his followers.	Dozens of Yusuf's followers
3	26 July 2009	Boko Haram launched an uprising that was short-lived due to crackdown by Military Task Force ^[27] .	Boko Haram attempted revenge on police	More than 800 people died mostly Boko Haram members.
4	Between 11 – 12 July 2009	Boko Haram leader Muhammed Yusuf threatens reprisal attack on security agency in a video recorded and forwarded to the President ^[28] .	Ultimatum issued and preparation for revenge on the security agency.	
5	June 2009	Boko Haram member clashed with Security agency on their way to cemetery for funeral procession to bury their members who died in car accident. Security agency claimed Boko Haram provoke the clash because they refuse to use crash helmets which is against the rule of the state		17 members of Boko Haram killed.
6	Between 2005 - 2008	Boko Haram seems to have properly come on board in Nigerian History, in addition to mosque Muhammed Yusuf has established school inside Maiduguri. ^[29] The group concentrated on recruitment of new members and shoring up its resources. As evidence of their growing popularity, Borno State Governor Ali Modu Sheriff appointed Buju Foi, an influential Boko Haram member as Borno State Commissioner of Religious affairs in 2007 ^[30] .		
7	10 October 2004	Boko Haram attack a convoy of 60 policemen in an ambush near Kala-Balge on Nigeria boarder with Chad	To obtain weapons in partial preparation for armed struggle	The militant took 12 policemen hostage and police authorities presumed they were killed by Boko Haram after several fruitless efforts to rescue them ^[31] .
8	23 September 2004	Boko Haram launched attack on police stations in town called Gwoza and Bama in Borno State, then took refuge in the Mandara mountain along Nigeria – Cameroon border	To obtain weapons	4 policemen and 2 civilian were killed.
		In response to the development, Federal Government of Nigeria deployed troop and two gunships to Mandara mountain. The soldier engaged the sect for 2 days ^[32] .	Probably to control and prevent future occurrence.	27 members of Boko Haram were killed, 5 members among those that cross border were arrested by Cameroonian gendarmes, and they were deported and handed over to Nigerian authorities.
9	June 2004	Boko Haram members attempted jail break in Damaturu, Yobe State. The attempt failed.	Probably to recruit fresh member	4 boko Haram members were killed.
10	7 January 2004	Boko Haram clashed with local vigilantes group while attempting to attack a police station outside Domba town, in Borno State near Chad border. Bags contain AK-47 rifles were recovered from the sect member	Boko Haram probably attempt to gain weapons	7 Boko Haram members were killed and 3 members arrested.
11	23 – 31 December 2003	Large number of Boko Haram group (some sources put the number into 200) launched attacked on police stations and public building in the towns of Kanamma and Geidam in Yobe State	Boko Haram steal arms and ammunitions, mostly AK-47 rifles	30 civilian and several policemen died. A number of villagers were kidnapped with the hope of initiating them into the group.
		Federal Government deployed military troops to contain the insurrection; Government forces estimated the population of Boko Haram member to about 60 men ^[33] . (From there the group gradually increased as students from various local Universities and technical institutes withdrew from schools and joined the group Quri'anic school ^[34])	To Control the situation.	18 Boko Haram members killed while 7 were arrested.
12	2002	Muhammed Yusuf founded Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad with its headquarters at Ibn Taimiyya Mosque which double as the residence and ideological/orientation headquarter to Muhammed Yusuf ^[35] . Following what the Islamic cleric observed and described as propagation of radicalism, Muhammed Yusuf was expelled from Ibn Taimiyyh mosque. He then established a mosque called Markaz as the headquarter to his ideology	Grudge between the Islamic cleric of the area and the followers of Muhammed Yusuf begin. His followers were simply referred to as Yusufiya	

THE SECOND PHASE OF ORIGINAL BOKO HARAM

From the foregoing, it could be understood that the grudge is between Federal Government of Nigeria and the Boko Haram group, police and other security agencies came under focus because they were considered wicked tools to which Federal Government used to perpetrate evil, this is contained in an ideological statement released by the sect temporary leader Sani Umar, on August 9, 2009. Which reads as follows;

“.....That Mallam Yusuf had not died in vein and he is a martyr his idea will live forever. That Boko Haram lost over 1000 of our Martyr members killed by the wicked Nigerian army and police mostly of Southern Nigeria extraction. That the Southern states, especially the infidel Yoruba, Igbon [cis] and Ijaw infidels will be our immediate target.....”^[36]

But, the state has succeeded in removing the Boko Haram public face and figure, rather than dealing with the fundamentals ideologies of the movement that attracted numerous supporters and sympathy even among the Christian who opposed to the violent but clamoring for objective analysis of Boko Haram claims. For instance, around August 2011, a Christian cleric form Ajibode, a settlement about 2 km away from University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria main gate wrote a letter to the Imam University of Ibadan, stating that Nigerian should listen to Boko Haram pointing out that really the evolution theory of Charles Darwin, the idea of rain fall coming from the evaporation and several other topics in ordinary level syllabus should be changed.

Furthermore, the concept of martyrdom, which Muhammed Yusuf vehemently preached while alive, like many other religious terrorist of the world, this martyrdom ideology provide a very nice bedrock to the movement, they saw Yusuf as a martyr and many really want to die like him with the hope that he would be raised on the day of judgment like a newly born baby without any sin. During Muhammed Yusuf one of him public speaking, he said, “.... Haven’t you see the faithful devotes that will be sent in a car with bombs for suicide bombing and they willingly carry out the errand, the bomb goes off with him, yet he is happy?”^[37]. It is the same ideology that the remaining key figure of the sect propagated after him. The more the security killed the member of Boko Haram the more inspired they become, because the members are socialized into cultural value system that celebrate martyrdom, revenge and hatred of security agency, government agencies, political figure and other that the sect consider to be collaborators of Nigeria secular government. Apart from the grievance that the sect constitute itself as a law enforcement agency and that the police is representing corrupt government that was the initial bane of contention between the police and the sect, the fact that their leader died in police custody worsen the situation.

More importantly the resurface of Abubakar bin Muhammed Shekau, who was thought to have been killed during 27 – 29 July 2009 uprising on a video signifies bravado which many members usually displayed against the security agents, especially the police and Joint Military Task Forces and it became a motivation to the rest members and other who are willing to join the sect. Many youth wanted to join the sect, in order to enjoy whatever immunity that made the sect deviant of the security agencies.

With these and many other ideologies the sect went on hibernation for a year probably to regroup, re-orientate and re training. On September 8, 2010, Bauchi Central Prison yard was set ablaze by the members of the sect and the freed the sect member^[38]. Over 700 inmates including about 100 sect members were set free. In the attack, official claimed four people including a soldier, one policeman and two residents were killed^[39]. This attack prove to be litmus test to Abubakar Shekau claimed that the sect under him has sufficient level of organization to maintain a pushing pace of attack, meaning that the group has gained sufficient training to withstand or counter the Nigerian security forces. Since then, the sect has embarked on various forms of terrorist attack ranging from jail braking probably to gain more member to carry out their mission and to free their members who had earlier been captured by the police. Attack public places. Attack important public figures in the society who they often described as the collaborator of the secular Nigeria government irrespective of their religious belief. They also attacked and killed Christian cleric and Church bombing on Sundays and festive days like Christmas Eve. Notable among the attacks are:

ATTACK ON PUBLIC PLACES

October 1, 2010. Eagle square, Abuja was bombed^[40].

April 8, 2011. INEC office in Suleja, Niger State bombed^[41].

April 29, 2011. Army Barrack in Bauchi state came under the sect attack

June 16, 2011. Police Force Headquarter, Abuja was attacked. ai Elkanem, injured three soldiers^[42].

July 23, 2011. An explosion close to the palace of the Shehu of Borno, Abubakar Garb

August 26, 2011. United Nation compound, Abuja, Nigeria was bombed.

BOMBING OF THE PUBLIC PLACES

January 21, 2011. The Borno state governorship candidate of All Nigeria People Party, ANPP, for the 2011 election Alhaji Modu Gubio, brother to former governor of the state Ali Modu Sheriff killed by the sect members alongside six others in Maiduguri Borno State [43].

June 6, 2011. Muslim cleric Ibrahim Birkuti, critical of Boko Haram, shot dead by two motorcycles – riding Boko Haram gunmen outside his house in Biu, 200 km away from Maiduguri ^[44].

September 4, 2011. Muslim cleric Mallam Dala shot dead by two Boko Haram members outside his home in Zinnari area of Maiduguri ^[45].

September 17, 2011. Brother – in – law of Muhammed Yusuf, the slain leader of Boko Haram, Babakuru Fugu, shot dead in front of his house in Maiduguri by two members of the sect two days after he was visited by former President Olusegun Obasanjo. Boko Haram denies any involvement in the incident. ^[46].

October 29, 2011.

Boko Haram gunmen shoot dead Muslim cleric Sheikh Ali Jana'a outside his home in Bulabulin neighbourhood of Maiduguri. The cleric is known to have provided information to security forces regarding the sect ^[47].

November 4, 2011. The motorcade of Borno State governor Kahim Shetima comes under Boko Haram bomb attack in Maiduguri on its way from airport to the governor's residence as he returns from a trip to Abuja ^[48].

November 27, 2011. A Borno State protocol officer in the office of the governor was shot dead by motorcycle riding sect members while driving home ^[49].

These attacks and bombing attested to the claim of Abubakar Shekau that, the sect could reach any one so desire anywhere at any time. At the same time the action could be used to trace what the sect really wants after the death of their leader Mallam Muhammed Yusuf, one thing the sect is known is the courage the members have to proudly identified with their action(s) irrespective of people's feeling. Summarily, since most of these attacks associated with the sect were not denied one could use them to make some clarifications. Therefore, the followings are likely demand of the sect;

- To constitute themselves as mafia, who is accorded with fear across the country and give impression that they are capable of reaching out to anybody anytime desire by the sect, this is to caution Nigerian and any International observer mostly the media against criticism of the sect member.
- Undermine the efficiency of the Nigeria security agencies most especially the Nigeria police who the action of the sect claimed to have replaced as done by the golden days of OPC in the south-western Nigeria. Then turn Nigerian against secular government of Nigeria.
- Gaining political relevancies', for instance, Federal Government decision to inaugurate committee to review the issue of security challenges in north-eastern zone of the country. Declaration of state of emergency and clamour for amnesty. All these give impression that the sect is very powerful and very important. (This is not to say that Federal Government move in these directions is wrong, if the Government is sincere about it).

Another important action of the contemporary Boko Haram is the Church bombing, killing of Christian cleric, bombing of Churches during services and on the festive days. Notable among those are;

November 26, 2011.

6 Churches, a police station, a beer parlour, a shopping complex, a high court, a local council building and 11 cars burnt in an attack between police and Boko Haram members in Geidam, Yobe state ^[50].

December 25, 2011.

About 50 people died in Christmas Day bombing at Saint Theresa Catholic Church in Madalla, Niger State ^[51] ^[52].

January 5, 2012.

6 worshippers are killed and 10 other wounded when Boko Haram gunmen attack a church in Gombe ^[53].

January 6, 2012

8 worshippers were killed in a shooting attack in Christ Apostolic Church, Yola, Adamawa State ^[54] ^[55]. Boko Haram gunmen also shoot dead 17 Christian mourners in the town of Mubi in the same state ^[56].

January 7, 2012.

3 Christian poker players are killed and seven others wounded by Boko Haram gunmen in the town of Biu ^[57].

January 18, 2012.

A key suspect in the 2011 Christmas Day bombing in Abuja, which killed more 40 people mostly Christian escaped in police custody ^[58].

THEORETICAL CLARIFICATION OF CHRISTIAN ATTACKS

Church bombing especially on special days of service is aimed at trivializing national issue into religious crisis for the purpose of negotiation, as said earlier; it focuses at forcing the Christian to attack any Islamic community thereby causing the Federal Government to call for negotiation, being the most prepared Islamic group will represent an unquestionable interest of the Muslims. The Boko Haram attack on the Christian can further be viewed with the lens Mimetic Desire and Scapegoat Theory of Rene Girard 1965. Girard explains that people mimic the desire of others, and this applies to groups, including competing ethnic group and religion group. To this end this desires must rival because, it follows the line of "*I want what you want, and nothing else, and I want it not because I need it but because you want it. Your desire creates my desire and these identical desires*

must be rivals ^[59] In an attempt to project one's failure into someone else, people or the group of peoples in question use other groups they dislike as a scapegoat, resulting in the sacrifice of a goat in the form of a culturally organized killing of humans. According to the theory, people may be prejudiced towards a group in order to vent their anger. They may use the group they dislike as their target for all of their anger. For instance, according to scapegoat's theory, Germans used the Jews as scapegoats for their entire country's problem ^[60].

Following the Western and Eastern Regions' attainment of self-government, the role of colonial administrators became increasingly supervisory. Northern, Eastern and Western regions witnessed different patterns of social mobilization. Fear of domination, real or imagined, dominated basic issues in Nigeria. While the north reared southern domination through skills, the south on their own feared northern domination by population ^[62]. The loss of emirate power to British colonial administration disrupted the region's legal, political and cultural values. The ambivalent views among Muslims concerning public authority in the far north are full of mistrust in relation with secular or Christian, which they described as external power influence. This mistrust continues after independence as well. It is in the wake of this that Ahmadu Bello proclaimed a principle of "One North, One Destiny," aimed to unify northerners as a single bloc that would maintain dominant influence on national affairs. It also aimed at restoring the north's religious heritage and cultural identity ^[63].

Many Christians benefited from the policy due to their high level of missionary school education, thereby given them a sense of belonging. This further enhances the region's minority's demands for local autonomy from emirate rule ^[64]. It is important to note that the priority of Ahmadu Bello and northern leaders was to promote Islam, both as a unifying instrument and as a means of preserving the region's cultural identity. Then the emergence of several oppositions from the minority groups such as the Middle Zone League (MZL) and the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC). The emergence of minority groups undermined Ahmadu Bello's sense of regional integration that ruling party and aristocratic class (*the sarauta*) were seeking to sustain. This development added more to the claim of younger and more radical elements of the region, who seek to free the common man (*the talakawa*) and had earlier broke away to form the NEPU and of which many of the members are not into partisan politics. This provoked violent confrontations between adherents of rival sufi orders in the region which came under another dimension. Since then it has been between the youth and more radical who are products of the region's Qura'nic schools. Many of their youth acquire Qura'nic education in the Qura'nic school far from their families; they are simply referred to as (*almajiranch*) who beg for alms for their upkeep. In most of the urban area of the north the almajiri have graduated into (*yan daba*) the acronyms of Youth Vanguard initiated by Ahmadu Bello, this represents the adolescent group.

Having seen how the aristocratic class enrich themselves, using the population and the support of the youth, some enlightened groups often came onboard critical of the aristocrat. For instance, while responding to a question of why the feudal class of the north is not as forward-looking and progressive as its counterpart in the south in spite of its richness, Col. Abubakar Umar said, "..... *There is no northerner today that is patriotic to his region or state, all they are thinking about is to get easy money to buy beautiful houses and stash this money abroad. We have the worst schools in the North and the largest number of children without care. Most of them don't attend schools and the schools are dilapidated....*" ^[65] These youth came on board with different ideologies, elite youth like Col. Abubakar Umar (rtd), Col. Yohanna Madaki (rtd), scholars like Prof. Attahiru Jaga, Prof. Ango Abdullahi have progressive critical and radical ideologies but they oppose violence. On the other hand, people like el-Zakzaky, Aminu Tashem-ilimi, Muhammed Yusuf and Abubakar Shekau are more violent in their ideology.

Those of violent ideology often become popular through their unconventional violence against the ruling class of the region, as said by Girard, (1965, p: 10 – 11). "Someone who prevents us from satisfying a desire which himself has inspired in us is truly an object of hatred." The aristocrat whom we have earlier described in this work as *yanboko* inspired the *yandaba* which later under various names transformed into *Boko Haram* through various names, *yan boko* owns and desires the political power which *Boko Haram* desires as well not because they really want it but because the *yan boko* desire it in the process the two desires must rival after the aftermath of what we are witnessing today. This work admits that the *Boko Haram* do not sincerely want Shari'ah because many of the members are ignorant of the concept of the Islamic religion which is the major problem of the religion of its own. As noted by Abdul S. Salam Abdul Mumin, Islam is a complex religion and that '*the Hausas, majority of them are not deep in the religious knowledge but they have the idea of submissiveness and even loyalty to the political authority*' ^[66]. This provides a platform for a mix-up situation where political leader is hardly differentiated from religious leader, where social issues are trivialized into religious. He further continues that, "*A serious set-back that befalls them is that many of those that succeeded to the throne of political administration of their territories were not faithful. A submissive society like that is easy to administer and rapid development would be effected. This fact was a major factor that enabled the colonial government to rule them easily, but on the other hand, it is dangerous if they are unlucky to have impious men as their ruler, because easily would lead them to destruction*" ^[67].

The Christian came under attack as a form of projection or failure to admit the failure of their

pioneering leader to provide for their needs. Girard's theory also explained how a primitive man stumbles upon the solution to the threat of increase rivalry created by distinctions between individuals that are blurred as they mirror each other. By placing the blame of all hatred like collaboration with police, avenue to which the colonial master perpetrated their evil, being too critical of the sect, assisting the security agency to arrest and detain the sect members. Christian then becomes scapegoat for the bad feeling in the Boko Haram camp. The founding culture through the killing of an innocent victim, which was then justified through the telling of story in which the victims deserved to die, is why Girard says that foundation of the culture was based on a murder and a lie. This work further buttress it by saying, killing of thousand of the like of Muhammed Yusuf and Abubakar Shekau but retain the political structure of the northern Nigeria, another Boko Haram will emerged in no distance time under different name.

THE CRIMINAL BOKO HARAM

Whenever we say criminal Boko Haram, average Nigerian viewed it as the composite of opportunistic criminals and hooligans that does everything under the cover of original Boko Haram. While this work does not exclude the aforementioned group, criminal Boko Haram extend to those that have been encouraged by politicians keen on exploiting the ensuring violence and instability to advance their own political agenda. And as such, if one may ask, aren't activities of the original Boko Haram criminal?

Setting aside the issues like jail breaking, direct confrontation with security agencies such as police and Nigerian army, killing, refusal to use crash helmet, all of which have become vogue. Issues like Bank robbery is an important controversial crime in the area, although, opinions differ over it, as many believe they were done by opportunistic criminal that exploit the unfortunate situation. For instance, one could not say clearly either or not student Union election led to killing of 25 students in Mubi, Adamawa state or Boko Haram crisis, in 2012. In the same vein there is no serious linkage between most of the Bank robbery in the region with the Boko Haram, and at the same time the group has never associated itself with any of the robbery. But then for a particular group to engage Nigeria's army in a shootout for more than two days in an operation that involves gunships demands several millions of Naira to purchase arms and ammunitions. How do they come across this huge amount of money? Furthermore, Boko Haram claimed that some of their members had been trained in Somalia, who sponsored it? To keep their soldier intact the sect need food and medical services (provision of medicine, drugs for their victims and drugs to influence their soldier any battle.), manufacturing of Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs), and transportation starting from vehicle fuelling, all these demand large amount of money, truly people may say they have sponsor, but common sense insist that such a sensitive group will like to do something independently in preparation for possibility of factional break up as experienced in most Islamic militia/ ethnic militia in West Africa for example the relationship between Tuareg and Ansar ul-deen in Northern Mali. Whenever one consider these aspect it would be difficult to divorce the group from some criminal activities.

Recently, the issue of criminal Boko Haram have dominates most of Nigeria local media following the Bauchi State Governor, a state in north-eastern zone of the country Mallam Isa Yuguda' opinion on propose amnesty for Boko Haram sect.

"...Amnesty has been given to the Boko Haram and I believe that they are willing to negotiate with the government. This is my belief. But you know, there is the criminal Boko Haram and there is the real Boko Haram so, the criminal and political Boko Haram are the armed robbers and they are the para-military arm of the politicians."^[68]

The opinion is clear enough to clarify the Original Boko Haram, Criminal Boko Haram and the Political Boko Haram, but Abubakar Shekau the current original Boko Haram leader rejected the amnesty, and then the Governor has this to say;

"...I have never seen him and I don't believe. You shouldn't trust this, anytime there is a disaster, nobody knows where it will end. You don't know how many people claim to be Shekau in Nigeria. You don't know number of people using the name Shekau to commit atrocities in Nigeria."^[69]

These and many more have earn the governor's profile a consummate statesman but then some Nigeria such as Femi Fani-Kayode raised three questions about the governor public utterances, they are:

"...One, when did Yuguda become the official spokesman for Boko Haram (for expressing optimism that real sect members will accept amnesty)? Two, why should he absolve the real sect members of the evil acts? Third, since when has any faction of the Boko Haram not been criminal and political?"^[70]

Whenever a scholar really wants to work on the complexity of Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria criminal aspect should be consider first and foremost, it is this complexity that made President Goodluck Jonathan acknowledge that the sects have sympathizers throughout the government, " some of them are in the executive arm of government, some of them are in the parliamentary/legislative arm of government, while some of them are even in the judiciary"^[71] The existence of criminal Boko Haram if it exist all then consist of composites of original Boko Haram, politician and the politically motivated hooligans that are bread by weak Nigeria's

institutions.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA (*The Biggest Boko Haram*)

Still borrowing from Gen. Muhammed Buhari's view, '....*the biggest Boko Haram is Federal Government.*' This is due to the fact that the crisis continues to exhibit criminal, political and religious colouration in spite standard of Nigeria Police Force and Nigerian army in the West Africa sub-region. Which indicate that there are other forces whose identity and character are difficult to define or explain. Although, Nigeria's authority has come up to defend itself on various occasions. For instance, judges openly rejects Boko Haram case because, Nigeria do not have terrorism law. Accusation which was later debunk by the chief Registrar of the Federal High Court, Mr. Ayo Nath-Emmanuel^[72]. Close examination refills that the Federal Government approach to the issue of the sect has been decisive in some ways, inadequate at times and favourism in other way. In view of these the work therefore employ concept of state and informal repression as a theoretical clarification to explain the role of the state of violent action of the sect.

The State and Informal Repression

First used in South Africa in the late 1980s and refers to as the use of "*convert and surrogate*" meaning repression of opposition^[73]. Cases of informal repression are popular in societies in transition, where the formal repressive activities of the state cannot be directly carried out as a result of democratization and redemocratization. The concept therefore explains how the state engages in covert activities in which its hands are either hidden or disguised and portray these violent activities as communal, religious or ethnic. It often aim at allows the anti-democratic and human rights forces to claim that democracy is crisis prone or plural societies cannot be managed in a democratic setting.

Cases of informal repression are not new in Nigeria's politics it has been in operation in Nigeria since the colonial era long before the concept was formally developed in 1980s. This can be seen in the motive of the Nigeria colonial super master behind the establishment of police forces. The coercive police force was established to control adamant natives who have establish consistent autonomous state or nation and its administrative style; Sokoto emirates council provided an eloquent testimony and many other kingdoms in Yoruba land. This is evident in a letter written by the colonial Governor to Lagos Colony, H. S. Freeman, December 31, 1863 to Duke of Newcastle which read thus;

"The man (Hausaman recruited into the force in Lagos colony) being from the interior and professing the Mussulman (Muslim or Islam) religion are hated by the natives of these parts who hitherto only known them as their slaves. They (Hausa) are disliked also by Europeans as being of a more independent character than the Lagos people. They thus have only the government to depend on, and if properly managed will prove a valuable resource to this settlement^[74]."

This is further complicated by prolong military rule. The complication started with the vital role that Nigeria police played at the inception of Military rule in Nigeria in 1966 which the total personnel in Nigeria army was about 11,000 which was grossly insufficient to meet the security challenges of the country, also Police Force headquarter provide a strategic zone for Gen. Gowon for short and critical period of his regime all these couple with wide communication network of Nigeria police that covered virtually the whole country made Nigeria police to be actively involved in military regime. This is contained in the former Inspector General of Police Alhaji Ibrahim Coomassie statement, "*The force (Nigeria Police Force) has been between the civil populace and the military so much so that its civil traditions are almost lost to military authoritarianism.*"^[75] The Nigeria Police are giving extensive powers under the constitution to arrest, search, seizure, detain and the use of power in any amount base on the dictate of the administrative policy of the day and or on personal recruitment of anybody so in power.

Coming back to the informal repression, the residue of brutality given to the police by both colonial master and military is still evident in Boko Haram, For instance, in a video show, titled 'Video show Nigeria's execution' by Al Jazeera, February 9, 2010. The video show the execution of seven unarmed men including three victims on crutches outside the Nigeria Police headquarters in Maiduguri on July, 2009.

Execution of Buji Foi, the former commissioner in the Borno State government and alleged financial backer of Boko Haram on July 31, 2009. And execution of Muhammed Yusuf the leader of the original Boko Haram on July 30, 2009. Which several well-informed security sources believe were intended to stop any information concerning the support the group and their people had previously received from local political authorities from been known by the public.^[76]

There are also cases of torture, detention of Boko Haram suspects in several detention facilities in Maiduguri, including underground detention facilities at the Giwa military barracks.^[77] It is also important to note that it only takes members of Nigeria police to name anybody Boko Haram for Federal Government to believe.

Setting aside the issue of police, Federal Government inconsistency and or insincerity is another

factor. For instance Muhammed Kabir Isa noted in 2009 that, six years after the 2003 incident nothing has been heard of a report or government white paper about the outcome of the investigation on the neo-militant Islamist movement's activities or about its source of funds, supports base, recruitment style and networking and most importantly source of arms and ammunitions^[78]. In the same manner Mr. Shehu Sani one of the proposed members of Boko Haram amnesty committee said these while clarifying his rejection to participate as a member. *"What the government has done is to sabotage and ignore all that we have worked for. It should be noted that there is no way this violence can end and we can achieve peace if the government has maintained a double standard of voicing out support for dialogue and at the other time sabotaging it by either not implementing the report or looking down on people"*.^[79]

Another important aspect is the active involvement of public officials in the activities of Boko Haram, situation which the President admitted that it happened. Furthermore, surprise revelation that some of the captured graduates belonging to the sects are children of the affluent in the society. For instance, the son of the former secretary to the Borno State government, a fourth year University student, reportedly abandoned his studies and joined the sect.^[80]

All the crises on Boko Haram have presented enough early warning signs that any serious government should be able to take precautions. When Muhammed Yusuf and his group were expelled from Ibn Taimiyyh mosque in Maiduguri in 2002 and the bloody clash between the local vigilantes group with the sects members in January 2004 is enough indication of religion violence in the region, (indicated in the timeline of Boko Haram).

CONCLUSION

Religion issue being it secondary or primary on the goal of Boko Haram movement the sect aim at construct a new society based on religion identity and ethno-national identity if possible. The dissemination of information and images through the media and the Internet created a global sense of solidarity among the group. Potential recruits easily access information and many new volunteers are young people who apparently were revolted by corruption in their wealth families and the marginalized youths mostly the unskilled youth and university drop-outs.

It is very possible to conclude that simplified narrative approach to explain Boko Haram crisis and its network as it is applicable to criminal act and politics do not exist. The intertwined actors, interests agendas in the history of reformist evolution, motivation base on primordial identities in the north demote Jihad and shari'ah to 'weapons in the procession of vagabond', ignoring their capacities to develop any kind of initiative to deal with violence. This is due to manner in which the Muslim political elites present Shari'ah within the secular state like Nigeria.

Like most ethno-religion crisis in Nigeria cases of informal repression is an important phenomenon in Nigeria politics. The government has use crisis period to repress its opponents, send many of them to detention and extra-judicially executed some. Boko Haram crisis is not an exemption.

SUGGESTIONS

- Nigeria as an integral part of African states needs not more strong man, but more strong institutions with independent judiciary, independent electoral body, free press, protection of minority right irrespective of ethnic and religion belief, active legislative body capable of holding executive accountable for their deeds and misdeed in such a way that egalitarian society with strong democratic institution are install.
- Spirit of sportsmanship should be encouraged among our politicians whereby the losers, despite how badly he or she might feel, accept the outcome in good faith in the interest of progress and development of the nation.
- Every Nigeria needs to appreciate our cultural diversity and religious differences.
- Nigerian elites need to address inequalities in the country which must be capable of addressing marginalization and vulnerability of the youth especially in the northern part of the country. These youths need to be empowered rather demote to political hooligans.
- Youth needs to be educates on the importance of free and fair election as an avenue to explore the link between good governance and human right, the combinations which capable of providing effective rule of law, delivery of state services, democratic institutions and anti – corruption. And that these should be chosen in preference to two hundred naira new note of the eve of election.
- The Islamic communities needs to educate their youth on the importance of shari'ah and the aesthetic value of shari'ah which persistence violence usually shield need to be made known.
- Colonization has come and gone whatever misdeed of our colonial super-master need to be correct by the political elites.

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