EVALUATING THE PLACE OF IDEAS AND ECONOMIC INEQUALITY IN BOKO HARAM TERRORISM WITHIN NIGERIA

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Abstract

Boko Haram is an idea that has strong root on the pre-colonial anti-western education philosophy of Northern Nigeria. It literary means western education is sin. The implication of this idea is that western education is forbidden. This study documents the ideological root of Boko Haram. It further used secondary literature to explain the economic inequality created by the activities of the sect. The study found that the sect activities undermined the national peace, security and economic safety of the country. the study therefore recommends increased security transformation within Nigeria and the Lake Chad countries.

Key Words: Boko Haram, insecurity, Insurgency & Nigeria

Introduction

When the Boko Haram Sect started their debut into religious theodicy, little did people imagine the ability of such "school of Islamic ideology" to win converts and receive popular followership. However, history of events in Nigeria in the last week of July, 2009, has shown that the group, which has been "neglected" over the years, was strongly rooted. The sect has built a very large congregation of different social class that is made up of the crown and the scepter; the human street urchins and those who live in existential paradise, those who move on mercedeze tyres and those who haul water. Others are the men of books, the political lords, peasants and people from every echelon of human societal stratification. What was seemingly regarded as a mere Islamic movement with a radical ideology turned out to be a wild-fire which almost consumed North Eastern axis of the country. It was a melodrama where some zealots numbering about 2 million and scattered across the country but particularly in the Northern states threatened the cooperate existence of the country (Uhia, 2009:8).

It is only through a relative attempt at unfolding the domestic wind of influence by the Boko Haram sect, that one could imagine with his or her mind's eye; how far the sect has gone in indoctrinating and winning many converts across the high and low echelon of the Nigerian society. It would equally show the unimaginable spread of membership of the sect, in different locations in Nigeria. Fafowora (2009:48) while writing on the membership of the fundamentalist argued in fact, it was suggested by the intelligence agencies that some senior members of the State Governments may have been members of the sect... There was the case of a former Commissioner for Information, Mr. Fai in one of the states affected by the mayhem who was cited as a member of the sect. "Unfortunately, he was killed along with the leader of the sect. So, we may never know how extensive the involvement of state officials in the sect was.

Late President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua while speaking to journalist in Abuja on Tuesday, July 28, 2009 stated that what we have now is the situation in Borno State where the leader of the Boko Haram is residing and where most of them have migrated from all the Northern States to go prepare and declare the Holy War (Shobiye, 2009:2). Hence, from the then Presidents' speech, one could eke-out the fact that membership of the sect has sprang up from supporters from different parts of Northern Nigeria and beyond.

Moreover, the acclaimed insinuation that members of the Governor Ali Modu Sheriff officers were part and parcel of the Taliban was faulted by a senior member of the Governors administration. He stated that the present state government instigated the arrest of the sect leader, not fewer than three times but whenever he was taken to Abuja, his godfathers would immediately secure his release. While defending the State Government on the role of Alhaji Buji Foi, a former Commissioner and two-times local government chairman, he explained that When Modu Sheriff came to seek the governorship, he joined in the campaign. After the government took off, he was made a commissioner. But he soon began to push for the creation of a ministry of religious affairs. As soon as the ministry was created, he pushed to head it. However, we noticed that he was becoming an extremist of sort and continued to sink deeper and deeper into it. According to the official, it was on Foi's volition that he came and said it was haram to continue to serve in government and that he wanted out. "That was how he left government, and it later became clear, went full-blast into Boko haram". Contrary to insinuations, the official said the movement was not really targeted at Governor Sheriff but rather at the entire society. "To them, all of us, non-members were infidels and fake Muslims. It was a madness that was really hard to place" (Daily Sun, 2009).

There was equally the alleged connection that Mr. Bello Damagun, a "philanthropist" from Yobe state, was one of the rich heavy-weights supporting the sect. Omipidan (2009) and Arewa (2009) wrote that part of the allegations against Damagun then was that he allegedly gave out various sums of money and a 10 seater bus with registration number, KADUNA AN 379 ANC and 30 loud-speakers to Mohammed Yusuf, leader of the Islamist sect that terrorized the North. His support to Yusuf, his accusers claimed then, was to facilitate the spread of "Islamic extremism" and various acts and techniques of terrorism against the institution of the Nigerian state. One of the alleged members of the sect converted in Kaduna was said to be a legal practitioner working with a big bank in Kaduna, "only for him to suddenly resign his appointment with the bank, following his sudden realization that the interest banks charge in Nigeria was unislamic" (Omipidan, 2009:5)

The study is designed to investigate the factors in place of ideas and economic inequality in the Boko Haram sect terrorism in Nigeria. The objectives of the study are: to determine the link between inequality and Boko Haram insurgency in Yobe State and Borno State; to find out whether or not poverty has instigated Boko Haram insurgent movement; to investigate how high rate of unemployment led to the Boko Haram insurgency; to understand if the corruption practice of

the northern Nigerian political leaders selfish interest was in place of idea that led to see Boko Haram insurgency formation as a business, and to examine the role of illiteracy and wrong religious interpretation in the formation of Boko Haram radicalised ideology.

Literature Review on the Paradox of Ideas and Inequality in Boko Haram activities

The Boko Haram sect received its name from the larger society due to their popular behavior that reveals that Western education is sin, hence, they stand against all forms of training and intellectual emancipation of man. This is because the Islamic educational system of our present time has received the infiltration and impact of western education in its developmental process. The globalization of the world into a village makes nonsense of any attempt to isolate Islamic education from the touch of western education. Hence, the adoption of such ideology implies that the sect is against not only non- Muslim men and women that have been nurtured in Western education but also members of the Islamic Ummah, who have been highly schooled in Western educational ideology.

Again, their operational antagonism against the institutions of the state is equally a direct attack on men and women who manage such institutions. How could it be said that as long as you serve in the police, military or para-military institution of government that your activity is *haram*; it creates a heavy unimaginable intellectual puzzle. The puzzle emanates from the fact that many institutions of the state in the global village, records the presence of not only notable pious Muslims but highly dedicated religious faithful of other faiths. Hence, to brand such institutions and workers as men of *haram* is to deny the holiness of; if not others, the sound practicing Muslims that works there-in.

The mayhem which they unleashed recorded the burning of a mosque in Wudil police station; is that not a sacrilege or has the place of worship, which is a divine institution turned into a place of *haram*? The activities of the sect were mainly a misinterpretation of the sacred doctrine of Islam in Nigeria.

Muhammad Zafrulla Khan on his side has noted that "the central pivot around which the whole doctrine and teaching of Islam revolves is the unity of the Godhead" (Khan, 1962:91). Hence, Almighty Allah (SWT) is One, Islam is one and the Islamic *Ummah* is one. This idea of unity in Islam was presented better by Muhammad

Abduh (1966:39) who wrote that "the Islamic religion is a religion of unity throughout. It is not a religion of conflicting principles". Hence, anyone who would want to attack Islam due to the activities of the Boko Haram sect should bear in mind that like all religions, it is comprised of fallible mortal humans. Islam in its ideal preaching does not allow for centripetal or centrifugal conflicts, outside the holy cause of jihad. It is a religion that is inclined towards peace, harmony and cohesion of the Islamic *Ummah*, not the use of terror. Khalifa Abdul Hakim (1961:161) wrote that Islam "is a religion of complete integration" and characterized the Almighty Allah (SWT) as "the Unity of all Existence". The dual works of Abdur Rahman Doi, Non-Muslim under Shariah and Sharia: The Islamic Law revealed how Doi (1983) posited after quoting Quranic and Prophetic traditions that non-Muslims "are equal before the law in every respect". He went further to state that "the Dhimmis are under Dhimmal-Allah, they enjoy complete religious, administrative and political freedom, a right guaranteed to them in return for their loyalty and the payment of a reasonable tax called jizya, which will be utilized in the defence and administration of the state" (Ubaka, 2000:43).

One of those paradoxical issues raised about the Boko Haram sect came from Anegbode Moses, the Assistant Inspector General of Police, Zone 12 Bauchi, who said that "they forbid anything Western yet their leaders have an array of Western materials in their possessions for usage, even the phone, jeep cars, I wonder if they were made by him" (Orude, 2009:7). Governor Isa Yuguda of Bauchi State in his extreme "judgement" on the sect's religious ideology stated that most of the members of the sect were cases for psychiatric analysis masquerading as religious men, because not a single copy of the Holy Quran was recovered during the operation by security operatives in their enclaves in Bauchi State (Orude, 2009). Abdul Harim Mu'azu Palladan, the Acting Secretary, of Jama'atu Nasril Islam (JNI) signed and released a statement in reaction to the activities of the Nigerian Taliban thus; "as the umbrella of Islamic organization in the country, Jama'atu Nasril Islam cannot and will not fold its arm and watch the carnage and madness that is going on in the country particularly North East in the name of Islam. We therefore wish to categorically dissociate Islam from the "anti-Boko" misguided group and denounce the unwanton murders and destruction of properties perpetrated by this group" (Ebije, 2009:6).

Sunday Sun in their editorial wrote that:

In this age and time, we wonder how any group can claim western education is entirely corrupting and thereby levy war against those who embrace it. Such notion is insensible and shows the kind of people who constitute the Boko Haram Sect. They are dangers to the society and should be completely uprooted in clinical fashion. Even fully Islamic countries appreciate education in its various forms, and import highly skilled manpower from different parts of the world, particularly the West to improve their own fortunes, and the lives of their people. From where did the Boko Haram sect emerge with its strange, creepy doctrine? It boggles the mind (Sunday Sun, 2009:6)

Most of the members of sect were not properly educated. The Holy Quran recorded that "and some of them are illiterate; they know not the book but only (from) hearsay and they do but conjecture" (The Quran, 2:78). But it is common to hear the *Almajiris* who roam the northern Nigerian streets telling any soul who cares to listen that "Mallam ya ce du wan da eje makaranta boko, wuta ze shiga" this means that my Islamic teachers say anyone who goes to seek western education would enter hell fire. Mohammed Auwal Al-Bani, a Zaria based Islamic scholar confirmed the above idea when he stated that "Mallam Mato (May his soul rest in peace) thought me the Quaran, and then I was in a missionary school, St Theresa's. Each time I return from school in the afternoon, I head for Quaranic School. Once I get there, my teacher would say "Lawal, on the Day of Judgment, you will go to hell fire in the morning and in the evening, you will go to heaven. He was saying that because every morning, I attend missionary school in the morning and in the evening, Ouranic School" (Omipidan, 2009:48)

The fact that Auwal Al-Bani, a pious Muslim, had to even attend a missionary school to acquire knowledge is in line with the teaching of 2nd St. Peter, 1:5 when he wrote; "but also for this very reason, giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue, to virtue add knowledge". During the fifth Ramadan lecture held by Borno State Ministry of Information and the Borno Broadcasting Corporation, the people of the state were admonished to disregard the philosophy of boko haram and embrace western education. A renowned Islamic scholar, Sheik Ideen Ibrahim Saleh Al-Husssein told Muslim faithful to strive towards greater intellectual emancipation, as no knowledge is forbidden by Islam. Knowledge in Islam is divided into two and is incumbent on every Muslim to acquire them. We have what is called Fardul Aiyn (general knowledge of individual on Islam) and fardul kifaya (general knowledge about things in our environment). While the first teaches you what you should know about your religion, the other teaches Muslims to acquire knowledge in the field of, astronomy, biology, physics, mathematics and others". Also speaking at the occasion... another Islamic scholar, Sheik Modu Mustapha urged Muslims to imbibe the attitude of seeking knowledge both Western and Islamic, even as he emphasized that no knowledge will be beneficial without discipline and respect for constituted authorities. The Islamic cleric added that Muslims must continue to work in unity and avoid any act that will bring division in the religion even as he cited the recent Boko Haram as an example of lack of adequate knowledge about Islam (Akingbule, 2009)

Similarly, in the 2009 NTA/FRCN Ramadan lecture, that was transmitted "live" on 30th August 2009, Ahmed Muhammad Bello (2009) a guest speaker delivered a lecture on "Islam and Modern Education". He stated that the Almighty Allah (SWT) has sent Moslem faithful to emancipate people and deliver them from the life of poverty and injustice. He stated that "Allah (SWT) invites people to knowledge through the study of the Holy Quran and through the study of nature". He even asserted that those who are competent need to learn Hinduism, Christianity and other religions to know their weaknesses and use their Islamic idea to emancipate them. He traced the idea of boko haram in Nigeria to the pre-1914 era, when people used it to oppose colonial and missionary education. Soon, he came up with an interesting logic "suppose for the sake of argument, we say boko is haram..., you (Moslems) need to read it to protect your people from sinful assault". He warned Moslems to desist from "negative bokoism" and pursue both "positive" and commercial "bokoism"

Sheikh Al-Mustapha Nasiru Kabara in an interview with The Week Magazine stated that the activities of the Nigerian Taliban are not in consonance with the teachings of Islam, stressing that the group does not understand the doctrine of Islam. He stated that "there is no where in the Holy Quaran where the Almighty Allah (SWT) said; Muslims should not seek education". Similarly, an Islamic cleric, Yahaya Olalunosebi, the Chief Imam of Ikorudu Oriwu Central Mosques stated that "those calling off knowledge are ignorant of Islamic teachings. Adding that Prophet Mohammed (Peace be upon Him) once told his followers to search

for knowledge even if it would take them to China" (Dabak, 2009).

Nevertheless, on a lighter note, one would ponder on such issues as; were the populous members of the sect "properly educated"? Were the large human forces of the sect mainly employed? Did the members of the sect feel the emancipating impact of democratic dividend? Where there any truth in their critique on poor governance in Nigeria? Is there no aspect of education that promotes *haram*? Does the activity of the Nigerian Taliban agree with the maxim that religion is the opium of the masses? – God, we need answers to these questions to promote Nigerian national peace and prevent the re-emergence of such terror network. Sabo Mustapha, a living goddess, attempted an answer to the above questions for God. He wrote that:

Their (Boko Haram) pedagogy, social orientation fearlessness and perception of the state as instrument of domination have similarities (Afghanistan) Taliban/FIS (Algeria). It is now clear, if Boko was/is Haram to them; it is because it failed to establish egalitarianism in Nigeria. They see boko as haram because (some of) its products have failed Nigeria. They (some of them) are in politics, civil service, and army, police and have taken over the traditional religious institutions. and This overwhelming control of our lives by corrupt and ungodly class of people was what boko set out to fight. ...but the political end was clear; overthrow a decadent, hopeless and corrupt leadership that hardly thinks beyond their families (while impoverishing the majority of Nigerians especially the youths through "ASUU strike," corruption and unemployment). Resistance by boko haram and groups like Niger Delta militants is sometimes a response to extreme deprivation by our (Nigerian) leadership (Sabo, 2009:5).

Boko Haram Ideology and Inequality Problems: A Reappraisal of its Place in the Traditional Hausa Socio-Religious World-view

In the earlier part of the work, it was shown that the name *boko haram* was used to refer to the members of the Nigerian Taliban. It is noteworthy that *boko haram* does not fall into the religious lexicography of any known global religion. This emanates from the fact that the two words *boko* and *haram* are Hausa nouns that do not explain any system of belief because they have no theological meaning. In the Islamic worldview, every

action of man must either fall into the class of *halal*; what is permissible in Islam or it will form part of *haram*; what is not permissible in Islam. An attempt to trace further, the etymology of the word *boko* would reveal many perceptions to the concept. The term *boko* has been inherent in the traditional Hausa world-view. Fr. Dr. Mathew Hassan Kukah has shown that Hausa traditional marriage festivity recorded the presentation of *Amaryar boko*; a fake or counterfeit bride in a procession meant to "deceive" the groom and add colour to the marital festivity. That was equally how the people perceived western education as *boko*; something fake or counterfeit. The rise of missionary or colonial education received suspicion and restraint from the families of practicing Muslims in Hausa land.

Again, during the rise of colonialism, the Hausa Muslim faithful showed much resistance to the missionaries whom they believed have come to upset their religious purity under the "false claim" of educating the populace. Hence, the people began to encourage the citizenry to crave for Ilimin Islamiyya; Islamic education, instead of *Ilimin boko*; a derogatory way of stereotyping western missionary education. The two forms of education promote catechetical education, in which the former was delivered in Arabic, while the later was delivered in English with some contemporary courses attached to it. Soon, while Ilimin Islamiyya received popular legitimacy, there was a growing appeal for *Ilimin boko*. The mysticism surrounding the lifestyle of the foreign colonial masters and their missionary counterparts created the belief in the precolonial Muslims that they were witches and wizards whose works are summed-up in the magic of witchcraft, known as boka in Hausa language, hence, the belief that there was traces of boka craft in their system of education was a premise for the rise of the boko haram ideology; western education is sin. Boko could be traced to boka which means sorcery and or witchcraft.

Those who perceived *boko* in this light, show general discomfort to western education and its teaching. Others see *boko* in the light of a counterfeit or fake education. The situation was similar to what was obtainable in every African society as it was the children of slaves and the wretched of the earth that first grabbed the opportunities inherent in western education. When the children of the Muslim families began to go for western education, they were often the subject of derision among their mates. This group of people that have held unto *ilimin islamiyya* often chanted satirical songs to their friends who have

accepted *ilimin boko*. Mathew Hassan Kukah recorded one of those verses thus:

Yan makaranta boko

Ba karatu, ba sallah

Ba 'a biyar hanya Allah

Sai yawan zagin mallam

(The translation of the song is)

Children of western schools

You don't study, you don't pray

You don't follow God's path

You only abuse your teachers (Kukah, 2009:8).

This prejudice has persisted till date amongst some Muslim faithful. This is why a reasonable number of children from Muslim parents are only interested in the "limited" educational training which they received from the *Islamiyya* schools. A closer look into the ontology of the hordes of thousands of *Alamajiri* boys (children who wander the length and breathe of northern streets begging for arms) would reveal the continuity, till date; of the vehement believe that *boko* is *haram*. This is not unconnected to the indoctrination of the mind of the young people by some of their *Mallami's* who have adopted perpetual prejudice against western education.

Many of these *Alamajiri* and other populous members of the society who could not attend the formal training inherent in western education, grows to hold tenaciously to the idea of boko haram. They believe that there is something institutionally wrong with Western education. If not, how could it be explained that many of the products of these western schools have institutionalized unethical behaviour in every facet of Nigerian national life. If not, why has even many Muslims faithful, who attended such formal schools persisted in doing things that are haram and not permissible in the Islamic theology? "These same people, in their eyes, call themselves Muslims but they persist in things that are haram, impermissible in Islam. Therefore, as their arguments go, it is their acquisition of Western education that has polluted public morality. This may have sounded superficial, but this line of thinking had resonance among the poor and the victims of the society" (Kukah, 2009:8).

These groups of people, who hold to the above kind of believe are often more irritated, when they remember that most of our leaders who have increased the impoverishment of the masses are products of western education. They are not comfortable with the growing corruption index of the society. They don't hesitate to speak—out against this new abortion of socio-religious morality in all aspect of Nigerian national life. They tend to be angrier with the speed at which fellow Muslims are "contaminated" by this wind of societal corruption and immorality in Nigeria. They believe that such men have abandoned the holy path of Islam.

Most people living in the Hausa cultural milieu are familiar with the widespread believe in *boko haram* by selected individual that cuts across every social strata of the Nigerian society. Hassan Mathew Kukah (2009:16) stated that:

It is my view that these crises have persisted because neither the state nor the public really seem to have properly understood the issues. It is important to think that the challenge is the distinction between allegations of heresy and crime and concerns around the allegations of heresy and sin. The challenge is, who has the authority or power to punish a heretic or a sinner and in what way? The story of the inquisition is still part of human history. We must accept that while sinners will be punished by God, heretics can only be converted by proper teaching not by violence. When the state loses its authority to enforce laws, it leaves society vulnerable. It is this vacuum that some religious leaders within Islam have continued to exploit by encouraging their followers to believe that killing others who do not think like them is jihad, a noble act to be rewarded.

Scholars in Islamic religious studies must be challenged to put-up massive religious orientation at the grassroot that would be specifically targeted at the adult population who have sustained the belief in boko haram, which they often transfer to the younger generation. This is because the influence of the Muslim parents on their children cannot be neglected. The Muslim traditional rulers should equally throw the weight of their leadership influence to promote massive re-orientation of these groups of our populace that believes in boko haram ideology. The government at all level should awake to the consciousness of recognizing that they are yet to match their political promise of transforming the fortunes of the Alamajiri boys, into the better reality of good life. The parents who send these boys to the streets should re-consider their mindset and repent from this dehumanization act. For the *Mallamis* who teach the idea of *boko haram* to the pupils in their *Islamiyya* schools; they should note that knowledge and education is the fundamental right of every Muslim.

In his work, *Misconceptions on Human Rights in Islam*, Abdul Rahman Al-sheha (2001:13-14) quoted numerous Islamic traditions and Quaranic verses that make education imperative for a Muslim. His writing below explains the above view:

The Almighty Allah (SWT) states in the Glorious Quran Sura Zumar (The Groups) 39:9 the meaning of which is translated as: "Say: Are those equal, those who know and those who do not know? It is those who are endowed with understanding that receive admonition". In addition, Allah (SWT) says in another verse of Sura Mogadelah (the Arguing one) 59:11, the meaning of which is translated as: "Allah (SWT) provide for you. And when you are told to rise up, (then) rise: Allah (SWT) will rise up, to (suitable) ranks (and degrees), those of you who believe and who have been granted knowledge. And Allah (SWT) is well acquainted with all you do". Education in the Islamic society is not a mere right for its individuals. It is rather a required duty from every capable person. All capable intelligent and skilled individuals in the Islamic society are required to educate themselves religiously and in worldly affairs. In fact, an Islamic government is required and demanded to prepare and provide, when possible, all means that help individuals in the Islamic society to earn a better education. This concept is based on the Hadith of Allah's Messenger (S.A.W) "Seeking knowledge (better education) is obligatory on every Muslim (male and female)" (Ibn Majah, Hadith No 337). Furthermore, Islam considers seeking a better education as a type of Islamic strife or jihad that the Almighty Allah (SWT) rewards. Allah's Messenger (SAW) stated: "He who travels to seek any (beneficial) knowledge is considered as a person who is struggling in jihad for the cause of Allah (SWT) until he returns (home)" (Tirmithee, Hadith No. 2785). Also, Allah's Messenger (SAW) is reported to have said: "Whosoever takes a path seeking knowledge (or better beneficial education) Allah (SWT) will pave a path for such individual to Jannah, paradise" (Abu Dawoud, Hadith 3: 317 and Tirmitthee, hadith No. 2785). In fact, Islam considers it unlawful to withhold any useful knowledge that one possesses but does not share with others to benefit them. Allah's messenger (SAW) says: "Whosoever withholds the dissemination of (a beneficial) knowledge (to others who may need or benefit from it) will be tortured with a harness of fire on

the Day of Judgement" (Darime, Hadith No. 3658). Furthermore, Islam imposes a penalty, or rather a warning of a penalty to those who ban, do not seek or do not take part in the educational process in the Islamic society.

Methodology

This describes the procedure used in carrying out this study. While many writers easily forget to document how they came to arrive at the conclusion of their scholarly positions in many journals and books, it is often necessary to properly document the research methodology used in an academic work. This study adopts the mixed method of research analysis, which combines both quantitative and qualitative methods. "The basic premise of this methodology is that such integration permits a more complete and synergistic utilization of data than do separate quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis".

The population of the study includes the entire males and females of eighteen years and above in the study area (I.e. northern Nigeria). Thus, the target population involves civil servants, law enforcement agents, political leaders, community leaders and businessmen. Sample size and Sampling Technique(s) A total sample of 360 respondents was selected using multi-stage sampling technique.

In deciding the suitable sample size for this study, certain factors will come into play. Firstly, the researcher ensured that the sample size was representative enough in order to provide beyond reasonable doubt the measure of validity to the findings that will be presented by the researcher. Again, much consideration was given to the sample drawn from the population, in that it does not pose a problem in the course of analyzing the data.

In the first stage, cluster-sampling technique was used to divide the study area into two areas, based on the major three states in the north Nigeria (i.e. Yobe State, Bornu State and Plateau state. In the second stage, one LGA was selected using purposive sampling. Purposive sampling was adopted in the second stage because the study should be choosy in selecting the affected places in order to generate data from those who have more insight on the trend of Boko Haram. The selected LGAs are: for Yobe State are; Gujba (Zone A senatorial districts); Potiskum (Zone B senatorial districts); and Bade (Zone C senatorial districts). While for Borno State LGA selected are; (Maiduguri Zone A senatorial

districts), (Dikwa Zone B senatorial districts), (Kala/Balge Zone C senatorial districts). And for the Plateau state are; <u>Barkin Ladi</u> (Zone A senatorial districts); Bassa (Zone B senatorial districts); <u>Bokkos</u> (Zone C senatorial districts).

The researcher made use of an audio recorder to collect the dialogues between the researcher and participants on one hand, and following the mixed nature of the study questionnaires were also utilized. questionnaire was designed in such a way that the respondent would have to freely answer according to his or her personal option and knowledge by simply ticking ($\sqrt{}$) good as appropriate in the box provided to express some degree of agreement or disagreement. Thus, Cluster sampling 12 techniques was adopted to divide each LGA into two locations (clusters) in the third stage. Purposive samplings were used to select five respondents from each location. The sample gave (3x2x12x5) thirty (360) respondents. Both primary and secondary data were used in the study. The primary data was collected using in-depth interview (IDI). The interviews were held with six (72) civil servants, six (72) law enforcement agents, six (72) political leaders, six (72) community leaders, and six (72) businessmen; the total is (72x5=) 360. Because of absence of some respondents, especially the political leaders who were out of towns for some errands, telephone interviews were also conducted during the data collection. The secondary data sources include text-books, journal articles, newspapers, internet materials, monographs. The secondary data are seen throughout the paper; from the introductory section, through the literature review to the discussion sections.

Given the nature of this study, the collection of data for the purpose of analysis will be largely from both primary and secondary sources.

The responses shall be

Strongly Agree/very adequate points	-	5
Agree/Adequate points		-4
Disagree/Inadequate points	-	3
Strongly disagree/very inadequate points	-	2

Undecided -0 point

A response from 2.50 and above was considered positive and within the acceptable level while responses from 2.49 and below will be regarded as negative and will be regarded as unacceptable. Questionnaire was restricted to only staff of both departments who are likely to understand the subject matter of the topic.

The questionnaire was constructed by the researcher and validated by the supervisor and lecturers in the program.

To ensure the validity and reliability of the instrument, the researcher sent the questionnaires to three scholars and experts in the field of education, measurement and evaluation who checked through and made meaningful intellectual corrections that enhanced the quality of the instrument in particular and the research in general.

After a space of three weeks, the same instrument shall be administered to the same respondents. A test, re-test reliability coefficient shall be obtained in correlating the first and second scores after the administration of the instruments using Pearson product moment co-efficient of correlation which assertion that minimum value for correlation to be significant is r=0.31. The scale is considered reliable enough and shall be used by this researcher.

Discussions

This section consists of the results of the data collected and then discussions of the findings of the study. The questions asked include the respondent's age and occupation; questions on the major factors that led to the Boko Haram insurgency then ensued. Respondents who did not mention one or two of the variables assumed to be the causal factors for the insurgency in the objectives of the paper, such as inequality, poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, political power interest, an insurgency as a business are then asked one or more of these variables if the respondents think the problem(s) is a factor behind the ideas in the formation of Boko Haram insurgency.

A respondent was asked on what he thinks are the major reasons behind the ideas in the formation of Boko Haram insurgency, he said: Boko Haram emerged because of negligence by the government. Indeed, injustice plays important role, but looking at how the government takes security matters for granted. If you compare the level of our (Nigerian) development in

terms of security system with other countries, like United States of America, you will conclude that insurgency and other forms of insecurity are bound to take place. (Interview with a male respondent, 30 years, Damaturu, L.G.A., 2016).

The above response has captured something beyond the assumption of the paper because the study assumed that Boko Haram insurgency is more associated with socioeconomic conditions rather than weak criminal justice system. But the response showed that systematic security system is very vital in preventing any rebellion. This argument is agreed upon by Alao, Olusegun, & Alao (2012), who noted that the Nigerian Government shall be blamed for its inability to develop policies for prompt onslaught against emerging threats, such as Boko Haram insurgency.

A male respondent gave reasons why Boko Haram emerged in the following quotation:

Boko Haram emerged as a result of injustice by the government, because people consider the government to be the provider of social services, to fight poverty, to provide jobs, and to provide a comfortable environment for them to live. But the government failed to provide such services. As a result, many frustrated youths resorted to violence as we are witnessing in the Boko Haram activities. (Interview with a male respondent, 44 years, Bade L.G.A., 2016).

From the foregoing, it is obvious that social injustice exacerbates poverty in Nigeria and poverty, in turn, has influenced the formation and activities of Boko Haram. Simply put, the level of poverty is jointly determined by the national income level and by the pattern of distribution of this income (Fajnzylber et al. 2001). Another female respondent was also enquired about his opinion on why Boko Haram came into existence and she mentioned that:

In my own view, the main reasons behind the ideas in the formation of Boko Haram insurgency, is sheer mercilessness, sheer Godlessness and need for bloodshed. This can be understood through the uncountable number of deaths and the patterns of their (Boko Haram members) rejoice in killing innocent people (Interview with a female respondent, 39 years, Gujba L.G.A., 2016).

The above response implies that different individuals have different perception of the factors that led to the emergence of the group. Of course, there is mercilessness in the activities of the group because thousands of people, including women and children were killed. However, the response gave consequences of Boko Haram rather than causes, while the focus of this study is on the causal ideas in the formation rather than the consequence. Another male respondent pointed out that: The biggest reason for the formation of Boko Haram insurgency is the redundancy and joblessness our youths are living in, and Government's negligence on the activities of the movement from its onset...the authority should have been watching the group's activities through intelligence and ensure that it does not grow to become terrorist or insurgent movement. (Interview with a male respondent, 24 years, Potiskum L.G.A., 2016).

The above response made the finding similar to the submission of Mukhtar et al. (2015) because they maintained that unemployment has been identified as one of the major causes of our social ills and high level of insecurity in Nigeria over long period of time. They also admitted that joblessness induces many Nigerian youths to become criminals. This is why Melick (n.d.) contended that the dilemma of living in unemployment lead people to become irrational economic actors and disgruntled citizens. In other words, many youths have joined Boko Haram group as an available alternative to their miserable life of joblessness and lack of income; they are willing to undertake the illegitimate opportunities than maintaining unemployed for a long period.

The following statement was given by another male respondent on behind the ideas in the formation of Boko Haram insurgency into existence, thus:

One of the many reasons for the coming of the group (Boko Haram) is vulnerability of children. Parents are not willing to effectively discharge their responsibilities. Many of the children are left roaming around towns without proper parental care. This is the reason why there are many almajirai(children in search of Quranic knowledge in a faraway town or village) and majority of the members of the group were once almajiarai. (Interview with a male respondent, 27 years, Bade L.G.A., 2016).

Another similar response was provided by a female respondent from Damaturu LGA, thus:

The major factors that trigger the coming of Boko Haram insurgency is lack of proper socialisation, poverty and unemployment. (Interview with a female respondent, 21 years, Damaturu L.G.A., 2016).

The above responses indicated that lack proper parental care and neglecting children is a remote cause of the Boko Haram insurgency. According to Patrick & Felix (2013), the areas with the lowest number of children in school are in the Northern region of Nigeria as they are worst hit by the Boko Haram attack. The level of education could also be regarded as the basis for such groups to emerge. Testing parental understanding of education, a survey shows that 80% of parents in Zamfara State cannot read and write in English Language. Niger State has 63 percents, Yobe has 78 percent and Adamawa with 47 percent of parents that cannot read or write in English (Patrick & Felix, 2013). This may account for why such states became breeding grounds for Boko Haram.

Another respondent also mentioned that: Lack of sound knowledge of what really constitutes Islamic teaching is one of the reasons why Boko Haram insurgency came into being. The members of the group do not truly understand the authentic teaching of the Prophet (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) and the Holy Qur'an. (Interview with a male respondent, 27 years, Potiskum L.G.A., 2016).

There was a similar response on the by a female respondent on the way wrong religious interpretation brought the Boko Haram insurgency into existence: I think the main or foremost factor for the emergence of Boko Haram insurgency is the extreme or strong desire for the members of the group to serve the God, but they were accidentally trapped into the hands of radicalised priests. Some of them might have good intention, but the wrong interpretation they held about the Islamic teaching is the fault in the affairs of the group...corruption is also a factor (Interview with a female respondent, 21 years, Damaturu L.G.A., 2016).

Another respondent said:

What lead to the emergence of Boko Haram is lack of knowledge. The activity of the problem in Yobe State began in Damagun or a closer L.G.A. Most of the followers of the group are illiterates... They do not have Islamic and western education... They also have no good clerics. If they have the true Islamic knowledge, they will also accept the western education. (Interview with a female respondent, 19 years, Potiskum L.G.A., 2016).

From the above discussions, it could be said that Boko Haram insurgency is also a symptom of poor or wrong understanding of Islamic messages by the majority of the members. The responses also indicated that illiteracy plays significant role in the emergence of the Boko Haram.

Although US Counterinsurgency Guide (2009) stated that insurgents were often motivated by Marxist ideology, religion, as in the case of Boko Haram or nationalism (or a combination of these) during the Twentieth Century. Insurgencies were often led by university-educated intellectual elites whose personal circumstances were sometimes far removed from those of the rank-and-file insurgents that they inspired. In Nigerian context and with reference to Boko Haram insurgency, most of the followers do not have basic formal knowledge.

Conclusion

The main conclusion of the study is that, the ideas in the formation of Boko Haram insurgency were caused by many ideas.

Apart from the social and economic inequalities, poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and wrong interpretations of the religious teachings, the study also found that politics, corruption and globalization and/or foreign forces play important roles in the formation of political insurgency, environmental insurgency (such as Niger Delta militants) and ideological insurgency (like Boko Haram) in Nigeria.

Violence is reduced in a society when economic growth improves. And since political violence can be dictated by the pattern of income distribution and by the rate of change of national income, the study concluded that rising cases of insurgency in Nigeria can be addressed through faster poverty reduction, provision of decent employments to vast majority of the population, especially the youth category.

Recommendations

Based on the finding of the study, recommendations have emerged to hopefully be translated into policy strategy in counterinsurgency in the Northeast and Nigeria in general. The recommendations include:

1. In many cases, insurgent movements are borne out of relative deprivation and direct or indirect

- reaction against social, political or economic inequalities. Thus, to make counterinsurgency an effective project in the Northeast in particular and the Nigeria in general, the government shall treat equal citizens equally in terms of national annual budget allocation, provision of infrastructure, educational and employment opportunities.
- 2. From some of the literatures, the study showed that comprehensive poverty alleviation programmes can leads to a decline in national crime rates. Such pro-poor policies can equally help in reducing the tendency for rebellious movements and religious radicalisation. In other words, tackling Boko Haram insurgency also requires sincere poverty alleviation programmes which impact into the lives of the indigent subpopulations in the North-east and other parts of the Nigeria.
- 3. Government at all levels-Federal, State, and local governments-shall develop proactive measures against spread of wrong religious teachings and religious radicalisation by unqualified priests. This can be done through screening the ulamas (Islamic priests) and even who have sound theological pastors background and those who have no any overt political inclinations in their religious preaching, lest they connive with politicians to hoodwink gullible youths into bloodshed in the name of religion.
- 4. Al-majirci institution should also be banned because it is one of the factors that pave easy way for the radicalised ulamas to recruit youths into their movements. The al-majirci is a Qur'anic teaching practice among Muslims, in which children are sent to a teacher living far away town or in remote village to learn Qur'an but the children end up in wandering and begging in city streets or moving from house to house in rural areas in search for food remnants. The growing almajiri boys are also feeling hopelessness and inferiority complex compared to their counterparts who attended formal schools, either madrasahs (Islamiyyah, higher Islamic schools and Islamic universities) or western oriented schools.

- 5. The Boko Haram insurgency is to a greater extent attributable to illiteracy, thus government shall make quality education accessible to children of poor and the rich, to the rural dwellers and urban populations as well.
- 6. Foreign governments, especially the neighbouring States of Niger, Camerron and Chad Republics, have helped in immense proportion in the recent times on the war on insurgency, particularly Boko Haram related insurgency. Their roles and that nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) are instrumental in intelligence sharing and border surveillance in order to eliminate any insurgency related movements across Nigerian
- and their borders. The NGOs shall also intervene in the fight against Boko Haram insurgency through awareness creation or enlightenment on the evil of extremism and terrorism.
- 7. The Boko Haram and other insurgent movements in the south-southern Nigeria are also utilised and even instigated by some vested interests in the Nigeria's political cycle. For this reason, the Nigerian criminal justice shall not only concentrate on the insurgents, it should combine it with focus on the corrupt Nigerian politicians who used insurgency as a diversionary tactic for exploiting the masses and pursuing their course through violence.

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