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**GLOBALIZATION AND TERRORISM: A CASE STUDY OF BOKO HARAM
IN NIGERIA**

MA thesis

Supervisor: Eoin McNamara, MSc

Tartu 2018

I have written this master's thesis independently. All viewpoints of other authors, literary sources and data from elsewhere used for writing this paper have been referenced.

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Abstract

The accelerating growth of globalization has been attributed as the cause of change in warfare. Despite being regarded as a very significant development in the world, the integration of more economies has led to the decline of state monopoly of war and the rise in different non state actors. The impact of globalization according to anti-globalist is the cause of major problems of our time ranging from environmental degradation, loss of identity, intrastate war and terrorism. Terrorism is considered a growing fundamental concern to both national and international security. Although terrorism is not considered a new war, the method used by contemporary terrorist has been aided by the advancement of technology.

Furthermore, it has been argued that weak/failing states are a breeding ground for terrorist organizations. The phenomenon “weak state” according to Newman (2007) “refers to a situation where central government has a poor capacity to control public order within its territory, is unable to consistently control its borders, cannot reliably maintain viable public institutions or services, and is vulnerable to extra-constitutional domestic challenges” (Newman, 2007:465). Most of these weak/failing states are found in Africa, South Asia and the Middle East. This study is a case study of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. Although Nigeria is not yet a failing state, it currently houses one of the deadliest terrorist group in the world. For years, Nigerian government and its security agencies have been combating the rise of the Islamic militant sect, Boko Haram. The sect which started as a small social group fighting for the poor and the oppressed in the society has grown into a menace that graces the headlines of both local and international news.

Keywords: Globalization, Terrorism, New wars, State Failure, Boko Haram, Nigeria

List of abbreviations and terms

AU	<i>African Union</i>
AQIM	<i>Al-Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb</i>
CBN	<i>Central Bank of Nigeria</i>
EU	<i>European Union</i>
FSI	<i>Fragile State Index</i>
GNP	<i>Gross National Product</i>
GTI	<i>Global Terrorism Index</i>
ISIS	<i>Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant</i>
MANPADS	<i>Man-Portable Air-defense System</i>
OECD	<i>Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development</i>
TNCs	<i>Transnational Corporations</i>
TOC	<i>Transnational Organised Crime</i>
UNDP	<i>United Nations Development Programme</i>
UNICEF	<i>United Nation Children's Fund</i>
UN	<i>United Nation</i>
UNHCR	<i>United Nation High Commissioner for Refugee</i>
WTO	<i>World Trade Organisation</i>

Table of Contents

Abstract	iv
List of abbreviations and terms	v
List of figures.....	viii
1 General Background and Introduction	1
1.1 Overview of Boko Haram Activities in Nigeria.....	3
1.2 Statement of the Research Problem	4
1.3 Research Question.....	5
1.4 Hypothesis.....	6
1.5 Objectives of the Study.....	6
1.6 The Significance and Limitation of the Study.....	6
1.7 Sources of Data and Methodology	7
1.8 Theoretical Framework.....	7
1.9 Thesis Outline.....	10
2 Conceptualization and Literature Review.....	12
2.1 Globalization	12
2.2 Globalization and Security	15
2.3 Globalization of Terrorism	17
2.3.1 Globalization and Technology	21
2.3.2 Globalization, Natural Resources and International Corporations.....	22
2.4 The Concept of the State	24
2.4.1 Globalization and State Failure.....	26
2.4.2 Characteristics of African State.....	29
3 Research Design and Data	31
3.1 Methodology.....	32
3.2 Data	32
3.3 Validity	33
3.4 Construct Validity	33
3.5 Internal Validity.....	34
3.6 External Validity	35
3.7 Reliability	35
4 Analysis of the Problem	37
4.1 Introduction	37
4.2 Nigeria.....	37
4.2.1 State Fragility in Nigeria.....	40
4.2.2 State and Economic Symbiosis	43
4.2.3 The Nigerian Oil-Centric Economy and Consequences.....	43
4.2.4 Security Deficiency in Nigeria	44
4.3 Boko Haram in Nigeria.....	45
4.3.1 Ideology and Goal of Boko Haram	47
4.3.2 The Leadership of the sect.....	49
4.3.3 The Membership of the Sect	49
4.3.4 Targets and Tactics	50
4.3.5 Indicators of International Links and Sponsorship	51
4.3.6 Nigeria Response to Boko Haram	52

5 Conclusion and Recommendations	56
5.1 Conclusion.....	56
5.2 Recommendation	58
References	60
Appendix A –.....	64
Appendix B-.....	65

List of figures

Figure 1. Illustration of Nigeria State Failure.....	42
Figure 2. Evolution of Boko Haram Small Arms Violence.	47
Figure 3. Demography of Casualties from Boko Haram Violence.	50
Figure 4. Illustration of the flow or resources in new wars.	64

1 General Background and Introduction

The meaning and impact of globalization has over the years been debated by scholars. While some scholars view it as the salvation of humanity that holds the key to universal prosperity and peace; others view it as the cause of major problems of our time ranging from environmental degradation, loss of identity, inequality between the rich and poor both nationally and globally. Scholars who see globalization as the salvation of humanity defend their stances by evaluating how the globalization process has opened up closed borders, enabled free movement of capital, people, goods and services and also increased the wealth of nations and individuals. Anti-globalist scholars on the other hand, opined that open borders have led to brain drain, inequality which has resulted in the enrichment of one part referred to as the core at the expense of the other referred to as the periphery. The long standing debates among scholars on what exactly globalization is and how it affects the states has led to the rise of various definition of the concept. In this vein, globalization according to Joseph Stiglitz is regarded as a closer integration of several different countries and people in the world brought together by an enormous reduction of cost of transportation and communication. (Stiglitz, 2001). Sean Kay on the other hand describes globalization as the “creation of a variety of transboundary mechanisms for interactions that affect and reflect the acceleration of economic, political and security interdependence” (Sean 2004: 10). Other scholars like Norrin and T.V (2010) describes globalization as:

the widespread operation of businesses on a global, rather than a national, level; the ease with which individuals and groups can communicate and organize across national frontiers; the global transmission of ideas, norms, and values that might erode national cultures in favor of a broader global culture; the increasing participation

of states in international political, economic, and military organizations; the spread of particular forms of political institutions, such as representative democracy, to vast areas of the globe; and the increasing participation of individuals from multiple countries in international NGOs. (Norrin and T.V, 2010: 9).

Furthermore, Suzan Olzak defines globalization as an increase in the “interdependent pattern of relations in which political treaties, media and information flows, negotiations, economic and trade exchanges and agreements like regions and states” (Olzak 2010, 4-5). Keller (2005) describes globalization as a contemporary political, social and economic trend. Hence, the autonomy and sovereignty of the state is undermining as a result of the increasing power of Transnational Corporations (TNCs). Therefore, we can infer that the rise of transnational ruling elites and the universal implementation of the phenomenon of consumerism has changed the outlook of the world. Thus, the process of globalization is the consolidation of the supremacy of the capitalist system which has replaced local cultures, values and norms through the homogenization of cultural diversity. Proponent of globalization – globalist argues that the homogenization of cultural diversity marks the success and efficiency of capitalism as an economic system. Anti-globalization scholars on the other hand argue that globalization is the renaissance of imperialism led by the United States. It is perceived as a destructive force that is gradually breeding alarming consequences for world peace due to the fact that it has overshadowed domestic culture, increased the wealth of developed countries at the expense of developing countries, and income inequality.

In addition, Jonathan Friedman in his book Globalization, State and Violence, talked about the difference between ‘globalization and “globalization”’ (Jonathan, 2003:X). The former produces “hybridity and felicitous cosmopolitan ecumenism, the latter is the nasty kind that produces poverty and other kinds of conflict and that subscribes to neoliberal ideology” (Jonathan, 2003:X). While globalization creates an avenue for cooperation and integration in developed countries, it creates fragmentation and conflictual situations in developing countries. As a result of the poorly developed statehood and institution in developing countries, the trends of globalization has brought their socio-economic and political aspect of existence to further weakness, failure and collective violence.

The emergency of African states in the globalized world in it sense was during the late nineteenth century when European colonialism created the “structures of economic

production, systems of government and the cultural changes in language and education, which are linked (and at the same time subordinated) them to the processes of global capitalist development” (Clapham, 2000:24). Although most of these African states appeared to have the basic characteristic of a state, the foundation of this statehood became faulty with the inability of its leaders to extract from the economic resources in order to help maintain the structure of the state and the weakness of its economic base. As a result of this economic failure there was an impending political crisis which was further fuelled by the change in global power structure.

The era of globalization in developing countries came with a new form of security challenges. There has been a rising increase in crime rates, environmental deterioration, corruption, money laundry, and terrorism. Due to the weakness and porous borders of developing countries, scholars believe that weak, failing, collapsed states have become a safe haven for terrorist organizations. Nigeria popularly referred to as the Giant of Africa with a high population size and economy is an interesting case considering the circumstances with its internal security challenges, endemic corruption, position as an oil-rich country, history of chronic ethnoreligious violence, pervasive poverty, failing infrastructures, military coup and its growing importance to the world economy (Kinnan et al 2011:2). The country has been plagued by one of the most dangerous terrorist group; Boko Haram. According to Global Terrorism Index (GTI) report of 2017, the sect is linked among the world’s deadliest terrorist group (GTI 2017).

1.1 Overview of Boko Haram Activities in Nigeria

Throughout the history of Nigeria, there have been several cases of extreme violence perpetrated by people in the name of ethnicity, religion and inequality. It has been observed that some complex issues such as political, historical and theological factors have triggered this behavioral pattern in the people. The most recent and deadly violent act known in the history of Nigeria is the one being carried out by Boko Haram. This group has its base in the North-eastern part of the country which has also been seen to be one of the least developed part of the country.

For years the north-eastern part of Nigeria has been plagued with terrorist activities carried out by the Islamic sect Jama’at Ahl as-Sunnah Lid da’wa wal-Jihad (Association for propagating the Prophet’s Teaching and Jihad), otherwise known as Boko Haram which means “Western education is forbidden”. The initial ideology of this sect was to

Islamize the Northern part of Nigeria. However, this ideology has grown to include the Islamization of the Nigerian state.

Boko haram was created in 2002 by now deceased Islamic cleric, Mohammed Yusuf. Although the sect has been in existence since the 1990s under different names, it started its violent operation as Boko haram in Bauchi State on July 26, 2009. (Timothy, 2014: 83). The activities of the sect have now spread to other states in Nigeria; Kaduna, Borno, Gombe, Adamawa, Yobe and Kano and neighboring countries of Republic of Niger, Chad and Cameroon. According to Human right watch, Boko Haram has killed over 20,000 civilians, displaced approximately 2.1 million people while over 7 million people need humanitarian assistance. (Human Right Watch, 2018). Furthermore, on April 14, 2014, over 270 school girls were abducted by the sect in Chibok, Northeastern Nigeria. Recently, on February 19th 2018, in Dapchi a small town in Northeastern Nigeria another set of 101 were abducted by Boko haram members disguised as men of the Nigerian military (The Guardian, 2018). The targets of the sect are: Nigerian police and security forces, military facilities, banks, churches and international organizations. Their mode of operation is through shootings, car bombs, drive through and suicide attacks.

The activities of the sect are said to be a manifestation and a cause of Nigeria's failure. As a cause, its actions has placed some part of the country beyond the control of the Federal government. While as a manifestation it shows the failure of the Nigerian government to provide to its people basic public goods which they have a reasonable right to expect from their government. Thus, the government's inability to provide for its people, has resulted to them using violence to take back what they believe is rightfully theirs.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

There has been a growing concern that weak/failing states are a breeding ground for terrorism which in turn becomes a threat to the international community. The emerging question is what are the facilitating factors that aides state failure and how does it link to terrorism? To answer this question will be to look at the negative impact of globalization as propagated by anti-globalist. Anti-globalization scholars posit that the change in domestic politics in leading industrialized countries from liberal principle of state-guided market gave rise to neoliberal economic policy. This policy saw a shift in development policy from state-led to market-led. The ideology was to create a global economic

integration through trade and liberalization in order to promote economic growth and prosper improvements in the world. Although many saw this ideology as a great idea however, once implemented into the real world it encountered so many problems. While the reform of domestic economies with emphasis on rolling back the state in support of market-led development was successful in developed countries, it was a less successful in developing and transitioning countries in Africa, East Asia. The poverty level in some part of this developing/transitionsing countries grew instead of declining as anticipated. This further weakened the already vulnerable state into further debt, bankruptcy and decline.

It has therefore been posited that globalization is a contributing facilitator of terrorism. The process of globalization has made the world become a global village through the integration of nations which has aided the free flow of people, goods and money across borders. Also, technological advancement has created an avenue for information revolution. Terrorist groups have taken advantage of the free movement, by migrating to different part of the world to commit havoc. They have also made used of information technology for recruitment and also connect with different terrorist groups in other countries.

In light of these developments, Boko haram, has become an important phenomenon that calls for the attention of the Nigerian government and global community owing to the severity and targets of its activities. Nigeria according to Global Terrorism Index (GTI) is among five other countries that accounts for three quarter of all the deaths from terrorism. The rise of terrorism in these countries has been attributed to the reflective nature of global trend.

Furthermore, it has been alleged that Nigeria's mismanagement of the conflict contributed to the rapid growth of the sect. This is due to the fact that this sect grew from a small violent group to the terrorist organization that it is today. Also, the porous border in Nigeria aided this group to move freely to neighboring countries to avoid attack and regroup.

1.3 Research Question

- How has globalization contributed to the permissive environment in which terrorism has thrived in Northern Nigeria?

- How did Nigeria's mismanagement of Boko Haram sect from its inception lead to its rapid growth?

1.4 Hypothesis

The link between globalization and terrorism has been a debatable one among scholars. Due to this, there has been two leading and contrasting argument as to the effect of globalization on terrorism. The first group of scholars argues that globalization has led to and facilitated national/international terrorism. While the others argue that globalization has not facilitated terrorism but rather deterred acts of both national and international terror. A study conducted by Li and Schaub (2004), found that the economic development of countries and their trading partners reduces the number of terrorist incidences in a country, which essentially promotes the idea that economic globalization promotes development which deters terrorism. Furthermore, existing literature also argues that other factors such as failed states and porous borders are to blame for the acts of terror that the world has witnessed and is currently witnessing. This research study hypothesizes that:

- In certain countries and under specific circumstances globalization has led to and/or provided a permissive environment in which national/international terrorism has thrived.
- State failure has created a conducive environment for these terror groups to grow.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

The objective of this study is to contribute to ongoing literature on Boko Haram and as well as create a link between state failure, globalization and what has facilitated the growth of this sect. In order to achieve this objective, this study will theoretically examine and analyze the links between state failure, globalization, terrorism.

1.6 The Significance and Limitation of the Study

The Nigerian military have been fighting the terrorist group Boko Haram for over 8years and when it seems as though they are catching up on them, the group changes its location and strategy. In its earlier attacks, the group had made use of male suicide bombers but now it uses women and children to launch attacks on unsuspecting civilians. Also, the

target range have varied from churches, school, security agencies to international organizations in the country. This has made it impossible to understand the scope, intent, dimension and objectives of the phenomenon. As a result of this, it has become a major concern to Nigeria and global community.

One of the difficulties that may arise from this study will be how to get credible source about the sect from the array of available secondary sources. This is because there have been many misconceptions on what the objectives and purpose of the sect. Also, unlike other African civil wars that the link between these wars and globalization are clearly shown, the link between terrorism and globalization has not been adequately proven.

Notwithstanding, this research hopes to stimulate more robust scholarship and intelligent collection of the sect activities in Nigeria that will contribute to the ongoing literature on the link between terrorism and globalization.

1.7 Sources of Data and Methodology

This study will employ a case study research methodology and the method of data collection will be qualitative since it involves the collection and analysis of information from a relatively small case (Burnham, Gilland et al 2008:40). It will also rely solely on secondary material, such as books, journals, articles, reports, documents news items, and internet. These materials will be used as a point of departure and analysing it will be to gain a better understanding of the subject matter so as to determine areas in which new literature can be developed. Much government and intelligence information on Boko Haram are confidential, and the literature survey is based on open sources. International and Nigerian newspapers will provide an important source of information, particularly about specific incidents connecting Boko Haram to the wider region (arrests of foreign nationals in raids on Boko Haram). The information gotten from the research will be analysed and the findings will be deduced to provide appropriate conclusions.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

The accelerating growth of globalization has resulted in the transformation of domestic and world politics. As a result of this reorganization of world politics there has been a transformation in poor developing countries which has caused a traumatic experience on individuals, groups and the society in terms of the existential security. Asides the fact that

globalization creates an upheaval in the politico-economic foundations of territorial sovereignty, it has also reduced the power and legitimacy of developing countries which has led to the erosion of the political and economic strength of the state, lack of loyalty to the regime, and shattering of the regime's legitimacy. Thus, the restructuring of the economic structure both within and outside the state as a response to globalization requirements tend to produce civil strife in states that are structurally vulnerable.

Furthermore, globalization has been associated with two trends that are related to collective violence. One is transnational social movements that aims to promote common transnational interest and the other is collective violence found within states as a result of state failure which is triggered by the imposition of political and economic ideologies brought about by globalization. State failure is the transformation of the relationship between the state and society from one of provider to one of a hands-off relationship in terms of providing public goods such as education, good healthcare, security, rule of law and strong institutionalization. When the state fails to provide these public services, the citizens look for every other means to provide for themselves and also give their loyalty to individuals or groups who promises to cater for their needs. Hence, the state is divided into several fractions like; religious groups, ethnic tribes, class and clan etc. This fractionalization further weakens the institutions of the state and when it isn't properly curtailed results to state collapse.

The primary discourse of globalization is neoliberalism. The tenet of neoliberalism lays emphasis on a particular system of ideas, beliefs and values as the credible source of economic and political system which should be followed. The international financial institutions aides the promotion of liberalism by sending out representative throughout the world to advise government on an effective way of implementing it. Since globalization is viewed as a market, it is considered a perfect arena for the exercise of consumer freedom of expression, freedom to trade in a free competition area of production and cheap sales of labor. Thus, the market created by globalization is regarded to be more democratic than political democracy since it allows for the maximum distribution of wealth, resources, income which will otherwise not be done by politics.

In addition to the fact that the market is superior and infallible, emphasizes are laid on the acquisition of private properties. Through this acquisition, individuals and institutions see it as a means to hoard wealth for personal purposes. The state therefore becomes an actor with its own special interest at the expense of public interest. More attention is paid to the primacy and protection of private interest with little or no regard for public interest.

Consequently, the result of economic liberalization further creates gross inequalities among and within countries to the extent that it creates human insecurity. Scholars have regarded this as one of the paradoxes of globalization. That is to say there is now an increase of unprecedented wealth in developed countries at the expense of developing countries. While developed and industrial advanced countries increase in wealth, there is a growing poverty, existential insecurity and inequality in developing countries. Although it is a known fact that there has always been the existence of inequalities among regions and countries, it is never the less obvious that free global market competition has heightened income disparities and inequalities. This shows that developing countries do not stand a chance of making as much profit as developed countries in this free global market. Therefore, among the populace of these exploited regions there is a growing anger, frustration and hostility as a result of the technical bankruptcy and state failure brought about by the process of globalization. According to statistics from World Bank, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), over 100 developing countries currently have low Gross National Product (GNP) per capita in compare to what they had in the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s and more than three billion people survive on more less than \$2 a day. As a result of this there is a rise of existential insecurity due to the decremental and aspirational deprivation which causes collective violence in structurally vulnerable countries.

Furthermore, there is readily available statistics that demonstrates the negative effect of globalization ideology on the world. For instance, in 2005 the Refugees International and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) placed the number of economic refugees at over 125 million. (Refugees International 2005; UNHCR, 2005). Developing countries are said to be the worst hit as data has shown that over 1.3 billion people living in these countries live in abject poverty. Scholars and anti-globalist have attributed the cause of this situation on the new ideology propagated by globalization. This ideology advocates for the structural dependence of developing countries which is visible in the financial and monetary dependence of these countries, indebtedness, unfair trade, food dependence and technological dependence. Despite the fact that these dependences have been in existence since 1944 during the creation of Bretton Woods system, the intensity to which it has grown has led to the production of failed and collapsing states as a result of their indebtedness and bankruptcy. When a state becomes indebted and bankrupt, it lacks the ability to provide basic social goods to its citizens which give rise to collective political violence or anarchy.

Although weak, failed and collapsed state are regarded as part of the inclusion-exclusion paradox of globalization, they are considered to be an integral part of globalization process. This is because these states serve as a reservoir for raw materials, free trade zone, cheap labour, non-existent human right regulations therefore creating a huge profit marginalization for transnational corporations. Despite the benefits advanced industrial countries get from these developing countries they are however excluded from the positive benefits from globalization.

Consequently, the chronic state of poverty in weak/failing states there are individuals, communities, groups and societies who are angered by their loss and inability to achieve their wants due to economic dislocation. With nothing to do, these people take to violence to voice out their anger and frustration. Amongst them are young unemployed male youths who have lost hope in their government.

1.9 Thesis Outline

This research consists of five main chapters including the conclusion and recommendation.

The first Chapter introduces the topic in a panoramic way to show the link between the issues being studied. This chapter considers the general matters of the study such as the research question, the problem statement, sources of data and methodology, significance and limitation of the study, hypothesis, objective of the study and the theoretical framework.

Chapter Two is a presentation of different literature review for the study. The chapter begins with the definition of key concepts of the thesis, globalization, weak/failing states and terrorism. While defining the key concepts of the study, this chapter seeks to explain how the relationship between these concepts are related to the ongoing terrorism attacks in Nigeria. Globalization is said to have a negative and positive impact; this chapter hopes to demonstrate how negative globalization has affected the state capacity which has led to the breeding of terrorist groups in states that has been weakened. It will also present the link between globalization and terrorism pinpointing how the process has created an enabling ground for terrorist groups to thrive. Furthermore, it will talk about the changing phase of international security which many scholars have attributed to the accelerating growth of globalization.

Chapter Three is a presentation of the research design and data collection for the study. The study is carried out using Boko Haram in Nigeria as a case study. The source of data collection is based on literatures, official reports, maps, books.

Chapter Four will focus on the analysis of the problem. It will present the Nigerian state from inception to modern day. It will then go further to give a historical context of violence in Nigeria and how it was managed. This history will bring to the fore, the issues that has interwoven to create a failing state and given rise to Boko Haram. It identifies several incidents such as colonization, corruption, poverty, resources curse, conflict mismanagement that has contributed to the rise of Boko Haram and spreading the instability created by Boko Haram to neighbouring countries.

Chapter Five concludes with a summary of the main findings and a discussion of what extent the various aspects, when taken together, warrant an understanding of Boko Haram. This chapter will also provide recommendations on how to develop effective counter-terrorism strategies.

2 Conceptualization and Literature Review

Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to lay down a foundation which will make up the rest of the study. This will be achieved by delineating key concepts that will help in understanding the link between Globalization, Security, Weak/Failed State and Terrorism. Furthermore, this chapter will provide an overview and appraisal of existing literature on various topics relating to this study.

2.1 Globalization

The integration of world's economic through liberalization and internationalization is referred to as Economic globalization. (Scholte 2005). This process of globalization is characterized by the free flow of capital, easy movement of goods and labor across national borders, and the opening up of market. (Dreher, Gaston and Marten, 2008). While production is carried out in one state, the purchase of raw material is done in another and then the final product is sold in a different state. This is made able by the development of advanced communication technology and the installation of efficient global infrastructure. Globalization is categorized into three facets; economic, political and social.

Economic globalization is influenced more by external forces than internal force. Although some policies may be made at the national level, they are however subject to change depending on the international agreements and policies that comes from the membership of organizations or union entered by a state. These union or international organizations are referred to as supranational actors; they may be regional and have different focus areas. For instance, World Trade Organization (WTO) and Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). These organizations are international organizations with different focus areas.

Furthermore, economic globalization is the manifestation of capitalism. Capitalism is the process whereby the economic system of a state's industry is owned and run by private individuals with very minimal interference from the government. The growth of

capitalism in the world has been attributed to the rise in interconnectivity between countries. As a result of integration, economies have become denationalized which has led to the irrelevance of state authority. Also, Transnational Corporations (TNCs), have become one of the biggest global influencers overshadowing the powers of the state.

Political Globalization is the transfer of national power to supranational and international organization. When countries become members of supranational or international organization, they transfer a certain amount of power and competences to these organizations. As a result of this, there is more international interdependence and less national sovereignty. Many political elites, scholars and academic have commented that the transfer of power can lead to state vulnerability but also can help to improve the ability of the nation to tackle problems.

Furthermore, while the process of political globalization decreases a nation's sovereignty, it gives the nation the ability to influence other nations through its membership in international organization. International organization exercises its powers over individuals and nation, the individual and nation in turn influences the global actor and other national government. The process is a revolving one where powers are given and gotten back. According to hyperglobalist opinion, political globalization challenges nationalism due to the fact that international organization supersedes the nation state in decision making therefore leading to the decline of national-state and sovereignty.

Another aspect of Political globalization is the dimension referred to as democratization. Democracy is a contemporary representative system of government which allows for the participation of majority of the citizens who through electoral process appoint leaders who will make political decisions on their behalf. The history of democracy can be traced to the West but however, it began to find its way to the rest of the world in the 20th and 21st century as a suitable model of government. Representative democracy is becoming more and more popular these days. It has become the most common form of government hence contributing to the globalization of the political world. Although this type of government has been described to be the best form as it allows for the representation of majority of the citizens, scholars have argued that conducting regular elections does not automatically make a country democratic (Collier, 2010). In order for a country to be classified as being democratic, it needs to have a functional institution, respect for the rule of law, stable civil society, freedom of speech, tolerance and less corruption.

Furthermore, political globalization is still at the very minimum state. The structural, behavioral and attitudinal foundation that characterizes democracy is still at a very poor

state in African countries. The high poverty level has made the people easily manipulated during electoral process. As a result of this fact, people sell their vote for the immediate benefit and elect the highest bidders to political offices not minding that they may not have their interest at heart. Tracing the various elections that have been held in Nigeria, although it has been periodical like every other democratic states, it has however not been free and fair. Consequently, it has become common place that every election that has been held in the country has been classified as void by the opposition party. This does not only happen in Nigeria rather it is a common phenomenon in other African countries like Ghana, Zimbabwe, Senegal and Kenya.

As the world integrates, cultures, information, ideas, and beliefs are transmitted globally through revolutionized innovations in communication and geographical mobility. Social globalization can be grouped into three categories – cultural proximity, personal contacts and information flows. (Dreher, Gastona and Martens, 2008:44). Cultural proximity is the process whereby people get to eat at the same restaurant in different location, the style of clothing has become the same, and the television shows are the same. This is because countries now export their type of food and entertainment beyond their borders that's why someone in Africa can eat a Chinese food or watch an American movie without leaving the shores of Africa. Proximity in this regard means cultures are now moving from their original location and getting closer to other cultures. Therefore, the spread of culture globally now creates a common level of identity other than the traditional sense of national identity. People are able to relate more irrespective of nationality and it gives them the chance to find a suitable cultural preference. An important element of social globalization is the easy mobility of human which results in a personal contact between different ethnic, linguistic and religious group.

Social globalization transforms the individual on different levels. First, it influences the identity formation of an individual. This is as a result of the independence that comes with the advancement of communication technology, individual rely less on their geography, faith, class, gender, race, age, sexual orientation. (Scholte, 2005:225). It has created a decline in national culture as people have become interconnected with a universal culture. The acceleration of technological advancement has brought about the clash of cultures.

2.2 Globalization and Security

The concept of globalization and security are diversified and contradictory. Since the inception of globalization process, most evaluation about this phenomenon has been positive, stressing the fact that it has brought economic integration, expansion of production capacity, emergence of new markets, and the subsequent prospect of it eliminating poverty and spreading democracy and ending war. The negative aspect of globalization has also complicated the international security environment. One of the negative result of globalization that has affected the security environment is the undermining of the legitimacy of the state through the increase of information technology, finance, and manufacturing which has given rise to warlords, mafias, and mercenary groups who have on their agenda the perpetuation of conflict. These groups are more prominent in weak states where the dynamic of globalization has created a situation where the structure, authority, law and political order have fallen apart, thus creating a power tussle between what is left of the formal institution of the state and local warlords, gangs, insurgent groups and mafias (Brenda & James, 2008:176).

Furthermore, it has been debated that the world today no longer experiences as much threat from rogue states as it does from asymmetric threats, nuclear proliferation, transnational criminal networks and environmental degradation. While laying emphasis on this Former US president Bill Clinton while talking about the problem the world is facing in the 21st century says the threat currently being experienced in the world does not come from rogue states or people competing for view in world government but rather it comes from the enemies of nation-states, terrorist, drugrunners and organized criminals who will in the nearest future work together to use against us our open borders, internet, miniaturization of all sophisticated technology... that has brought us prosperity.

Equally important to these historical events in altering of international security environment, scholar have argued that globalization and security are made up of three different facets. The first is the provision of causal power; this is the transnationalization of threat. Transnational threats are said to be discreet and get their power from a broader globalization of social power. The second facet is that the pursuit of security is impacted on social action. That is to say, the fact that global security sees threats in a new light impacts on the ability of the national security state to act against such threat. The third facet is the rise in global security institutions. These institutions according to Mabee (2012) further challenges the security faced by the state. These new challenges of security

faced by the state has been shift from threats from other state to threats from transnational sources of power. Scholars have argued that this new form of transnational threat came after the end of the cold war.

The end of the cold war and demise of Soviet Union brought in a new type of international security environment which can no longer be evaluated based on the dominant security paradigm used by most western government and security analyst during World War II. In order to trace the reason for the change in warfare, scholars like Mary Kaldor, presupposes that globalization trends created a distinctive feature to violent conflict different from what was previously experienced in the world. This contemporary conflict is referred to as the “new war” (Kaldor 1997, 1999, Munkler 2004). In new wars idea of war (this takes the form of violence among states or organized political groups for their own political interest), organized crime (these are violence orchestrated by private associations or individual for financial purposes), large-scale violations of human rights (the abuse by states or private groups against individuals) are now infused together. (Kaldor, 1999). Thus, interstate conflicts have been replaced by intrastate conflict, the state is no longer regarded as the focus of international affairs as non-state actors have taken central stage and the greatest threat to security comes from the evolving of terrorism and transnational crime (TOC).

Furthermore, Kaldor’s framework distinguishes new war from old war by their modus operandi. In new wars, their goals, method and system of finance are a reflection of the erosion of state monopoly over legitimate organized violence. In new war, the goals of combatant are understood in the context of a struggle between cosmopolitan and exclusivist identity group. On their method, kaldor believes that new wars are fought through a mode of warfare that uses both guerrilla techniques and counter-insurgency. This is achieved through the use of fear and hatred on the population. In such case, paramilitaries and thugs are most suitable for the job rather than professional armed forces. According to Kaldor, the new war is financed via a globalized war economy which is decentralized, transnational and the fighting units are either self-sponsored through plunder, black market or external assistance.

Several scholars have criticized the new war thesis and Kaldor’s debate on new war. Many have argued that the trends which she identifies as new are not actually new in the real sense instead they have been in existence for a long time. For instance, crime against civilians have since been a feature of all wars and there has only been a little bit of shift in the use of atrocities in the twentieth century. Another criticism was on Kaldor’s view

of globalization as a novel set of process that changed the nature of war after the cold war. It has been argued that globalization is not a process separate from war that is set to change the nature of war but rather war has been implicated into it.

Regardless of the debates that there is no genuinely new element to contemporary conflicts, it is apparent that the dichotomy globalization (i.e the creation of fragmentation, integration, homogenization, diversification and localization) has changed the face of contemporary war. In contemporary war, technology has made symmetrical was; that is war between similarly armed opponents more destructive and difficult to win. For instance, the first Gulf war between Iran and Iraq was just like the first World War that lasted for years and killed millions of young men for no political goals. This in a way defend the new war debate that states that new wars are not fought as a result of politic results. In addition, the new form of communication brought about by globalization has had a range of adverse effect. Although contemporary wars are usually local, the use of global medium makes it connects to different criminal networks, diaspora links in different part of the world.

Consequentially, the changing role of the state provided an adequate avenue for the development of conflict environment in terms of its relation to terrorism and organized crimes. Due to fact that states now belong to international institutions such as the United Nations (UN), European Union (EU), African Union (AU) etc They are guided by rules which has made the monopoly of war eroded from below. In addition, scholars have argued that contemporary violence are actually not war in it sense but they are mainly privatized and criminal. According to Muelluer in his book The Remnants of War; he posits that war is becoming obsolete and that what is left of it are thugs who are “residual combatants” (Mueller 2004). In essence, Mueller emphasizes on the fact that “most of what passed for warfare today is centrally characterized by the opportunistic sand improvisatory clash of thugs, not by the programmed and / or primordial clash of civilization- although many of the perpetrators do cagily apply ethnic, national or ideological rhetoric to justify their activities because to stress the thrill and profit of predation would be politically incorrect” (Mueller, 2004:115).

2.3 Globalization of Terrorism

Terrorism has been in existence since the period of Jewish zealots’ resistance to the oppression by Romans. They fought back by using extreme violence to execute many

Roman soldiers and destroying their properties. Also, during the medieval period, there was a war between two Muslim sects - Shiites and Sunnis¹. This was a time when dying in the name of religion and eliminating the enemies of God was seen as the noblest act and a religious obligation (Bagaji and Etila et al. 2012:36; Rapport 1984). Terrorism in the era of globalization has changed the nature of time in the world. Scholars like Alan Krueger, David Laitin Jitka Maleckova, and Alberto Abadie have attributed poverty, education and political freedom as the primary cause of transnational terrorism and terrorist recruitment.

For many years, scholars have tried to define the concept of terrorism and differentiated between resistance and revolution without success. There is still a sharp division in the literature regarding this concept. Literature on political violence have demonstrated that there are two strategic types of terror. One is the insurgent group, this group's main objective is to overthrow a constitutional government through the use of subversion and armed conflict. They are mostly formed in ungoverned territories and their major tactic is guerilla warfare. While terrorist on the other hand are often isolated from the people. Their attacks are aimed at non-combatants and their aims have been described as being unrealistic and unachievable. In addition, history has shown that government officials have employed the act of terror to suppress opposition and instill fear in the people. This was in the case of French revolution as stated above and the Soviet revolution of 1971. During this period, Lenin and Stalin made use of government sponsored terrorism to retain their control of the government and oppress the opposition. They systematically used this act of terrorism to forcefully get the respect of the people which resulted in a tensed atmosphere in the society. (Bagaji and Etila et al, 2012:36).

Despite having been in existence for this long, there is still no clear and consistent definition of what is terrorism or who a terrorist is. This is because terrorism has been associated with various forms of political violence which includes, repressive government brutality, armed rebel attacks, kidnapping, guerrilla warfare, suicide bombings, political assassinations and hijacking. (Hübsche, 2006:2). Therefore, it is difficult to differentiate terrorism from other acts of political violence that has been perpetrated over the years.

¹ The Shiites and Sunnis are the oldest and main Islamic sects. The both sect have different ideologies on religion and the state. While the Sunnis believe that the state and religion should be integrated to allow for religious laws to be adopted into state structure, the Shiites believe that Islam should be purified from corruption and ungodly practices of the modern state (Danjibo, 2009:5).

The emerging trend of modern day terrorism is spreading like wildfire fire around the world to the extent that its impact is felt beyond the location of the actual incidence. In light of its growth, terrorism has left no region of the world spared with its attack. The worst hit regions are Africa and the Middle East. These regions are the hardest hit partly because of the developmental issues that has helped to intensify the consequences of terrorism. Although terrorism has been considered to be a recent development in West Africa however, the use of terror as a strategy is not new. For instance, in 1964, there was a bomb blast in Accra, Ghana that killed the then president Kwame Nkrumah, on October 19 1986, a letter bomb was sent to the home of renowned Nigerian journalist Dele Giwa, he died from injuries sustained from the blast. On September 19 1989 there was a bomb blast involving a UTA flight 779 over Niger, all the passengers and cabin crew on board were killed. On May 30 1995, there was a bomb at Ilorin Stadium in Nigeria (Ewi, 2012). These incidences show that there have been existential forms of terrorism in the region that has since its inception been threatened by insecurity and varied forms of threats. Gradually, small attacks began to grow into bigger attacks. Through the influence of technological advancement these small groups were exposed to external influence. For example, Boko Haram operational network cuts across African countries and they have ties with another big terrorist organization across the globe. If not from the external support which the Boko Haram group have gotten, Nigerian security operatives would have been able to contain them.

According to globalist theory of terrorism, all terrorist groups are virtually interconnected. They employ the same approach and methodology in carrying out their attacks. For instance, when Boko Haram re-emerged in 2010, they resorted to suicide bombing like their counterparts did in Pakistan, Iraq, Lebanon and Palestine. As will be stated further in the study, Boko Haram enjoys support from other terrorist groups like Al-Qeada in Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) Al-Shabaab and Islamic State of Iraq and The Levant (ISIS). The Algerian intelligence has also reported that AQIM which has its headquarters in the country (Algeria) have trained some of Boko Haram fighters, given them sophisticated weapons and there is coordination between both groups (Vanguard, October 24, 2014).

Despite the growth of terrorism and terrorist attacks in the world, scholars and policy makers have not fully gotten a better understanding on how and why it works. Although there has been different literature on the origin of terror, the motivation of terrorist and how a counterterrorism attack should be staged, there are however, very few literatures

on the strategies of terrorist organization and under what conditions they succeed or fail. It has been posited that terrorism has grown significantly as a result of many factors which includes the intensification of the globalization process. Sadly, as the operation and tactics of the phenomena evolves little attention is paid to it and thus it is scantily misunderstood. This is the reason why it has been difficult for government, policy makers and analysts to respond adequately to the security changes ushered in by the end of the cold world. Thus, the world is left unprepared to tackle the threats from major transnational challenges.

One of the most important consequences that is threatening international security today was the end of communism as the motivational international ideology and a source of significant external support for countries around the world. The aftermath of the cold war and fall of Soviet Union saw the decline in state sponsorship for terrorist group, opening of territorial borders, creation and availability of surplus arms, as well as the expansion of the global market place. Thus, it created a global environment conducive and attractive for the spread in criminality by a vast majority of actors (James & Brenda, 2008:176).

Additionally, another factor that has helped in the growth of terrorism is money. That is why the financing of terrorist acts is an important concern for people responsible for tracing, intercepting and also preventing more terrorist attacks. In the event of September 11 attack, the success of it can only be attributed to the abundant resources that were made available to the sect. According to the US Attorney General John Ashcroft, “the war against terrorism us a war of accountants and auditors, as well as war of weaponry and solicitors” (General John Ashcoft cited in James & Brenda, 2008:159). Several organizations over the years have sprung up in the sponsorship of terrorist act, the Maktab al Khidamat had several offices in different parts of the world, the United States inclusive. This organization was run by Sheikh Abdullah Azzam and Osama bin Laden with the aim of providing logistical support to Mujahideen (Holy Warriors) who were then fighting against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan (James & Brenda 2008:161). Another of such organization was the Lajnat Al-Birr al Islamiyyah (Islamic Benevolence Committee), just like the Maktab al Khidamat, this organization was set up with the purpose of raising fund for the holy fighters in Afghanistan. This organization was established by Adel Barrterjee in Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. The LBL also aided fighters in Pakistan by providing them with covers to travel in and out of the country.

The unique thing about these organizations that raise funds for terrorist, they always try to make the activities of the organization legitimate by appearing as though its concerns are universal. This technique is to increase their appeal to the public, look credible to

other governments and also avoid the scrutiny by the authorities. Other means of getting funds for terrorist organizations are: the use of diplomatic channels, Islamic bank (it helps to transfer/launder money), gem business (Al-Qaeda has in the past transferred millions of dollars via untraceable commodities like diamond and gold. These commodities are easy to smuggle between borders without detection), car business, interstate smuggling of cigarette and personal couriers.

2.3.1 Globalization and Technology

One of the aspect of globalization that signifies its advancement is technology. It has been argued that technology is the foundation of modern world because it helps in the governing dynamics. Over the years the method and means of carrying out terrorist activities have changed. With the advancement of technology brought by globalization, terrorist groups have taken advantage of this access to spread their attacks across the world. For instance, through the use of information technology like internet, mobile phones, social media and instant messaging, terrorist groups have been able to reach greater audience and radicalize diverse group of people. Also, Terrorism just like every other modern warfare has taken advantage of advanced military technology to broaden their operations and scale. The importance of new technology to terrorist groups has long been standing. Karl Heinzen talked about how new technology has been of importance to terrorist groups as far back as 1849 (Heinzen cited in Jackson, 2001:3).

Furthermore, the successful use of the internet by terrorist groups is as a result of democratization of communication which is driven by user-generated content. The internet is a suitable place for terrorist organization to recruit, train, generate fund and launder money because of the anonymity environment it provides and the little or no restriction. As a result of this, terrorist groups own several websites, social media handles, YouTube where they communicate, conspire and exchange ideas. For instance, it is well known that Al-Qaeda owns and operates several hundreds of websites of which some gets deactivated but more keeps springing up. For Al-Qaeda, the internet became an online terrorism university because of how they were able to virtually train, recruit and indoctrinate people from different part of the world. Just like an online university program, Al-Qaeda publishes manuals, rhetoric, and instruction every month on their website, in one of such publication the leader Abu Hadschir Al Muqrin states that it was not necessary for individuals to join the armies in training camps, that they can learn alone with their other brothers who have been called in their online preparation program.

The decentralized network of communication was created by the U.S security forces then to protect them against the Soviet Union. This decentralized space has paradoxically become a nightmare for the U.S since the end of the Cold War and the beginning of international terror. The advent of modern day internet can be traced back to 1970s (Weimann, 2009:9) during the era of the cold war. The U.S Defense Department out of fear of nuclear attack on their communication networks decided to decentralize the entire system through the creation of interconnected web of computer networks. It took academic Researcher over twenty years to develop this technology. The technology grew and was opened to commercial usage in the 1980s; this however, brought new changes to its character. “By the mid-1990s, the Internet connected more than 18,000 private, public, and national networks, with the number increasing daily” (Weimann, 2009: 9-10). There were over “3.2 million host computers and perhaps as many as 60 million users spread across all seven continents” connected to this network (Weimann, 2009: 9-10). “In 2005, the Net passed a dramatic milestone: the one-billionth user went online” (Weimann, 2009: 9-10).

The World Wide Web has given terrorist group an edge in acquiring information, strategizing and controlling their operation. According to the report gotten on the 9/11 attacks, the leader of the bomb blast; Mohammed Atta had use the internet in Hamburg, Germany too gather information on U.S flight schools. The report further talks on how the Al-Qaeda operatives used the internet to equip the hijackers with email address, checking the flight information and co-ordinating the actions of the attackers via email. The cyberspace gives the terrorist group the freedom that is needed to spread their propaganda and get new recruit. The advantage is the fact that there is no geographical constraint that comes from being in just a particular territory or for them to politically or financially rely on the state. In addition, these terrorist groups go as far as launching attacks on computer network in what has now been termed cyberterrorism or cyberwarfare.

2.3.2 Globalization, Natural Resources and International Corporations

The success of contemporary warfare is the financing that armed groups have been able to get via the trade of natural resources in the black market. It has been observed that natural resources such as diamond, oil, timber, coltan and many other have earned the

name of conflict resources as a result of their role in sustaining predatory behaviour in government and armed groups. Scholars of recent literature on resources and armed conflict have argued that availability of natural resources and the over dependence upon is an attributing factor to the causes of conflict both at the domestic and international level. While debating resources availability and its link to conflict, different scholars have based their observation on abundance and scarce. According to political scientist, Thomas Homer-Dixon environmental scarcity of resources is an underlying cause of armed conflict through the means of social frictions and adaptation failure. This means, when there is scarcity of resources, there is a struggle for the available resource which eventually leads to conflict and failure in the state.

Most of the natural resources states are under so much pressure both internally and externally to meet up with the growing demand of globalization. In order to protect themselves Western corporations that operates in these regions only make regulations that concerns their interest and those of their shareholders. This demonstrates that in a globalized economy where there is no political accountability, this exist has a tragic impact on the producing state. Thus, it has been posited that globalization requires a form of political regulation that will protect the security needs of the population in natural resources producing state. The regulation should address the opportunistic behaviour of war profiteers and also the grievances of those who suffer misery in the mist of plenty. Furthermore, in a capitalist system, the commodification of nature into tradeable natural resources entails a system of legal, and economic enclosures which are uneven in their (re)distribution of the economic benefits and social power. Geographer, Stuart Corbridge making use of a dependency framework demonstrates that when there is development in the core, it results in underdevelopment in the periphery and the both makes the two side of the global capitalist coin. Other scholars like Bunker emphasizes further that metropolitan capitalism relies on the exploitation and underdevelopment of an already capitalist periphery (Le billion, 2003:68). Thus, there is an extractive system that depends solely on the process that gradually decelerates the economy of extracting states, disrupts its ecosystem and simplifies their social organization. In order to meet the demand of the capitalist system, these extracting regions are doomed to social and economic failure.

2.4 The Concept of the State

The state like every other political science concept has been a subject of controversy among scholars. The debate among scholars revolves around the definition/nature of the state, its central functions, historical origins, essence, and mechanism of transformation among others. (Demetriou, 2002:861). One part of this debate rises mainly from the statist-institutional school that views the state as an autonomous set of institutions and agents that dominates the society, while the other is from Marxist, neo-Marxists as well as post-structuralist who “argues that the state is first and foremost the institutional encrustation of power relations that emerge from society” (Demetriou, 2002:861). Demetriou (2002) views of the state are in sync with Max Weber description of the state. The state is described by Max Weber as an institution vested with the authority to control a delimited territory and its citizenry; therefore, the state has legitimacy over the monopoly of physical violence which is accepted by the people. (Cited in Lambach, 2007:3).

Furthermore, Thomas Hobbes in his book Leviathan defines the state as an “Artificial Man” with prominence and sovereignty that is elected as the authorized representative who gives life and motion to the society and body politics (Hobbes 1968). In essence, there is a social contract between the state (which is sovereign) and the citizenry, whereby the state is given the right to control a definite territorial space and enforce rules and laws that are exchanged for political, economic and military security for the citizens. This social contract according to Hobbes develops due to the fact that the people are prone to lapse into a situation of endemic violence and in order to avoid this, they are willing to elect a sovereign leader who will provide them safety and security. Hence, the state is an agreement established between the citizen and the government to serve their interest.

Additionally, going by the definition of Weber and Hobbes, the state is expected to be functional and effective on all counts. That is, the state should have well established and strong institutions, be able to control and defend its territory, have a stable, loyal and cohesive population, has the ability to exercise sovereignty and legitimate power within and outside its territory, be respected and recognized by other states as a legitimate member of the global community. (Osaghae, 2007:692). Thus, the basic reason why the state should have a legitimate power is to be able to safeguard its citizens from what Hobbes refers to as “war of every man against every man” (Cited in Fukuyama, 2004:1; Uzodike and Maiangwa, 2012: 96).

Subsequently, the coercive power vested in the state to provide safety to its citizenry and protect their property right is the same power the state has used to confiscate private property and abuse the rights of citizens. (Fukuyama, 2004:1). Thus, this leads to a strain on the relationship between the state and its citizens, therefore, creating an internal revolt and pressure from competing groups. In situations where the legitimacy of the state is being questioned, in order to remedy these complex policies, need to be put in place in order to stir this delicate process of reconstituting political order in the state (Maley, 2003:163).

In addition, going by the description of the state provided above, the true test of its existence lies in the fact that the “national government can lay claims to a monopoly of force under its jurisdiction”(Carl and Robert 1982:2). In a situation where there are external or internal challenge to the authority of the national government and these forces are able to exact control over an area then it has acquired the characteristics of a state. Thus, Weber’s de facto terms of statehood, ascertain that no two-concurrent monopoly of force can exist over one territory and population. (Cited in Carl and Robert 1982:2).

The focus of this study will be on the African state – which have been widely argued by scholars as not being properly institutionalized and also does not fit into the Weberian concept of a state. The basics for this argument have been that African states didn’t properly emancipate from colonial rule. Hence, the formal structure of the state was ill-managed to conceal the patrimonial and particularistic nature of power. (Chabal and Daloz, 1999:3; Uzodike and Maiangwa, 2012:96). This is why the government in African states have been described as “neo-patrimonial” because of the patronage-based clientelistic networks that operates behind its rational legal facade of statehood (Clapham, 1982). The effect of this patronage-based clientelistic network is that there is no dividing line between the private and the public spheres therefore making the notion of public good and civil society non-existence. (Engelbert and Tull, 2008:117; Uzodike and Maiangwa, 2012:97).

Neo-patrimonialism can be defined as “ a hybrid mode of rule in which informal political ties and exchanges suffuse the management of the state” (Badie, Berg-Schlosser, & Morlino, 2011:2). Thus, in a neo-patrimonial state, the political representative exercises their authority based on personal ideology and materialistic purposes rather than the rule of law. The neo-patrimonial state system is a common practice among states in Africa. The underdevelopment and high index rate of poverty in the continent that is presumed to be endowed with natural resources points to the fact that the elected representatives

have manipulated their offices to enrich themselves rather than develop their states. There is little or no accountability to the people and state finance has been sacrificed on the increasing budget demand of patronage politics. (Lewis, 1996:100).

2.4.1 Globalization and State Failure

Globalization is regarded as an important component of state weak/failing states. This is as a result of breaking up of socio-economic division that defines the pattern of politics which characterizes the modern state (Newman, 2016). The new type of warfare being experienced by states started after the cold war and it has to be understood in a globalized dislocation. Thus, this argument proposes that neoliberal economic forces are the reason behind the weakening of state capacity and its inability to provide public goods. Therefore, the state fails due to the growing privatization of violence, which results in the multiplicity of fighting – state vs. non-state actors, private and the public.

Furthermore, scholarships believe that weak/failed states represent a paradigm shift in international security. (Newman, 2016). Although there are differing views among analysts on the actual cause of state weak/failure, one thing that is agreed upon is that violent conflict leads to forced migration which produces the spread of insurgents, threatening regional stability on a daily basis and the spread of conflict to neighboring states. The contemporary wave of globalization has made it possible for the expansion of parallel economies thus making some regions prone to the rise of legal and illegal ways of making a living. According to Mary Kaldor, parallel economies are a product of neoliberal economic policies propagated by international organizations. Thus, these organizations force developing and transitional states to take on macroeconomic stabilization, deregulation and privatization thereby creating an economic program that increases the level of unemployment depleted natural resources and creating conditions which are conducive to conflict.

Consequently, this environment in weak/failing states have altered the international security system as a result of the development of transnational organized crime (TOC) and terrorist groups. These groups have taken advantage of the economic and trade liberalization, technological advancement, porous borders to cross national borders unhindered while carrying out illicit trade. These weak/failing states are likely to host activities done by illegal commercial network as a result of the lack of effective rule of law and a stable institution. It is an established fact that weak/failing states are exploited to carryout illicit criminal activities to finance armed groups or raise revenue for terrorist

organization. Many scholars have suggested these states provide a secure base for terrorist organizations to mass-produce trained motivated killers who serve as a threat to both domestic and international security.

In addition, several writers have in the past wrote on how the makeup of the region makes it vulnerable to terrorist activities. For example, in 1994, Journalist Robert Kaplan wrote an article titled “The Coming Anarchy” here he warns about the threat that can ensue from Africa’s ungoverned space. He said that Africa will become an important factor to the future character of world politics as the Balkans were a hundred years ago, just before to the two Balkan wars and the First World War. Although the threat then was the collapse of empires and birth of nations based on tribe, the new threat is more elemental as it involves nature unchecked” (Kaplan,1994). By “nature unchecked”, he laid emphasis on the fact that ungoverned spaces, weak borders and large population is a potential breeding ground for threat to not just Africa but the world. He declares “we ignore this dying region at our own risk” (Kaplan,1994).

To corroborate what Kaplan wrote, Douglas Farah and Richard Shultz in 2004 published in a Washington Post an article “Al Qaeda Growing Sanctuary” They declare: “With the end of the brutal conflicts in Liberia and Sierra Leone, West Africa is seldom in the news or on the policy agenda these days. Yet the region is quietly gaining recognition as what it has long been: a haven for al Qaeda and other terrorist groups. Weak and corrupt governments, vast, virtually stateless stretches awash in weapons, and impoverished, largely Muslim populations make the region an ideal sanctuary” (Farah and Shultz, 2004). Consequentially, Terrorist and armed groups have taken advantage of "gray areas where governments are weak, corruption is rampant, and the rule of law is non-existent. They use areas such as West Africa to finance their activities, correctly betting that Western intelligence services do not have the capacity, resources or interest to track their activities there” (Farah and Shultz, 2004).

Furthermore, the weak border Kaplan, Farah, Shultz and other scholars have talked about have been used as a route for moving weapons of varying types making it readily available for terrorist groups. The Nigerian authorities seized over 1,420 pounds of Semtex explosives and 445 detonators. Also, it has been alleged that AQIM is in possession of stockpile of Muammar Gadhafi’s man-portable air-defense system (MANPADS). Although over eight passenger planes have been brought down by MANPADS in Africa, more casualties have been caused by small arms. After the end of the cold war millions

of Kalashinkovs flooded African market of which Boko Haram have made use of them in hundreds of their attacks.

In addition, terrorist organization have taken advantage of the poor condition of the states in West Africa to carry out illicit transfer of fund via remittance and cash. They use the porous borders for smuggling drugs, diamonds, oil and other natural resources. The monies recovered are used to fund their activities. According to Warren (2012), over 2 million worth of cocaine is said to have travelled through the border of West Africa to Europe. In Nigeria, stolen natural resources have travelled via the Nigerian-Cameroon border and also via Nigeria-Niger borders to other parts of the world.

A major cause of state failure in a globalised world has been traced to resource dependence. Resource dependence takes a pattern in relation to global economy through colonial powers, transborder interest and domestic elites. In a globalised world, resource-poor countries have been seen to grow faster than resource-rich countries. This is because resource-rich countries over dependent major on one aspect their resources and this leads to poor economic performance and greater socio-economic inequalities. A good example is Nigeria, when oil was discovered in the country, every other economic activity that would have generated more revenue was abandoned and oil became the only source of revenue. The poor performance of resource-rich countries can be cause be the “Dutch Disease” (Le Billion, 2001:566). Dutch Disease is a situation whereby greater the export revenue leads to an appreciation of national currency which has a negative impact on the non-resources sector of the economy.

In time, the political elites begin to rely heavily on the resources rent to the extent that they will do anything to remain in power. They go as far as establishing an organised regime through a system of patronage by rewarding those that support them and punishing those that oppose them. In addition, the political sector is gradually shaped by the institutional and clientele networks linked to the resource sector. Thus, there is a power struggle between political opponents which is further curtailed by one part of the competition devolving exploitation of resources to international firms in exchange for support and financing.

2.4.2 Characteristics of African State.

In order to have a clear understanding of how the security predicament of African States poses a threat to the international community, it is important to know the characteristic of the African State (Dokken 2008:27).

The African state emerged into the international arena in 1960-1970 at the end of colonization. The modern-day structure, boundaries, constitution and governance system of these states were formed during the colonial era. That is why most African states have often been referred to as quasi-states that has external recognition but unable to successfully establish internal sovereignty.

In contrast to European States, most African States do not fit into the characteristics of an idea Weberian state. This is because often times these states do not have the monopoly of violence nor absolute control of their territory. Therefore, most of these African states struggle to provide basic services and security to its citizens. The inability of African state to cater for its citizen is as a result of the fragmented institutions, variety of actors with different interest contesting for the control of the state apparatus thereby creating a state of division and confusion amongst citizens. Based on this division, there is an upraise of different sects that threaten the legitimacy of the state. Thus, most African states are threatened internally rather than externally by rebel groups, terrorists and warlords (Dokken 2008:24; Thomas and Allen 2001:198). Furthermore, the lack of unity in African states is further propounded by the diversity of culture, identity, language and religion. Consequently, the reality of most African is ill-suited to the concepts of unity and sovereign states as assumed by classic IR theories.

Over the years, the structure and capacity of the state has been a top priority on the agenda of policymakers and scholars, however there have been very little consensus on how to define and measure these concepts. African states have been described as “weak”, “fragile”, “failing”, “failed”, and “collapsed” but in practice, there is a continuum from weak to collapsed (Dokken 2008:42). The status of a state (either weak, failed or collapsed) can be distinguish by their performance – this is done “according to the level of their effective delivery of the most crucial political goods” (Rotberg 2003:2). As part of its political goods, states are expected to provide human security and welfare services. Human security comprises of the prevention of cross-border invasions, loss of territory, elimination of domestic threats or attacks, prevention of crime and the ability of citizens to resolve their disputes without resorting to arms or other forms of physical coercion.

Welfare services include school, health systems, infrastructure, right to participate in the political processes, freedom of expression and assembly (Rotberg 2003:3). It has been noted among scholars and policymaker that aside security, there is little or no consensus on what political goods can be used in when assessing state capacity. Also, there are no guidelines on how the various goods should be measure and quantified. However, going by Milliken and Krause (2002) a “collapsed” state is one that has a disintegrated institution and the society is more or less a battlefield, a “weak” state is one that cannot fulfil its responsibility of providing its citizens with fundamental public goods such as: security, public order, legitimate representation and a minimum level of welfare (Milliken and Krause 2002, in Dokken 2008: 42-43). Weak states are common with most African states while a few are caught between the line of weak and almost collapsing.

Furthermore, scholars and policymakers have alleged that weak/failed states are a major concern to international security. According to Francis Fukuyama (2005: xviii) “weak or failed states are the source of many of the world’s most serious problems. From poverty to AIDS to terrorism to drugs”. Weak states provide beneficial environment to terrorist groups more than collapsed states. Violence experienced in collapsed state are more of clan conflicts, which can easily attract the intervention of Western military which will makes it difficult for free movement and association of terrorist groups. While terrorist groups strive more in weak states because it provides them with “relative stability and basic infrastructure, sovereignty protections” (Watts, Shapiro and Brown 2007: iii), as a result of the state’s inability to police their territory/border. Due to this, terrorist groups take advantage of the weak central government of the state and wasteland to hide from the international community (Buros 2011). Hence, this goes to show that the characteristics of a state is not only essential for the theoretical perspective used in studying the security politics of a state but also the extent and forms of violence that will emerge in a state. In addition, the African states are characterised by endemic corruption. Due to the level of corruption in Africa, the cost of goods increases by %20 therefore deterring investment and economic growth by %0.05. (Gebrewold, 2009). The continents current indebtedness is as a result of the embarrassing level of corruption and undemocratic institutions.

3 Research Design and Data

The research design is the logical link between the data to be collected that will answer the initial questions of the study. It is important for every type of empirical research to either have an implicit or explicit research design. The design of an empirical research is the sequence that link the empirical data collected to the research question and its conclusion. In essence, a research design is the action plan drawn by the researcher to navigate from here to there, where here is defined as the set of questions the research is set to answer, and there is the set of conclusions gotten (Yin, 2009:19). In order for the researcher to get from here to there, there are a number of steps that needs to be taken. These steps include the collection, analyzing and investigating of relevant data.

Furthermore, the research design has been regarded as the blueprint of a research. This blueprint outline four problems: what questions to study, what data are relevant to answer these questions, what are the right data to collect, and how to properly analyze these data to get the final results. Consequent of this, research design is aimed at ensuring evidence gather by the researcher addresses the research question for the study. In essence, it helps the researcher to deal with a logical problem than a logistical problem.

When designing a research design, especially a case study, the following components according to Yin (2009) are important:

- The study questions
- Its proposition
- Its unit of analysis
- The logic that links the data to the preposition and
- The criteria for interpreting the findings.

This chapter will focus on the research design employed, rationale for the choice, and the strength and weaknesses of the research design with a focus on the reliability and validity.

3.1 Methodology

In social sciences, research methodology is divided into qualitative and quantitative method. The choice of qualitative research methodology employed in this study is hinged on the diverse set of approach encompassing and its applicability in case study analysis. The case study analysis was chosen in order to make the research more specific, detailed and extensive. This study will cover the Boko Haram phenomenon in Nigeria as a single case.

The case study is one of several research methods used in social science research. They are mostly used to give succinct and in-depth answers to the why and how question in social science research. It is defined as an empirical inquiry that tries to investigate contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context especially when the boundary between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident. (Yin, 2009: 13). Thus, the case study encompasses a design that incorporates specific approaches to data collection and data analysis. When using a case study design, the researcher can either use a single or multiple case. For the sake of this study, the single case study will be employed.

Another reason for using the single case study is because Nigeria and Boko Haram serves as a unique case in respect to documenting how globalization can lead to state failure and as a result facilitate the growth of terrorist group. One important factor in designing and conducting a single case is the clear outline of the unit of analysis (Boko Haram). While carrying out this case study, there may be an incorporation of subunit analyses which may result in the development of more complex or embedded design. This subunit may help the case in having an extensive analysis. However, focusing more on this subunit may shift the focus from the original case therefore changing the orientation and nature of the study. Although sometimes, this shift may be justifiable that is why it will not be ruled out during the course of carrying out this research.

3.2 Data

The main method of data collection for this case study will be based on one sources. It will make use of open-source materials which will include but not limited to media reporting, academic analyses, government documents, intergovernmental reports, literature. These documents will be obtained from multiple web-based databases. This will help the study to gather a wide range of evidence that will be used to answer the research questions.

3.3 Validity

The discussion on validity is based on Yin (2009) criteria for judging the quality of a research design. The quality of a research design can be determined by four logical test. They are construct validity; establishes the correct operational measure for the concepts under study, internal validity; it establishes the causal relationship between the conditions that lead to other condition, distinguishing it from spurious relationships, external validity; it establishes a domain where the findings of the study can be generalized, reliability; this shows that the operation of the such as the collection of the data can be repeated and the same results will be achieved.

3.4 Construct Validity

The construct validity is the first test used in judging the quality of a research design. This test has often been regarded as problematic due to the fact that investigators may fail to produce sufficient operational measures that can be repeated to achieve the same result. In order to establish the operational measure for the study of the failure of Nigerian state and boko haram, this study will specify the significant, operational events that has constituted the change that is responsible. Without this, the reader may not be able ascertain whether the recorded events as outlined by the researcher is a reflection of a genuine happening or they are based on the investigator's impression alone.

State failure comprises a variety of phenomenon such as loss of control of monopoly, erosion of the legitimate control over territory, inability to provide public services and the lack of recognition as a state by the global community. In order to meet the test of construct validity, I had to cover the following steps

1. Study the loss of monopoly of power by the Nigerian government, its inability to provide adequate public goods to its citizenry, loss of control over the territory inhabited by Boko haram and its endemic corruption, porous borders, Transnational corporation (TNCs)
2. The next step will be to demonstrate that the selected measures do indeed reflect the specific type

For instance, when talking about the loss of monopoly of power by the Nigerian government, to justify this, I will use records from Fragile State Index focusing on Cohesion indicator as the measurement. Although this may not be one of the most reliable sources, that is why this study will make use of multiple source of evidence. Another

tactic that will be employed too will be to establish a chain of evidence that will be relevant for data collection.

3.5 Internal Validity

This is the second test used in determining the quality of the research design. This is mostly used for experimental and quasi-experimental research. The purpose of this validity is to ascertain if the relationship between the variables in the analysis will be interpreted causally. That is to say this thesis will assess whether state failure and cross-border transactions have been central in facilitating the growth of Boko Haram or spreading the instability or insecurity to neighboring countries.

Therefore, the concern of the internal validity is whether the transactions that are identified as an important transnational aspect of Boko Haram (X) has actually contributed to the growth of the sect (Y). Thus, the causal relationship could be the direct (transaction between Boko Haram and a different actor in another country) and the indirect (transnational transactions that creates an enabling environment for Boko Haram activities, example the smuggling of weapons into Nigeria which makes it cheap and affordable for Boko Haram members).

One challenge to internal validity of all non-experimental research design is the problem of attribution. It is rather a difficult task to control all the potential causes that may appear especially in a process as complex as the rise of a rebel or terrorist sect. How can we determine that Boko Haram have grown in strength over the years as a result of transnational transactions and not as a result of other causes they may have been left out of the analysis? Lund (2002) suggested that experimental designs are most suitable for resolving the problem of attribution, this will however be a difficult method to be used in this study. (Lund, 2002:117).

Notwithstanding, single case studies have been considered to have strong internal validity when compared to other non-experimental research methods. This is because single case studies allow for an in-depth study of the process and identification of the causal mechanism that links causes to effects. (Gerring, 2007:43; George and Bennett, 2005:21-22). When carrying out a statistical large N to study a varying number of conflicts in different states, we may be able to identify a correlation between the conflicts of each states, but we will have limited opportunities to understand why the connections exists (Checkel, 2012). Therefore, opting for the single case study will enable me to have the

opportunity carry out an in-depth research using my secondary sources to follow the diffusion process and identify what types of transnational transactions played a role and to what extent.

I will however, like to state clearly that there it may not be possible to control all the potential causes in a non-experimental research design, hence there will be certain uncertainties regarding the causal relation. (Skog, 2004: 76-77).

3.6 External Validity

The external validity test focuses on the problem of knowing if the findings of the study are generalizable beyond the immediate case study. That is to say, it looks at the possibility of making a non-statistical generalization to and across individuals, time, place with a reasonable amount of certainty (Lund, 2002:121). The aim of this study is to examine the role of transnational aspect in Boko Haram uprising. While fulfilling this obligation of the study, I will also like to contribute to the theory development that can be used to identify various types of transnational transaction that will be relevant to other violence and conflicts.

In addition, it has been presumed that single case studies have low external validity due to the fact that studying a single unit can be difficult to represent a wider universe. (Lijphart, 1975). However, there is an advantage in giving a more detailed and rich explication of one single case than a parsimony and broad applicability of theories (George and Bennett, 2005:31).

3.7 Reliability

Reliability has to do with the precision and replicability of a study and the confidence that this study can be redone using same measuring instrument and the result will be the same. The reason for this is to allow for other researchers to carry out the same study, on the same case and arrive at the same result. This will help for more credible documentation and also eradicate previous study bias.

Furthermore, the reliability of a research does not rely sole on how the data was collected but it also depends on how it was used and interpreted. One of the most important aspect in measuring the strength of reliability is to report how the data was created by the researcher and how it got into their possession. This will make it possible for other

researchers to have access to this same information and access it to get the same results. Therefore, I have outlined all the sources that I will use to allow for other researchers to examine my methodological choice which strengthens the reliability of my study. Although there may be some inaccuracies with journals, newspaper reporting, official documents that will be used, I will be careful in assessing every information gotten on Boko Haram and will use several sources to cross-check the information (Trinagulation). For instance, I will check across several sources to ensure that the number of casualties is accurate and also that the date and time corresponds.

4 Analysis of the Problem

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will be divided into two parts. The first part will give a history of Nigeria from the colonial era to postcolonial era. It will give a detailed overview of how the Nigerian state is structured, the political and economic setting, state fragility - what are the reasons for state fragility. The second part will focus on the origin of Boko Haram, their ideology, leadership and membership, target and tactic, international link and sponsorship. The reason for this is to ascertain what role globalization has played in all of this and also how Nigeria as a weak/failing state became a safe haven for this group.

4.2 Nigeria

Nigeria gained her independence on October 1, 1960 (Akude, 2007:9). Prior to that, the administrative control of the Nigerian government and economy was under the leadership of the British and some other Western firms. They formulated the structure, government, and territory of what is present-day Nigeria. The glamour for independence came at the end of the cold war; when many colonial states began to agitate for self-government from colonialist. Despite not being fully ready for this position, Nigerian politicians gave the British a decolonization plan and through the gradual implementation process of this plan, political elites were given partial control of the country. The British were in charge of Foreign affairs while these politicians were in charge of political control over regional governments. This was the plan in place before the final diversion of self-governance. The decay in the Nigerian state began during the implementation of the decolonization plan. Due to the fact that the political elites lacked a solid economic base, they made use of their regional political power to compensate for it. There were allegations of corruption and diversion of public funds for personal interest. In 1957, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe the leader of the political party National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC) in charge of the government of the Eastern region was indicted by the Justice Sutton Inquiry report for investing the public fund in African Continental Bank (ACB) where he held interest. (Akude, 2007). Similarly, in the Western region, the Premier and leaders of the Action Group (AG) were charged by the Justice Coker Commission of Inquiry for diverting over 7,200,000 pounds of public funds to his private firm; National Investment and Property

Corporation. After the publication of the report, the western regional government acquired all the properties belonging to the firm. This was also the case of the Mid-Western region in 1967. (Akude, 2007).

Subsequently, the corruption in Nigeria became more pervasive after its independence. Political elites became more power intoxicated that they will go through any means to ensure that they remain in office. Violence and corruption became a requirement in acquiring political position in the country. As a result of this, the country's political arena became battlefield which led to the military coming to power in 1966 through a coup led by Major Nzeogwu. (Akude, 2007). During his take over speech to the nation, he was quoted as saying; "the aim of the Revolutionary Council is to establish a strong united and prosperous nation, free from corruption and internal strife. We have realised that our enemies are political profiteers, swindlers, the men in the high and low places that seek to keep the country divided permanently so that they can remain in office as ministers and VIPs of waste" (Akude, 2007). His speech came as a justification for the rise to power of the military which set a precedence for other military coups up until the 1990s. (Akude, 2007). After the coup of January 1966, Major Nzeogwu stepped down for the then most senior officer General Aguiyi Ironsi to take over power as the head of state. Since many of the January 1966 coup plotters were from the Eastern region and the coup led to the death of top government officials from the Northern region, the coup was described as ethnically motivated. As a result of this, northerners retaliated by killing eastern civilians living in the north and also General Aguiyi Ironsi was killed in another coup. This resulted in the 30 months' Nigerian Civil war of 1967-1970. (Akude, 2007).

In addition, while Nigeria was still under military rule, crude-oil was discovered, and Nigeria became one of the top oil producing country in the World. In 1973 and 1978, there was an increase in crude oil sale as a result of the price regime introduced by the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). (Akude, 2007). Nigeria as well as other rich oil producing country got enormous gains from this period. While some utilized this opportunity to develop their countries, the politico-military bureaucratic class in Nigeria saw it as an avenue to accumulate wealth for self-interest. The military government went as far as introducing decrees such as the Indigenisation Decree of 1972 and the Land Use Decree of 1978 to serve as a justification for the primitive accumulations. (Akude, 2007).

With the growth of corruption, the discovery of crude-oil became a curse instead of a blessing to Nigeria; this is what many scholars have referred to as the resources curse. As

a result of the revenue gotten from crude-oil, other economic development goals were relegated to the background. There was a decrease in the production of indigenous goods as the importation of consumer goods became an avenue for further embezzlement of public funds. (Akude, 2007). As though this was not enough, the ruling class developed the habit of getting credit from international financial institutions to use in further financing of corruption. This led Nigeria into indebtedness despite the revenues gotten from oil sales. (Akude, 2007). For instance, in the Second Republic, Shehu Shagari's administration of 1979-1983 "inherited 2.8 billion Naira in foreign reserves from its predecessor and earned an additional 40.5 billion Naira during its tenure. By the end of its tenure in 1983, Nigeria was indebted to the tune of 10.21 billion Naira" (Akude, 2007). Every project embarked on by the elites was seen as an avenue to enrichment. As a result of this, monies meant for projects that was supposed to launch Nigeria into industrialization were embezzled and the projects abandoned. This increased the underdevelopment and fuelled the already existing hardship for the citizenry. (Akude, 2007). Examples of such projects are:

- **The Nigerian Steel Mill:** This project has been ongoing for years and several billions of dollars have been supposedly spent yet the mill is still not functional.
- **Oil Refineries:** Nigeria as an oil producing state has no functional oil refinery to use in refining its crude oils. The few that were developed in the past have stopped working as a result of poor maintenance caused by corruption
- **Erratic Power Supply:** The poor state of Nigerian electricity is so embarrassing. Due to the inability of the electricity company to provide constant power supply, many Nigerian industries have stopped functioning.
- **Results from national census:** Results gotten from the national census are unreliable for development planning as they are politicized in order to increase access to more public funds.

Furthermore, it has been discovered that Nigerian political elites are aided by foreign government and firms in carrying out their corrupt practice. Brian Sledgemore, a British parliamentarian accused Nigerian officials of money laundering. In a detailed report given in 1985, the parliamentarian talked about how the Nigerian government along with the help of Johnson Matthey Bank in London to siphoned over six million Naira in fictitious imports. (Akude, 2007). The reason why the money laundering case came into light was as a result of the collapse of the Bank in 1991 which prompted the US Senate Committee to open an investigation of the corrupt practices of the Bank. (Akude, 2007). The manager

of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI), gave a testimony as to how the bank paid a huge sum in kickbacks to Nigerian officials for services rendered. The bank had a branch office in Nigeria and it was headed by Sarduana of Sokoto Alhaji Dasuki and Alhaji Yar' Adua (Brother to Late Musa Yar' Adua president of Nigeria). These two played an important role in the 2.8 million scandals of 1978. (Akude, 2007). As a result of the collapse of the bank, the branch name was immediately changed in Nigeria to African International Bank (AIB) and it was given a sum of 500 million Naira grant from the Nigerian Central Bank in 1991. (Akude, 2007).

Over the years, Nigerians have endured the hardship melted on them by the corrupt practice of the political elites. The corruption has eaten so deep into the fabric of the state that the health care system is zero to nothing; starvation and destitution have become the story of the people. Every year, a high percent of Nigerians dies from preventable diseases. The masses have become frustrated with the situation that some of them have resort to violence and terror to retaliate against a state that has failed them. In the face of the violence, organized gang attacks, insurgency, it has been proven that the successive regimes in Nigeria is too fragile and lacks the political will to address the mayhem (Isa 2010). The inability of the Nigerian government to provide security for its citizens led to high death toll and the rise of the Boko Haram sect. The Boko Haram sect were able to take advantage of the poor state of security in the country to carry out their attack. The rise of the sect in the context of the failure of the Nigerian state is justifiable.

4.2.1 State Fragility in Nigeria

The Nigerian state according to the 2018 report of the Fragile State Index puts the country at number 14 in the world. Although the report doesn't categorically place Nigeria as a failed state, it however shows that the country is moving toward full failure. The reason why the Nigeria state is viewed as struggling is due to several factors, one is the vigorous economic challenges the country faces on a daily basis perpetrated by the dissatisfied citizens. Back in 1983, renowned Nigerian poet Chinua Achebe wrote that Nigeria is a typical example of a country that has fallen down, that it has collapsed (Achebe, 1983). At the time the poet wrote this, the country just came out of a three years' civil war between the Nigerian government and a Secessionist group known as Biafra. The country at that period was in a state of total chaos and it was at a perilous state. Although there have been several arguments that the condition of Nigeria then has far worsened now that it was. The reason according to these debates is because of the high level of corruption in

the country. As Rotberg argues, state failure is not merely accidental but rather it is manmade (Rotberg, 2002b).

In Nigeria, corruption is openly celebrated as a political culture. The political elites have little or no sense of responsibility to the people. State resources are used for their interest and benefits while the demands of the people are rarely met. According to World Bank over 54.7% of the population in the country lives in abject poverty (World Bank 2017). As a result of this, there is an array of unemployed youths and non-state actors including religious leaders, ethno-tribal leaders who intervene by using the suffering of the people as advantage in creating a division in the country. Many scholars have argued that Boko Haram is a reflection of the Nigerian society. That is to say, although Nigeria is so wealthy yet it so poor, it so endowed yet so deprived. The average Nigerian citizen lives in abject poverty. This situation has helped in manuring the prosperity of the sect. Boko haram targets the youth who are unemployed and deprived of the public goods that was supposed to be provided to them by the state. These youths are manipulated and used as an instrument to carry out the deadly attacks.

NIGERIA

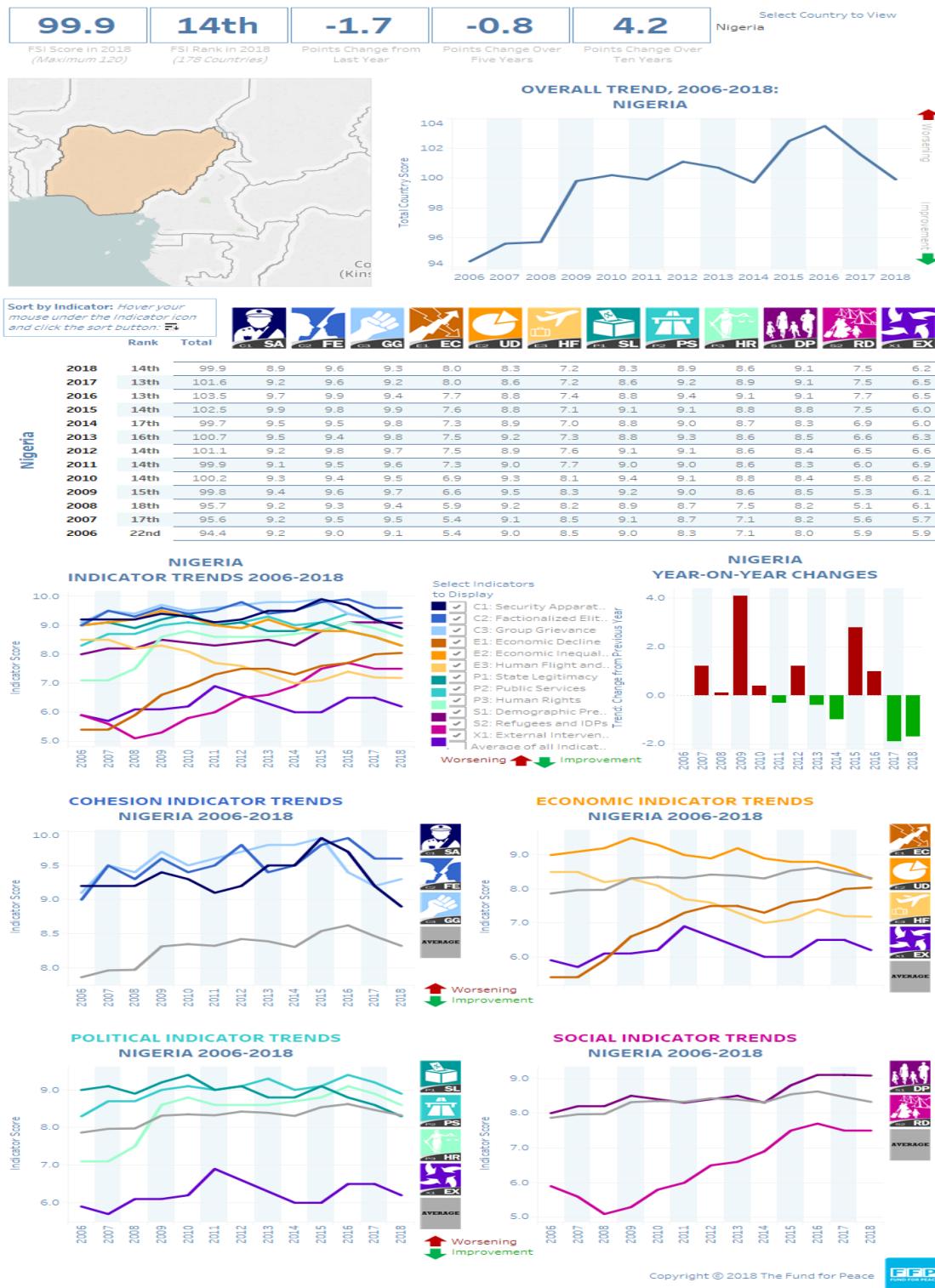


Figure 1. Illustration of Nigeria State Failure. Source: Fragile State Index.

The figure above depicts the fragility of the Nigerian state as calculated by the FSI. The FSI calculation is based on conflict assessment framework- CAST. The CAST framework

was developed to measure the vulnerability of a state in a pre-conflict, active conflict and post conflict situation and also it looks into the activities of policy makers, field practitioners and local community network (FSI, 2018).

4.2.2 State and Economic Symbiosis

In order to understand the fragile nature of Nigeria's economy it is important to present a theoretical background that will show a link between the state and the economy. Theoretically, the state has been constructed as an organization within a society that comprises and interacts with formal and informal organizations, ranging from the family to economic enterprise or religious associations. Despite the relationship that exist between the states and these entities in the society, the state is distinguished from them because of its monopoly over the use of force to prevent chaos and anarchy in the society. For the state to be able to carry out its responsibilities in protecting and safeguarding the other entities, it has to first be able to adequately and effectively manage its economy; that is the production and consumption of goods and services in the community. Consequently, any state that fails to produce material wealth for the development of its society and sustenance of its citizens is on the verge of collapse.

Thus, there is a symbiotic relationship between the state and the economy as one cannot exist without the other. As in the case of Nigeria, its foundation, state and economy are to a large extent unproductively linked. The country's economy is structurally driven by its foreign-oriented trade pattern established during colonial era by the British government and MNCs. The economy was structurally constructed to suit the benefits of the British government and MNCs at the expense of the interest of Nigerians and the Nation. As a result of this the Nigerian oil was exploited in a large commercial quantity by TNCs and MNCs. To the extent that thugs were employed by these organizations to cause havoc in oil rich states for their benefits. These oil zones became conflict stricken areas which had so far reaching implication for both the national security, human security and economy development.

4.2.3 The Nigerian Oil-Centric Economy and Consequences

Prior to the discovery of oil in Nigeria in 1970s, the country was a strictly agricultural based economy. "Agriculture accounted for 85 % of the nation's total export. In fact, aside from being the world's leading groundnut producer, Nigeria was the second leading producer of cocoa in the world as well as the major exporter of rubber, hides, and cotton"

(Asuelime & David 2015:41). The agricultural sector accounted for over 60-70% of the country's GDP and its total export earnings in the 1960s. It also provided employment for over 75% of its citizens and funded majority of the nation's development goals. (Asuelime & David, 2015:41).

Upon the discovery of oil in the country, it became commercialized and there was a shift from an agricultural based economy to an oil based economy. As a result, the oil that was gotten from the country was exported to foreign based economies at a cheap rate while refined products were imported at a high price. Consequently, the Nigerian economy became overly dependent on "foreign industrial products for virtually all locally consumed manufactured goods and ... little indigenous capitalist production of final consumer goods" (Olaitan 1995 cited in Asuelime & David, 2015:42). In this vein, the Nigerian economy was regarded as a commercial capitalist economy. The country survived on external factors which resulted in its lack of self-development. The foundation of the Nigerian economy was weak and unstable. Under this weakness, the oil economy thrived and the consequences that came with it became a curse instead of a blessing to the Nigerian people. Government offices became a lucrative business as a result of the corrupt benefits that came with it.

Consequently, the Nigerian political economy became over reliant on one source revenue generator; crude oil. Although still the backbone of the Nigerian economy today, in 2001, the oil sector contributed to 98.7 - 90% of Nigerian foreign earning (Asuelime & David, 2015:42). Due to the high revenue being generated by the oil sector, other sectors of the economy that was contributing to the development of the country was abandoned. Furthermore, the oil economy also facilitated the increase in corruption in the country.

4.2.4 Security Deficiency in Nigeria

It is believed that terrorism and criminality thrive better in a climate of grievance. That is why it is no surprise that the worst form of political violence in Nigeria originated from the most socioeconomically disadvantaged region in the country. The northern part of Nigeria has the highest rate of illiteracy and poverty in the country. The former governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) Prof. Charles Soludo warned that the level of poverty in the northern part of the country deserves an urgent attention otherwise it will result in a national crisis. To back up his argument, the former CBN governor presented a statistical representation showing that eight out of the ten states in the north has recorded

the highest incidence of poverty in the country in 2008 and that some of the level of poverty in these states is as high as 95 per cent (Soludo, 2008).

The national security of Nigeria has been faced with long years of neglect and deprivation and this has made it difficult for them to adequately combat any uprising against the state. The security environment has been challenged for a long time by different types of conflict, in the southeast there is the environmental degradation as a result of oil extraction which made farming and fishing impossible in that region, in the north as earlier stated, there is the high level of unemployment, illiteracy, radicalized Islamist who glamor for the imposition of sharia law.

4.3 Boko Haram in Nigeria

Boko haram was founded in 2002 by Mohammed Yusuf in North-east Nigeria. The sect started as a social movement with active members in other geographical locations like Cameroon, Chad, and Niger. Many alleged that the group was a response to the social economic flux of Nigeria borne out of the combination of decade long of corruption, inequality, poverty and mismanagement. Hence, many saw it as a representative of the collective interest of the poor and oppressed in the society.

Despite the fact that the history of Nigeria would have contributed to the growth of the sect, there were other external factors such as technological advancement, easy access to arms, porous borders, external interest group and availability of natural resources that helped in escalating its growth. As the group grew, it confronted the Nigerian state but due to a prolonged period of mishandled response by the government and security forces it mutilated into a radicalized violent group.

Furthermore, the group was known for its rejection of western education and as a result it was link to the Maitatsine movement of 1970s and 1980s in northern Nigeria. The sect recruited majorly school drop-outs, graduates, unemployed youths and university undergraduates. These recruits were usually made to tear their certificates (the graduates) and they are told that whatever issues they are going through was caused by the government imposition of Western education on them and also the mismanagement of the country's resources. The group moved across the Northern states to spread their message and in turn attracted other Islamic radical group who preached the same message in the Middle East and other African countries.

In the year 2003, the group has grown in strength and membership and it started having brushes with security operative in the country by their unlawful proclivities. The faceoff with the security operatives continued into 2004 and they continued to grow. However, in 2009, the governor of Bauchi State sensing the catastrophe that may ensue if the group continues to preach in public and recruit more youths decided to ban them from preaching in public space. Angered by the decision of the governor, the members of the sect began to disobey rules of the state. When the governor introduced the compulsory use of helmet by bike riders in the state, those of the sect members who were bike riders refused to obey this new law. As a result of this, the security force in the state tried to compel them to obey but this turned into a major conflict that crisscross into four other states (Bauchi, Borno, Kano and Yobe) in the country. The clash between the Nigerian military and Boko haram members went on for five days after which the sect was overpowered and their then leader Mohammad Yusuf was captured and taken into custody where he eventually died. The clash between the sect and the Nigerian military recorded about 700-800 dead toll of Boko haram members and a good number of death recorded by the Nigerian military.

After the clash, the sect went underground for a while and nothing was heard about them. With a sign of relieve, the government let down its guard and the group resurfaced in 2010 under new leadership of Abubakar Shekau. This time the sect had grown from that social movement people thought it was into a vicious and dangerous group that came back for revenge against the Nigerian government for the death of their former leader Yusuf who died in police custody. The resurgence of the group has since been a security predicament for the Nigerian state. They (Boko Haram) have embarked on a destructive and vindictive attack across several states in the North-East. Details of the attacks carried out by the sect as reported by CNN can be found in Appendix B.

The figure below shows how the sect has developed in their arms violence. The timeline covered is from 2010 when the sect emerged after a long silence to 2014.

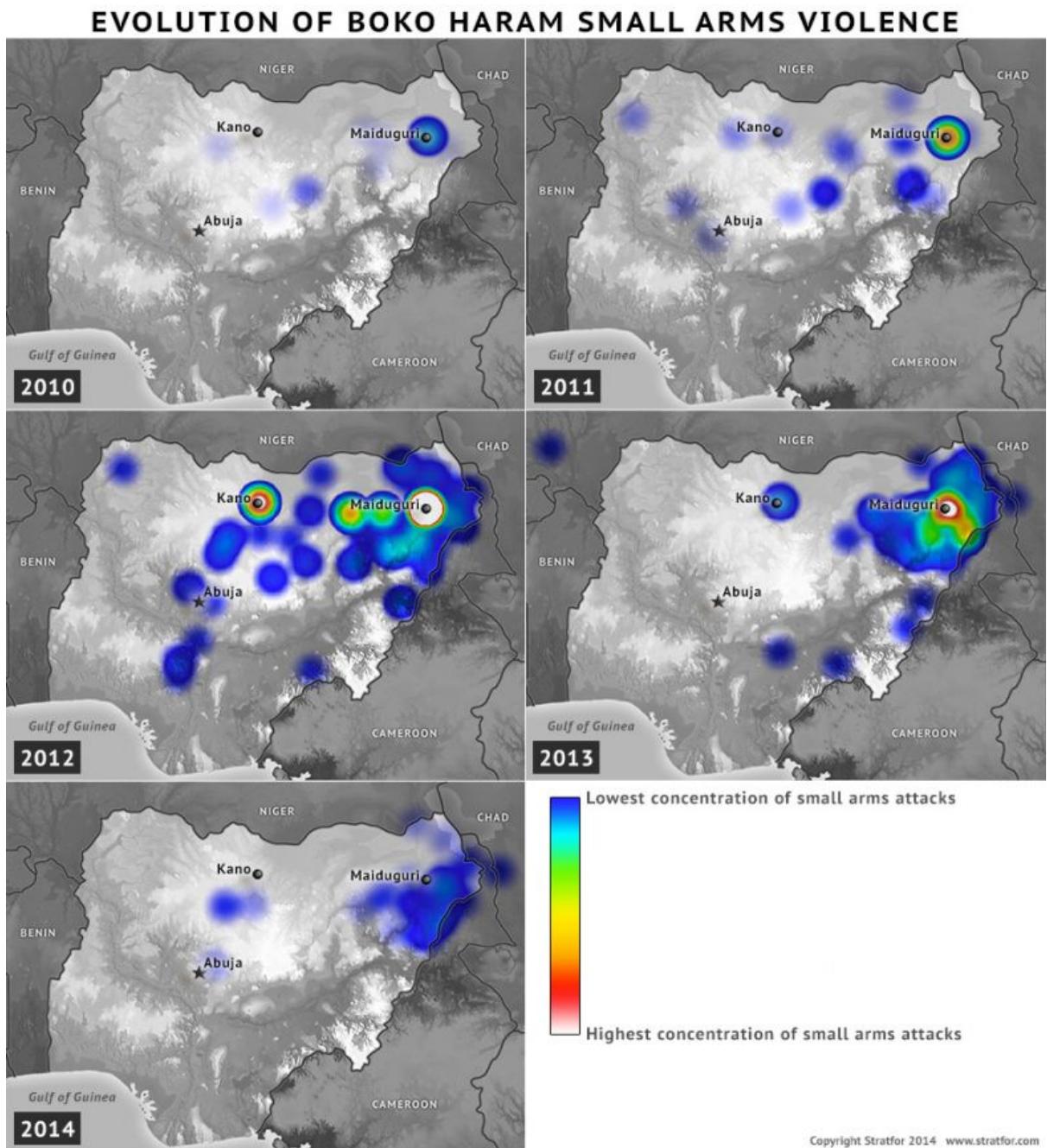


Figure 2. Evolution of Boko Haram Small Arms Violence. Source: Stratfor Worldwide (2014)

4.3.1 Ideology and Goal of Boko Haram

Boko haram ideology is founded on the Salafist thoughts and writing which states that everything western is un-Islamic and should be fought against. The late leader of the sect, Yusuf was strongly influenced by this writing from medieval scholar Ibn Taymiyya, who also called for jihad against rulers (Muslims and Non-Muslims) who did not follow and apply the sharia law. Yusuf was also influenced by some other radical Muslim collections that he kept. One is the *Riyadh al-Salihin*, by Muhyi al-Din al-Nawawi, this collection

focuses on how a pious Muslim should behave. It also lays emphasizes on the virtue and superiority given to those that pursue militant jihad.

Furthermore, the group also embraced the economic ideology of redistribution. According to Umar Mamodu who is a Boko Haram and scholar states that the Boko haram leader believed in the creation of a new order where the wretched should inherit the earth (Femi, 2014). As result of their preaching against the socio-economic situation in the country, they became appealing to the poor, unemployed and uneducated in the Northeast region. They further laid emphasizes on the fact that individuals should not be measured by their wealth or earthly possessions rather they should be measured based on their spirituality and metaphysical achievements.

Additionally, the group is known for its hatred of anything western, this includes western education, lifestyles, entertainment and governance. They view westernization as being inauthentic in northern Nigeria and that its infiltration is eradicating their traditional way of life. According to their belief, western education which was brought by Christian missionaries is a vehicle which will be used to convert northern Muslims to Christianity. Therefore, the group not only rejects western education because of its curriculum, it also rejects it because they view it as a deceptive camouflage. Paradoxically, the sect rejects western education in its entirety as it embraces the technical and engineering solutions. Certain teachings and scientific theories that the sect rejects include philosophical written that questions the existence of God, the Big Bang theory, Darwinism, the law of conservation of matter and energy, and the rain cycle (Pate, 2015:15).

It has been noted that the major goal of the sect was Islamize the Nigerian state in all its facets. The initial method adopted by Yusuf and his followers to express this goal was their withdrawal from the corrupt society and they created their one micro-society where they believed pure Islam would be expressed. Not being satisfied with the establishment of their micro-society, they shifted their attention to tailoring the secular Nigerian regime for a Salafist government. This means there will be the application of sharia law throughout the country. Going by the involvement of other neighboring country in their attacks, one will wonder if the ideology of the sect has moved from turning only Nigeria into an Islamic state to the creating of a sharia state in the whole of West Africa.

4.3.2 The Leadership of the sect

The sect is structured like a functional authoritarian government, at the head is Abubakar Shekau who is referred to as the emir, he is supported by a council called Shura. The council of Shura has under its responsibility several cells which are headed by different members. Each cell is either a functional or geographic focus. It has been observed that the Shura rarely hold physical meetings, they communicate mostly via mobile phones. As a result of this, lower members may not know members in the other cells.

As an authoritarian, Shekau is very strict with his orders and it is said that he has given death penalty to members who did not obey his orders. In order to instill fear, defectors are beheaded in the presence of other members. The killing in the presence of other members is similar to what the Mexican mafias do to members who they feel can no longer be trusted. Due to his way of leadership and also targeting of soft targets led to a tension within members of the group. This eventually led to the split in 2012 and the creation of Ansaru. The Ansaru unlike Boko haram focus more kidnapping foreigners and collecting ransom for their release. Although Shekau is still regarded as the overall ruler of the sect, there are other individual cell who have some abilities to carry out attacks without any direct order from Shekau.

4.3.3 The Membership of the Sect

The membership of the sect is in various forms, one is voluntary and the other is coercive. Some of those that join voluntarily are often motivated by the ideology and religious reasons while some others join as a retaliation for past victimization suffered at the hands of the Nigerian military. It is also reported that the sect uses monetary gains as an incentive to other fighters. For instance, gang members in Diffa, Niger (A neighboring country), were regularly told how profitable it will be to them when they join. Most of these people are youths who are unemployed and unskilled. Another means of recruitment is through kidnapping when they raid town and villages. These kidnapped people are force to fight or support the group.

Furthermore, there have been reports that several foreign fighters have joined in Boko Haram's ranks. Some of these foreigners were arrested in Kano, although their nationality was not disclosed. However, some attacked victims who survived have reported that the attackers were not Nigerian nor Kanuris but rather they were Tuaregs. The Tuaregs are mostly found in Algeria, Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso. This could corroborate the link between Boko Haram and AQIM in Algeria. Also, in a clash with Boko Haram in

September 2014, the Cameroonian government confirmed that two of the fighters killed were of Tuareg ethnicity.

4.3.4 Targets and Tactics

The resurgence of Boko Haram in 2010 under the leadership of Shekau saw a different dimension to the group. The group became more violent, its attacks became more lethal and its scope of targets increased. According to the 2013 report Global Terrorism Data (GTD), the sect has carried out over 800 attacks with nearly 4,000 fatalities. This places the group as one of the deadliest and active terrorist group in the world.

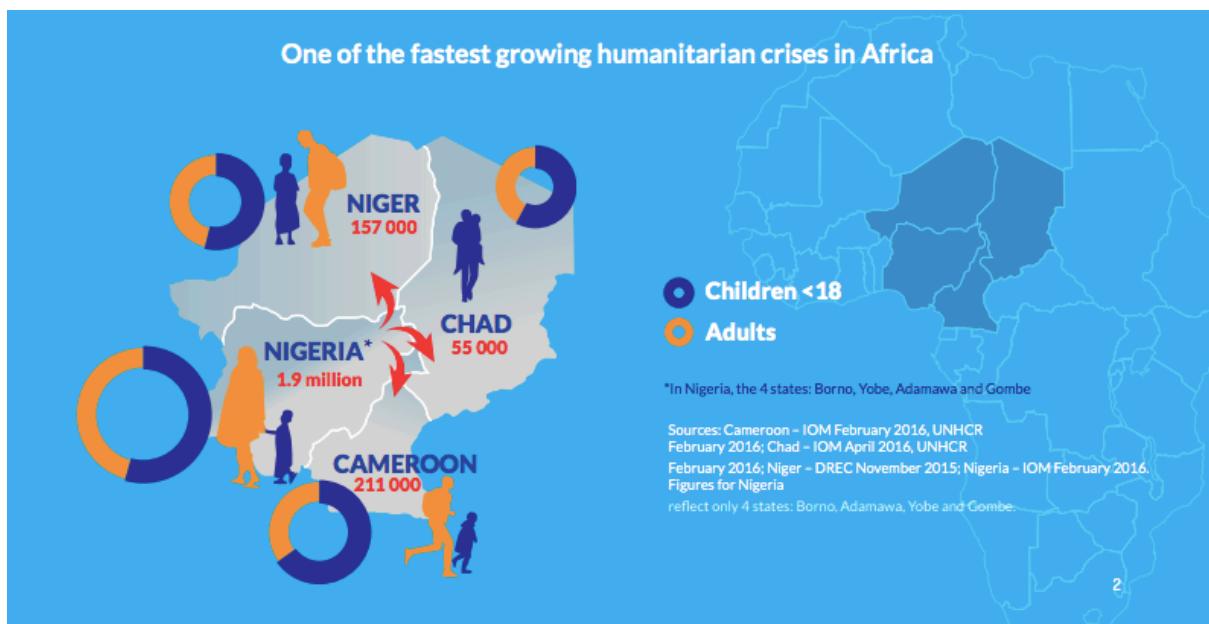


Figure 3. Demography of Children and Adults used for suicide attacks. Source: UNICEF

Furthermore, due to its coordinated and defined attacks against multiple targets in the same day, Boko Haram has shown better tactics than another terrorist group in Africa. A good percentage of the attacks by the sect are well coordinated compared to attacks by other terrorist groups globally. Majority of the sect's attacks is carried out in the northeast and across the borders too Chad and Cameroon. Its targets varies from security agencies to government officials, civilians, anyone who may have offended them, Christians, Muslims who do not share same ideology as they do and those in support of western culture. In 2013, the sect changed its attack tactics as a result of the state of emergency declared by the Nigerian government. They began to use insurgency or guerrilla warfare in carrying out their attacks. Sometimes they mingle with other Fulani civilians. This made it difficult for the Nigerian military to be able to differentiate the members of the sect. In the summer of 2014, the sect seized and took control of some towns and villages in the north-eastern

part of Nigeria. The leader Shekau being influenced by the Islamic State in the Levant (ISIL) declared some of the towns captured a caliphate.

4.3.5 Indicators of International Links and Sponsorship

Terrorist organizations operate just like Multinational corporation that have global presence around the world working together to create chaos. Boko Haram like every other terrorist group have taken advantage of the trends of globalization to extend their operational networks across Africa. It has been discovered that they have financial and physical ties with Al Qaeda in the Maghreb and Al Shabab in Somalia. During the interrogation of the early leaders of boko haram – Mohammed Damagun and Mohammed Bello, Mohammed Damagun was arraigned before the federal high court of Abuja on three count charges; one was his involvement with the Taliban in Nigeria, the second was the receipt of 300,000 USD (United State Dollars) from Al Qaeda to recruit and train young Nigerians in Mauritania for terrorism and the third was his involvement in aiding terrorist act in Nigeria. Upon the trial of Mohammed Yusuf, it was discovered that he received financial aid from Al Qaeda operatives in Pakistan. This money was used to recruit and entice young unemployed youth who will attack residence of foreigners especially Americans residence in the country (Shola, 2015:13).

In March 2015, the sect posted a short video pledging alliance with ISIS. In a response to the video, the spoke person for ISIS in an audio message said the leader of ISIS Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi has accepted the group's allegiance. The leader recommended what they (boko haram) is doing in Africa and said that the caliphate has expanded to West Africa. The spokesman for ISIS Abu Mohammed al Adnani further encouraged Muslims in Africa to fight against western culture if they are unable to join them in Syria.

In terms of sponsorship, the group get their funds from politicians, bank robbery and looting, kidnapping, extortion, illicit trafficking. It has been alleged that the group received sponsorship from the former governor of Borno State Ali Modu. According to reports, He empowered them with arms and finances in return they acted as election militia for him. The Nigerian security operatives arrested Alhaji Bunu Walki and 91 others in January 2011 as financier of the sect (Shola, 2015:13). Other prominent politicians and Senators have been questioned in line of financing the group.

Furthermore, the group also takes part in illicit trade. It has been reported that the group is an actor in the international illicit weapons market in which Nigeria is a key market and also a transit point. More reports also indicate that the group is not just a trafficker in

the weapon market, it is also a consumer. Majority of the weapons are trafficked from neighboring countries and these countries get these weapons from other countries. This is the link which globalization has created. The interconnectedness within countries have made it easy for weapons to move across borders undetected. It was also alleged that the group also takes part in drug trafficking. Although it has not been specifically said what the role of the group is, Nigeria's status as a hub for multiple trafficking market in the region gives them an advantage.

In addition, Boko Haram have made use of different method in smuggling weapon in and across Nigeria. They make use of vehicles used in legal trade to conceal weapons in an attempt to cross the border. These weapons are hidden behind secret compartment and the unsuspecting security personnel let them in. They also use herd of livestock with leather or thatched bags attached to them to conceal these weapons. Since a good number of northerners' rear cattle, they are allowed to go. Lastly, they make use of women in concealing these arms. These women hide the weapons in their persons to pass the checkpoints without being searched.

Another source of funding for this sect is extortion. They send threat messages to the families of politicians and they in turn pay them ransom. Also, merchants in the area have been known to pay the group some money in return for protection and the safe keeping of their merchandise. Some big corporation have paid in order for them not to attack their establishment. It has been alleged that politicians from neighboring states of Katsina and Jigawa have paid the sect in order for them not to attack their states.

4.3.6 Nigeria Response to Boko Haram

The previous Nigerian law on terrorism was based on section 11 of the Nigerian 1999 constitution. This law states that it is the responsibility of the Nigerian National Assembly to safeguard public safety and order in the country. They are responsible for making laws that will ensure the maintenance of safety and security in the country. In accordance with this responsibility, the Nigerian National Assembly promulgated The Terrorism Prevention Act (TPA) in 2011 (Pate, 2015:25). This act outlined the definition of terrorism and gives the framework on how the investigation, prosecution and interdiction of suspects in terrorism cases will be handled. Due to some loopholes found in this act by domestic and international actors, the TPA was amended several times in 2013. It was pointed out that the TPA didn't address some issues regarding human rights abused by

the Nigerian security forces. Some of the aspect of the act that was amended are as follows:

- Delineating the boundary between terrorism and conspiracy;
- Specifying functions and responsibilities of agencies with responsibilities in counter-terrorism arena;
- Expanding the role of the Office of the National Security Advisor (ONSA) as the main coordinator for all counter-terrorism enforcement activity; and
- Charging the Attorney General to provide oversight ensuring that all counter-terrorism activities conform to international law (Pate, 2015:26)

The TPA further gave rights to security forces to confiscate vehicles, enter people's homes without a warrant. This didn't go well with a lot of international human right watchdogs as the law was cited as not having regards to the rights of the citizens. Other section of the TPA that have raised international concern are sections 9,12,26 and 28.

Consequently, death penalty was included as a legal punishment for convicted terrorists. Since the inception of the group, the Nigerian federal government have been the primary intervener against Boko Haram. Some of the federal government agencies that have played significant role in the ongoing crises are the Presidency, Nigerian National Assemble, various branches or the armed forces, Department of State Services (DSS), Office of the National Security Advisor (ONSA), Nigeria Police Force, Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC) and the Nigerian Emergency Agency (NEMA) (Pate, 2015:26). The Nigerian military has been the most active actor in the fight against the group. In order to ensure that the military is well equipped to fight the sect, the Nigerian government have over the years increased the defense budget. The budget was initially \$625 million in 2010 but it was increased to \$6 billion in 2011, it further went up to \$1 trillion in 2012, 2013 and 2014. The budget however dropped to \$1.5billion in 2017 (Pate, 2015:26).

When the sect started gaining momentum, the Nigerian army deployed personnel in June 2009 to several locations in Maiduguri to combat them. These personnel were both infantry and artillery, they captured the leader of the sect Mohammed Yusuf and interrogated him briefly after which he (Yusuf) was released to the Nigerian police. According to reports, the police executed him, his father-in-law and Buji Foi (Former State Commission of Religious Affairs) while they were in custody. To support the claims a video surfaced on Youtube showing how they were killed. Following these killings,

there was a chaotic crackdown between Boko Haram members and the Nigerian military. These resulted in extrajudicial killings committed by the men of the Nigerian army. Muslim civilians were killed because they had beard, they bribed Imams and other traditional rulers in the region to help them pinpoint members of the sect. When these individuals have been arrested their properties are confiscated and given as payment to those Imams and traditional rulers.

At the end of 2009 summer, the Nigerian military, mobile police (riot police) and DSS operated as the Joint Task Force in Borno and Yobe states to help fight Boko Haram. Since the troops were based in the capital of these states, Boko Haram members used lightly populated places, forested and another uninhabited place for their hideout. Due to this, the group laid low for some time but later resurfaced in 2010 under new leadership. This time they were more vicious and rootless. The Nigerian military responded by sending 3,600 troops in 2011. This time the Chadian also added some troops have they have realised that Boko Haram having been using their borders to smuggle in weapons and recruit new members. The operation by the Nigerian military and the Chadian however failed because the number of troops were not enough to guard the large border region. As a result of this another 2,000 troops and air support was added in 2013 to help with the offensive. The neighbouring countries of Chad, Niger and Cameroon came together to form an international military with Nigeria. This military was made up of troops from each each country and they amounted to 3,000. This 3,00 troop was deployed in 2014. Already, the JTF which was a combination of the Nigerian police and military forces were disbanded and later replaced by a specialized military unit called the 7th Infantry Division and it was under the command of Major-General Obida Etnan (Pate, 2015:27).

The administration of President Goodluck Jonathan seeing how wide spread the conflict was becoming decided to declare a state of emergency in four states- Yobe, Borno, Plateau, Niger and also the temporary closure of international borders to help control the sect. While the government counter the insurgency by building more military bases in the affected states, there were no positive results due to several factors. One, the troops failed to address the strength of the group in the inhabitable areas and the large region of porous border with Niger, Chad and Cameroon. Second, there were several allegations that the Nigerian military has been infiltrated by Boko Haram. As a result of this, the intelligence report on the group and new tactics to attack them was leaked to the sect. In this vein there were clashes of intelligence between the military and other inter-agency

competition, false information was shared and there was a great distrust among them. As a result of the distrust, the administration of President Goodluck Jonathan decided to sack all the military chief of staff and replace them with new leadership. Till date, there are no tangible reasons given for this sudden change of leadership by the government. Although there were several reports that claims that the president did it in order to gain more support in the coming elections.

In addition to using military tactics, the government of Nigeria also opened negotiation talks with the group. One of the mediators used during this negotiation was the former president of Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo. He served as a middle man between the group and president Jonathan. After several meetings, no concrete plans nor actions were taken. President Jonathan in 2012 decided to name Colonel Sambo Dasuki as the National Security Advisor in 2012. After assuming office, Colonel Dasuki travelled several times to meet with community leaders and asked them to engage with the group in order for them to arrive at a peaceful resolution of the conflict. Later in the year, the government opened negotiation with Boko Haram members to disarm and de-radicalised the group. This negotiation allegedly continued into 2013 and in 2014, the spokesperson for the Nigerian government made it known that Boko Haram sect has agreed to ceasefire and also release the 200 school girls that were abducted in Chibok. However, Boko Haram debunked this statement with another attack which also included the abduction of 60 women. Reports however surfaced claiming the negotiation was fruitful despite the attack as Chinese workers who were kidnapped were released and also some Cameroonian hostages; including the wife of the deputy prime minister of Cameroon.

Furthermore, there have been several international efforts to designate the group as a terrorist organization. There has been military assistance to help coordinate with Nigerian military, there have also been development and humanitarian assistance given to those internally displaced persons. Countries like the United States have declared the group a terrorist organization thereby triggering sanctions against the group and its membership. Hence, members of the sect are not able to travel and also anyone or country that aids the group financially has committed a criminal offence. In 2012, the United States added Abubakar Shekau, Khalid al-Barnawi and Abubakar Adam Kambar as Specially Global Terrorist. The United Kingdom's also proclaimed the sect an international terrorist group. During the search for the abducted school girls from Chibok, the United States sent over 80 troops to Chad to help in searching for the kidnapped school girls.

5 Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusion

In conclusion, this study has tried to establish the relationship between, globalization, state failure and terrorism. While analysing the problem, several factors were prominent in the analysis. These factors are; the incapability of the African state to function properly like states in Europe, the resource curse, the effect of negative globalization on the region and also the endemic level of corruption in the continent most especially our case study. From literature reviewed, it is shown that scholars have attributed the issue of endemic corruption, colonialism as the reason why Nigeria and other African states have failed to benefit positively from globalization and also pose a threat to the global community. During the colonial era, the boundaries of African states were drawn in accordance with the Westphalia system. These newly formed states couldn't function properly like European states because the imposition of state boundaries by colonialist altered the type of borders Africans had. The imposed borders cut across multiple groups, cultures and people who have little or no common bonds. In this vein, immediately after independence, states like Nigeria began to have conflicts as a result of the diversified groups and religion. The legitimacy of the state began to be questioned internally by these group of people who share no common language (Except the one used by the colonialist), had no common culture or blood. They were forced to live in a territory with people they had little or no connection with.

As time went on this issue became further compounded when natural resources were discovered in some regions of the newly formed states. Nigeria for instance, has a region that sustains the country with its oil. However, this region is presumed to be among the least developed in the country and has over the years been exploited by transnational corporations and multinational corporations to develop their own country. Seeing that the government has refused to fight for them or rather they have kept quiet because of the high level of corruption, the youth of the state decided to take laws into their hands and fight for what they truly deserve. This crisis further weakened the legitimacy of the government, created political instability and gave rise to secessionist movements. The resource which was supposed to be a blessing to the state became a curse in the end. According to the theory of greed and grievance by Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler (2004), conflicts is a reflection of the competition over natural resources between elites which

results in the grievance of the citizens. The uprising of Boko Haram is as a result of grievances of the governed and the violence that ensued as a result of this grievance was further enhanced by availability of arms, open borders, links with other terrorist organizations.

Furthermore, globalization was created out of a single idea to bring individual markets to create a new frontier so that world producers can have a larger market. This idea was not only to create markets but to ensure that the closeness of people will bring an end to regional wars. Unfortunately, the reality of the globalization has not lived up to its expectations. Instead of developing/third world countries to benefit from its ideology, it has rather created high level of unemployment, poverty, long-term environmental damages, and financial mismanagement. Nigeria like every other nation that wanted to enjoy the benefits of globalization went through the phase of liberalization, currency devaluation, privatization, commercialization and also the removal of subsidies in goods and services. However, the results in the Nigerian economy of today is far from what other advanced nations are currently experiencing.

Additionally, globalization has created a transnational link between terrorist groups which has been further strengthened by the array of advancement in communication technology, science and economy. The interconnectedness and interdependence of state on each other has made it possible for these groups to move freely while undetected. While open borders maybe good for trade it has been an advantage to terrorist group which has changed the concept of security both on individual, national and global level. Mary Kaldor regards this change in international security as the new war which involves the use of information to fight wars. This is a different dimension to war when compared to wars fought before and during the cold war. These wars come in forms of network war, cyber war and asymmetrical wars. They are aided by the development of science and technology which has a powerful hidden control can lead to latent violence.

Boko Haram like other terrorist group have taken advantage of this transnational link and also the availability of information technology, where they can communicate amongst themselves and also with other terrorist organization without being noticed. The internet gives them an opportunity to learn how to make homemade bombs, create several social media pages and spread their propaganda without the authorities being able to detect them and also it gives them information regarding their targets.

Another factors that facilitated the growth of Boko Haram is the Nigerian security deficiency. It has been recorded that the Nigerian security forces are one of the world's

most ill equipped. They lack sophisticated weapons in combating the sect. One of the soldiers was caught on tape lamenting that the president has ordered them to go on a suicide mission due to the fact that they are not as equipped as Boko Haram. Also, the game of politics being played in the Nigerian military makes it difficult for these soldiers to get better training and weapons. In the previous administration the government was accused of diverting funds meant for acquiring ammunitions to private account. Despite these allegations, no charges nor arrest were made.

This study has tried to demonstrate that although some scholars are of the view that terrorist and terrorism occurs in functional democracy, with an example of Nigeria, it is proven that terrorism and terrorist groups strive more in a dysfunctional democratic environment.

5.2 Recommendation

In order to combat domestic or international terrorism, there has to be an adequate counter-terrorism tactics that would be effective and not go against the teachings of democracy. For instance, the Nigerian government defense against the rising terrorism in the country has been faulted by extra-judicial killings carried out by men of the military, the resounding question is: are there no other effective way to counter terrorism in an increasing integrated, interdependent and high tech world? It is apparent that wiping out domestic terrorism is a difficult task considering that counter measures can result in the loss of those democratic values which terrorism seeks to destroy. In order to develop an effective counter-terrorism tactics, Kupperman and Trent outlined six strategies that can be used. They are:

- Intelligence
- Target hardening of installation and individuals
- Damage limitation through cost-benefit analyses
- Integrated crisis management covering all possible occurrences
- a balance of actions (to preserve civil liberties while fighting terror) and media self-restraint (to prevent the terrorists from engaging in bloody propagandistic attacks to win media coverage) and
- international cooperation. (Kupperman and Trent cited in James & Brenda, 2008:90)

Furthermore, to contain the eruption of violent conflicts in resource-rich regions, political elites need to shift their interest from focusing on the rent from resources and harness the human capital. In a recent visit to Nigeria, Bill Gates admonished the Nigerian government to channel its energy on a far better resources which are its populace. When the populace is neglected and left to fend for themselves, they resort to any means for survival.

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Appendix A –

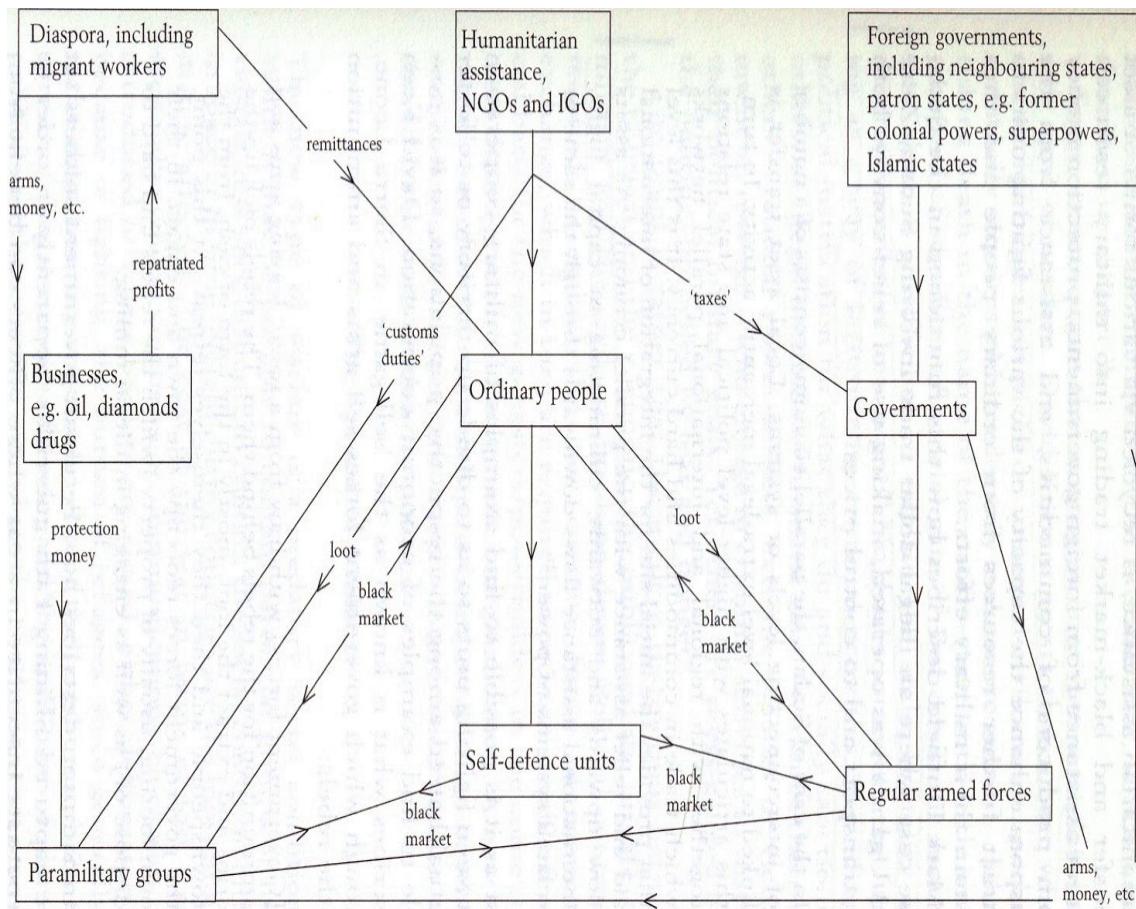


Figure 4. Illustration of the flow of resources in new wars (Kaldor 2006:11)

The figure above shows how money, arms and natural resources/illicit trade follows in New War. This model was posited by Kaldor to defend her thesis on New Wars.

Appendix B-

Date	Activities
July 2010	Boko Haram releases a video statement in which Yusuf's deputy who allegedly died the previous year, Shekau, claims to be the leader of the group.
September 7, 2010	In the state of Bauchi, 50 Boko Haram militants attack a prison, killing five people and releasing more than 700 inmates.
May 29, 2011	The day of President Goodluck Jonathan's inauguration, Boko Haram detonates three IEDs near a military barracks in the city of Bauchi in Bauchi State. At least 10 people die in the attack.
August 26, 2011	Boko Haram attacks the United Nations compound in Abuja. A car bomb kills 23 people and injures more than 75 others.
November 4, 2011	More than 100 people die in multiple attacks in Yobo, Damaturu and Borno states. Boko Haram militants utilize IEDs and vehicle-borne IEDs to target security forces and their offices, markets and 11 churches.
January 2012	A newly formed splinter group, known as Ansaru, announces Abu Usamatul Al-Ansari as its leader.
January 20, 2012	More than 200 people are killed when Boko Haram launches coordinated attacks targeting police, military, a prison and other targets in the city of Kano in Kano State.
February 19, 2013	Militants alleging to be Boko Haram kidnap a French family of seven in a national park in northern Cameroon; however, the affiliation with Boko Haram cannot be verified. The family is later released.
April 2013	President Jonathan states he has appointed a team to explore the possibility of amnesty for Islamist militants. Shekau responds in an audio statement: "Surprisingly the Nigerian government is talking about granting us amnesty. What wrong have we done? On the contrary, it is we that should grant you pardon."
April 19, 2013	Boko Haram battles with multinational security forces from Niger, Nigeria and Chad in the city of Baga in Borno State, leaving nearly 200 people dead, including many civilians. Shekau releases a video in May saying Boko Haram is not responsible for the civilian deaths.
June 4, 2013	President Jonathan approves the proscription of Boko Haram and splinter group Ansaru as terrorist organizations.
June 2013	Boko Haram targets churches in various states on three Sundays in a row, leaving more than 50 people dead.
August 14, 2013	The Ministry of Defence announces the death of Boko Haram's second-in-command, Momodu Baba (known as Abu Saad).

August 19, 2013	Nigeria's army spokesperson claims Shekau may have died after an attack on June 30, but the claim is never verified.
September 17, 2013	Boko Haram gunmen dress in military uniforms and stage a fake checkpoint near Benisheik in Borno, burning vehicles and executing travelers, leaving at least 143 people dead.
September 25, 2013	A man claiming to be Shekau appears in a video and says that he is alive and well. However, his identity is not verified.
November 13, 2013	The US State Department adds Boko Haram and Ansaru to its list of terrorist organizations.
January 26, 2014	At least 45 are killed in a market in Kawuri in Borno after Boko Haram militants open fire.
April 14, 2014	Boko Haram militants kidnap approximately 276 teenage girls from a boarding school in Chibok in Borno. Officials there say some of the girls were able to escape. The kidnapping sparks global outrage and a #BringBackOurGirls campaign on social media.
May 5, 2014	In a video statement, a man claiming to be Shekau says, "I abducted your girls. I will sell them in the market, by Allah...there is a market for selling humans. Allah says I should sell. He commands me to sell. I will sell women. I sell women."
May 13, 2014	Hundreds of Boko Haram militants storm three villages in the state of Borno. Villagers resist, killing more than 200 Boko Haram fighters.
May 20, 2014	Twin blasts in the city of Jos kill 118 people at a market. Nigerian authorities describe the blasts as "terrorist activities" but decline to speculate on who might be responsible.
May 21, 2014	The White House announces that the United States has sent 80 troops to Chad to help search for the kidnapped schoolgirls.
May 22, 2014	The UN Security Council adds Boko Haram to its sanctions list.
June 3-4, 2014	Hundreds of people are killed in raids by Boko Haram Islamic militants in the state of Borno, with some sources putting the death toll at 400 to 500.
June 7-8, 2014	Suspected Boko Haram militants kidnap at least 20 young women over a weekend in the northeastern Nigeria village of Garkin Fulani, eight kilometers from a town where more than 200 schoolgirls were taken nearly two months earlier.
June 18-22, 2014	Boko Haram militants hold the village of Kummabza in Borno state, northeastern Nigeria, hostage for four days. They abduct more than 60 females, including children, and kill 30 men in the raid.

July 7, 2014	Sources say at least 57 girls kidnapped by Boko Haram last month from the Kummabza village in northern Borno state have escaped from their captors and returned to their village. Boko Haram is still believed to be holding about 200 schoolgirls abducted April 14 from a boarding school in the town of Chibok.
July 17-20, 2014	Boko Haram raids the Nigerian town of Damboa. By the time the raid ends, 66 residents have been killed and more than 15,000 have fled.
October 16, 2014	The Nigerian government announces it has reached a ceasefire agreement with the Islamist terror group that includes the promised release of more than 200 kidnapped schoolgirls.
November 1, 2014	In a video, the group's leader denies the Nigerian government's claim of a ceasefire.
January 3, 2015	A multi-day raid begins, where hundreds of Boko Haram gunmen seize the town of Baga and neighboring villages in northern Nigeria, as well as a multinational military base, leaving bodies scattered everywhere and as many as 2,000 people feared dead.
March 2, 2015	Boko Haram releases a video showing the apparent beheadings of two men they suspected of being spies.
March 7, 2015	In an audio message purportedly from Shekau, Boko Haram pledges allegiance to ISIS, the Islamic militant group which controls areas of Iraq and Syria. Boko Haram is named "Wilayat Gharb Afriqiyya" or "Wilayat Gharb Afriqiyah," which means the Islamic State of West Africa.
March 12, 2015	In an audio message purportedly from an ISIS spokesman, the group announces that the caliphate has expanded to western Africa and that ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi has accepted Boko Haram's pledge of allegiance. On the same day, ISIS blows up the Iraqi army headquarters north of Ramadi, killing at least 40 Iraqi soldiers.
April 25-26, 2015	The decomposed corpses of at least 400 men, women and children are found in shallow, mass graves and on the streets of Damasak in northeastern Nigeria. Due to a joint Nigerian-Chadian military operation, the town has recently been freed of Boko Haram, which seized the town in November.
April 28-April 30, 2015	Nigerian troops rescue about 450 women and girls in the Sambisa Forest during a military operation centered around destroying Boko Haram camps and rescuing civilians. According to the military, none of those rescued have been identified as the Chibok schoolgirls kidnapped last April.
July 1, 2015	Boko Haram militants raid three villages in the northeastern Nigerian state of Borno, killing at least 145 people, according to witnesses.
September 3, 2015	An estimated 30 people are dead and 145 injured after Boko Haram militants attack a crowded market in Kerawa, Cameroon and an

	infirmary near a Cameroonian military camp, according to Cameroonian military spokesman Col. Didier Badjeck.
September 23, 2015	241 women and children are rescued and 43 Boko Haram militants are arrested after the Nigerian military raids camps run by the terrorist group in two villages.
February 2016	Militants from Boko Haram attack two villages in northeast Nigeria, killing at least 30 people. In another attack, two female suicide bombers kill 58 people at a Nigerian refugee camp for villagers fleeing terrorism. A suspect in the attack on the camp tells officers that she and the two suicide bombers were dispatched by Boko Haram.
April 14, 2016	CNN posts a video of some of the teenage girls abducted from Chibok that was sent to negotiators by their captors as a "proof of life."
May 17, 2016	Amina Ali Nkeki, one of more than 200 Chibok schoolgirls kidnapped by Boko Haram, is the first to be freed after two years in captivity. Nigeria's army says she was rescued by army troops, but a witness tells CNN the girl wandered out of the Sambisa Forest in the northeast of the country along with her child and a man.
August 3, 2016	ISIS publication al-Naba says that Sheikh Abu Musab al-Barnawi is the new leader of Boko Haram. A Boko Haram insider confirms to CNN that al-Barnawi, the son of the group's founder -- who was killed by Nigerian security forces in 2009 -- is in fact the new leader.
August 14, 2016	Boko Haram releases a video of some of the girls kidnapped in April 2014 and demands the release of Boko Haram fighters in exchange for the girls.
October 13, 2016	Boko Haram militants hand over 21 Chibok schoolgirls to authorities after a series of negotiations with the Nigerian government. It's the first mass release of any of the more than 200 girls and women kidnapped from their school in April 2014.
November 5, 2016	A Chibok schoolgirl carrying her 10-month-old son is found by the Nigerian army.
January 5, 2017	The Nigerian army says another missing Chibok girl and her six-month old baby have been located during an operation to arrest suspected Boko Haram terrorists.
January 17, 2017	Scores of people are killed when a Nigerian fighter jet mistakenly bombs a camp for the internally displaced during an operation in Rann against Boko Haram militants, according to Nigerian officials and the Red Cross. The Nigerian government provides no official death toll, but humanitarian aid group Doctors Without Borders says "about 90" people died.

May 6, 2017	Eighty-two Chibok schoolgirls are released after negotiations between Boko Haram and the Nigerian government.
February 19, 2018	A faction of Boko Haram raids the Government Girls Science and Technical College in the northeast Nigerian town of Dapchi, according to the state's police commissioner.
February 26, 2018	Nigeria's Ministry of Information and Culture issues a statement confirming that 110 girls from the Government Girls Science and Technical College are missing following the raid by Boko Haram.

- (Source: CNN, April 2, 2018)

The above data shows that Boko Haram has metamorphosed from a non-violent group to a full blown terrorist organization. The terror campaign became very intense after the first clash with the military that it looked so unhindered in any way.