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HOW NIGERIA CAN STOP BOKO HARAM AND SIMILAR GROUPS FROM DEVELOPING

Bachelor`s Thesis

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Tallinn 2016

I declare I have written the bachelor's thesis independently.

All works and major viewpoints of the other authors, data from other sources of literature and elsewhere used for writing this paper have been referenced.

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ABSTRACT

Boko Haram and the threat it poses to Nigeria and its surroundings is a contemporary and constantly developing issue. This study examined what is Boko Haram and how Nigeria can stop Boko Haram and similar groups from building up using the viewpoint of a constructivist international relations theory. The study responses to the questions that what methods Nigeria has used and uses and what it should use in order to achieve the desired outcome. Results showed that the government`s response to the threat was slow and inadequate for many years until the amount of victims and destruction surpassed a threshold. Since then the measures the government has taken have been promising but not enough to stop the violence; for example the infamous kidnapping of the schoolgirls in April 2014. Multiple possibilities for improvements exist both in counterterrorism methods and conduct of the army but also in the Nigerian society itself. The society of Nigeria is divided ethnically and religiously, and economic inequality in the country is considerable. More traditional but more effective counterterrorism methods would be recommended in short term, however in the longer term solving the number of social problems is a necessity in order to make the worldview that Boko Haram offers unattractive to all Nigerians.

Keywords: Boko Haram, Nigeria, Africa, terrorism, counterterrorism, inequality, army operations, government

INTRODUCTION

Africa today is probably more than ever developing forward and finally starting to fulfill the potential it has got. Some countries of the continent are on a faster track of development than others, which is only natural. Nigeria is one of those countries that has according to many estimations a possibility for a great future if the right steps are taken. Today Nigeria is a country of 182 million people, its population is expected to reach 413 million by the year 2050, and is also estimated that it is the third most populous country in the world by then. It is also the largest economy of Africa in 2015 with a GDP of $492 billion (The Economist 2015). Governance of Nigeria and its civil society are steadily developing though obviously not without problems. However serious threats also exist that have the potential to stop and destroy all the good that has been achieved in Nigeria. Possibly the most serious one today is the infamous radical Islamic group called Boko Haram.

Nigeria achieved independence from the British in 1960 but the newly formed government lasted only for a few years before a civil war broke out and the military took the power in 1966. Indeed the First Republic as it was then called was destroyed by a bloody military organized coup; and there were many more similar occurrences to happen in the future. Yakubu Gowon acted as the leader of the military government until 1975 when another coup, though bloodless this time, occurred. Murtala Mohammed came into power but his reign did not last long as he was murdered already in 1976. Military leader Olusegun Obasanjo acted as the head of state from 1976 to 1979 when he handed over power to Shehu Shagari. (Agbiboa, 2013) Obasanjo was to play an important role later in Nigerian history; he was democratically elected as President of Nigeria in 1999 and served in office until 2007.

In December 1983 another military coup was organized and president Shagari was overthrown. General Muhammadu Buhari came in to power for a period of two years. Also he has a larger role in the Nigerian history later; in 2015 he was elected as the President and is currently the head of state. Buhari himself had to face a coup in 1985 and Ibrahim Babangida took his place as the leader of the country. Babangida remained in power until 1993 when he had to resign due to pressure from the people who wanted a democratic government and a leader. A transitional government was put to place, however it lasted only three months and

once again a coup happened which lead to military taking over, this time led by General Sani Abacha. Abacha`s reign was marked by a considerable economic development; from 1993 to 1998 the GDP of Nigeria rose from $36 billion to $162 billion (International Monetary Fund 2015). Abacha died in June 1998, and it was during next leader Abdulsalami Abubakar`s reign that the new constitution which provided for multiparty elections was adopted. Abubakar resigned from power in May 1999 and previously mentioned Olusegun Obasanjo was democratically elected as President of Nigeria.

The whole history of independent Nigeria has been to some extent filled with violence and instability. Coups, more and less bloody, were prevalent during the decades of different military dictatorships since the 1960s. Around the whole Africa instability has been mostly the norm, but in the recent years particularly terrorism of different forms has been more and more commonplace. Especially since the late 1990s prevalence of terrorism has gone up; between 1997 and 2007 an estimated 522 acts of terrorism were recorded in Africa which resulted in 8477 injuries and 2614 fatalities. Indeed 73% of these acts of terrorism were domestic while only 27% were transnational. It could be thus argued that Africa is in a kind of war against itself. (Agbiboa 2013, 431) When it comes to Nigeria it could be said that the constant coups and military regimes left such a mark in the country that permanent change is quite difficult. The troublesome history casts it shadow to all attempts of development. Boko Haram continues the trend in many ways; besides aiming to religious purity Boko Haram has vowed to get rid of the so called hopelessly corrupt ruling elite.

Boko Haram, a radical Islamist group, originally formed in the late 1990s in northeastern Nigeria. The group officially calls itself "Jama'atul Alhul Sunnah Lidda'wati wal Jihad" which means People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet`s Teachings and Jihad, and Wilāyat Gharb Ifrīqīyyah which means Islamic State`s West African Province. Indeed the group or militant sect aims at Islamisation of Nigeria and rejects democracy and Western education and especially the Darwinian theory of evolution. The phrase Boko Haram means literally "Western education is forbidden" in Hausa which is common language in Nigeria and Niger alongside English. More precisely the term comes from a combination of the Hausa word for book "Boko" and the Arabic word for forbidden "Haram". (Agbiboa 2014, 54) However besides their name the group likes to broaden the term and considers all Western culture, not just education, forbidden. Modern state and government are contrary to Islamic values according to Boko Haram and that is why it is against those institutions. Umina Mahammadiya which means

Muslim faithful and Dar-ul-Islam which means the Islamic community are values that are in contradiction with the West according to the group and cannot be compromised. They blame the Western institutions for the so called evil in the society and thus modern state institutions like police, military and other government organizations and establishments must be destroyed. This kind of thinking goes hand in hand with establishing Sharia law in the society. (Agbiboa 2014)

In this paper after the introduction the theoretical background is contemplated in detail. Then comes the chapter that tells more closely about the establishment and growth of Boko Haram and how does the current situation look like. After that comes the longest chapter where the causes and also possible remedies for the Boko Haram problem are contemplated. Conclusions and recommendations follows lastly which gives the final summation for the paper.

The possibilities and potential that Nigeria has got makes this paper truly contemporary and valid. Africa is in the focus of many major powers and corporations today, and not just because of the considerable natural resources. If Nigeria rises to be the undisputed front-runner of Africa in the future it is important to get the whole picture of the situation that prevails today. The research question in this study is that *how Nigeria can stop Boko Haram and any similar groups from developing in the future*. Answering it requires analysis of many aspects of the past and current situation. Specific care is put to analyzing the social conditions that are one of the core reasons of the problems, however as important is the development of the state security so that it does not turn against itself as sometimes happens currently. It is no coincidence that Boko Haram has managed to exist so long even though it has committed horrendous acts towards the country, and this research tries to prove that. The research statement is that the solutions must wary from developing the state security to addressing the multitude of problems in the governance and society of Nigeria. Both short and long term goals must be put in place so that a logical road which to follow is achieved. This paper used qualitative research and secondary data analysis; most of the sources are from journal publications, books, magazines and newspaper articles and other publications. The data collection was done through electronic database-search, including EBSCOhost, Oxford Journals and also the library of Tallinn University of Technology. I would like to thank my family, friends and Mr. Ivar Hendla for their support during this endeavor.

1. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Constructivist approach has been increasingly popular in social sciences since the 1980s, and in 1989 Nicholas Onuf introduced the term also to the specific field of international relations. Since then it has appeared in use more and more frequently. Robert Jackson and Georg Sorensen define the theory as unique among the more materially focused counterparts in the sense that is has more of a social aspect to it. According to them most important aspect of international relations is social and not material. Human relations consist of ideas and thoughts and not necessarily of material conditions or forces. Everything that is involved in the social world of humans is also made by them and thus it is difficult to be really objective about things. Constructivists have a desire to probe deeper to conflicts in order to achieve a deeper understanding. Still a deeper truth is challenging and maybe impossible to achieve according to them, especially in contrast to natural sciences where the facts are usually absolute. Constructivists argue that it is crucial to account for the social reality before making conclusions about any issue. (Jackson, Sørensen 2013, 211)

The theory is also often called social constructivism which highlights the importance of the social aspect. The theory can be applied in general social sciences and also in specific international relations scenarios. In this study the general social sciences approach is especially used as the research question while having also an international aspect mainly is focused to the situation that prevails inside Nigeria. Boko Haram has an Islamic agenda that has many counterparts near and far around the world, but the problem is ultimately Nigeria`s own and can be solved only by the country itself. According to constructivism and what is also argued in this study is that the people in Nigeria are living in the situation that is prevailing and are thus much more capable of defining the core reasons for the issues than any outside entity. The solutions must too be unique to Nigeria and cannot be forced by an outside influence. As the problem also has many roots deep into the Nigerian society the solutions must be done and implemented so that all Nigerians agree with them and not just the people in power. The ideas that how Nigeria should be governed, what the country should be like and what are the goals for the future should be reasonably similar in all levels of society otherwise the clashes between different parts of the society will continue to happen. This important aspect is taken into account

and explained further in the study. The fact that Nigerian citizens themselves have all the possibilities to change the situation for the better and that no outside force dictates that the situation has to be the way it is today is also a message that is put forward throughout the paper.

1.1 Contemplating the viewpoint

During the study improvements both in the counterterrorism measures and in the governance and society are proposed as the measures that how Boko Haram can be stopped and that no similar factions would rise in the future in Nigeria. This is not entirely traditional approach, often just the counterterrorism methods are highlighted while the probable underlying conditions are deemed less important. Newman (2006, 749) argues that some analysist do not even want to consider the root causes as he calls them because there might be legitimate causes or reasons behind terrorist acts even though their methods are unacceptable. According to him analysis that does not go deep into the causes of terrorism might be even harmful if it is used as recommendation. Indeed it is wise to contemplate all levels of the problem and make recommendations on that basis. In the case of Nigeria the situation is clearer as the terrorist acts are done mainly by its own citizens against its own citizens. The reasons for such actions thus have to be very severe and deep, even if the country is ethnically and religiously diverse. When actions are taken towards other countries, like for example how ISIS also torments the Western states, the reasons may be less clear and more inclined to have something to do with religious differences and power, even though Boko Haram also does have those elements. However will for power and religious differences are not good enough reasons to explain why young Nigerians en masse join Boko Haram voluntarily and even more people support it especially in the poorer areas of the country. This dilemma is the focus of this study.

Still traditional views of terrorism as mostly religious fanaticism are often on point, and this study tries to argue that the infamous cases in the Middle East where that kind of thinking is perhaps more prevalent cannot be straightly compared to Boko Haram and Nigeria even though there are many connections. The author as well as most of the literature concerning the subject avoids to use the term civil war when describing the situation in Nigeria even though it might be justified from a certain perspective. However brainwashing is a term that is used a lot in the literature concerning Boko Haram, and while it is no doubt close to the truth the author

still feels that it whitewashes the responsibility and motivations of the people that decide to join the group. Then again considerable amount of people are more or less forced to join. The counterterrorism methods that Nigeria has used which have focused to use of force and state security have had positive effects as this study will show, although in many cases many innocent civilians have been harmed by the army. Danger exists in use of force against terrorism; the War on Terror that the United States started after the 9/11 attacks has had at best mixed result although it has prevented large scale attacks to the country since. Improvements of state security measures are thus vital in the case of Nigeria, but with combination of other improvements in the society and governance. Morrison (2014, 374) criticizes the counterterrorism infrastructure that has been established during the last decade in the United States. According to him surveillance and spreading fear and distrust do not help catching the real threat among the innocent citizens. They might even provide many false positives. Still he acknowledges that it is necessary to some extent raise the level of security and surveillance when facing a terrorist threat as serious as the Western countries today are. While the security and surveillance system in Nigeria is not as advanced it is still noteworthy to address the mistakes the United States and other Western states have made concerning counterterrorism, and try to learn from them. What is common to both Nigeria and the United States is the consensus among people that the counterterrorism measures taken have gone too far and into the wrong direction. The citizens often have the best knowledge of what is wrong and thus this study gives a lot of weight to the opinions of Nigerian citizens.

But would it be a good approach if Nigeria would just continue on the current road and only improve the counterterrorism methods it uses today which mainly includes the use of force in different forms? On the surface possibly more results would be seen if the army operations would be handled better but the discontent of the poorer Nigerians would continue to exist. Certainly we can see today that the army has managed to hinder the growth of Boko Haram and push it back in many places, hypothetically speaking if Nigeria would have more foreign support the results could even be better just with the military operations. However the author believes that when you try to push on with that approach only the problem will never be truly solved and the country just risks further bloodshed. It is also the simpler solution; military victories make for good newspaper headlines both domestically and internationally. It is more difficult to acknowledge especially to foreigners that issues exist inside the country which to some extent promote the creation of groups like Boko Haram. Of course it has to be

acknowledged that the kind of thinking that this study proposes has not yet been seen in Africa by large, and perhaps that is why it is so important topic today not just for Nigeria but for other African countries that could follow the same footsteps. Probably most people in the West would like to see a prosperous and successful Africa which would be beneficial for both Africans themselves and also other people around the world not just economically but also for security reasons. Stable and prosperous Africa that is governed by the people there themselves could not be taken advantage of as easily as is perhaps done today. The continent itself could benefit from its massive natural resources and not just provide the wealth elsewhere. When looking at the difficult and even tragic history of Africa especially after the Europeans arrived it is perhaps difficult to contemplate a more prosperous future to the continent, however all possibilities are there and progress that has never been seen before has already been made. Thus this study is a small drop of water to the pond that will hopefully in the future result in Africa that is most of all a good place to live for its citizens.

Krieger and Meierrieks (2010, 6) give in their study seven possible reasons for terrorism and in the case of Boko Haram we can see arguably traits from all of them. First one they mentioned is economic deprivation or poverty more precisely which is rampant in the north-eastern Nigeria and one of the key things this study discusses. Second one is modernization which according to them creates all kind of problems. New ideas is one explicit problem they mention and indeed in the case of Boko Haram Western education which can be viewed as new and progressive is one of the main things that the group wants to forbid not to mention other Western influences. Third and fourth ones are political and institutional order and political transformation and instability. While in Nigeria the government has been democratically elected since the year 1999 corruption and inefficiency are considerable problems that do not help to alleviate the problem and which are also discussed in this study. Fifth reason mentioned is identity and cultural clash; indeed Nigeria is divided to Christian South and Muslim North and also in other ways that will be mentioned further. Sixth possible cause is global economic and political order; it refers to the global situation that may be fostering terrorism. Indeed Boko Haram`s international connections do exist and are discussed further but most of all the problem is domestic. Last one Krieger and Meierrieks mention is contagion which means that the terrorist activities that are started in one country may move to a neighboring one quite easily. From all of the seven points this one suits least well to the case at hand, although terrorism generally has been seen in Africa for decades. All of the seven reasons could be found to a large

extent from the case at hand and will also be contemplated in detail further in the paper. It shows that the Boko Haram case has many classical elements to it that can be generalized as common reasons for terrorism, however also more unique aspects exist which are in focus further.

2. BOKO HARAM AND ITS BIRTH

2.1 Establishment and growth

The first leader of Boko Haram was Mohammed Yusuf, he was born in 1970 and during his youth received instruction about Salafi radicalism and was influenced by Turkish Islamic scholar Ibn Taymiyyah. He studied Qur'an in Niger and Sudan and it was during that time when he started developing more radical views about the Western world and Islam. Afterwards he came back to Nigeria in 2001 and set up a sectarian group which was named Yusufiyya after his own name. At first it included only a mosque and a school in his hometown to where many poor families across Nigeria and other neighboring countries enrolled their children. However the ulterior goals of Yusuf became evident soon; his operation quickly developed and the training of fighters came into the picture. (Agbiboa 2013, 433 & Adegbulu 2013) Even if Yusuf might be called a charismatic leader it could be argued that he himself did not live the same lifestyle that he preached to others. During his heyday before his death in 2009 when he was the commander in chief or so called Amir ul-Aam of Boko Haram Yusuf was claimed to possess exotic cars and jeeps, sending his children to private schools to receive quality education. Also Yusuf had professional doctors and lawyers who took good care of him. Despite all of these luxuries which were and are far away from the hands of an ordinary member of Boko Haram and ordinary Nigerians also, Yusuf was able to indoctrinate so many people and remain as their leader. (Adegbulu 2013, 267) Indeed the hypocrisy of Mohammed Yusuf was at a unique level; in almost every way his life was an imitation of the Western success but still he chose to preach against all that when it came to the group he lead. However evidently all of this had very little effect to his success among the supporters. It might have even encouraged some that were after a wealthier lifestyle.

When Mohammed Yusuf was captured by the police in 2009 the government considered that a major success despite that he died in uncertain circumstances shortly afterwards. The exact conditions of Yusuf`s death have never been revealed, and some people even claim that his death was arranged by some government employees that were afraid that their names would come up when Yusuf would be asked about government connections. Interrogation of Yusuf

might have provided valuable information about Boko Haram that could have been used against it and thus the escalation of the problem might have been avoided. (Adegbulu 2013, 268) In any case Yusuf was quickly replaced in the power structure of Boko Haram, and the group did not change it direction to better but to rather worse when it comes to ruthlessness and ambition.

From the beginning Boko Haram has constituted of a wide array of people from different professions and social classes. For example bankers, university teachers, political elites exist in Boko Haram as well as drug addicts, unemployed people and criminals. Still mostly the group consists of people that are disappointed to the corruption and poorness and overall lack of possibilities that Nigeria offers them. Though some cynically argue that the group is split in two factions; one consists of people who are out to implement their twisted version of Islam to everyone while the other consists of mostly criminals that are out to spread destruction for their own self-interest. Many of the members are drawn from Kanuri tribe which consist of largely of the descents of the Kanem-Bornu Empire that existed for more than a thousand years until 1900 in the areas of the modern Nigeria and Chad. (Agbiboa 2014, 55) Today the Kanuri people constitute little more than 4% of the overall Nigerian population and they are spread mostly around the northeastern states of Nigeria. Situation in the areas where Boko Haram gets most support is not good; access to education is not secured, unemployment is rampant and young people generally lack opportunities and hope. Leaders of the group take advantage of the situation and advertise themselves as an opportunity for better future. Wildly differing estimations about the amount of Boko Haram fighters and core members exist; however most often used numbers seem to be around 10 000. The amount of people that are passively or actively supporting their actions is in all likelihood many times larger.

When it comes to spreading destruction and violence Boko Haram has a wide array of methods in its use. It has access to many kinds of weapons including guns and bombs. In fact it has been reported that the group has been running an illegal bomb-making factory in multiple places, such as Ibrahim Rintiya Street in Kaduna and in the city of Maiduguri. The group often attacks into specific places like shopping complexes and markets, government establishments, security personnel and their home bases, banks and churches. (Osumah, Aghedo 2012, 859) The violent operations of Boko Haram started on 23 December 2003 when it launched an attack against police stations and public buildings in towns of Geiam and Kanamma in Yobe State. After the attacks they rose a flag of Afghanistan's Taliban movement over their camp. Still

soon after the police and soldiers managed to push back the group. (Osumah, Aghedo 2012, 865)

However Boko Haram was just getting started; in the year 2009 the group killed 250 people, and since then the numbers have just gone up. To a large extent the danger of Boko Haram lies in its coordination, sophistication and the willingness to push its ideas at whatever the cost. Contrary to the earlier and smaller rebel groups that have operated in Nigeria Boko Haram seems to be ready and willing to use violence towards everybody from politicians and public figures to enterprises and private citizens. Boko Haram often targets its attacks against the minority of Christians that live in the Northern Nigeria. Also no other group had used suicide bombers in Nigeria before Boko Haram introduced them. When it comes to the goal of Islamization controversy exists even inside the group itself not to mention in the other Nigerians. (Osumah, Aghedo 2012) Many Muslims that are not members of Boko Haram seem to consider the group to be filled with extremist and their acts not in line with proper Islam.

The themes that combine the members besides the Islamization of the Nigerian state that the group advocates are fight against poverty and bad leadership in Nigeria. Nigerian economy has had an upward trend for the last decades, and the country is today the fifth largest OPEC oil producer and an important oil exporter to the United States and other Western countries. Indeed today the revenues from oil exporting are sustaining the state as they account for 98 percent of export earnings and 95 percent of the government`s income. However despite the considerable natural resources of the country income inequality is rampant and seriously divides Nigerian society. 67 percent of Nigerian citizens live in poverty with under $1.25 a day. Also geographical differences exist; the northeastern part of the country from where Boko Haram gets most of its members is much poorer than the other parts. The poverty rate of the North-East is 72.2 percent compared to 27 percent in the South. Infrastructure is worse compared to the rest of the country as well as the unemployment level. (Osumah, Aghedo 2012, 861 & Adegbulu 2013) Also a sharp religious polarity exists; Southern Nigerians are mostly Christians while the Northerners are predominantly Muslims. Thus when observed more closely the reasons for the formation of Boko Haram are quite ordinary and to some extent even understandable even if their actions have brought unlimited suffering to the Nigerian people. While the group attracts also successful and educated members most of the people are jobless young people with usually little education and a poor background. Feelings of socioeconomic

injustice, lack of possibilities and hope for the future and human insecurity are combining factors between the members.

The difficult conditions even compared to the rest of Nigeria which is still strictly a developing country provide a good basis for anti-state organizations such as Boko Haram. Many studies have shown that large amounts of poverty and unemployment often create a mass of people that have the potential to participate in violent activities with only a little incentive (Osumah, Aghedo 2012). This group of people is sometimes also useful to the politicians and leaders who can make the group act according to their own self interests. Table 1. shows the results of questionnaires that Iro Aghedo and Oarhe Osumah gave to academics, security operatives, journalists and politicians in four northern Nigerian state capitals. The results are in agreement with the themes of this paper and show that ending the perceived bad leadership and poverty alleviation are among the top reasons for the motivations of the members of the group. Still Islamization and abolition of western education are listed equally high which shows that people really expect the group to implement their threats.

Table 1. People`s opinions about the motivations of Boko Haram

Boko Haram is fighting for	Percentage agreeing
End to bad leadership	84
Abolition of western education	82
The making of Nigeria an Islamic state	78
Poverty alleviation	72
Abolition of democracy	42

Source: (Osumah, Aghedo, 2012, 860)

The socioeconomic crises that have plagued Nigeria through the decades have hindered the development of the country considerably, and most of the blame has been placed to the politicians and leaders of the country. Since the independence the various military regimes and corrupt governments have left the citizens distrustful and disappointed and even angry. The profits from the considerable natural resources are not divided fairly between the citizens but rather go to the small percentage of the rich people in the country. Besides the rampant

corruption throughout the decades the various regimes and leaders have not been able to develop totally properly working society among the diverse ethnic and religious components in the country. The biggest ethnic groups that exists in the country are the Christian Igbo, the Muslim Hausa–Fulani, and the Yoruba, and besides them there are over 250 smaller ethnic groups in Nigeria such as the Kanuri tribe from which many members of Boko Haram originate. Still as previously mentioned the biggest problems exist between the Christians and Muslims. Indeed it is common in Africa that countries have a wide variety of different ethnicities inside them as the borders were not originally drawn them in mind.

During the history of independent Nigeria multiple cases of religious clashes between the citizens have been a reality. For example the sharia problem, which split the Constituent Assembly in 1977/78, the Maitatsine Riots of the 1980s, registration of the country as a full member of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) in 1986 and the Shiite Muslim extremists' announcement not to recognize any un-Islamic governments in 1991. The actions of Boko Haram and their fight against Christianity and its values are a continuation of this trend. Since the group began their attacks they have caused great concern for Nigerian government and leaders. However condemnation from Nigerian government representatives has not been uniform and some have even unofficially supported Boko Haram. Three ex-governors and a currently serving governor of some northern states have been indicted for aiding the group. Also some of the highest leaders of the group have confessed of being on the payroll of a few northern governors. (Osumah, Aghedo 2012, 862) The apparent support that some Nigerian officials have showed towards Boko Haram might not however have the same reasons as the people from the Northeastern part of the country have. Possibly they are interested in taking advantage of the situation and securing more power for themselves.

Since the democratic government came into power in 1999 political power gradually shifted from the North to the South and from Muslims to Christians. Naturally the shift was against the wishes of the northern elite. To many people links that Boko Haram has with the official leaders of the country make the operation of the group more legitimate. Links to high-level Islamic religious leaders also legitimize the mission of the group and make it easier to attract new followers with strong resolve to the group. Also it is easier then to motivate members to make harder sacrifices and even kill themselves in suicide bombings. The arguable bravery that the group has to commit its actions comes also not just from the high level supporters but also from the considerable armament which has been mentioned before. The

armament has been obtained from different sources, such as smuggling operations and multiple robberies of different armories. Indeed it is no problem to transport arms trough the borders of Nigeria, as the border control is not in a very good level. The Nigerian police in itself is not able to handle properly these kinds of terrorist threats partly because of the inefficiency but also because of the corruption in the governance. (Osumah, Aghedo 2012) The internal security of the state is notorious of having commonly co-operated with terrorists and criminals on multiple occasions. The problem of corruption in Nigeria is considerable which will be discussed further in the study. It has a considerable role in the establishment of Boko Haram and why the group has been able to operate for so long.

One issue that has caused concern internationally is Boko Haram`s connections to other terrorist groups. One of the more alarming connections is to a1-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb or AQIM, a regional terrorist network that operates in North Africa, and also more recently to ISIS. The organizations possibly share funds, weapons and explosive materials but there is no proof that ISIS would have provided any training for Boko Haram. These connections might prove to be more harmful than positive for Boko Haram because ISIS is considered to be a global threat today, and thus Nigeria might receive much more foreign support in the future for its fight against Boko Haram. Boko Haram thus far has focused to change the situation in Nigeria, and its members are mostly local Nigerians; both factors sharply differentiate it from ISIS. (Sillanpaa 2015 & Taylor 2014, 5) Still it must be acknowledged that connections to al-Qaida and ISIS are very beneficial for the group not just because of the possible assistance but also because of the moral support. All the groups are on a mission to spread radical Islam around their areas of operation, and co-operation very likely is in the minds of many of their leaders.

Boko Haram has increasingly targeted Western and foreign citizens and its neighboring countries in its operations especially after 2013 although the numbers are still very low. Foreign citizens have been kidnapped and they have suffered injuries in captivity, and some have even died. In November 2013 the State Department of the United States even designated Boko Haram as Foreign Terrorist Organization. (Sillanpaa 2015) Attacks against people from the West give more reasons for Western leaders to treat Boko Haram as comparable threat to ISIS, and thus justify supporting Nigeria in its fight. Indeed while the group today poses threat mostly to Nigeria locally the current leader of the group, Abubakar Shekau, has directly threatened the United States. Shekau rose to a leading position in the group after Mohammed Yusuf died in 2009. Before Yusuf`s death Shekau acted as a deputy leader in the group. As a leader Shekau

has followed more or less the footsteps of his predecessor, and has certainly been no less cruel. Even less information exists about him than did about Yusuf, and to a large extent the knowledge about him and his ideas is collected from the videos that are posted about him in steady intervals. (Hall 2015) Those videos consist largely of Shekau boasting about his coming victories and how the West will fall under Islamic rule. However the act that possibly made Shekau and certainly Boko Haram infamous around the world was the abduction of Nigerian female students in 2014. It is debatable how important the leadership has been to success of Boko Haram since its establishment. Terrorist group such as Boko Haram usually needs a leader who is to some extent charismatic and able to make the members believe in the twisted goals and methods that the group advocates. When looking at the two leaders that the group has had thus far it sometimes seems that ruthlessness and hypocrisy are the most important qualities required.

2.2 Abduction of Nigerian female students in 2014

One of the main thing that Boko Haram opposes is Western education. Christianity and secular education are a stark contrast to the values that Boko Haram wants to impose and thus schools are one of the main targets for the group. Since 2012 there has been an increase in school burnings and overall destruction of schools and their property in Nigeria. Nigerian government had to even shut down schools in March 2014 because of the growing threat. However actions of the government were not enough to stop the abduction of almost three hundred female students from the Chibok Government Girls Secondary School during the night between 14 and 15 of April in 2014.

Most of the girls abducted were high school seniors between the ages of sixteen and eighteen. Around April 2014 most schools in Chibok area were closed due to the Boko Haram threat but the Chibok Government Girls Secondary School was chosen to be opened for a few days so that students of the whole Chibok area could gather and do their final exams. Despite the security measures two hundred Boko Haram fighters that were disguised as Nigerian soldiers attacked the school and were quickly able to overcome the outnumbered security forces. After that the group tried to kidnap as many girls as it could, only about fifty managed

to escape during the attack. (Hall 2015) Afterwards some bits of information have come out of the conditions and suffering of the girls. In some videos released afterwards it was said that the girls were converted to Islamic faith and some of them forced into marriage with Boko Haram members. The leader Shekau even said that Allah had told him to sell off the kidnapped girls and women as forced brides. Threats and torture has been allegedly used in order to make the girls follow Boko Haram`s version of Islamic religion. Some of the girls have been radicalized and trained as fighters for the group. (Smith 2015)

Even if Boko Haram had operated years before this incident and caused a lot of damage it was this abduction that really made the group and the danger attached to it known around the world. Soon after the attack many world leaders were quick to condemn it; Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and UNICEF demanded an immediate release of the girls. The news reached around the world and considerable pressure was appointed not just towards Boko Haram but also to Nigerian government and its inefficiency in handling the situation. Also many Muslim leaders around the world condemned the attack; the Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia said that Boko Haram is set up to smear the image of Islam. (Aboudi 2014) It seems to have been rare up to that point that that any Muslim leaders would criticize militant violence made in the name of Islam by Boko Haram or any other group. However the seriousness of the crimes apparently forced them to react, the problems that it created are discussed further in this study.

Not much progress has been achieved in the matter since the abduction took place; some negotiations between Boko Haram and the Nigerian government have taken place and exchange of prisoners was proposed, but nothing visible has happened thus far. Some are suspecting that the group wants to hold the girls as a last bargaining chip in case something goes wrong for them. One other issue is that because it is possible that many of the girls and women held by the group have been raped a problematic stigma has formed from the point of view of some Nigerians, and it is difficult to overcome it in Nigeria's highly religious and conservative society. (Smith 2015) The girls and women have been now in captivity for more than a year and a half, and even if because of a prisoners exchange or other reason they would be freed the process back to living a normal life would be probably quite long. The Western media has largely forgotten the matter, and it serves as a good example that how little is achieved if proper political will does not exist. Also on the other hand the case and its aftermath show the inability of the Nigerian government to properly solve the issue and the result is that the lives of over two hundred girls were most likely permanently ruined.

3. FIGHT AGAINST BOKO HARAM AND TERRORISM

Boko Haram has been troubling Nigeria for more than a decade now, but despite the efforts not nearly enough success has been seen in tackling the issue. During the years the group has grown bigger and more ruthless, and ready to do almost anything in order to further its own goals. The group has already caused immeasurable damage to Nigeria, its government, people, society and also international reputation. When Boko Haram gained influence after its birth in 2003 the reactions of the Nigerian government were quite mild. No proper courses of action were taken, and when the violence escalated in 2009 then President Umaru Yar'Adua was totally unprepared to handle the problem. After the violence the President decided to set up a Commission of Inquiry headed by then National Security Adviser to the President, General Abdul Sarki Mukhtar. However traditionally and as it also happened in this case, Commission of Inquiry was not particularly successful in solving anything. Indeed often enough the results that the commissions find never see the light of day or are not even ever finished. The Nigerian citizens themselves are also aware of this way of operating, and believe that when the government sets up a Commission of Inquiry it really just wants to hide and make the public forgot the perceived unpleasant issue. (Adegbulu 2013, 267) The Commission of Inquiry about Boko Haram is still open and it could be argued that it is a good example on one hand of the corruption that exists in the Nigerian government and on the other hand the fact that some people inside the Nigerian governance are actually supporting Boko Haram or at least not against it.

Table 2. is another result of the questionnaires that Aghedo and Osumah conducted in northern Nigeria, and it shows people`s perceptions why Boko Haram has managed to be so successful and long-lasting. The shortcomings of the security operations and religious reasons were those that most people agreed on. It shows how deep role Islam and the religious differences play in the problem, and also how little confidence the people have to the Nigerian army and to the operations it has conducted.

Table 2. People`s perceptions about the factors that have helped Boko Haram

Boko Haram has been successful in its operations because of	Percentage agreeing
Weakness of security operations	78
Religious belief	70
Foreign support	62
Co-militias support	38
Popular support	10

Source: (Osumah, Aghedo, 2012, 863)

It is not wise to underestimate the importance of Boko Haram and its actions to the Islamic world. The Sultan and Emirs in Nigeria that are not associated with Boko Haram are in a difficult position. They do not want to be affiliated too closely with the group. The use of violence not to mention the death and suffering it has caused is deplorable and unacceptable according to them. Besides closer association with the group would mean even worse relations with the Christians in Nigeria. The fact that Boko Haram has destroyed many churches in Nigeria not to mention its whole anti-Christian agenda has only made worse the already quite bad relations between the two religious communities. Thus Emirs and the Sultan want to make clear that no co-operation between them and Boko Haram exists. If there would be evidence of this kind of co-operation Emirs and the Sultan would risk being labelled as sympathizers of Islamic extremism which would further add to the tensions. Still viewpoints of Boko Haram are looked favorably in many parts of Nigeria; the groups offers a simplistic and radical vision of Islam that is quite easy to understand. Their vision cuts world into clear good and bad parts and offers simple steps how to take action in order to fight the perceived bad. (Hill 2013, 241) Indeed the Sultan and Emirs seem to offer an established and more traditional understanding of Islam which may be harder to understand for those that are not interested in studying the real teachings of Islam. Young people probably are more susceptible to this which may be one reason why Boko Haram is so effectively recruiting them. Thus the Sultan and Emirs should try to appear more inviting to the younger Muslims in Nigeria. Otherwise their message will not be heard and Boko Haram`s version of Islam will continue to be popular.

Lack of education is another issue at the core of the problem, and from lack of education possibilities mostly comes the lack of hope among the young people. Many young people in

the north-eastern area are faced with a difficult situation where they are not given the tools to rise from their poor background, and that is why membership of Boko Haram seems like the best way to survive in life. The relatively short history of independent Nigeria does not give any straight answers to the current problem as it is to a large extent filled with constantly changing military governments and only a short period of democratic rule since 1999. The only thing that we can learn from looking back to the history is that conflicts and disruptions have been to a certain extent common in the Nigerian society during its independence so it may be difficult to get totally rid of them even if all apparent problems would be solved. Countering terrorism in Nigeria or anywhere in Africa cannot be solved with exactly same methods that are used for example in Europe because of the differences in history and overall situations. The following chapters will focus more closely to the specific problems, and also to the solutions that are required.

3.1 Defining terrorism in Nigeria

Countering terrorism is today arguably one of the most topical issues in the world, and the situation is not probably going to change soon. Different countries have varying approaches to the problem, and what seems to work in one country may be counterproductive in another. Still some common factors exist between all cases of terrorism even though the very term is not precisely defined. Nigeria`s way to counter Boko Haram and terrorism thus far has focused mostly on preventing consequences rather than focusing on the other existing problems. Some attempts of the government have even been closer to despair than a real solution. For example in April 2013 the government of Nigeria tried to mitigate the issue by offering an amnesty to Boko Haram without getting anything in return for it. Boko Haram was already then notorious for extreme violence and total disregard for the lives of others. Naturally the amnesty offer that the government proposed was dismissed straight away, which in turn made the government look desperate. However some progress has happened lately; for example when psychologist Fatima Akilu was appointed to find out how to reach young people in schools before they turn to Boko Haram, which is discussed further in the study. When it comes to rampant inequality and social problems blaming the government is probably justified. However the more the north-eastern part of Nigeria falls into the hands of Boko Haram the more difficult it is for the

government to develop it and invite investments there. Indeed even if eradication of poverty is not necessarily typical measure to counter terrorism it is one of the key issues that Nigeria has to tackle if it wants to solve the problem permanently.

Even though Nigeria has all the reasons to use all means it has to counter Boko Haram the measures that Nigeria has used and uses are sometimes comparable to the crudeness of the group itself which arouses many issues. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) has acknowledged that protection of individuals is fundamental obligation of the government because security of the individual itself is a basic human right. However after the attacks on the United States in September 2001 the United Nations and other organizations have criticized the harshness of the measures that are sometimes taken around the world in different countries. The OHCHR co-ordinates international efforts in order to ensure that the measures different countries take against terrorism comply with the international and regional treaties. (Sampson 2015, 26)

Terrorism is a quite difficult concept to define precisely. Boko Haram meets all the conditions that define a terrorist group in the Terrorist Prevention Act or the TPA that Nigeria came up with in 2011. Still can it be argued that the actions of Boko Haram are in accordance with the classical definition of terrorism? Indeed international definitions and local definitions of terrorism often may vary greatly. Local definitions of terrorism in different countries reflect their local historical, social, political and legal contexts. These factors also usually define how terrorism is countered in any particular country. Different countries in different time periods might not even condemn a certain act as terrorism while others do it without hesitation. Thus Nigeria deemed it necessary to come up with the TPA in order to classify the unprecedented actions of Boko Haram strictly as acts of terrorism. The TPA overlaps with multiple other criminal laws in Nigeria which creates new problems in courts of law because the line between terrorism and ordinary criminality has been made less clear. (Sampson 2015, 29) By creating the TPA Nigeria has had to widen its definition of terrorism greatly because as previously discussed Boko Haram represents a variety of agendas and pursues them with various, though usually illegal, means. Thus it is difficult to draw the line between terrorism and criminality in the case of Nigeria.

It is usually commonly agreed that terrorism strikes at the very heart of existential values and is a global threat to the rule of law, democracy, human rights and all around stability of life. However methods that states use must be proportional and without discrimination towards

anyone. Nigeria is a member of the United Nations and the African Union and is so bound with all resolutions made by UN General Assembly, UN Security Council and the African Union. Thus Nigeria must obey also all resolutions made by those organizations that deal with counter-terrorism and human rights protection. So far Nigeria has failed to establish policy on guidelines that how exactly terrorism is to be countered there. Only thing that resembles that is National Counter-Terrorism Strategy 2012 or NACTEST which is still not implemented. (Sampson 2015, 36)

Constructivism as a theory focuses to the social causes behind problems, and in this study that viewpoint is used when counterterrorism methods are discussed. The measures that will be mentioned further in this study come from the assumption that the problems that Boko Haram thrives on can only be solved by combination of proper state security measures and solving the issues that hinder Nigerian society. While the actions of Boko Haram are quite clearly terrorism the group consists mostly of impressionable young Nigerian people that have for multitude of reasons chosen a destructive way of showing their discontent. While it is no justification of their actions it gives a context to the situation and thus a better possibilities to find workable solutions. When all of the reasons are understood counterterrorism becomes more effective and not just a good guess. The coming examples in the paper will show that the Nigerian society has a lot to do if it wants to make sure that never again groups similar to Boko Haram would find support. One combining factor is corruption which makes the operation of the government and army more difficult and less effective. Thus it one of the key issues that must be improved on; when the amount of corruption is diminished the problem will get better from all sides. Other solutions that are discussed are more focused and have the aim of solving one piece of the puzzle. The combination of working state security and alleviating social problems is an effective way of approaching the situation, and if done correctly Nigeria should be safe from further Boko Haram threat or rise of similar groups in the future.

3.2 Help through education

Since the onset of the problem the focus of the Nigerian government has been on countering the problem with violence rather than inventing more sustainable solutions. Education opportunities and possibilities in Nigeria have not been good enough and it has had an effect also in the popularity of Boko Haram in the northeastern part of the country. However the government took recently more effective steps in the issue when a psychologist Fatima Akilu was appointed as Director of Behavioural Analysis and Strategic Communication in the office of Nigeria's National Security Advisor.

Dr. Akilu got her PhD from the United Kingdom, and worked as a youth worker in London and in a psychiatric hospital in Washington. However recently she started studying an extremely dangerous group of unpredictable and desperate people; members of Boko Haram. Dr. Akilu was noticed by the Nigerian officials when she wrote a series of articles to Nigerian newspapers where she campaigned that Nigerian children should be able to read at least 100 books a year. She designed a program called Countering Violent Extremism which has a totally different approach of solving the problem. (Freeman 2015) She commented that before the start of the program mainly solutions that involved the military were tried against Boko Haram without taking into account the other aspects. However now they are trying to look into what the message of Boko Haram is and then finding a way how to get different one across the people. The program is trying to reach young people in schools and also in jails who are in the risk group of becoming members of Boko Haram. They are trying to focus on educating the risk group, however lack of education for young people is its own problem as well as almost nine million children in Nigeria still go with very little or no schooling every year. (Freeman 2015) Indeed the twisted world view that Boko Haram offers which contradicts even the most basic laws of nature is more easily swallowed by those young people that have had very little education. Dr. Akilu seems to believe that true Muslims with some interpretation of Islam can debunk the twisted views, but the young people with relatively little religious instructing have much more difficulty.

Still the lack of education is only one of many problems that make the membership of Boko Haram to seem a viable option to so many young people. Dr. Akilu draws comparison to the situation in United Kingdom where in many places young Muslims feel marginalized. In Nigeria the situation is similar but many times worse; in the north-east people are truly poor

and the situation that the young people are facing is an unfair one. She also comments on the current leader of the group General Shekau whose measures seem to be almost on a psychopathic level more often than not. She says that Shekau comes across as extremely unstable person, but adds that it might be partially because of the extreme stress he is bearing. Also as part of the research that Dr. Akilu and her department are conducting a documentary film charting Boko Haram's rise over the past decade was made. During the making of the film the researchers tracked down former classmates of Shekau from a rural village on the border between Nigeria and Niger. According to Dr. Akilu Shekau`s childhood friends said that he was very unstable and erratic figure. (Freeman 2015) Psychological instability would certainly explain the multitude of ruthless acts that Shekau and other Boko Haram leaders are capable of.

Proper education that warns young people of the dangers that come with Boko Haram, and education overall, are invaluable methods in making the situation better. Access to education means possibility and hope for a better future and is in direct contradiction to the message of Boko Haram which surely is not a coincidence. Dr. Akilu`s work is crucial in order to get the correct message through the millions of young people in Nigeria. The government`s steps are correct but much more must be done overall in the field of education possibilities so that not even in the poorer northeastern states young people feel that they are not given a proper chance. If the chance is given and studying encouraged, the message of ignorance that Boko Haram so strongly advocates is more easily beaten.

3.3 The army and the Joint Task Force

When the influence of Boko Haram grew and damage became more and more serious the Federal Government established in 2011 a Special Joint Military Task Force, known as Operation Restore Order which is also known as the Joint Task Force or the JTF. It comprises of personnel and officers of the Nigerian Army, Nigerian Air force, Nigerian Navy, Nigerian Police and the State Security Service. The Joint Task Force was stationed at Maiduguri and it was given the mandate to neutralize the Boko Haram threat in the north-eastern region of Nigeria where it has been most prevalent. However the government has still been accused of being unable to develop the army or the JTF so that it could properly defend the citizens from

Boko Haram. The army has been blamed of overlooking the rise of Boko Haram, and also of random use of force, torturing innocent civilians, and being unwilling to confront Boko Haram fighters. However the army itself says that there are many factors which make the situation difficult to resolve. For example the troops are trained for conventional warfare and also for peacekeeping operations. (Sampson 2015, 38) Hostage situations and combatting hundreds of fanatical members of Boko Haram were challenging for the army especially a few years ago when the threat was new and threats of that size had never hit Nigeria before. Thus the army has been forced to learn on the go and many mistakes they have made have been inevitable according to them. Also other practical difficulties exist like the size of the three states Adamawa, Borno and Yobe in the north-eastern Nigeria where Boko Haram is the strongest. The combined are of these three states is 153,317 km2 which is almost half the area of Finland. All of those states are filled with villages and towns, markets and forests with millions of inhabitants, so it is no easy task to seek out fighters and militants who are cleverly disguised among the ordinary people. Especially because the army has only a very limited amount of airplanes and helicopters at disposal. (New African 2015, 39)

In fact the problem of limited resources permeates to some extent the whole Nigerian army. Some soldiers have complained that their equipment is no match for those of the Boko Haram fighters who are often enough heavily armed and very determined in their cause. In the beginning of 2015 Nigeria's former Chief of Defence Staff, General Martin Luther Agwai said that the army of Nigeria is properly equipped to fight yesterday's war. But the problem is not just the lack of equipment. Their situation could be even compared with the experiences of British with the IRA in Northern Ireland. Historically military actions have not traditionally been too successful against insurgencies when the causes lie deep in the society. General Agwai did comment also on this topic and said that "You can never solve any of these problems with military solutions...It is a political issue; it is a social issue; it is an economic issue; and until these issues are addressed, the military can never give you a solution." (New African 2015, 40) Indeed he is probably quite justifiably transferring the responsibility away from the Nigerian military because after all they are bound by the orders and wishes of the government and on the other hand the overall situation in the Nigerian society.

In order to make the military more efficient intelligence reports about Boko Haram should be vastly improved. In fact Boko Haram has been allegedly more successful in infiltrating the military than other way around. The group has considerable advantages; a large

mobile and relatively efficient army, a massive stockpile of weapons and ammunition, and it controls several thousand square kilometers of territory in north-eastern Nigeria. Nigerian government must therefore come up with its own bargaining chips for the table in order to balance the situation. (Sampson 2015) For example the government could aim to take more Boko Haram fighters as prisoners, and thus be in a better position to negotiate. Co-operating with the civilian operated CJTF and similar volunteer organizations is helpful but it cannot be the answer for the lack of proper intelligence and ability to go deep to the grassroots level from where the group originates. The Nigerian army does play a crucial part in the whole situation, and while not the only solution to the problem the army can make the current state of affairs more tolerable. If the short-term solutions that involve the military are not taken there will not be an opportunity to implement the more important long-term solutions.

At the end of 2011 when the actions of Boko Haram intensified President Goodluck Jonathan used his powers according to the 1999 Constitution and declared a state of emergency across the north-eastern states. The act of the president was probably justified because of the increasing scope of violence and destruction that Boko Haram spread all around. However the Emergency Powers Regulations that were presented in April 2012 gave considerable liberties to the government; they talked about detention of suspects but also about the right to take control any property in the emergency area and the right to entry and search any premises. The 1999 Constitution has many special clauses in case of an emergency when there is an actual or possibly threatened breakdown of public order anywhere in Nigeria. This breakdown must be very serious in nature and danger overall peace and security or even threaten the existence of the Nigerian state in order to justify the declaration of a state of emergency. However what the Joint Task Force has in many instances done is to amplify those exceptional rights beyond their original meaning. (Sampson 2015) The JTF has been involved in mass arrests of persons that are suspected of terrorism, arbitrary detentions of persons suspected of terrorism, extensive entry and search of premises without proper reasons and even extra-judicial executions of suspects. These human right violations have continued at a steady pace since the Joint Task Force was established in 2011. Even the Terrorist Prevention Act which was passed as a law in 2011 recognized that the relationship between counter-terrorism and proper rule of law is crucial one. The TPA endorses the human right guarantees and for example stipulates that a person that is arrested on suspicion of terrorism can be detained in custody for no more than 24

hours from the moment of arrest and that the person must have access to a medical doctor and legal counsel provided by the detaining authority during the custody. (Sampson 2015)

The fact that the Joint Task Force has been reduced to using the same methods that Boko Haram itself uses is alarming. The contrast between the actions of the JTF and the multiple treaties that Nigeria has signed not to mention its own counter-terrorism laws is considerable. The JTF has a reputation for summarily executing persons that are arrested for suspicions of Boko Haram membership or connections. Mostly people that are killed that way are labelled as Boko Haram fighters that died during battle even though they died in the hands of the JTF during an operation. Other victims are also executed straight after arrest or in custody. Often the JTF soldiers justify their actions by the section of the Constitution which says that use of firearms is permitted if the accused takes a flight when attempting arrest and if the offence is such that he may be punished with death or imprisonment for seven years or more. In practice it allows police officers or in this case JTF soldiers to shoot anyone that flees because under Nigeria`s penal law escaping custody or resisting arrest is punishable with seven years of imprisonment. (Sampson 2015, 55)

The Joint Task Force has also arrested hundreds of suspects and holds them in several detention centers. Many of the people detained have been taken without information why they were arrested. They are kept in custody without access to the outside world, and that includes families, lawyers and court. Most people detained have not had the opportunity to appear before a court or challenge the lawfulness of their custody. Even if the courts have ordered that the people detained must be brought before them the JTF and police force have not obeyed. It seems that the JTF treats all suspects as guilty without any trials to anyone. Even bails that should be granted by the law are not allowed to anybody but a few high profile cases. (Sampson 2015, 57) The mass arrests of suspected people that the JTF arranges have put a real strain to the prisoners of Nigeria. In 2009 the Nigerian prisons had a population of 41,106 but in June 2014 the number of inmates had risen to 56,785. This would indicate an increase of over 15,600 inmates in just five years. Of course during these years the Boko Haram problem really took off, and also the Joint Task Force was established not to mention the other government measures to tackle the issue. This has also created practical concerns, as Nigerian prisons are not too full of space and this sudden increase of inmates put an additional pressure to them. Also reports exist of starvation, lack of access to medications, deliberate denials of exercise and sunshine, heinous interrogation techniques and other things that offend human rights. (Sampson 2015) Of

course the opinions of the inmates and the Joint Task Force about these conditions probably differ greatly. Also it must be taken into account that treatment of prisoners and enemies of the government is not at a tolerable level in most other countries of Africa not to mention elsewhere in the world.

The violations are even extended to the normal citizens of Nigeria that happen to live in the area that the Joint Task Force guards. Indeed the JTF often uses house-to-house searches and forced evictions even among the innocent citizens. These kinds of tactics understandably make the citizens ask that just on whose side the Joint Task Force really is. In many cases the whole town or village is asked to leave because otherwise the excessive searches could not be done according to the JTF. Many residents that have been forced to leave their homes have reported of physical assault, destruction or stealing of their property and invasion of physical dignity among other things during such operations. Even evidence exists of cases where the JTF participated in unnecessary burning or destruction of houses, shops and other property. (Sampson 2015, 59) The fact that the Joint Task Force can operate like this proves to a large extent that it has quite free hands to do whatever it wants in order to counter Boko Haram even if the measures taken are not very effective or have even the opposite of the desired effect.

Other kind of way to fight Boko Haram was devised when volunteer citizens in the city of Maiduguri established a group called Civilian Joint Task Force or the CJTF which has the goal of eradicating the group from their neighborhood. Of course the name is a variation of the government`s Joint Task Force operation with "Civilian" added to it. The CJTF has provided an example of community-based security that may be used in other parts of Nigeria to tackle the same threat. Even though the CJTF consists of more or less ordinary citizens their methods can still be quite violent. Because Nigeria is ethno-linguistically massively diverse police officers and soldiers are sometimes deployed in areas they have never been to before and where they are complete strangers. In that kind of case with little understanding of the local customs or language operating becomes more difficult, and also gaining the trust of the local people is harder. Here is where the CJTF can be of assistance. (New African 2015, 40) Even though most of the volunteers are armed with very basic weapons like knives, sticks, and older rifles the knowledge that the CJTF has of the local affairs and also of the possibly members of Boko Haram has been of great assistance to the army. In fact the help of the CJTF has helped the army to counter attacks in Maiduguri and even to push them into the rural areas away from the city. (New African 2015) It could be argued that the CJTF is another evidence of the lack of

trust that the people have to the capabilities of the Nigerian government in handling the problem. It cannot be called a good sign when people have to protect themselves against a threat as serious as this. Even though the CJTF is probably useful to the army it still should be able to conduct its own intelligence operations independently without the civilians.

Thus far military`s efforts to tackle Boko Haram have not been good enough. The army and especially the Joint Task Force that was established to directly counter Boko Haram have not achieved satisfactory results. In fact evidence suggests that the JTF has sometimes done almost the opposite of its original intent; it has caused considerable amount of suffering to ordinary citizens of Nigeria in addition to the already serious Boko Haram threat. In fact it probably has made many question that which one is worse; the Nigerian Army or Boko Haram? And the army is part of the Nigerian government which is precisely what Boko Haram wants to overthrow. If the government continues to overlook and underestimate its citizens it only makes it more tempting for many to start supporting Boko Haram. The poverty is a crucial part of the problem and also a very visible one, as the north-east where Boko Haram is most popular is also the poorest area of Nigeria by all indicators, and actions of the JTF certainly do not help to alleviate this division between the people. The question that the United Nations and other organizations present is that how far can you go before you cross the line in counterterrorism? Certainly the conduct of the army and the JTF has crossed the line in many ways, as the government`s main objective is to protect the people. It can be argued that this kind of overreaction is normal; it even happened in the United States after the 9/11 attacks. However even it has happened elsewhere it does not make it more legitimate in any way. Especially because the results in Nigeria have not been good enough; Boko Haram is still operating and a serious threat to the country.

3.4 Poverty and corruption; the effects and ways to solve them

Poverty, malnutrition and even starvation are widespread problems in Nigeria not to mention the high infant mortality rate and low life expectancy at birth. The government has tried to tackle these issues throughout the years and especially after the democratization in 1999 but so far with little results. Effective poverty reduction programs are vital in order to change the situation for the better. More effort has to be made in order to boost agricultural production

especially in the poorer states which in turn lowers the price of food. Currently for majority of Nigerians most of their income goes to food consumption which is an alarming signal. Still increasing the supply also demands changes to the infrastructure of the country. Bettering road networks and other transportation systems of course have additional positives but in order to lower the price of food and make it more available to the citizens major improvements are absolutely necessary. (Ozughalu, Ogwumike 2015, 184) Making the food comparatively cheaper for all Nigerians around the country is a good first step towards a more equal society.

Studies also show that household size has an effect to the poverty rate; bigger sized families are prone to suffer malnutrition more. Policies and programs have to be implemented in order to make the households around the country and especially in the poorer areas smaller. Enlightenment campaigns and programs could help to make the information about different birth control methods and the importance of family planning reach as many people as possible. Nigeria has today in use a National Population Policy of four children which could be changed to a lower amount so that smaller families would become a necessity. (Ozughalu, Ogwumike 2015, 195) All of these steps are crucial take so that the issues of poverty and starvation can be solved. If those issues are not solved Boko Haram or similar radical groups that may be established in the future will probably always have willing participants in the poorer areas of Nigeria.

Another core reason that why Boko Haram is so pervasive despite the violence it practices is the corruption in the governance of Nigeria. In Nigeria many of the ruling people have in essence reduced the governance into a system that boosts and strengthens their economic welfare at the expense of the rest of the country. Positions of authority are often just a mean to exploit the less privileged people. Efforts have been made to tackle this issue; two anti-corruption agencies called Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) and Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) have been established in Nigeria. Also the Money Laundering Prohibition Act was created in 2004. The agencies so far have not had too much success, and the reason may very well be that they are simply not enough funded. Though some are claiming that these institutions themselves are corrupt and actively encouraging corruption. (Ayodele, Olaniyan, Bamidele 2014, 6)

In the Global Corruption Perception Index from 2014 Nigeria is placed 136th of 175 countries. Nigeria shares the 136th position in the list with countries like Iran, Russia and Cameroon. (Transparency International 2014) While the position is not quite at the rock bottom

of the list it still shows the alarming reality of the situation currently, and it can be said that it is among the most corrupt countries in the world. All of this erodes trust for the government and state organizations. Justice system is tilted; judges and prosecutors display a strong bias in favor of the powerful people, whereas ordinary citizens have difficulty to even get a fair trial. Simple financial gain seems to be often the main reason why judges and prosecutors favor powerful and wealthy persons.

Indeed during the last decade practically no case where a politician or an ex-public official was in trial resulted in a judgement that had mandatory jail time. And even if sometimes an influential person is prosecuted and jailed they are generally given a light jail term and granted amnesty before completing the sentence. The legislation of Nigeria is relatively well made, however the everyday practice is the problem that differs wildly from the intentions of the laws. (Ayodele, Olaniyan, Bamidele 2014) Analysis has shown that government officials are among the most corrupted elements in the Nigerian society. Questionable practices of the government officials include mismanagement of public companies, mishandling of public funds and unfairness in privatization processes; all of this indicates that most of the criminal activities of this sort could not go on without the approval of some government official. Political parties have also considerable importance in this issue; in fact the public perceives that the political parties are the most corrupt element in the Nigerian society. Political parties are accused of stealing, fraud, cronyism and other corrupt behavior not to mention indirectly undermining respect for the law. (Ayodele, Olaniyan, Bamidele 2014)

Corruption fight in Nigeria has thus far been concentrated on individual issues at a time without contemplating the overall picture. No effort has been made to take a countrywide approach and bring representatives of all sectors together to discuss the issue. A good example would be the juridical reform which was made without at the same time implementing measures in the police, the public attorney's office and the prosecution services. Thus the real impact of this reform remained minimal. In state finance considerable problems exist also. A considerable share of public expenditures is kept outside the official budget. The process of privatization of the state companies has been lacking which has seriously hampered economic growth. Foreign investments that would be very welcome in Nigeria are not growing because corruption makes it difficult for investors to trust the processes and rule of law in the country. (Ayodele, Olaniyan, Bamidele 2014, 14) Indeed overall corruption has a considerable negative effect to the economy of Nigeria. Besides the lack of investments the poor governance creates a situation where the

Nigerian economy fulfills only a fraction of the potential it has. Nigerian economy has also other questionable factors that are out of scape of this study which hamper its economy that may or may not exist because of the corruption.

The effect that corruption has to the Nigerian society and to the longevity of Boko Haram cannot be overestimated. According to scholars if Nigeria would somehow achieve the corruption level of a country like the United Kingdom its GDP would be immediately at least 20% higher not to mention other positive effects that it would have (Ayodele, Olaniyan, Bamidele 2014, 17). Reduction of corruption is one of the key things to focus on in Nigeria so that the country becomes better to the people to live in especially for the poor people. Corruption is also one of the main reasons why the citizens do not trust the government, and thus why Boko Haram`s mission to change the ruling class of the country gets so much support. When it comes to solving the problem the underlying conditions must be focused on. Most public institutions in Nigeria should be evaluated and reformed so that they meet at least a minimum level of competency. Also policies that increase transparency and accountability are needed, and even redesign of the constitution could be considered. The government`s decision making process should be open to public scrutiny in order to secure transparency. Free media that is constantly checking the governance is another crucial factor of transparency and fairness. Creation of independent oversight agencies that use internal and external benchmarks to guarantee an adequate operating level could be wise choice. (Ayodele, Olaniyan, Bamidele 2014, 20) The political parties should also be closely observed scrutinized so that all illegal activities will be found. All possible connections to Boko Haram from inside the governance should be carefully examined, and guilty people should be banned from holding any official positions.

All these measures against corruption must be introduced slowly and gradually so that they do not cause more damage to an already unstable society. Many of the reforms ought to be tested in small scale before introducing the in daily life. Obviously all of this is going to need a lot of resources and strong decisiveness not just from the people in the governance but also from the citizens. International assistance is probably necessary not just for the knowhow but also for monitoring the progress. In order to beat Boko Haram it is vital that this problem is put to the forefront as many if not the most problems in Nigeria spur from the corruption that exists on all levels of state. If Nigeria is made better place to everyone to live in Boko Haram will have considerable difficulties to find new people that would support its cause.

Table 3. How the state should respond to the Boko Haram threat according to citizens

The Nigerian state should respond to Boko Haram operations through	Percentage agreeing
Poverty alleviation	90
Employment generation	88
Checking influx of illegal aliens	78
Increased security operations	76
Dialogue	46
Amnesty	38
Monetary compensation for victims	22

Source: (Osumah, Aghedo, 2012, 864)

Table 3. is the final result from the questionnaires done by Aghedo and Osumah, and arguably the most important. It shows the people`s perceptions that how the government should handle the Boko Haram threat. Two most agreed on methods were poverty reduction and generating employment; both social problems and in accordance with the thesis of this paper. Still security operations are highlighted also and show that traditional counterterrorism operations are valued by the people if they are conducted well.

3.5 Counterterrorism in the West

To some extent Nigeria`s counterterrorism strategy has many elements that are similar to those that the Western countries use. After the 9/11 terror attacks the United States quickly put up new laws that gave the government much more freedom to use a wide variety of measures to catch the threat towards the United States. The National Strategy for Combating terrorism was established by President George W. Bush and since then dictated how the country has responded to the threat. The definition terror in the policy was defined so wide that it could be fought against anyone anywhere. (Nacos 2012) War against terrorism was different from the traditional country against country setup in the sense that the enemy could be hiding anywhere,

even in your own country like it is in the case with Nigeria. During the years the methods the United States has used in its war against terrorism have raised many questions about their legitimacy. When it comes to treatment of prisoners in Guantanamo Bay or increasing the amount of surveillance to a terrifying level the steps the United States has taken has entailed a lot of criticism everywhere. Bush defended the steps he was going to take by saying in 2002 that that the enemies in the war on terrorism must not be allowed to use the forums of liberty against themselves (Nacos 2012, 309). As an argument for the excessive measures it is good but presents the question that how far is too far? Legitimacy of the governance is in question if people`s rights are been hampered too much for the sake of security.

The counterterrorism methods that the United States has adapted have been introduced albeit often in a reduced way in most other Western countries. The undertone everywhere in the West has been that sacrifices must be made in order to preserve freedom and liberty. This undertone can also be found in Nigeria although the situation there is still widely different. The threat of Boko Haram in its very essence comes from deep inside Nigerian society whereas the threat of terrorism towards the Western countries mostly comes from outside. The counterterrorism methods that the West has used thus far have been relatively successful however more can be done and when a breach happens results are often ugly. The unstableness that is prevalent in the Middle East today is often stated to be the key reason for the terrorist threat today, but even there the comparable problems such as ISIS and al-Qaida can be said to partially originate from problems deep in the society. Arguments are even made that if George W. Bush would have handled the reaction to 9/11 differently there might be peace and prosperity in the Middle East today instead of it being a birthplace for Islamic extremism. At the very least the situation could be much better than it is today. In the midst of pessimism towards counterterrorism a few successful cases also exist; for example the previously mentioned case of Northern Ireland where violence continued for decades but was finally successfully stopped during the 1990s. Although there are many differences compared to the Boko Haram case it serves to show that a lasting ceasefire can be achieved with negations when both parties feel that they have been treated fairly. It gives hope that a peaceful and lasting solution can also be achieved in Nigeria.

The success of the new laws that both the Western countries and Nigeria have implemented in order to fight terrorism is arguable, and the results are in many cases if not the same then at least similar. Terrorism has reduced usually but at the same time a considerable

price has been paid for the apparent security. Especially in Nigeria the army has had relative freedom to do what it takes to find and defeat Boko Haram. By doing that however the government has made itself even more unattractive in the eyes of many Nigerians. And the gap between the government of Nigeria and the people is one of the main reasons why Boko Haram was created and still is relatively strong. Other reasons such as prevalent corruption, lack of possibilities and education and solutions to them have been already discussed in this paper. The army and the Joint Task Force have still despite the criticism achieved a lot, and very possibly continue to force the retreat of Boko Haram in the future. During the year 2015 news of the victories that the army has achieved against Boko Haram have appeared at a steady pace in the global news alongside other issues. Even if the success of the army may be exaggerated in the news for propaganda reasons it still shows that Nigeria under its new President Muhammadu Buhari who assumed office in May 2015 continues to fight hard against Boko Haram. Also the interest of international news shows that the fight in Nigeria suits well alongside the global condemnation of terrorism that is very contemporary today, and of course very necessary. Nigeria must continue its battle against Boko Haram in an unusual global situation where also many other countries have to share the fear of terrorism.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The paper pondered about the birth and development of Boko Haram from just a small radical group to a threat that could have devastating effect to the country, and to a certain extent has already had. The history of independent Nigeria was not short of conflicts, and at first Boko Haram seemed to be if not natural at least understandable continuance of the trend; however as its influence grew stronger even the government had to recognize seriousness of the situation. The reactions and methods of the government were quite straightforward however the results have so far been less than exemplary. The army and the Joint Task Force that was established to combat the Boko Haram threat have managed to hinder the growth of the group, but at the same time the measures they have taken have left the civilian population disappointed and angry.

The research question was that how can Nigeria stop Boko Haram and similar groups from developing. Answering that has been complex and has involved a variety of possible courses of action. Developing the traditional counterterrorism methods has been one side of the coin but the other has been contemplating the multiple social problems in the country, and how to alleviate them. As the study has shown Boko Haram has very deep roots to the social problems that have existed and continue to exist in Nigeria. Corruption, inequality and lack of possibilities all play into the hand of the radical leaders of Boko Haram. The trust that people feel towards the government is low and disappointment towards the system is felt widely. Definitive steps must be taken in order to make the situation better. Major reforms are needed in government policies and even in the constitution to even out the gross inequality and mitigate the rampant corruption. The amount of people that live under $1.25 a day should be widely reduced and eradicated as soon as possible. Especial care must be directed to the areas where Boko Haram is most popular. Thus trust to the government can be increased the alternative offered by Boko Haram will not seem so attractive anymore. Access to education must be widened so that all Nigerian young people feel that they have possibilities to improve their lives and have hope for the future. In education focus must put to tutoring young people to be critical of all offers that Boko Haram or similar groups may make to them. Young people that live in the northern states must made aware of the twisted form of Islam that Boko Haram preaches;

the local religious leaders have a considerable role in teaching to young people the true meaning of their religion. Foreign supervisors could be implemented to ensure that the development goes to right direction in a proper way. When it comes to more traditional counterterrorism methods which the army and the Joint Task Force practices developments have to be made both on a policy level and in practice so that civilians do not feel threatened. By definition the role of the army is to protect the citizens of the country. The role of the army is important in the current situation and near future when the reformations have not yet taken place and their effects are not felt. The research statement of this study, which was that solutions must wary from developing the counterterrorism to addressing the social issues at hand, was thus concluded.

Constructivist approach was good for this study as the answers to a large extent were in the Nigerian society itself, and the solutions for the future too. The reasons why Boko Haram was created and why it has a steady pool of supporters are very definable, and were explained during this paper. Future will tell how the situation will develop, right now challenges exist and must be solved on two fronts; short term and long term. On short term counterterrorism is still the most important method to alleviate the problem and in longer perspective the other methods mentioned in the paper which reform the society are the priority.

The potential of Nigeria is considerable and it is reasonable to expect that it will develop into the unquestionable leading country in the African continent. Its natural resources are enormous, population is growing at a notable speed and economy is growing at a steady pace. Still countering Boko Haram is a key issue in the way of all the positive development. When the problems that are the biggest reasons for the success of Boko Haram are eradicated the overall effect to the Nigerian society will be truly positive. And the country will be more able to use its potential and be an example to other African states that struggle with similar problems. Africa would certainly benefit from a truly successful country that could set an example for others to pursue. Future will tell that how successfully Nigerians will implement the positive improvements; to a large extent the future of their country is dependent on them.

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