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The Dynamics of the Globalization of Terrorism in West Africa: Probing the Case of Nigeria's Boko Haram

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ABSTRACT

The world has witnessed increased interdependence in the last two decades due to globalization. The main driving forces of this process are technology, policy, competition, profit maximization and the impacts of domestic economic relations towards global market conditions and practices. Nigeria in our globalizing world shares from the poverty that globalization brings to the developing nations and also from the easy accessibility of arms and weapons by both states and individuals across the globe. The ability of Boko Haram to easily access arms and weapons coupled with the links it shares with other international terrorist organisations is a handwork of globalization and that have left Nigeria and international communities with diverse security threats almost on a daily basis at quite alarming rate. The thrust of this paper is to examine the internationalization of Boko Haram activities from the context of globalization and haps on the involvement of the international communities in the efforts to tackle Boko Haram insurgency. Instrumental theory of violence, secondary method of data collections and content analysis approach were employed to explain this phenomenon. Indeed, globalization of trade, information technology and finance has had little positive and high level of negative impacts on the rising security threats as a result of Boko Haram activities and myriads of security threats associated with it. In that regard, this paper among other recommendation put forward suggested the need to effectively address the multi-layers of this threat and that requires the cooperative engagement of Nigeria's neighbours and international partners.

Keywords: Globalization, terrorism, Boko Haram, internationalization, insurgency.

1. Introduction

Globalization appears to be harmful with a force that brings about increased domination and control by wealthier and developed nations over the poor and underdeveloped countries. It widens the gap between the 'haves' and 'have-nots'. It involves the flows of commodities, capital, technology, ideas, forms of culture and people across national boundaries via a global networked society. The transmutations of technology and capital, work together to create a new globalized and interconnected world; a technological revolution involving the creation of computerized network of communication, transportation and exchange is the presupposition of a globalized economy, along with the extension of a world capitalist market system that is absorbing evermore areas of the world and spheres of production, exchange and consumption. The technological revolution presupposes global

computerized networks and the free movement of goods, information and people across national boundaries and this opportunity does not left global terrorist behind as they all explores this leverage brought about by globalization. In 2018, the Global Terrorism Index (GTI) ranked Nigeria the third most terrorized country in the world as a result of Boko Haram terrorism and nomadic herders attacks (GTI, 2018).

The progressive integration of the domestic economies to the global economy has dramatically increased the proliferation of arms and the reoccurring dynamics of terrorism. Nigeria as one of the third world countries have witness unprecedentedly the proliferation of terrorist activities assumed to be anchored by few acclaimed aggrieved Islamic religious activists popularly referred as Boko Haram against the entire populace; this has manifested in proportions and its society has fully enmeshed in the culture of the gun and internal displacement of her citizenry becomes the order of the 21st Century Nigeria. It is disheartening to discover that in place of economic development and enhanced security, virulent internal conflicts accompanied by unprecedented abuse of human rights by political cum religious terrorist groups in Nigeria particularly in northern region have emerged at an alarming rate (Nnani, 2019). The dark side of globalization includes things such as its power to obliterate traditional cultures and sovereign security thinking, creation of greater opportunity structures for transnational criminal activities, and its capacity to widen economic inequality and stratification within and across nations (Nwebo and Ubah, 2015).

Reportedly, the UNODC (2005), stated that the relative lack of any clear association between organized crime and international terrorism in the West Africa had changed very rapidly as a result of external and internal stresses such as globalization process, ongoing conflict situations, corruption and weak governance which have enabled and facilitated organized crime groups to increase in number and membership in West Africa and thrive their illicit trade to the extent never before known and with serious negative consequences on the security of various nation-states (Okeke, 2014; Sandu & Nitu, 2013; Shelley, 2005).

Nigeria have become more violent and insecure country with thousands of conflict related deaths occurring mainly as a result of Farmers herdsmen crisis and the activities of Boko Haram Islamic sect which has been described as politically and religiously related (Anning & Pokoo, 2014; Egbu, 2014; Ezeanyika & Ubah, 2012). Consequently there is a clear nexus in Nigeria between massive

globalization, violence and terrorism, in which organized crime groups may not for long retain outside roles (UNODC, 2013; Shelley, 2005; Reinares & Resa, 1999). The globalization of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons of mass destruction and the globalization of trade, finance, and communication technology remains one of the linchpins of the globalizing terrorism (Nnani, 2019). The thrust of this paper is to unravel how contemporary globalization contributes and relate with terrorism and the experience of 21st Century Nigeria in the globalizing terrorism process.

Since the return to civil rule in 1999, Nigeria has been battling with series of violent agitations from various geo-political zones in the country. These violent agitations which have taken terror dimensions have contributed to national security threat that is capable of disintegrating the country. Terrorists' attacks have resulted in the killings of hundreds of people and wanton destruction of property that worth billions of naira through bombings. The unabated waves of terror attacks and series of deadly bomb blasts by the callous, devilish and demonic militant movement, Boko Haram in the Northern part of the country, have continued to heighten and exacerbate the palpable state of insecurity in the land (Danjibo, 2009).

The incessant Bombings which have claimed many innocent lives, as well as the barbaric and unconscionable criminal abduction of over 200 Chibok School girls plus others, have continued to generate wide spread global concern, outrage and condemnation. While mass protests and advocacy campaigns have continued to be staged in all parts of Nigeria and major cities around the world, calling for the prompt rescue and safe release of the girls, many people believe that with the abominable and unthinkable abduction of these young school girls, the Boko Haram insurgents have clearly crossed the red line! Against this gloomy backdrop, it is heartening that a coalition of countries including the United States, Britain, France, Canada, China and Israel, have lately intervened to assist Nigeria in rescuing the Chibok School girls and end the Boko Haram insurgency (Danjibo, 2009).

With the intervention and assistance of these countries, it is believed that the battle line is now drawn and a final showdown against the Boko Haram is imminent. In spite of reservations being expressed in certain quarters regarding the external support which some have described as a violation of our national pride and sovereignty, terrorism have remain a recurring decimal in Nigeria. This paper discusses how Boko Haram activities have been internationalized in our globalizing world of terrorism and as well assess the involvement of the international community's to curb the menace. From the

above backdrops, a philosophical mind would then be curious to ask salient questions such as; to what extent have Boko Haram activities been internationalized in the context of Globalization and what impacts has the international Community's involvement in the efforts to tackle Boko Haram insurgency have in Nigeria and the Global Community at large? From this context, the essence of this paper is to assess the internationalization of Boko Haram activities in our globalizing world of terrorism in Nigeria elucidating on the impact of the involvement of international community's in the efforts to tackle the challenges of Boko Haram insurgency on Nigeria and international community at large.

2.1 Empirical Studies on Globalization

There exists a plethora of works on globalization (Waltz, 1999; Ake, 2002; Clark, 1999; Robinson, 1996; Ninsin, 2000; Mittleman, 2000; Rugumanu, 1999; Scholte, 2000). Perspectives on the subject however differ fundamentally depending on the ideological enclave and conviction of different scholars. In general, the phenomenon has been conceived from two contrasting paradigms that is globalization as interdependence and globalization as imperialism.

Scholars of globalization as interdependence are of liberal persuasion. They see the concept as a framework of complex and growing interdependence among nations. The global socio-political and economic integration is viewed in the context of inter dependencies which has restructured the world into a new and all inclusive social pattern. They associate globalization with economic liberalization as a policy option for the development of the south through a process of free trade, investment and capital flows between countries. Fukuyama, for instance, in his treatise „The end of history and the last man" perceives globalization as universalization of western values. He proposed the celebration of a globalized world and the unabashed victory of political and economic liberalism that is evidenced in the triumph of western ideas and values and in the exhaustion of viable systematic alternatives to western liberalism (Fukuyama, 1992).

Rugumanu opines that globalization is not merely a buzzword; rather it is "a new paradigm in international economic relations which apparently signals the triumph of capitalism on a truly global scale following the end of the cold war, the collapse of the Soviet system and the dissolution of planned economies, particularly in Eastern Europe" (Rugumamu, 1999). He opines that the phenomenon

constitutes a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions (Scholte, 2000).

Proponents of globalization as inter-dependency therefore see a better world if nation states would realize and utilize to maximum the opportunities presented by interdependency resulting from globalization. Their belief is hinged on the premise that interdependency has opened up the world, reduced the abuse of human rights and eradicated, to a large extent, social and economic injustices by national governments. Be that as it may, one may contend that one thing missing is that the same globalization facilitates and enhance the interconnectedness and interdependence that our modern terrorists group share across the globe as ICT has made communication and accessibility of arms and light weapons 'one second deal' across the world.

Advocates of globalization as imperialism on the other hand are mainly of the radical persuasion and political economy genre. While the interdependence school of thought on globalization claims that interdependence is the reality of globalization and that it constitutes a positive development in world affairs; scholars who view globalization as imperialism insist that the phenomenon as it is today represents nothing but capitalism and imperialism. Scholars that allude to the same position have proclaimed that globalization is a transformatory capitalist project, which can only serve to impoverish the underdeveloped nations on the fringe of the world capitalism. Ake, for instance, sees globalization as a capitalist project that is structured to perpetuate the underdevelopment of Africa and other Third World countries. He construed globalization in terms of profit maximization, and perceptively referred to it as the march of capital across the world, in search of profits; a process that is facilitated by the expansion of multinational corporations, and driven by the technical advances in communication. To him, Globalization is about growing structural differentiation and functional integration in world economy; it is about growing interdependence across the globe; about the nation-state coming from under pressure from the surge of transnational phenomenon; about the emergence of a global mass culture driven by mass advertising and technical advances in mass communication (Ake, 2002).

one can submit humbly that globalisation as an interdependence contributes and guarantees easy trading and accessing of licit and illicit arms by different terrorist groups across the globe and the Nigerian Boko Haram is no exception to the benefits of this interdependence and conversely this capitalist expansion and imperialism politics of the western world in their move to make profit as the

transnational corporations that deals with arms & weapons and military industrial based companies may prefer to sale their licit and illicit arms to terrorists organisations as that could guarantee them much more profit and not only that make more business partners across the globe (Nnani, 2019). Of course, to some extent, while profit maximization has become the core business of the TNCs, human rights are no longer relevant. Regardless of its multifaceted character, globalisation has been dominantly associated with economic context which connotes recent evolution in the nature of the global economy reflected in the rapid development in the level and speed of economic transactions, primarily, across geographical boundaries and territorial borders. This evolution has been brought about by a range of factors among which include, mainly, advancement in technology and liberalization. Indeed, too much has been made of the phenomenon of the globalisation in its economic dimensions (Alex, 2018).

Sadly realists posit that the unfettered and removal of barriers on state economies on the movement of commerce and trade vindicated them because, as globalization came with wealth it has also come with transnational organized crimes and terrorism across every regions of the world today. The globalization of communication technology and economic globalization have really facilitated the growth and increased activities of Islamic terrorism world over and Boko Haram is no exception to this nascent disease that has been threatening states sovereignty in our contemporary globalizing world (Nnani, 2019).

2.2 Empirical Studies on Terrorism and Globalization

In some developed countries, however, it is believed that youth unemployment, exclusion, underlying grievances, access to weapons, and so on; drive lone wolves to commit terrorist attacks (McCauley & Moskalenko, 2008; King& Taylor, 2011). Although the security threat posed by terrorism is highly felt in countries around the world, it is reported that Afghanistan, Pakistan, Syria, and Nigeria have suffered the most, accounting for 72 per cent of all deaths related to terrorism in 2015. Also, it is believed that ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), Boko Haram, the Taliban and Al-Qaeda committed the highest number of terrorist attacks in 2015 while being responsible for about 74 per cent of all terrorism related deaths globally (Global Terrorism Index, 2016). That globalization spreads poverty, unemployment, and economic inequality to the countries of the south and spreads wealth, high level

of employments opportunities and economic sustainability of the people of the western world becomes the linchpin of globalization and terrorism in our globalizing world.

Combating the threats that terrorism poses to human and ecological security and peace will require concerted, coordinated, and proactive efforts from each of the affected countries as well as the international community as globalization obliterated national security thinking, the need for nation-states to jointly unite to confront terrorism whose activities has gone beyond national boundaries becomes imperative. Each country, for example the United States, has initiated counterterrorism programs that involve all the relevant agencies, civil society, and faith based organizations (Sageman, 2014). Nevertheless, the United Nations, through the General Assembly and Security Council, has adopted many catalyzing and coordinating resolutions aimed at helping and empowering member states to successfully deal with the challenges they face in their counterterrorism activities in our world of globalization. Prominent among the United Nations terrorism related resolutions is the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy (United Nations General Assembly, 8 September, 2006).

Boko Haram, an Islamic religious organization that started off peacefully in 2002 in north-eastern part of Nigeria, for example, was declared a terrorist organization on September 14, 2013 when the United States government through the office of the US Secretary of State designated Boko Haram as a foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) after a series of violent confrontation with the Nigerian law enforcement, beginning from 2009 when the Boko Haram's founder was killed (Ugorji, 2016). The interconnectedness and interdependence that terrorist organisations as an international organized criminals share today in the globalizing world of ours has made terrorism a phenomenon of globalization threatening both national and global security architecture. The globalization of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons of mass destruction and the globalization of trade, finance, and communication technology have remained one of the linchpins of the globalizing terrorism (Nnani, 2019).

In the case of Nigeria as a typical example of developing economies of the globalizing world, example of internal crime groups include Boko Haram sect, Niger Delta Militants and myriads of other crime groups that engage in drug trafficking, gun-running, human trafficking, kidnapping, fraud, cybercrimes, etc (Ezeanyika & Ubah, 2012; Zunve, 2013; Adewole, 2015; Nwebo & Ubah, 2015). Boko Haram terrorism as an organised crime group is among the most complex and serious form of

transnational crimes mainly because it takes a certain degree of organization, structure, and network relationship for it to form and operate at a much broader range relatively effective. The scale and scope of newer transnational organized crime activities and the form in which their activities take are manifestations of the process of the 21st century globalization. As a new form of manifestation in the mix of unprecedented globalized environment, it makes it easier for the newer crime groups to operate and mobilize at global level than the older crime groups, and their increased scope of opportunity structures makes it easier for them to establish network relationships across borders quicker and broader which enable them to pose greater threats and challenges to national and international security than ever before (Zunve, 2013; Adewole, 2015; Nwebo & Ubah, 2015).

In the observation of Kofi Annan then UN secretary general, criminal groups have wasted no time in embracing today's globalized economy and the sophisticated technology that goes with it. But our efforts to combat them have remained up to now very fragmented and our weapons almost obsolete. The convention gives us a new tool to address the scourge of terrorism as a global problem. With enhanced international cooperation, we can have a real impact on the ability of international and transnational criminals to operate successfully and can help citizens everywhere feel secured in their homes and communities (Annan, 2000; Anning, 2004). That is to say, if terrorism crosses borders, so must law enforcement. If the rule of law is undermined not only in one country but in many, then those who defend it cannot limit themselves to purely national means. If the enemies of progress and human rights seek to exploit the openness and opportunities of globalization for their purpose, then we must exploit those very same factors to defend human rights and defeat the forces of terrorism and other related crimes (Annan, 2000: 12). We cannot but join Kofi Annan to urge all states to ratify the convention and the protocols at the earliest possible date and to bring those instruments into full force as a matter of urgency and necessity to the new global reality.

The point to drive home lies on the fact that the Boko Haram terrorists shares link with other Islamic fundamentalists especially Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan and she carry out her terrorist activities in Nigeria and within West African sub-region. That been said, Nigerian government should join hands with her West African neighbours and the United Nations (UN) through proper and due utilization of the UNs convention agreements against transnational organized crimes adopted in the resolution 55/25 of 31/5/2001 which entered into force on 3/7/2005 in order to curtail Boko Haram insurgency (Nnani, 2019). Nonetheless as the UNODC (2005), reported, the relative lack of any clear association between

organized crime and international terrorism in West Africa had changed very rapidly as a result of external and internal stresses such as globalization process, ongoing conflict situations, corruption and weak governance which have enabled and facilitated organized crime groups to increase in number and membership in West Africa and thrive their illicit trade to the extent never before known and with serious negative consequences on the security of various nation states (Okeke, 2014; Sandu and Nitu, 2013; Shelley, 2005). Boko Haram activities and the interconnectedness and interdependence it shares with Islamic fundamentalists in other countries is a product of globalization and globalizing terrorism and this to some reasonable degree threatens the unity and sovereignty of the Nigerian State and some West African states (Nnani, 2019).

2.2 Instrumental Violence Theory

The theory employed to give more meaning and aid in the understanding of the variables of the phenomenon understudy is the Instrumental theory of violence. This is because; apart from its ability to explain the organizational structure of violence groups such as Boko Haram, the theory adequately captures and explains the whole gamut of explanatory variables and the dynamics that inform the reasons why violent groups operate and their methodology of operation. The instrumental theory of violence is associated with scholars such as Edward Mickolus (1976), Richard Betts (1982), and Martha Crenshaw (1985). It is premised on the assertion that the act of terrorism is a deliberate choice by a political actor and that the organization as a unit, acts to achieve collective values, which involve radical changes in political and social conditions (Crenshaw, 1985: 13). Here, terrorism is interpreted as a response to external stimuli, particularly government actions. The major thrust or basic assumption of this theory is that violence is intentional.

Terrorism is a means to a political end. Schelling (1966) suggests that terrorism is one form of violent coercion, a bargaining process based on the power to hurt and intimidate as a substitute for the use of overt military force. As such it is similar to other strategies based on the power to hurt rather than conventional military strength. Within this context, terrorism is meant to produce a change in the government's political position, not the destruction of military potential. The theory also submits that non-state organizations using terrorism is assumed to act on the basis of calculation of the benefit or value to be gained from an action, the cost of the attempt and, its failure, the consequences of inaction, or the probability of success. According to Betts (1982), violent actions may occur for several reasons;

the value sought for is overwhelmingly important; cost of trying are low; the status quo is intolerable; or the probability of succeeding (even at the high cost) is high. Thus, violent groups may act out of anticipation of reward or out of desperation, in response to opportunity or to threat. The strategic perspective, according to Betts (1982), is a conceptual foundation for the analysis of surprise attacks. Thus, he concludes that violence is par excellence a strategy of surprise, necessary for small groups who must thereby compensate for weakness in numbers and destructive capability.

Applied within the context of Nigeria's security challenges, the Boko Haram sect believes that politics in northern Nigeria has been seized by a group of corrupt, false Muslims and thus seeks to wage war against them, and the federal republic of Nigeria generally, to create a "pure" Islamic state ruled by Sharia law. Since August 2011 Boko Haram has planted bombs almost weekly in public places or in churches in Nigeria's north east region in particular and the north in general. The group has also broadened its targets to include setting schools on fire. In March 2012, some twelve public schools in Maidugiri were burned down during the night, and as many as 10,000 pupils were forced out of education (Walker, 2012). The essence of these theoretical strand comes to limelight on the fact that globalizing Islamic terrorism as it happens in other countries of the world so is happening in Nigeria as Boko Haram sects threatens the peace, security and sovereignty of the state.

2.3 The Gap in Literature

This paper suggests the fact that terrorist groups have also expanded in their capacity, organizational networks and links, technically sophisticated in their operations and influence beyond the capacity of individual states to effectively and adequately curtail with. The leadership and efforts of the UN in recognizing the global threats and challenges of transnational terrorism especially the Nigeria Boko Haram terrorism and responding by drafting the first convention against transnational organized crime in December 2000 which was ratified by forty countries in 2003 was remarkable and a right step in the right direction (Franco, 2015; Nwebo & Ubah, 2015; Holmgren, 2013; Elliot, 2012; Fijnaut, 2000; Albanese, 2012, UN Centre for International Crime Prevention, 2000). Earlier it has also been argued, that it is fallacy that a national government has all the capacity to alone respond effectively and adequately to the threats and challenges to national security posed by newer transnational organised terrorism of the 21st century global environment (Ezeanyika & Ubah, 2012; Zunve, 2013; Adewole, 2015; Nwebo &Ubah, 2015). Therefore, the paper intends to establish the gap that Boko Haram

terrorism attained its height of operations and organisation as a result of the power and force of globalization which obliterates national trade and economic barriers, national security thinking and long processes involved in the purchase of arms and weapons, hence probing the dynamics of the globalization of terrorism in West Africa through the lens of Boko Haram.

3. Research Methodology

This paper employed secondary method of data collections vis-avis: news papers, online journals and documents, articles and textbooks to gather data and historical documentary content analysis in the efforts to analyse and discuss the interconnectedness and interdependence of the variables understudy. Globalization shares with terrorism with major emphasis on Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria West Africa.

4.1 An Assessment of the Internationalization of Nigeria's Boko Haram

It is important to state from the outset that an attempt to forcefully impose religious ideology or belief on the Nigerian society since her independence in 1960 especially in the Northern part is not new. The first major attempt in the post-colonial period was led by the leader of the Maitatsine sectarian group in 1980s and eventually led to large scale uprisings. Thus, it can therefore be said that the emergence of this dreaded Islamic sect popularly known as the Boko Haram had its root and inspiration from colonial period as well as from the "Maitatsine" uprisings of the early 1980s in particular. Although Boko Haram could be compared in terms of philosophy or ideology and objectives to the Maitatsine sectarian group, its organizational planning, armed resistance, and modus operandi is Taliban (Danjibo, 2009).

In 2009, the Islamic Movement of Nigeria rebutted claims that El-Zakzaky was the founder of Boko Haram, arguing it could never be so against Western education when it owns 300 schools in Nigeria which teach a mixture of Islamic and Western education. Izala threatened legal action against publishers of pictures of its members labelled as Boko Haram foot soldiers. What is clear is that the combination of constitutional debates in the 1970s, military rule under successive despots – including the jailing of El-Zakzaky by Sani Abacha's regime entrenched poverty in the areas where such groups are active and have been grist to the fundamentalists' mill (Dearn, 2011) The time that this Islamic militant group emerged in the country is yet unknown. There were series of conflicting reports on their

emergence in the northern part of the country. Information at the disposal of the different security agencies pieced together by Sunday Tribune of 12th February, 2012 indicated that contrary to the widely-held belief that the Boko Haram started around 2003, the group has been existing since 1995. It was, however, confirmed that the entry of slain Mallam Mohammed Yusuf successfully radicalized the group and opened it to foreign collaboration, especially with the Al-Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) (Danjibo, 2009).

Boko Haram is 90 per cent Kanuri-based with its membership drawn from the Kanuri of Niger, Chad and Cameroon. Boko Haram has been launching attacks from those territories on communities in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa, with the latest being the abduction of over 200 schoolgirls in Chibok, Borno State Hailemariam Desalegn Ethiopian Prime Minister Asserted "You know terrorism is not African agenda only. There has been terror attack in Boston, United States and many parts of the globe. So, it is not something that is new to Nigeria, Ethiopia and other African countries. It is a global phenomenon and you see that there was terror attack in Iraq recently and is expanding. "We have to see it as a global phenomenon that has to be tackled together in unison; it should not be left to this or that region or this or that country (Joselow, 2011). We have to bear in mind the genesis of this terrorism," The mentioning of the Chadian President Mr Debby by the Australian negotiator Mr Stephen Davis added a new dimension to the Boko haram sponsorship dynamics. It was reported by the Nigerian Intelligent Officials that in 2011, a strong Boko Haram army was also beneficial to the Chadian President, as it provided a ready army and possible refuge for a president that was then facing a growing distrust from his legitimate army (Le Sage, 2011). However, the Chadian government support for the sect was made majorly through his friendship with Mr Sheriff and at the expense of his country's relationship with Nigeria.

Details obtained by investigators revealed that the Jama'atul Ahlus Sunnah Lidda'awati Wal Jihad (Brethren united in the pursuit of holy war), also known as Boko Haram, started off its activism in 2001, under the leadership of the late Yusuf. From that year, the group had intensified its propagation of an extreme Islamic doctrine, which sees Western education and democracy as corruptive and immoral (Sunday Tribune, 2012). In 1995, the group was said to be operating under the name Shabaab, Muslim Youth Organization. It operated from the Indimi Mosque, located along Damboa Road, Maiduguri, Borno State and had one Mallam Lawal as leader and another Mallam Usman as secretary. It was learnt that in 1999, Lawal left Nigeria for further studies at the University of Medina, Saudi

Arabia, thereby yielding the leadership of the group to the man known as Mustapha Modu Jon, commonly called Mohammed Yusuf. Yusuf's leadership was said to have opened the group to political influences and increased popularity. Although Yusuf's religious activism was linked to Kano, where he had brushes with popular Islamic clerics, he was said to have laid the foundation for the growth of the organisation. Details about the late Yusuf, however, indicated that, first, he was a favourite student of prominent Nigerian Islamic scholar Sheikh Jafar Mahmud Adam and hailed from Gingir village in Jakusko Local Government Area of Yobe State. He was born on 29 January 1970, married four wives and had 12 children (Danjibo, 2009). These shows that, Islamic fundamentalists perceived the imported system of government based on "Western values" and has resulted in ostensible corruption, poverty, unemployment and the continued suppression of true Islam in northern part of the country (Danjibo, 2009).

What can be drawn from the above is that, the movement is not only characteristically opposed, but out rightly rejects Western education, Western culture and modern science. Alternatively, it embraces and advocates the propagation of and strict adherence to Islam by all and sundry regardless of anyone's personal wishes. In line with this objective, the movement seeks to impose Sharia across all Nigerian states (Bumah, 2009). The former leader Mohammed Yusuf said education "spoils the belief in one God". The sect – full name Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-Jihad ("People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad") – seeks to create an Islamic state governed by Sharia law in Nigeria by, seemingly, whatever means it has at its disposal and at whatever human cost it deems necessary (Bumah, 2009).

The intent of the movement is aimed at replacing modern state formation with the traditional Islamic state, because Western values run contrary to Islamic values. Umma Mahammadiya Muslim faithful and Dar-ul-Islam- Islamic community cannot be compromised in the face of Western influence in the Nigerian secular society. Therefore, the moral decadence and evil in the society is as a result of the embrace of Western civilization, and thus, in order to curb such evil, an Islamic society must be entrenched by destroying modern political institutions and infrastructures. The philosophy goes hand in hand with the entrenchment of the Sharia law in the society.

The embedded philosophy of the Boko Haram movement can be inferred to explain the reason why police and armed forces formations, government establishments and properties are the target of

destruction by the movement. In addition, it is also an ideological belief of the movement that, any member who fight and die- either by suicide bombing in the process of establishing a Sharia state by destroying modern state formation and government establishment would automatically go to Aljanna-paradise or heaven (Danjibo, 2009). Another major issue about this Islamic sect has to do with the strategy being employed in carrying out its activities which have taken series of dimensions since its emergence. This development has made a number of scholars and stakeholders in the country as well as international community to conclude that the sect has different kinds of support from known terrorist across the globe.

First, the modus operandi of the Boko Haram movement, which has been fashioned after the Taliban in Afghanistan, has made some to conclude that the sect must have sent its members to Afghanistan, Lebanon, Pakistan, Iraq, Mauritania and Algeria for training. Others argued it could be that the Boko Haram modelled itself after the Taliban simply to acknowledge its source of inspiration. Some equally said that it was meant to attract sympathy and support from the Taliban or related groups. Another view was that, it could also be that the links actually exist. For instance, the Operation Sawdust that was carried out in 2005 by the military and the police and which covered North-East geo-political zones of Borno, Bauchi and Yobe, led to the arrest of some Islamic fundamentalists whose activities posed a threat to the security of the Nigerian state. Among those arrested was Yusuf Mohammed, the leader of the Boko Haram movement. These arrests provided the first clues about the links between Boko Haram and the Al-Qaeda terrorist group as those arrested along with Yusuf Mohammed revealed they had been trained in the act of terrorism in Afghanistan, Lebanon, Pakistan and Iraq. Items recovered during the operation included maps and diagrams of government establishments and of some directions to specific government buildings in Abuja (Tell, 17th August, 2009: 69; Danjibo, 2009: 15).

Recent reports in the Nigerian and foreign press about the activities of such groups as the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (SGPC) in Algeria, Tablighi clerics from Pakistan, and Wahabist missionaries from Saudi Arabia in Northern Nigeria, as well as the report of the training of some fundamentalists in Al-Qaeda camps in some foreign countries, offer proof of Boko Haram's links with fundamentalist groups around the world are to certain extent true (Adesoji, 2010).

In recent weeks, Nigerian security forces have claimed that some groups of semi-nomadic Fulani herdsmen engaged in bitter and bloody conflicts with farmers in several Nigerian states are actually

composed of members of Boko Haram. A statement from Nigerian Director of Defence Information Major General Chris Olukolade claimed the potentially dangerous identification came during the interrogation of Fulani herdsmen arrested after a series of killings and arson attacks in Taraba State (Vanguard [Lagos], April 23; Leadership [Abuja], April 24; Nigerian Tribune, April 24). Reports of Boko Haram members (who are mostly members of the Kanuri ethno-cultural group) disguising themselves as Fulani herdsmen while carrying out attacks in rural Nigeria are common. Though many of these reports may be attempts to deflect responsibility from Fulani herders for attacks on sedentary farming communities throughout north and central Nigeria, even the perception that the Fulani herdsmen have joined forces with Boko Haram could propel Nigeria into a new and devastating civil war.

It is abundantly clear from the available evidence that the sect is against anything that has to do with western values in the country in general and northern part in particular. This could be seen in a large number of attacks being unleashed on the Nigerian State with a view to achieving their objectives. That BH is a terrorist, indeed an anarchist, organization is borne out of the fact that it gravitates towards the existence of no government in Nigeria. Its International terrorist tag is based on confirmation by BH that it receives funding, training and logistic support from Al-Qaeda outside Nigeria ("elements of BH have made contact with external groups"); the confirmation by BH spokesman, Abu Qaeda, confirmed that the sect met with Al-Qaeda in Saudi Arabia in August 2011 where they cemented BH's funding and logistic base; the trip made by BH's current leader, Abubakar Shekau, and others to Saudi Arabia in August 2011 to conclude arrangements for technical and logistic support from Al-Qaeda leaders whom Mohamed Shekau calls "our elder brothers"; close cooperation between Recruits from neighboring Chad, Cameroon, Niger and Algeria and Nigerian-based BH; the smuggling of the weapons used by BH in Nigeria from Libya by Al-Qaeda and BH through Chad and Niger; (Olagunju , 2012).

4.2 Understanding the Involvement of the Western Powers on Boko Haram Terrorism

Prior to the Chibok attack; Nigerian pride had prevented her from overtly seeking foreign assistance against Boko Haram. Under intense popular and diplomatic pressure, that Rubicon has now been crossed and the US and other states' Special Forces and reconnaissance aircraft may stay on in Nigeria well beyond the current abduction crisis under the logic of protecting civilians. President Jonathan's

announcement in early May of an extra-budgetary $1 billion for emergency military procurement is an added incentive for international security cooperation. Boko Haram's ideology is strongly opposed to Western influence in Nigeria. In 2012, Boko Haram released a video calling for jihad against the United States, Israel, and Great Britain (Danjibo, 2009). However, Boko Haram has never directly targeted any of these nations. In response to Boko Haram's recent abduction of over 250 school girls and threatens to sell them, both the United States and Great Britain offered advisers to support the Nigerian government's recovery effort. Due to the incompetence of the police, a coalition of security operatives around the world went probing the Thursday's bomb blast which rocked the Police Headquarters, Abuja (Danjibo, 2009).

Some agencies allegedly ordered by the presidency indicated that a number of operatives from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in the United States of America (USA), the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in the United States and officials of Saudi Intelligence Agency are already working with Nigeria to unravel the sources of the bombs used by Boko Haram sect for the attack. Nigerian officials eventually decided to cooperate fully with international agencies because of the widespread belief that the dreaded Al-Qaeda group is behind moves to destabilize countries of the world, using different groups. Danjibo (2009) submitted the fact that reports later confirmed that "There is an ongoing alliance involving the Metropolitan Police, the FBI, the CIA and other agencies including the Saudi Arabia intelligence. They are looking at evidence confirming that the Boko Haram sect members were trained in Darfur, Libya, Iraq and Sudan." The US had revealed the existence and intentions of BH before now. For instance, In the past few years, US intelligence assessments reveals that BH elements had received training from Al-Qaeda-linked militants based in Mali, warning that BH was getting more sophisticated (US NMS, 2008).

The Commander of US Africa Command (AFRICOM), General Carter F. Ham, had revealed in 2001 that BH is one of the three African terrorist groups (the other two being the Shabaab of Somalia and Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb) "(that) have very explicitly and publicly voiced an intent to target Westerners and the US specifically", and that the three organizations have agreed to "collaborate and synchronize their efforts", drawing attention to the public proclamation by BH that it planned closer cooperation with Al-Qaeda on the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and with Al-Shabaab (the Somalia-based militant group). (The New York Times, 26 Dec. 2011). In June, the U.S. government designated Boko Haram's leader, Abubakar Shekau, an individual terrorist and set a reward of $7 million for information

leading to his location. Though the November 13 FTO designation received media attention, its practical consequences are limited, most involving visa restrictions and checks on financial support of American origins (Danjibo, 2018).

Obama Administration officials have viewed Boko Haram primarily as a locally focused, but potentially regional extremist threat in West Africa. U.S. policy toward the group is guided by an assessment of the extent to which it poses a direct threat to the United States and U.S. interests, and is also influenced by U.S.-Nigeria relations. Other terrorist threats on the continent have demanded greater attention and resources from the United States—Al Shabaab, in Somalia, continues to be ranked by Administration officials as the primary terrorist threat in Africa, although extremist groups in North Africa and the Sahel have been viewed as an increasing threat in recent years (Joselow, 2011). The State Department designated three individuals linked to Boko Haram as Specially Designated Global Terrorists (SDGTs) in June 2012, including Boko Haram leader Abubakar Shekau, and in June 2013 it issued a $7 million reward for information on the location of Shekau through its Rewards for Justice program (Joselow, 2011). In November 2013, the State Department designated Boko Haram and Ansaru as Foreign Terrorist Organizations. International attention to Boko Haram's abduction of the young women in Chibok elevated the group's status among U.S. policy makers in May 2014, and the U.S. government has deployed additional resources to the region to support Nigerian efforts to counter the group. Successive U.S. Administrations have viewed Nigeria, a top recipient of U.S. foreign aid, as a critically strategic country on the African continent. It is Africa's largest economy and its most populous country, with almost 180 million people, roughly divided between Muslims and Christians.

Its Muslim population is among the world largest. The Nigerian government is an influential actor in African politics, and the country holds a rotating seat on the U.N. Security Council in 2014-2015. In early 2014, the Director of National Intelligence, James Clapper, outlined various threats facing the country, including "critical terrorism threats from Boko Haram and persistent extremism in the north, simmering ethno-religious conflict ... and militants who are capable of remobilizing in the Niger Delta and attacking the oil industry." (Le Sage, 2011).Clapper also warned about "rising political tensions and violent internal conflict" in the lead-up to the country's 2015 election, warning that "protests and upheaval, especially in northern Nigeria, are likely in the event of President Goodluck Jonathan's re-election." Many U.S. officials, while stressing the importance of the U.S-Nigeria relationship and the

gravity of security threats within and emanating from the country, remain concerned about reported abuses by Nigerian security services, and about the government's limited efforts to address perceived impunity for such abuses. For their part, Nigerian officials reportedly remain wary of perceived U.S. interference in internal affairs and dismissive of certain training offers. These factors appear to have constrained security cooperation, despite shared concerns over terrorism and other regional security threats, despite concerns about Nigeria's counterterrorism approach to date, the Obama Administration has committed, through a formal dialogue mechanism known as the U.S.-Nigeria Binational Commission (BNC), initiated in 2010, to support Nigerian efforts to increase public confidence in the military and police to respond more effectively to the extremist threat (Joselow, 2011).

In addition to USAID programs to counter radicalization in Nigeria, the State Department and the Department of Defence (DOD) have deliberated in recent months on how best to ensure a shift by Nigeria to "an integrated civilian-security-focused strategy to counter Boko Haram and Ansaru in a manner that adheres to the rule of law and ensures accountability." Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Linda Thomas-Greenfield has urged the Nigerian government to take a more "holistic" approach to terrorism, suggesting that regional and socioeconomic disparities have contributed to Boko Haram recruitment. She suggests that the Nigerian response should incorporate efforts not only to degrade the group's capacity, but also to provide justice and ensure accountability "in instances where government officials and security forces violate those [human] rights," in part to "diminish Boko Haram's appeal and legitimacy"(Le Sage, 2011).

5.1 Summary and Conclusion

This study has examined the activities of Boko Haram and how their quest for global recognition and expansionist tendency has brought them to collaborate with other international terrorist groups. The study went further to attempting to explain the driving forces behind the Boko Haram phenomenon. While commonly perceived as solely a domestic problem, the threat posed by Boko Haram has important multinational origins, drivers, and implications. The position of the study however is that the insurgency group has brought Nigeria to the fore in relation to terrorist attack in the international arena and has gravely impacted the external relations of the country. In any case, it is clear that Boko Haram has metamorphosed from a strictly religious movement to one espousing a political agenda. Is

of no doubt that different set of militants group have emerged in Nigeria with Boko Haram leading the prawn.

The Study assesses Boko Haram insurgency group and summed that the nation's diplomats may be at the crossroad considering the need to design the core aspects of any nation's foreign policy, the national interests; this involves so many actors that need to unify on the needs and wants of the country. Deciding on this aspect comes with numerous challenges that will trigger the necessary shift from idealistic policies that does not align with our economic agenda to aggressively pursue of our ambitions such as our foreign direct investment goals.

The Nation NewsStudy (2013: 5) reported thus: even though the group started out as a purely Islamic group, the disposition of the group became questionable for three reasons. Firstly, the sect is not only out for non-Muslims, it is fighting the government as well. This is evident in the group's bombings of the United Nation (UN) House in Abuja and other government owned structures. Secondly, recent Boko Haram news showed that the sect has non-Muslims as its members. Thirdly, the group has not spared some prominent Muslims, as they had attacked mosques and killed Islamic religious leaders in the past. And we can conclude that Boko Haram were have early been used by some Northern Politicians as a political militia but the group subsequently move out of their control and constitute threat to the whole Nigeria. No wonder Ambassador Yusuf Mamman (Vanguard NewsStudy, 2011)

5.2 Policy Implications

1. Accordingly, it is important that both the Nigerian government and external partners make a priority of keeping links between northern Nigeria and the outside world open. Ultimately, this is a battle for the trust of the local population. Communications is a central element of the stabilization equation. External engagement can accelerate the government's learning on this front as well as the broader question of how to confront a dangerous domestic adversary with restraint and sensitivity for civilian casualties. Comparable challenges are being faced in contexts from the Sahel, the 94 Maghreb, and East Africa, to Latin America and East Asia.

2. No one country has all the answers. Yet, opening channels of information-sharing with legitimate actors in these contexts can help avoid some of the most costly mistakes. Enhanced regional security cooperation, particularly with Nigeria's northern neighbours – Chad, Niger, and Cameroon – is of

particular priority given the regional elements of the militant threat. The challenges posed by Boko Haram are emblematic of an emerging security paradigm in Africa today where local grievances are fused with international ideology, funding, and technology.

3. Effectively addressing the multi-layers of this threat will require the cooperative engagement of Nigeria's neighbours and international partners. Boko Haram is unlike most other challengers to the Nigerian state, such as militants in the Niger Delta, in that it is ideological and not easily bought off with oil money. It may be that some of its combatants have been lured by money, but the Salafist commitment of its leaders is real. Aside from seeking retribution for the murder of their founder, Yusuf, the group has a strong commitment to overturning the corrupt basis of Nigerian political and social life.

4. The U.S. Intelligence Community must increase its intelligence collection on Boko Haram, including human intelligence (HUMINT) and signals intelligence (SIGINT). It must also enhance its liaison relationship with Nigerian security services and help build their capacity to combat the threat posed by Boko Haram to Nigerian and U.S. interests. This should ultimately be done with complete respect for the sovereignty of Nigeria.

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