

Contents

1 Introduction	1
Rationale and Justification	1
Brief on Methodology	4
Sample and Sampling Method	4
Methods of Data Collection	5
Ethical Issues	5
Ethnographic Overview of the Areas of Study	6
Gwoza Town	7
Maiduguri	9
Why the Choice of Maiduguri by Boko Haram?	10
References	13
2 Global Islamic Fundamentalist Influence and Theoretical Explanation of the Insurgence	15
Global Islamic Fundamentalist Influence in Nigeria	15
Nature and Roots of the Concept of Islamic Fundamentalism	15
Islam and Fundamentalism	19
Towards a Theoretical Explanation	21

	Merton's Theory of Anomie	22
	Relative Deprivation Theory	23
	Borum's Four Steps and Other Explanations	25
	The Staircase to Terrorism Model	25
	References	27
3	Historical Antecedents and Context of the Boko Haram Insurgence	31
	The Historical Context of Islam in Nigeria: Origin, Growth and Influences	31
	Life and Times of dan Fodiyo as a Pioneer Islamic Leader in Nigeria	32
	Lugard, British Colonial Enterprise and Islam in Northern Nigeria	39
	Further Antecedents to the Insurgence	41
	References	43
4	Origin, Growth and Ideology of Boko Haram	45
	Origin and Growth of Boko Haram	45
	Ideology and Goals of Boko Haram	51
	Understanding the Basis of Boko Haram's Islamic Theology or Ideas	51
	The Immediacy Notion and Redefining 'Unbelievers'	53
	Yusuf and the Making of the Boko Haram Ideology	55
	External Sources of Boko Haram Ideology	59
	Proper Perspective: Of Islam and Jihad	61
	References	63
5	Contemporary Trends and Factors in the Making of Boko Haram	67
	The Sharia Dilemma in Nigeria	67
	The Sufi-Salafi Divide in Nigeria's Islam	69
	The Impact of the Izala Movement	72
	Almajarai: Catalyst to Violence or Scapegoating the Vulnerable?	75

Relating Boko Haram to Similar Islamic Fundamentalist Sects Before It	78
Evaluating the ‘Haram’ Notion	80
History of Disdain for Western Education	83
References	88
6 Structure, Funding and Socio-economic Imperatives of Boko Haram	91
Structural Organization of Boko Haram	91
On Boko Haram Funding	93
Boko Haram and the Exploitation of Entrenched Socio-economic Marginalization	96
Statistical Indicators of Socio-economic Marginalization	100
Avoiding a Mono-Causal Explanation of the Boko Haram Insurgence	103
References	106
7 Escalation of the Insurgence: July 2009, Leadership and the Remaking of Boko Haram	109
The 2009 Face-Off	109
The Killing of Yusuf and Emergence of Shekau	111
Characterizing Victims of Boko Haram’s Come-Back Attacks	112
The Leadership Impetus to Boko Haram Insurgence: Between Yusuf and Shekau	115
Mohammed Yusuf: The Marks of a Charismatic Fundamentalist Leader	116
Abubakar Shekau: A Walk in the Dark	119
Some Comparison Between the Two Leaders	121
A Strike at the Heart of the Infidels: The Assault on Chibok	124
References	129
8 Between Terrorism and Innovative Proselytization	131
Innovative Proselytization: What Is New and Strange About Boko Haram	132
The Terrorism Credentials of the Boko Haram	134

	Boko Haram and the Generation of Fear and Panic	134
	Children and Women as Pawns in the Insurgence	136
	From Targeted Assassinations to Senseless Violence	138
	The Media as Agents of Terrorism for Boko Haram	141
	References	144
9	Boko Haram and the Secular Threat to Nigeria	147
	Theorizing the Secular State in Nigeria	149
	Islamic Fundamentalism and Secular Challenge Overtime	152
	Government and Undermining of Secularity in Nigeria	156
	Secularity and the Desires of Boko Haram	160
	References	165
10	Ethnicizing the Boko Haram Insurgence	167
	Ethnicity, Its Nature and Embodiments in Nigeria	168
	Ethnicity, Politics and Resource Competition	173
	State, Ethnicity and Marginalization: Fertilization of Social Conflict	175
	Boko Haram and the Charge of Ethnicity	178
	Boko Haram, Ethnicity and Re-writing the Kanuri History	179
	References	182
11	Coming to Grips with New Forms of an Old Problem: State Response, Internal Challenges and External Credentials	185
	The State: Interpretation and Response	185
	The Political Interpretation and Response	186
	The Military Response	190
	The Military Options: From JTF to JTF (ORO) and Lafia Dole	190
	New Strategies and Cry for Help	191
	Incapacity of the Nigerian Security Agencies in Dealing with Boko Haram	192
	Splitting and Re-connecting: Internal Challenges and External Credentials of Boko Haram	195

	Contents	xxi
The Ansaru and Wilayat Angle to the Insurgence		195
Going Global or Seeking Sympathy Beyond the Borders?		198
International Connection and the Label of Terrorism: Is Boko Haram Fair Game?		202
References		206
12 Conclusion: Beyond Religion and Emergent Socio-political Counterpoints		209
The Character of the State and Boko Haram's Growth		209
The Debate with Religion: Appraising the Legitimacy of Boko Haram's Claims to Islam		210
Just War and the Pillorying of Modernity		213
Concluding Thoughts and Defining Characteristics of Boko Haram		215
A Combination of Theoretical Explanations and Resolution Strategies		219
References		225
Glossary of Terms		227
Index		231