

Islamic Fundamentalism and the Problem of Insecurity in Nigeria: The Boko Haram Phenomenon

Ezeani Emmanuel Onyebuchi¹ and Chilaka Francis Chigozie²

¹*Department of Political Science University of Nigeria, Nsukka,*

²*Department of Political Science University of Nigeria, Nsukka,*

Abstract: *The article explored the impact of Islamic fundamentalism as typified by Boko Haram on insecurity in Nigeria. Using Huntington's theory of clash of civilizations, the article argued that the rise of Boko Haram with its violent disposition against Western values is a counter response to Western civilization that is fast eclipsing other civilizations. The article notes that the wanton destruction of lives and properties by the Boko Haram sect constitutes a major threat to national security. It recommends that the Nigerian government should as a matter of urgency mobilize the whole panoply of its security architecture to checkmate the activities of Boko Haram. More importantly, the government should explore and intensify efforts at finding a political solution to the problem through dialogue.*

Keywords- *Boko Haram, Civilization, Fundamentalism, Islam, Insecurity*

I. Introduction

Many renowned scholars such as Karl Marx and Nietzsche had views that were vitriolic against religion. Marx (1844) canvassed for the abolition of religion because it is antithetic to genuine human happiness. For him, therefore, the abolition of religion is required for real happiness. However, since religion is considered as a private affair, the position of Marx and others who share his views have been overlooked. In fact, religion is persisting in modern society and in great variety. More importantly, the importance of religion to mankind can not be overemphasized.

However, with the 9/11 terrorists attacks of United States of America, scholars began to reappraise the importance of religion, having observed its affinity with violent extremism. This apprehension was raised against the backdrop of the increasing incidence of religious violence in several countries around the world. "Religious crisis without doubt is as old as religion itself, but the tendency to promote militancy and intolerance from within extremist religions appears to be much more common now than in times past" (Makowsky 2009:1). In Nigeria, no account of the state will be complete without reference to religion. This is because, the Nigerian state is one that embodies an extremely complex web of ethnic, linguistic and religious groups. A geographic and religious fault line divides its more than 120 million populations into a Christian-dominated south and a Muslim-dominated north.

However, religion in Nigeria, at different levels, is mostly mentioned in negative terms. Or rather, historical events linked to religion tilts more towards its negative than its positive contribution to the Nigerian state. The Jihad, the civil war propaganda, the *sharia* law controversy, the tensions provoked by the Nigerian accession to the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC) and the incessant religious crises that have engulfed the Northern part, mainly, indicate the deleterious impact of religion in Nigeria (Danjibo u.n:3). In fact, in Nigeria and many other places, religious violence has been hugely associated with Islam. "Islam in Northern Nigeria in general, has gone through episodes of radicalization or violent outburst" (Fwatshak 2012:139).

Several of these violent outbursts have occurred in Nigeria. For instance, the Maitatsine riots of 1980s, which claimed thousands of lives and set the tone for subsequent riots involving the Maitatsine Islamic sect in other northern cities like Bulunkutu, Yola, Jimeta and Gombe. Another was the destruction of churches and other properties belonging to Christians by Muslim mobs protesting the construction of a church in Kano's Muslim heartland in October 1982 (Suberu & Osaghae 2005:18). The scourge of religious violence in post-independence Nigeria has become a recurring decimal since then. In 1987, for instance, religious riots broke out in Kafanchan, Zaria and Kaduna. The crisis struck Kano in 1990; Bauchi in 1991; Kano and Kastina in 1992 and Kaduna in 1999; Zangon-Kataf riots of 1992; Tafawa Balewa clashes in 1991 and 1995 (Iwara 2006:160; Salawu 2010:346; Onuoha 2011:6).

It was expected that the return to democracy in 1999 will douse the embers of religious violence in Nigeria. Contrarily, the country is witnessing more religious violence. There were instances of religious violence in Jos in February and September in 2001; Abuja, Bauchi and Kaduna once again in 2002; Warri, Jos and Kaduna in 2003; Wase (Yobe State) in March 2004; Yelwa (Plateau State) and Sokoto in February, 2005; and Maiduguri, Bauchi, Abuja, Jos, Kastina, Onitsha, Enugu, Yobe, and Dutsi in 2006 (Iwara 2006:160). Not

surprisingly, lives and property were destroyed as a result of religious violence in Nigeria between 1999 and 2003. Another report however revealed that three years of conflicts (September 2001-May 2004) between rival Christian and Muslim ethnic groups in Plateau State alone claimed about 53,787 lives (Onuoha 2011:7).

Particularly worrisome is the rate at which extreme religious fundamentalist groups have flourished in Nigeria and “are united in the ultimate objective of establishing Nigeria as an Islamic state” (Suleiman 2009:20). These groups include, among others, the Islamic Movement of Nigeria led by Sheik Ibrahim El-Zakzakky; the Boko Haram led by the late Mohammed Yusuf; the Kala-Kato led by Mallam Badamasi; Darul-islam led by Aminu Bashir Abdullahi; Ahmadiya Movement led by Al Gulan; Khadiriyya led by Nasir Kabara; Darika Shi’a Salafiya (or Izala) led by Late Abubakar Gunmi; Tijjaniya led by Isiaku Rabi, and the Tariqqa group led by Dahiru Bauchi (Onuoha 2011:7). The activities of some of these sects now threaten the legitimacy of the Nigerian state as well as undermine the safety of lives and property of its citizens. Of these sects, that of Boko Haram with its radical extremism is the one that Nigerian security architecture has been grappling with.

Boko Haram’s ideological mission is primarily to overthrow the Nigerian state with its Western values and then impose strict Islamic Sharia law in the entire country. This is a violent reaction against the Nigerian state with predominantly western attributes. There is an obvious clash of civilizations. A clash between Islamic values and western values, in fact, the efforts of the West to promote its values of democracy and liberalism as universal values, to maintain its military predominance and to advance its economic interest has engendered counter responses (Huntington 1993:29). Thus, the rise of Boko Haram with its violent disposition against Western values is a counter response to Western civilization that is fast eclipsing, that is, if it had not eclipsed other civilizations such as Islamic civilization.

The article explored the impact of Islamic fundamentalism which Boko Haram typifies on insecurity in Nigerian. The article is divided the paper into seven sections with this brief introduction as section one. Section two, provided the theoretical framework for explaining the Boko Haram phenomenon in Nigeria. Section three examined and clarified some concepts germane to the article. Sections four, looked at the origin, development and philosophy of Boko Haram. Section five examined the structure, leadership and funding of Boko Haram. Section six explored the contribution of Boko Haram to the problem of insecurity in Nigeria. We concluded in section seven.

II. Theoretical Perspective

Nigerian political system has entered a new phase-emergence of violent extremists groups, and scholars and public commentators have not hesitated to advance meanings of what they are seeing. To many in Nigeria, Boko Haram is the automatic answer to the groaning poverty, injustice and corruption in Nigeria (Gowon 2012; World Council of Churches 2012; Shettima 2012).

For us in this article, the Boko Haram emergence and philosophy will be better appreciated within the clash of civilizations theoretical framework. This theory was originally formulated by Huntington (1992) and later developed in other works (see Huntington, 1993 and 1996). The main argument of Huntington that people’s cultural and religious identities will be the primary source of conflict in the post=Cold War world.

Huntington believed that while the age of ideology had ended, the world is now faced with cultural conflict rooted in civilizations. He is of the view that conflict, essentially, will revolve around cultural and religious lines in years to come. As an extension, he posits that the concept of different civilizations, as the highest rank of cultural identity, will become increasingly useful in analyzing the potential for conflict.

Fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future (Huntington 1993:22). “A civilization is a cultural entity. Villages, regions, ethnic groups, nationalities, religious groups, all have distinct cultures at different levels of cultural heterogeneity... A civilization is thus the highest cultural grouping of people and the broadest level of cultural identity people have short of that which distinguishes humans from others” (Huntington 1993:23-24). More significantly, different civilizations offer individuals different answers about how they should live their lives, social norms, relationship with others and permit them to pursue what they think is a fulfilling existence. Civilizations are differentiated by history, language, culture, tradition and most importantly religion. The world is divided along this line and makes conflict inevitable.

Huntington argues that civilizational conflicts are “particularly prevalent between Muslims and non-Muslims”, identifying the ‘bloody borders’ between Islamic and non-Islamic civilizations. He further observed that some of the factors contributing to this conflict are that both Christianity (which has influenced Western civilization) and Islam are:

- Missionary religions, seeking conversion of others

- Universal, "all-or-nothing" religions, in the sense that it is believed by both sides that only their faith is the correct one
- Teleological religions, that is, that their values and beliefs represent the goals of existence and purpose in human existence.
- Irreligious people who violate the base principles of those religions are perceived to be furthering their own pointless aims, which lead to violent interactions.

More recent factors contributing to a Western-Islamic clash, Huntington wrote, are the Islamic Resurgence and demographic explosion in Islam, coupled with the values of Western universalism-that is, the view that all civilizations should adopt Western values-that infuriate Islamic fundamentalists. All these historical and modern factors combined, Huntington wrote, would lead to a bloody clash between the Islamic and Western civilizations. The political party Hizb ut-Tahrir also reiterated Huntington's views in their published book, *The Inevitability of Clash of Civilization* (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Clash_of_Civilizations).

Thus, following the destruction of the World Trade Center in September 2001, the late terrorist Osama bin Laden announced the beginning of what he regarded as a war between civilizations, and many in the West shared the view that the secular Western world and the world of fundamentalist Islam were now on collision course (Masbach & Rhodes 2006:380).

Therefore, part of the ongoing transformation of Nigerian politics with violent extremism rearing its ugly head can be understood as a clash between Islamic civilization and Western civilization. The driving force of Boko Haram is religion which Huntington, identified as the most fundamental factor in the clash of civilizations. Islam is violently questioning its vitiating by Western values. This explains why Boko Haram demands for no other thing order than the abolition of western education, its liberal democratic principles and values in Nigeria.

1.1 Conceptual Clarifications

Islamic fundamentalism- Islam means total submission to the will of Allah (God) as revealed by the prophetic message of Muhammad, the prophet of Islam. It is guided by the five pillars of the belief in one monotheistic God, prayer (through the medium of Arabic); fasting; arms giving; and pilgrimage to Mecca. It is a monotheistic and Abrahamic religion articulated by the Qur'an, a text considered by its adherents to be the verbatim word of God and by the teachings and normative example of Muhammad, considered by them to be the last prophet of God. An adherent of Islam is called a *Muslim* (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam>).

Islam derives its strength from simplicity and contentment because it 'offers no unattainable ideal, no priests, no bishops, there are no complexities of dogma or ritual...and there are no barriers whatever of caste, race or colour' (Hobgen & Kirk-Greene 1966: 20).

Fundamentalism on the other hand is an "unswerving belief in a set of basic and unalterable principles of a religious or philosophical nature". The term was traditionally used for Christians who believed the Bible to be the literal truth even when it was found in conflict with modern scientific discoveries. In other words, fundamentalists stress "the authority of scripture and the necessity of righteous living". It also places great emphasis "on right doctrine and the necessity of organized warfare against the forces of modernism" (Komonchak, Collins & Lane 1993: 212).

It is on the grounds of organized warfare against the forces of modernity not to crush religious doctrines that fundamentalism acquired a derogatory connotations. "Fundamentalism" is now a commonly-used term in describing the ultra-conservative expressions of Islamic, Christian, and Jewish faith groups, among others ('Introduction to Islamic Fundamentalism', <http://www.brucegourley.com/fundamentalism/islamicfundamentalismintro2.htm>).

Islamic fundamentalism is the group of religious ideologies seen as advocating a return to the 'fundamentals' of Islam: the Quran and the Sunnah. Islamic fundamentalism as an ideology is based upon two 'pillars': the conviction that Islamic law (the *sharia*) is the only valid system for regulating human life (individual, social and political), and the conviction that a true and faithful Muslim society can only be achieved through an Islamic teaching (Guazzone cited in http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_fundamentalism). However, with the rate at which many Muslims employ violence to achieve their aim, scholars tend to see violent extremism as Islamic fundamentalism. American historian Ira Lapidus calls Islamic fundamentalism "an umbrella designation for a very wide variety of movements, some intolerant and exclusivist, some pluralistic; some favourable to science, some anti-scientific; some primarily devotional and some primarily political; some democratic, some authoritarian; some pacific, some violent." He distinguishes between mainstream Islamists and Fundamentalists, saying a fundamentalist is "a political individual" in search of a "more original Islam," while the Islamist is pursuing a political agenda" (Lapidus cited in http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_fundamentalism).

It is the extremist individual Muslims that employ physical force of violent death to defend Islam that are today referred as Islamic fundamentalist and derive their justification for such acts of violence from the Quran which gives a scriptural rationale for their militant views:

Fight in the cause of God those who fight you, but do not transgress limits; for God loveth not transgressors. And slay them wherever ye catch them, and turn them out from where they have turned you out; for tumult and oppression are worse than slaughter; but fight them not at the sacred mosque, unless they (first) fight you there; but if they fight you, slay them. Such is the reward of those who suppress faith. But if they cease, God is Oft-forgiving, most Merciful. And fight them on until there is no more tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in God; but if they cease, let there be no hostility except to those who practice oppression (S. 2:190-193).

Hence, Islamic fundamentalist engage in terrorist activities against Western government and society. This informed the sarcastic position of *The New York Times* of 9th September, 1993, stating that "Muslim fundamentalism is fast becoming the chief threat to global peace and security as well as a cause of national and local disturbance through terrorism. It is akin to the menace posed by Nazism and fascism in the 1930's and then by communism in the 50's" (cited in Sahib "What is Islamic Fundamentalism?" retrieved from <http://www.mustaqim.co.uk/printfundamentalism.htm>).

1.2 Insecurity

Insecurity-within the context of this article, insecurity can be seen as reduced capacity and capability of the government to safeguard and protect the country, property and persons etc., against attacks by Boko Haram. Insecurity occurs when the government is unable to protect its individuals, cherished values and interest from threat. Further, a country is insecure not only when its sovereignty and boundaries are violated but also when the individual and the collective rights of the people to life are constantly violated with impunity. A country also experiences insecurity when human rights, economic opportunities and the sanctity of human lives are constantly violated with little or no effort on the part of government to nip it in the bud. We can rightly say that Nigeria of today is insecure as there are reasonable evidence to show that violent extremists groups are now having field day in wanton and unprovoked destruction of lives and property. Our notion of insecurity here is in relation to Boko Haram violent attacks in Nigeria.

Civilization-The term 'Civilization' is used in several related ways. Primarily, the term has been used to refer to the material and instrumental side of human cultures that are complex in terms of technology, science, and division of labour. Such civilizations are generally hierarchical and urbanized. In a classical context, people were called 'civilized' to set them apart from barbarians, savages, and primitive peoples while in a modern-day context, 'civilized peoples' have been contrasted with indigenous peoples or tribal societies (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Civilization>). There is a tendency to use the term in a less strict way, to mean approximately the same thing as 'culture' and therefore, the term can more broadly refer to any important and clearly defined human society (Fernandez-Armesto 2001 cited in <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Civilization>). Still, even when used in this second sense, the word is often restricted to apply only to societies that have attained a particular level of advancement-especially the founding of cities.

For us, "A civilization is a cultural entity. Villages, regions, ethnic groups, nationalities, religious groups, all have distinct cultures at different levels of cultural heterogeneity... It is defined both by common objective elements, such as language, history, religion, customs, institutions, and by the subjective self-identification of people" (Huntington 1993:23-24).

III. Boko Haram: Evolution, Development and Philosophy

The exact date of the emergence of the Boko Haram sect is shrouded in controversy. However, according to the Nigerian Director of Defence Information, Colonel Mohammed Yerima, the sect has existed since 1995, under the name of Ahlulsunna wal ' jama ' ah hijra (Taiwo & Olugbode 2009: 4; Onuoha 2012:135). It was then led by Abubakah Lawan, who later left the country for studies at the University of Medina in Saudi Arabia. The sect has subsequently flourished under various names such as the *Muhajirun* , *Yusufi yyah* sect, Nigerian Taliban and Boko Haram. Another account has it that they operated in 1995 under the name Shabaab, Muslim Youth Organization and operated from the Indimi Mosque, located along Damboa Road, Maiduguri, Borno State and had one Mallam Lawan as leader and another Mallam Usman as secretary (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boko_Haram).

However, in 1999, Mallam Lawan left Nigeria for further studies at the University of Medina, Saudi Arabia, thereby ultimately surrendering the leadership of the group to the late Mustapha Modu Jon, popularly known as Mohammed Yusuf. It was under Yusuf's leadership that the group acquired enormous influence and popularity, if not notoriety. Today, the name Mohammed Yusuf has become the rallying name for members of the sect, as he was said to have laid the foundation for the growth of the organization (Onuoha, Odoh & Chilaka, 2012:3).

The official name of Boko Haram is The Group of Al-Sunna for preaching and Jihad, which is the English translation of Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-Jihad, its Arabic name. However, because of the method of the sect's operation, it is believed that the residents of Maidugiri dubbed the sect Boko Haram meaning "western education is sin". The sect has however, frowned at perceived misrepresentation of the sect's activities as a result of the name 'Boko Haram'. According to one of its members, Mallam Sanni Umaru:

Boko Haram does not in any way mean "Western Education is a sin" as the infidel media continue to portray us. Boko Haram actually means "Western Civilization" is forbidden. The difference is that while the first gives the impression that we are opposed to formal education coming from the West ... which is not true, the second affirms our belief in the supremacy of Islamic culture (not Education), for culture is broader, it includes education but not determined by Western Education' (*Vanguard*, 2009: <http://allafrica.com/stories/200908140646.html>).

The sect in a pamphlet circulated on major streets in Bauchi after the July 2009 attacks again frowned at the name 'Boko Haram', stating that its name is "*Jama'atu Ahlissunnah lidda'awati wal Jihad*", which means 'People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad' (Onuoha 2012:2). The different names given to the sect does not matter, what matters is the philosophy of the sect. The philosophy of the sect is rooted in the practice of orthodox Islam. Orthodox Islam in their interpretation abhors Western education and working in the civil service. This explains why the sect is popularly known as the Boko Haram, literally meaning 'Western education is a sin' (Boyle 2009). The group strongly opposes western way of life, democratic institutions, constitutional laws and the institutions of the Nigerian state. It is a Jihadist movement that strives to destroy democracy and establish a sharia state in Nigeria. A member of the sect had stated that their mission was to "clean the (Nigerian) system which is polluted by Western education and uphold Sharia all over the country" (Hazzad 2009).

The group can also be said to be anti-Christian going by its recent activities of attacking Christians and bombing churches. Further, the sect believes in the radicalization of its members and uses the internet to propagate its violent ideology. They are motivated by the conviction that the Nigerian State is filled with social vices, and thus 'the best thing for a devout Muslim to do was to "migrate" from the morally bankrupt society to a secluded place and establish an ideal Islamic society devoid of political corruption and moral deprivation' (Akanji, 2009:60). Non-members were therefore considered as *kuffar* (disbelievers; those who deny the truth) or *fasiqun* (wrong-doers) (Da'wah Coordination Council of Nigeria 2009:14). Members wore long beards, red or black headscarves and reject the use of certain modern (purportedly Western) goods, such as wristwatches and safety helmets. The irony, however, is that they do not reject or refuse to use technological products such as motorcycles, cars, cellular phones and AK-47 guns, and other benefits that are derived from Western civilization.

IV. Structure, Leadership, Membership and Funding of Boko Haram

Violent extremist's organizations are devoid of precise structure. Their organizational structure is usually in a state of flux due to its perceived vulnerability to a precise structure. It is also the structure of these groups that determines their strengths and weaknesses, as a result of this; they are shrouded in secrecy, complexity and operate in cells. "A terrorist group may form one cell or many cells that operate locally or internationally. The disintegration of terrorist organization into smaller units called cells makes the organizational structure more complex, difficult and effective in their operations. The cells are the smallest elements of the terrorist group, yet the most effective driving force of the operation of the organization - cells serve as building blocks for the entire organization" (Tunde, <http://odili.net/news/source/2012/jan/8/823.html>).

There is no gainsaying the fact that the sole aim of cellular structure of these organizations is the issue of security. The cellular form makes it difficult for an adversary or security agents to penetrate them. It makes them to be very obtuse and elusive. In fact, many members of these organizations are ignorant of other members of different cells apart from the members of their cell. This explains why the crackdown on the sect by security agents in Nigeria has yielded little or no result.

Those within one cell are apparently oblivious of the existence of other cells, and this makes it difficult if not impossible for information to be divulged to non members or infiltrators. This explains why the Nigerian security agencies have been unable to extract useful and intelligence information that could nip BH in bud or at least minimize its attacks. It can now be stated that BH appears to have a loose structure. Its activities seem to indicate that leaders are scattered. For instance, some key members of the dreaded BH sect have been arrested in different parts of northern Nigeria (Onuoha, Odoh, & Chilaka, 2012:6).

The Boko Haram sect was led by Mohammed Yusuf until his death just after the riots of July 2009. Yusuf was born on 29 January 1970 and hailed from Girgir village in the Jalasko local government area of Yobe State. He had four wives and 12 children. The young Yusuf was a secondary school drop-out who received a

Quranic education in the Chad and Niger republics, where he imbibed his radical ideology. His radical stance generated friction between himself and other moderate Islamic scholars like the late Jafa Adam, Sheik Abba Aji and Yahaya Jingir (Onuoha, 2012:136). He had two deputies (*Na' ib Amir ul-Aam I & II*). According to Onuoha (2012:136) each state where they exist has its own *Amir* (Commander / Leader), and each Local Government Area where they operate also has an *Amir*. Below the Local Government *Amirs* are the remaining followers. They also organized themselves according to various roles, such as Soldiers and Police, among others. Although Mohammed Yusuf was killed by security forces in 2009, his deputy, Abubakar Shekau, who was initially thought to also have been killed, appeared on a video in 2010 and claimed leadership of the group (<http://www.red24.com/members/indepth/bokoharam.php>).

Later, there became a leadership tussle between Shekau and Mamman Nur. During the attack in which Shekau was said to have been murdered, it was Mamman Nur that took over temporarily as leader while Shekau recovered from the gun wounds he sustained during the attack by security forces.

It is believed that Boko Haram recruits its members by various means including by force, preaching and hypnosis. At the onset, men were forced to join the sect, while women were compelled to cook for them (Fwatshak 2012:158). Boko Haram draws its members mainly from dissatisfied youths, unemployed graduates and former *Almajiris* (Street Children), mostly in northern Nigeria (Onuoha 2012:2-3). A lack of education and a high unemployment rate in northern Nigeria has given the group a seemingly bottomless reservoir from which to draw disgruntled youth recruits. Nigeria's State Security Service estimates that Boko Haram has over 540,000 members. The sect also has some well educated, wealthy and influential people as members. They have graduates who burnt their certificates and joined, teachers and university lecturers who resigned their appointments and joined. For example, Kadiru Atiku, a former university lecturer led the sect in Sokoto (Fwatshak 2012:158). The group's membership is also thought to be bolstered by extremist elements from Chad, Niger and Cameroon who cross over the notoriously porous northern border regions into Nigeria.

The sect receives funds from highly-educated, affluent and influential people such as contractors, university dons, businessmen, former retired force officers and politicians who have sympathy for the sect. For instance, in recent time, the media was awashed with information of the arrest of Alhaji Bunu Wakil, a contractor and 91 other persons alleged to be the main financiers of the Islamic sect (Onuoha, Odoh and Chilaka, 2012:7). Members also pay a daily levy of 100 naira to their leader (Onuoha 2012:137). This provided the basic source of funding for the sect, augmented by the resources from other well-meaning Nigerians. It is also believed that the sect have external financiers. Sources confirmed that while the organization relied on donations by its members in its earlier days, its links with Al-Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) opened it to funding from groups in Saudi Arabia and the UK (Taiwo 2010). One may as well include the raiding and robbing of commercial banks in Nigeria as another source of fund.

V. Boko Haram and Insecurity in Nigeria

Differences among civilizations are too basic in that civilizations are differentiated from each other by history, language, culture, tradition, and, most important, religion (Huntington, 1993). That is to say that religion is the most fundamental factor that influences clash of civilizations. As we noted in the preceding part of this article, this civilizational conflicts are particularly prevalent between Muslims and non-Muslims. In the world and Nigeria in particular, Islam is violently rejecting the values of Western universalism, that is, the view that all civilizations should adopt Western values. Boko Haram has a sole motivation - to overthrow the Nigerian state with its Western values and then impose strict Islamic Sharia law in the entire country. Little wonder they are called Boko Haram-Western Education is a sin. It abhors the legitimacy of the secular Nigerian state, invariably described as *dagut* ("evil") and unworthy of allegiance, and wishes to wage war against it in an effort to replace it with a "purified" Islamic regime. It is not just in Nigeria that the clash between Islamic civilization and Western civilization is raging. The Islamic fundamentalists have declared war against America and its Western principles. This explains why America has been attacked and continues to be attacked by Islamic and Arab sponsored terrorists' organizations. A violent attack that does not espouse economic issues as reasons for it but the overthrow of Western values is a conflict of civilizations.

Boko Haram does not hide its intention of destroying anything Western in Nigeria, ranging from western education, liberal democratic principles and its institutions, Christianity which is a Western religion, mode of dressing and other Western values. It does not call for the economic empowerment of its members rather, it called for a full scale Islamization of the country and uses every means including violent fear of physical death to pursue its goals. Huntington cannot be farther from the truth with his clash of civilization thesis. Boko Haram under Yusuf's leadership strove for self-exclusion of its members from the mainstream corrupt society by living in areas outside or far away from society in order to intellectualize and radicalize the revolutionary process that would ultimately lead to violent overthrow of the Nigerian state. By disassociating from the larger society, members became more indoctrinated by the ideologues who inculcated in them anti-secular ideologies (Onuoha 2012:3).

The above observation became the root of violent extremism of members of the sect. However, this violent extremism was veiled until 2009 following sectarian violence in Nigeria in July 2009 which left over 1000 people dead. The violent activities of Boko Haram in Nigeria have seriously eroded security in Nigeria. Its violent operations have led to incalculable loss of lives and properties. Between July 2009 and January 2012, the Boko Haram conducted roughly 160 separate attacks, resulting in the death of over 1000 people and internal displacement of hundred others. It has also claimed attacks that have killed more than 500 people since the start of 2012. The attacks had occurred mainly in Maiduguri, the capital city of Borno State. However, several of such attacks for which the group has claimed responsibility, have occurred in Bauchi, Gombe, Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Niger, Plateau, and Yobe states, and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Abuja. The sect has concentrated its attacks mainly in northern Nigeria, although analysts feared that it may extend its attacks to the Christian dominated South as security agencies firm up counterinsurgency operations against the sect in these northern states.

In fact, the biggest security problem bedeviling the Nigerian state is the Boko Haram issue. Its insurgency has taken its toll on Nigerian security architecture, led to the firing of a National Security Adviser and has also resulted to a large dose of controversy between northern and southern politicians. The following table shows the numerous violent attacks carried out by Boko Haram in Nigeria. The table is not exhaustive of the attacks.

Table 1: Some of Boko Haram attacks in the Northern part of Nigeria between July 2009 to November, 2012.

Date of attack	Place of attack	Number of persons killed
July 27,2009	Attack on Potiskum, Yobe State. Divisional police headquarters	Three policemen and one fire service officer died.
March 13, 2010	Anther sect operation in the northern part of Jos, plateau State,	Led to the death of 300 people.
September 8, 2010	Bauchi central prison was set ablaze	Members of the sect freed.
October 1 2010	Explosions near the Eagle square, Abuja,	Claimed 12 lives, leaving many Injured.
December 24, 2010	A bomb attack in Barkin Ladi, Jos, Plateau State.	State killed 8 people.
December 31, 2010	Explosion at Mogadishu Mammy Market, Abuja,	Claimed about 10 lives.
January 21, 2011	The Borno state governorship Candidate of All Nigeria peoples party, ANPP, for the 2011 election, Alhaji Modu Gubio, brother state.	Alhaji modu Sheriff, Killed by sect members alongside six others in Maiduguri, Borno State.
March 2, 2011	Mustapha Sandamu, at Rigasa area of Kaduna State	Boko Haram killed two policemen Attached to the residence of the Divisional Police Officer,
March 30, 2011	Bomb planted by Boko Haram in Damaturu, yobe state exploded	And injured a police officer.
April 8, 2011	Bomb at INEC office in Suleja, Niger State, claimed lives of	Eight corps members and a suicide bomber
April 9 , 2011	Bomb explosion occurred at a poling Unit in Unguwar Doki, Maiduguri, Borno state	Killing the suicide bomber
April 26, 2011		Three people killed and scores injured in bomb attack.
April 29, 2011	Army Barracks in Bauchi Bombed	Number of persons Killed not disclosed by the military authority
May 19, 2011	In bomb attack	Three policemen killed and two soldiers injured
May 29, 2011	Explosion at mammy market of in shandawanka barracks in Bauchi state.	Claimed lives and left many injured
May 30 , 2011	Bombs exploded early morning on Baga road in Maiduguri, Borno State, Borno state,	13 dead and 40 injured.
June 7, 2011	Series of bomb blasts occurred in Maiduguri,	Claiming five lives and leaving several others injured.
June 16, 2011	Bomb blast at Damboa twon, Maiduguri, Borno state	4 children killed
June 16, 2011	Nigerian police headquarters Abuja, bombed by a suspected suicide bomber,	Three killed and many vehicles damaged.
June 20, 2011	Bokok Haram stormed Kankara police station in Katsina State.	Seven policemen killed and two of the security men guarding a bank opposite the station were also killed.
July 9, 2011	A clash between Boko Haram and the military in Maiduguri. Also in Suleja, Niger State. A bomb targeted at a church.	35 people dead and many others injured.
July 11, 2011	Tragic explosion at a relaxation joint in Fokados Street, Kaduna	No casualty recorded.
July 12, 2011	Boko Haram threw an explosive device on a moving military patrol vehicle,	Claimed five lives.

Islamic Fundamentalism And The Problem Of Insecurity In Nigeria: The Boko Haram Phenomenon

July, 15, 2011	Explosion in Maiduguri	Injured 5 people.
July 23, 2011	An explosion close to the palace of the Shehu of Borno, Abubakar Garbai Elkanem,	Injured 3 soldier
July 25, 2011	Bomb explosion near the palace of a traditional ruler	Claimed 8 lives
August 25, 2011	A bank robber by the sect members	4 policemen, 1 soldier killed and civilians and carted away undisclosed sum of money
August 26, 2011	A suicide bomber drove into the United Nations building in Abuja,	23 killed and 60 injured.
September 12, 2011	Attack on a police station in Misau Bauchi state.	Seven people, including four policemen, killed during the bombing
September 13, 2011	Sect members shot in an attack in Maiduguri, Shortly after the arrest of 15 sect members during military raids on Boko Haram hideouts in Bauchi State	4 Soldiers injured
September 17, 2011	Brother- in – law of Mohammed Yusuf, the slain leader of Boko Haram, Babakura Fugu, Shot dead in Maiduguri by two member of the sect two days after he was visited by former president, Olusegun Obasanjo.	Babakura Fugu, killed
October 3, 2011	Boko Haram attacked Baga market in Maiduguri	Killed 3 people
November 4, 2011	Boko Haram attack in Damaturu, Yobe State.	About 150 people killed
November 27, 2011	Attack in Geidam, Yobe State.	7 people
December 18, 2011	Bomb detonated in Shuwari, Maiduguri, Borno State	3 members of Boko Haram were killed
December 22, 2011	Explosives and gunshots	4 people killed and left several others injured.
December 24, 2011	Bombing in Jos, Plateau State	About 80 people killed
December 25, 2011	Christmas Day Bombing in Madalla, Niger State	About 50 people died
December 30, 2011	Bomb attack in Borno State	Seven people killed in Maiduguri
January 5, 2012	A church Attack by Boko Haram members in Gombe State	About 6 people died
January 6, 2012	Attack in the Christ Apostolic church, Yola, Adamawa state	17 people died and 20 Igbo people were also killed in Mubi in the same State.
January 20, 2012	Multiple attacks in Kano.	About 250 people killed
January 22, 2012	Two churches destroyed in Bauchi State; The headquarters of Tafawa Balewa Local Government Area in the state.	2 military personal, a DPO and 8 civilian also killed
January 26, 2012	The Sabon- Gari area of Kano state witnessed another explosion, which caused another pandemonium in the state	Many inured and some luxury buses were damaged in the explosion.
February 26, 2012	Headquarters, Church of Christ in Nigeria, COCIN in Jos	3 female worshippers killed and 50 others wounded including Yiljap Abraham state Commissioner for information.
February 28, 2012	Boko Haram Bombed primary schools at night, both Muslims and Christians attend the schools. In Gomari Costain primary school and three others in kulagumna, Budum and Abbaganaram are affected in the attack.	No fewer than 5,000 primary school pupils and their teachers have been forced to stay at home. No casualty recorded as the attack took place in the night.
May 2012	Christian Worshippers at the Old Campus of Bayero University Kano	20 Persons Killed, including 2 Professors.
May 31, 2012	Danbare surburd, along Gwarzo highway, Kano, during JTF's rescue operation of kidnapped German expatriate.	Kidnapped German and six others killed.
June 3, 2012	Church bombed at Bauchi state	15 Christian worshippers killed and several others injured.
August 2, 2012	The city of Maiduguri	9 construction workers working at the Shehu of Borno Central Mosque killed.
October 3, 2012	Mubi, Adamawa State	Around 25–46 students of Federal Polytechnic Mubi, were massacred in the town of Mubi in Nigeria during a night-time raid.
October 14, 2012	Maidugiri, Borno State capital	Seven people including a member of the Borno Emirate Council, Alhaji Mala Kaka, were killed
October, 17, 2012	Twin Bomb blast at Gudun Sayawa and Zango area of Bauchi Metropolis	Destroyed the pulpit of the COCIN Church in Zango while the second destroyed a fence in Gudun Sayawa
October 28, 2012	Saint Rita's Catholic Church in Ungwan, Malali, Kaduna State	Suicide bomber killed 8, and injured about 145 people

October 28, 2012	Yelwa, Bauch State	Blast at Illela Quarters, Two injured
November 2, 2012	General Muhammadu Shuwa, residence in Maiduguri, Borno State.	General Muhammadu Shuwa, Civil War veteran, his military security and unidentified guest killed
November 9, 2012	The Southern part of Yobe state	Three policemen were left dead and scores of others wounded after some gunmen suspected to be Boko Haram militants attacked a divisional police headquarters in the southern part of Yobe
November 25, 2012	Armed Forces Command and Staff College Jaji Kaduna Sate	Twin bomb explosion at Saint Andrew Protestant Military Church and Saint Peter's Catholic Church killing 13 people and injured 30 people
November 26, 2012	Headquaters of the Special Anti Robbery Squad, Abuja	Two policemen left dead in Boko Haram attack

Source: Suleiman, T, (*Tell*, February, 6, 2012:44-45); and updated by the authors.

The rate at which violent extremism of Boko Haram has consumed innocent lives in Nigeria is unimaginable. In fact, it has been reported that the sect killed about 815 civilians in Nigerian, between January to August, 2012, while 211 police officers have also been killed by the sect between these periods (Human Rights Watch, 2012). There is no doubt that insecurity of lives and properties especially in Northern Nigeria has become the order of the day as a result of Boko Haram menace.

Again, to say that the deadly activities of the Islamic sect, Boko Haram, are killing the economy of Nigeria especially, the Northern economy is an understatement. In most states in the North, the devastating socio-economic effects of the sect's serial killings and bombings, especially in Borno, Yobe, Niger, Kaduna, Kano, Plateau, Kogi, Bauchi and recently, Sokoto, has destroyed economic and commercial activities with many people relocating to other places. In Maiduguri, Borno State, where the sect originated, the frequent bombings and clashes between Boko Haram and security agents have weighed down seriously on commercial and businesses activities in the city as many business have reportedly crumbled while many people have fled the state. The Maiduguri Monday Market said to be the biggest market in the city is reported to have been seriously affected as hundreds of shop owners, especially Southerners are said to have closed their businesses and left the troubled city. About half of the 10, 000 shops and stalls in the market were said to have been abandoned by traders who have fled the city. Further, about 35 per cent of the over three million Igbo businessmen and traders in Kano state who are engaged in both small and medium scale businesses are reported to have fled to Abuja and the South-east due to the growing insecurity posed by the activities of Boko Haram. (John, <http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/how-boko-haram-activities-destroy-economy-of-the-north/122763/>).

Similarly, the sect's activities have also affected foreign investment in the country. No investor will come to invest in Nigeria especially in the North with the current security challenges. The World Investment Report (WIR) of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) indicated that the Nigerian economy has lost a whopping N1.33 trillion Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) owing to the problem of insecurity. The report indicates that, FDI revenue to Nigeria fell to \$6.1 billion (N933.3 billion) in 2010, with close to a 30 per cent from the \$8.65 billion (N1.33 trillion) in 2009. The report also revealed that the sharp decline of FDI to the country was compounded in the aftermath of the global financial crisis. However, recently, the decline in investment has been attributed to the increasing rate of insecurity in the country, as well as infrastructural decay (UNCTAD cited in Rene, 2012).

The national security problem that Islamic fundamentalism poses in Nigeria and the world at large cannot be underestimated. In fact, the rate at which the violent extremism of the Boko Haram sect has consumed innocent lives of civilians and security forces is a serious cause for concern. Lives and properties in Nigeria of today is nothing but secured. There is a progressive and callous destruction of innocent lives with little or no government effort to arrest the situation as a result of Boko Haram insurgents. The economies of the northern states are fast going into a tailspin and foreign investors are apprehensive of investing in Nigeria all because of the Boko Haram insurgents.

VI. Conclusion

This article articulated the level of insecurity Islamic fundamentalism typified by Boko Haram insurgency has enthroned in Nigeria. The article argues that the rise of Boko Haram with its violent disposition to Western values is a counter response to Western civilization that is fast eclipsing, that is, if it had not eclipsed other civilizations such as Islamic civilization. It notes that civilizational conflicts are particularly prevalent between Muslims and non-Muslims.

That is to say that religion is the most fundamental factor that influences clash of civilizations. In the world and Nigeria in particular, Islam is violently rejecting the values of Western universalism-that is, the view that all civilizations should adopt Western values.. Boko Haram has a sole motivation-to overthrow the Nigerian state with its Western values and then impose strict Islamic Sharia law in the entire country. Little wonder they

are called Boko Haram-Western Education is a sin. In fact, Huntington's prediction that people's cultural and religious identities will be the primary source of conflict in the post-Cold War world has caught up with Nigeria. The article noted that the violent activities of Boko haram has led to wanton destruction of lives and properties; destruction of the Nigerian economy and decrease in foreign investment.

The article recommends that the Nigerian state should take urgent measures and mobilize the whole panoply of its security architecture to address the wanton destruction of lives and property by Boko Haram in Nigeria. But most importantly, the government should also buy into the call for dialogue with the sect so that respite and security of lives and property may be assured in Nigeria.

References

- [1]. K. Marx, *A contribution to the critique of Hegel's philosophy of right* (Paris: Deutsch-Franosische Jahrbucher, 1844).
- [2]. M.D. Makowsky, Emergent extremism in a multi-agent model of religious clubs, available at: *Economic Inquiry*, doi:10.1111/j.1465-7295.2009.00262.x, 2009 (Assessed 6th January 2013).
- [3]. N.D. Danjibo, *Islamic fundamentalism and sectarian violence: the "Maitatsine" and "Boko Haram" crises in Northern Nigeria*. (Ibadan: Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, u.d).
- [4]. S.U. Fwatshak, Radical Islam in the Lake Chad Basin, 1805-2009: from the Jihad to Boko Haram, in U. Egodì (Ed.), *New face of Islam in Eastern Nigeria and the lake Chad Basin: essays in honour of Simon Ottenberg. Essa*, (Markurdi-Ibadan-Abuja: Aboko Publishers, 2012) 35-47.
- [5]. R. Suberu, and E.O. Eghosa, A history of identities, violence and stability in nigeria, *CRISE Working Paper No.6*, 2005
- [6]. U. E. Iwara, Religious violence in Nigeria: causes and consequences, *Sophia: An African Journal of Philosophy*, 8(2), 2006, 153-157.
- [7]. F.C. Onuoha, The state and management of religious violence in Nigeria: a case of the July 2009 Boko Haram revolt, Doctoral seminar, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Ph.D, 2011
- [8]. T. Suleiman, The plot to Islamise Nigeria, *Tell*, 30 November, 2009
- [9]. S.P. Huntington, The clash of civilizations, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 72, No. 3, 1993, 22-49
- [10]. K. Gowon, Injustice, not poverty caused Boko Haram insurgency, available at: <http://pointblanknews.com/pbn/news/injustice-not-poverty-caused-boko-haram-insurgency-gowon/>, 2012 (Assessed 25th November, 2012).
- [11]. World Council of Churches, Poverty and injustice drive Nigeria's sectarian violence, available at: <http://nigeria.news24.com/National/News/Poverty-and-injustice-drive-Nigerias-sectarian-violence-20120711>, 2012 (Assessed 25th November, 2012).
- [12]. K. Shettima, Boko Haram: Borno governor blames insurgency on poverty, available at: <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2012/07/boko-haram-borno-gov-blames-insurgency-on-poverty/>, 2012 (Assessed 25th November, 2012).
- [13]. S.P. Huntington, *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996).
- [14]. The Clash of Civilizations, available at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Clash_of_Civilizations, (Assessed 20th November, 2012).
- [15]. R.W. Mansbach, and E. Rhodes, *Global politics in a changing world: a reader* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2006). http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_fundamentalism (Assessed 20th November, 2012).
- [16]. J.A. Komonchak, M. Collins, and A.L. Dermot, *The new dictionary of theology* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1993).
- [17]. Introduction to Islamic fundamentalism, available at: <http://www.brucegourley.com/fundamentalism/islamicfundamentalismintro2.htm>, (Assessed 20th November, 2012).
- [18]. L. Guazzone, *The Islamist dilemma: the political role of Islamist movements in the contemporary Arab world* (Berkshire, UK: thaca Press, 1995).
- [19]. M.B. Sahib, What is Islamic fundamentalism?, available at: <http://www.mustaqim.co.uk/printfundamentalism.htm> (Assessed 18th November, 2012).
- [20]. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Civilization> (Assessed 20th November, 2012).
- [21]. F. Fernandez-Armesto, *Civilizations: culture, ambition, and the transformation of nature* (Touchstone, 2001).
- [22]. J. Taiwo, and M. Olugbode, Boko Haram leader killed. *Thisday*, 31 July, 2009.
- [23]. F.C. Onuoha, The audacity of the Boko Haram: background, analysis and emerging trend, *Security Journal*. Vol. 25, No. 2, 2012a 134-151.
- [24]. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boko_Haram
- [25]. J. Onuoha, S.I. Odoh, and F.C. Chilaka, Boko Haram threats and global security: exploring United States interest, *Anambra State University Journal of Peace and Development Studies*, Vol.1 No.1, 2012, 1-14
- [26]. Vanguard, Nigeria: Boko Haram resurrects, declares total Jihad, available at: <http://allafrica.com/stories/200908140646.html>, 2009 (Assessed 20th November, 2012).
- [27]. F.C. Onuoha, *Boko Haram: Nigeria's extremist Islamic sect* (A Report by Al Jazeera Centre for Studies, 2012b).
- [28]. J. Boyle, Nigeria's Taliban enigma, *BBC News* 31 July. Available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8172270.stm>, 2009 (Assessed 14th November, 2012)
- [29]. A. Hazzad, Nigeria clashes kill over 50 in northeastern city, *Reuters* 26 July, available at: <http://www.reuters.com/article/newsMaps/idUSTRE56P24N20090726>, 2009 (Assessed 18th November, 2012).
- [30]. O.O. Akanji, The politics of combating domestic terrorism in Nigeria, in W. Okumu, and A. Botha (Eds.), *Domestic terrorism in Africa: defining, addressing and understanding its impact on human security*, (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2009)
- [31]. Da' wah Coordination Council of Nigeria, *Boko Haram tragedy: frequently asked questions* (Minna: DCCN, 2009).
- [32]. A. Tunde, Facts about Boko Haram, available at: <http://odili.net/news/source/2012/jan/8/823.html>, 2012 (Assessed 14th November, 2012)
- [33]. <http://www.red24.com/members/indepth/bokoharam.php> (Assessed 20th November, 2012).
- [34]. A. Taiwo, Boko Haram's funding traced to Uk, Saudi/Arabia, sect planned to turn Nigeria into Afghanistan, arrested kingpin opens up, available at: <http://tribune.com.ng/index.php/front-page-news/35888-boko-harams-funding-traced-to-uk-sarabia-sect-planned-to-turn-nigeria-into-afghanistan-arrested-kingpin-opens-up>, 2012 (Assessed 14th November, 2012).

- [35]. Human Rights Watch, Group says Boko Haram killed 815 Nigerians between January and September, 2012, available at: http://leadership.ng/nga/articles/37268/2012/10/11/group_says_boko_haram_killed_815_nigerians_between_jan_and_sept.html, 2012 (Assessed 20th November, 2012).
- [36]. S. John, How Boko Haram activities destroy economy of the North, available at: <http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/how-boko-haram-activities-destroy-economy-of-the-north/122763/> (Assessed 20th November, 2012).
- [37]. H. Renee, Insecurity in Nigeria: a bad signal to investors?, available at: <http://www.wessociety.com/News/WES%20News/Topic%20of%20the%20Week/Insecurity%20and%20Investment.aspx>, 2012 (Assessed 20th November, 2012).