UNDERGRADUATE THESIS

FACTORS OF CONFLICT BETWEEN BOKO HARAM AND THE GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA IN 2009-2014



By:

THEO DHEWO TONDO WIDIGDO

20120510223

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH YOGYAKARTA

2016

UNDERGRADUATE THESIS

FACTORS OF CONFLICT BETWEEN BOKO HARAM AND THE GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA IN 2009-2014

Prepared and Written as a Part of the Requirement for the Degree Sarjana Ilmu

Politik (S.IP) in the Department of International Relations

Faculty of Social and Political Science of

University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

Name: Theo Dhewo Tondo Widigdo

Student Number: 20120510223

International Program
International Relations Departement
Faculty of Sosial and Political Science
Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta
2016

STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

With this I certified that this undergraduate thesis entitled "Factors of Conflict

between Boko Haram and the Government of Nigeria in 2009-2014" is my own work and

this undergraduate thesis never been submitted for any degree or other proposes in

University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta or the other universities.

This undergraduate thesis contain information, facts and data from publications

by other authors which have contributions inside this undergraduate thesis and it has been

highly respected by attaching clear identification in every works citied and quoted inside

this undergraduate thesis. With this I also certify that the content of this undergraduate

thesis are fully my responsibility.

I sincerely wrote this Statement of Originality and if in the future the content of

this Statement proved to be wrong, as consequence I will take my responsible through

academic sanction based on the rule and regulations which implemented in the University

of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

Yogyakarta, May 18th, 2016

Author,

Theo Dhewo Tondo Widigdo 20120510223

QUOTATION

Let your works speak louder than your words – Theo

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The highest gratitude dedicated to Allah SWT, because only by His permission and bless to me, finally I could finished this undergraduate thesis entitled: "Factors of Conflict between Boko Haram and the Government of Nigeria in 2009-2014" in accordance to the time given to me.

I would like to give my highest gratitude and best regards to my advisor for his patient and advices in guiding me with the writing process of this undergraduate thesis. I also take this opportunity to express a deep sense of gratitude to my examiners for their constructive critics and assessment toward this undergraduate thesis which help it develop even better.

This undergraduate thesis is the highest result of the knowledge which has already been obtained from the process of my undergraduate study in the department of International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta. I realized that this undergraduate thesis is far from perfect and there are still rooms for improvements, as it is the essence of learning. My expectation that this undergraduate thesis will be beneficial and useful for the development of International Relations Study and able to become the additional material for the related topics in this undergraduate thesis.

Yogyakarta, May 18th, 2016

Theo Dhewo Tondo Widigdo 20120510223

FOREWORD

Assalamu'alaikum wr, wb

Alhamdulillahi rabbil'alamin. Every gratitude and bless again dedicated to Allah SWT because of only through His will this undergraduate thesis can be finish as the requirement to achieve the Bachelor degree of International Relations from University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

This undergraduate thesis also successfully presented because of the support and guidance that I got from the supportive actors surrounds me. Therefore this foreword dedicated to specially send my gratitude for those personal because of their supporting role:

- First of all I would like to express my highest gratitude to Allah SWT, because without His permission and His bless to me, I am definitely will not capable to finish this undergraduate thesis well. I felt His blessing in every words and sentences I typed in this undergraduate thesis and His guidance in every difficulty I faced. I believe my achievement in this undergraduate thesis is only the first step toward more exciting life that Allah already prepared for me.
- The other gratitude I send toward my Parents, Mom and Dad, H. Herdoyo Yoso Handono and Hj. Mariyati, who already work really hard to support me in every phase of my educational period in University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta. I will never stop my struggle to prove that I really love both of you through my achievements. I want both of you to know that I will do my best to make Mom and Dad become happiest and proudest parents in the world. Hugs and kisses to you Mom and Dad.
- And my other hugs and kisses are giving to my older sister, dr. Diah Sukmawati Hidayah, Sp.PD, what you have given and done to me during my university life, it seems like thank you and gratitude are not enough. I hope you and Mas Raimond will always be happy and success and I wish you an unending education life (since you like to study). Don't forget me, Mom, and Dad and Brothers. Muah !!!
- The other hugs are to my brothers, Willy Rama Taufan Butho Kadafi and Jihad Halilintar Ravito Al- Banjari. Don't stop learning and studying, be a good boys, make your parents proud and always successful in life. Muah!!!
- I would like to say thank you very much to the board of examiners, Bapak Sugito, S.IP., M.Si., Ibu Siti Muslikhati, S.IP., M.Si, and Prof. Dr.

- Bambang Cipto, M.A, who already show patient and integration in guiding me to finish this undergraduate thesis as well as accurately examine my undergraduate thesis to be, Insha'Allah, flawless.
- To all my lectures in University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, thank you very much for the transfer of knowledge during my undergraduate study. This undergraduate thesis is the accumulation of all knowledge that all of you taught to me. It will be never ending *amal* infested in me from all of you.
- A very special thanks and my highest gratitude to Pak Sugito as my undergraduate thesis advisor, who support my thesis, to guide me in writing the thesis and giving me so much inputs in writing the thesis, thank you for the time and energy that you already gave to me so far, may Allah S.W.T give the best for you in life and afterlife.
- Another thank you is for my language supervisor, Ms. Dilla, thank you for your time and energy in giving me inputs towards my undergraduate thesis language, may Allah S.W.T give you a happy and prosperous life here after.
- The next "Thank You" special for Mbak Atik, Pak Djumari, Pak Ayub, Pak Waluyo and Pak Nur, who are always helping me in every administration processes in my undergraduate study in University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta. May Allah S.W.T give you all a very happy and unending health.
- I am also sending my gratitude and hugs to Michelle Ayu Meilina Rizqa as my supporter, cheerleader and my highest and biggest fan during my process of writing the undergraduate thesis, She showed the best of her in cheering me during my laziest time to write and accommodate all of my *misuh-misuh*, happiness and complaints, She successfully becoming my friend, best friend, little sister and girlfriend during my brightest and darkest time. I hope our journey ahead will always be happy and smooth, spend the never ending togetherness in this live. Amin ya Allah.
- For my college friends, IPIREL 2012 (esp. Areza, Sandy, Cochip, Bibil, Umami, Dwi, Mimi, ILHAM, Ergi, Linggar, Paulllll, Memblek, Aviq, Aan), part of 2013, some of 2014 which in some subjects I became your tutor, and 2015 (which I am quite well-known *kating*). All success, happy and healthy life to you all guys. See you all on top !!!
- For my senior high school friends, NAFARIN, ANTON, AZHAR, OZAN, PAK DOKTER FERDY, GEDER, DAYAT, TAMAMI, WIRA, SELLA, CACHA, PUPUT, which in some occasions cheering me with their superduper *saru*, *garing*, *super bully*, *wacana*, *krik*, *and ngakak* at the same time.

- Success to you all guys, it feels just like yesterday that we spend our high school time and now we all come to the 'real' life. See you on top !!!
- To my games in laptop, esp. GTA V in providing me place to spill all of my emotions (well, a very 'bad' emotion), to spare my laziness in this game, and un-ending adventures there. Well, THANKS!
- Last but not least, I am saying thank you and hugs for myself in sailing through this kind of down-up-down-up-down-up life, you are awesome and a very tough guy. Semangat mengejar cita-cita, jangan mudah jatuh, dan tetap sederhana. Kisses to my own cheeks.:D

This is the end of my undergraduate thesis forewords, this is it, new life ahead after this, be prepared, and good luck to me and all of you who reading this. Whoever read this, don't forget the writer, I wrote this with blood and sweats, send a very good pray to me, please, Theo Dhewo Tondo Widigdo. Thank you Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta for giving me so much things in my university life, *muda mendunia, unggul dan islami*.

Wassalamu'alaikum wr,wb

Abstract

Boko Haram was emerged in 2002 named *Jama'atu Ahlis Lidda'Awati Wal-Sunna*, firstly established as a peaceful group known for education. In 2009, the group started its uprising against the government of Nigeria. The international world shocked when in 2011 the group attacked UN compound in Abuja as the first attack on international actor and in 2014 the group kidnapped about 276 teenage girls from a school in Chibok, increasing the concern from the international world. The conflict continue and escalating, involving another international actors such as another terrorist groups and states; Chad, Cameroon and Niger. The questions emerged when Nigeria is considered as the biggest country in African continent and one of the most populous countries in the world. Nigeria has a large amount of natural resources which is oil discovered back then in 1950s. While tax is not the largest income for Nigeria, the most prominent income for the state is the income resulted from the oil. Thus the factors of conflict between Boko Haram and Government of Nigeria are questioned.

This paper will analyze the factors of the conflict between Boko Haram and the government of Nigeria from 2009-2014. It involves the theory of conflict causes as the tool to find the factors. First, this paper will prove that condition has already prone to conflict because of weak state, unjust political institutions, and massive economic problems. Second it will prove that the conflict eventually triggered by three triggers, one primary trigger which is bad leaders in Boko Haram and the Government of Nigeria and two secondary triggers which are bad domestic problems of Nigeria and African region as Bad Neighborhoods of Nigeria.

Keywords:

Underlying causes, proximate causes, Boko Haram, government of Nigeria, Conflict, Terrorism, Islamic State, Northern Nigeria.

Table of Contents

Requirement Page ii Endorsement Page iii Statement of Originality iv Quotation v Acknowledgement vi Foreword vii Abstract x Table of Contents xi CHAPTER I 1 INTRODUCTION 1 A. History/background of the Conflict 1 B. Research Question 5 C. Theoretical Framework 5 The Theory of Conflict Causes 5 D. Hypothesis 12
Statement of Originality. iv Quotation. v Acknowledgement. vi Foreword. vii Abstract. x Table of Contents. xi CHAPTER I. 1 INTRODUCTION. 1 A. History/background of the Conflict. 1 B. Research Question. 5 C. Theoretical Framework. 5 The Theory of Conflict Causes. 5 D. Hypothesis. 12
Quotation v Acknowledgement vi Foreword vii Abstract x Table of Contents xi CHAPTER I 1 INTRODUCTION 1 A. History/background of the Conflict 1 B. Research Question 5 C. Theoretical Framework 5 The Theory of Conflict Causes 5 D. Hypothesis 12
Acknowledgement vi Foreword vii Abstract x Table of Contents xi CHAPTER I 1 INTRODUCTION 1 A. History/background of the Conflict 1 B. Research Question 5 C. Theoretical Framework 5 The Theory of Conflict Causes 5 D. Hypothesis 12
Foreword
Abstract
Table of Contents
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION
A. History/background of the Conflict
B. Research Question
C. Theoretical Framework
The Theory of Conflict Causes
D. Hypothesis
E. Purposes of writing
F. Research Methodology
G. The Scope of Research.
H. Organization of Writing15
CHAPTER II17
THE CONFLICT ASSESSMENT BETWEEN BOKO HARAM AND THE GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA
A. Timeline of the Conflict
B. Boko Haram History and Profile
1. Ideological
2. Membership and recruitment
3. The purpose of the Boko Haram
4. Network and material support of the Boko Haram
5. Symbol

C. The Actors/Conflicting Parties and their relations	33
D. The Actors' Power and Interest	35
E. The Actors' Style and Tactic Conflict	38
CHAPTER III	40
ANALYSIS ON THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF THE CONFLICT	40
A. Weak State	41
B. Unjust Political Institutions	48
C. Massive Economic Problems.	54
CHAPTER IV	58
THE PROXIMATE CAUSES OF BOKO HARAM AND THE GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA CONFLICT	
A. Bad Domestic Problems of Nigeria.	59
B. African Region as Bad Neighborhoods of Nigeria	62
C. Bad Leaders in Boko Haram and the Government of Nigeria	64
CHAPTER V	69
CONCLUSION	69
Bibliography	72