

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. History/background of the Conflict

Nigeria or the Federal Republic of Nigeria is a federal constitutional republic consists of 36 with Abuja as its capital. Nigeria itself is located in the west part of Africa which borders the Republic of Benin in the west, Cameroon and Niger in the east. Nigeria was formerly the site of many kingdoms and empires, but the present Nigeria is the result of British Empire colonialization. Nigeria's independence was in 1960, when it's southern and the northern parts were united under the colony of British Empire to become Nigeria.

Nigeria with the estimated population of 174 million, and total GDP in 2014 of 594.257 billion dollar (IMF, 2014), is considered as the biggest country in African continent and one is of the most populous country in the world. Nigeria has also one of the largest populations of youth in the world. (CIA, 2013)

Nigeria has a large amount of natural resources which is oil discovered back then in 1950s. Despite the facts that Nigeria is the fifth biggest oil exporter in the world, nearly two third of its population is in poverty-insufficient to fulfil their own daily needs, especially in the northern part of Nigeria. While Tax is not the largest income for Nigeria, the most prominent income for the state is the income resulted from the oil.

Nigeria is divided in some way into two parts those are Christians, that live mostly in the southern and central parts of the country and the percentage is about 48, 2%, and Muslims, centred mostly in the northern and south-western of the regions, the percentage is about 50, 4%. (File, 2012). Nigeria itself consists of many ethnic groups; there are about five hundred ethnic groups, some of them are Ogoni, Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo, Fulani, Efik-Ibibio, Kanuri, Tiv, Edo and Ijaw (Encyclopedia, 2012) and the biggest are Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba.

Since its independence, this state has undergone long period process of substituting its systems, between democratic government and corrupted military dictatorship, through many times of coups. Therefore, basically this state has been developed and constructed through many times of internal conflicts.

Nigeria recently becomes the focus of the international world due to the establishment of terrorist group called Boko Haram on 2002 and its rising violence action in July 2009 and recently on 2014 which attacked schools and kidnapped 276 female students in the Chibok, North Nigeria.

Over the last decade, the security instability in Nigeria has been growing increasingly, especially by the establishment of the terrorist group called Boko Haram in 2002 in the northern-part of the country. Many people died becoming the victims because of the actions of this group, kidnapping, direct attack, and bombs. *Jama'atu Ahlis Lidda'Awati Wal-Sunna* is a Jihadist group or better known as Boko Haram, means "Western education is prohibited" in Hausa language is a militant organization and Islamic terrorists based in north-eastern Nigeria,

Cameroon, and Niger. The Organization was founded in 2002 by Mohammed Yusuf; it is centred in Maiduguri, the capital of the north-eastern state of Borno.

In the first stage of its establishment, this group was initially peaceful. Yusuf for couple of times said that this group is not a militant, it is simply a group consists of younger generations who are determined on upholding Quran, the words of Allah. This group was operated in its mosque in Maiduguri, Borno State, in purpose to educate the young generations by using Al- Qur'an and *Hadits*, without any harmful purpose and the government was not giving any particular attention to this group at its first establishment. Later, he said that this group prefers death rather than having to obey the current corrupt and dishonest government. They promised to keep fighting the government until their death to realize their purpose which then became reality in July 2009. From 26-29 July, this radical group conducted an armed rebellion in purpose to establish an Islamic state in the North. The government reacted by sending military power against them, and ended with 1000 people dead, mostly the members of Boko Haram and 700 of the victims were in the city of Maiduguri.

In this period of time, an intense battle between the security forces and Boko Haram happened resulting with the killing of the leader of the group in July 30. Few hours after he was captured in Maiduguri, without any fair court process, Mohammed Yusuf was executed and soon after the event the picture of his dead body full of bullet holes spread around Nigeria as part of Government

propaganda. Since then until now, the leadership of this group is continued by his loyal follower named Abu Bakar Shekau.

Nigeria itself has already acted hundreds of times by deploying their military to repel this group violent activity around Nigeria, especially in the northern part of Nigeria. According to Human Rights Watch, in World Report 2013: Nigeria (WATCH, 2013), The Nigerian government is struggling to control the bloodshed between the mainly Muslim north and Christian south that has claimed more than 3,000 lives since Boko Haram came to prominence in 2009.

Many cases of the attacks of this group have happened since 2002. Some of the biggest attacks occurred before and until 2009 and also until 2014; on December 2003 - The first known attack by Boko Haram included roughly 200 militant who attacked multiple police stations in the state of Yobe, near the Niger border. The attacks in Kannama in 2004 aimed at government and police buildings. On September 7th, 2010 - In the state of Bauchi, 50 Boko Haram militants attacked a prison, killing five people and releasing more than 700 inmates. On August 26, 2011 - Boko Haram attacked the United Nations compound in Abuja. A car bomb killed 23 people and injured more than 75 others. On April 14, 2014 - Boko Haram militants kidnaped approximately 276 teenage girls from a boarding school in Chibok in Borno. Officials there said some of the girls were able to escape. (Library, 2014)

Since its first emergence in 2002, the government of Nigeria has been continuously fighting against this group. As one of the examples is in June 26th

2014, when over 100 militants were confirmed to be killed by the Nigerian military during a raid on two Boko Haram camps following the Abuja bombing (Gbogbo, 2014). Since the time it killed the first leader and founder of Boko Haram in 2009, the group until recently has developed very rapidly and even more violent and direct toward the innocent civilians. Hundreds of thousands of government forces has been dead and also the militants of Boko Haram, they are fighting against one another resulted a long-term conflict since then.

Therefore, Referring to the above background, this academic writing is aiming at researching: “Factors of Conflict between Boko Haram and the Government of Nigeria in 2009-2014”.

B. Research Question

Why did the conflict between Boko Haram and the government of Nigeria from 2009-2014 happen?

C. Theoretical Framework

The Theory of Conflict Causes

In the paper of “Ethnic and Internal Conflict; Causes and Implications ” by Michael E. Brown¹, the theory of conflict causes is elaborated. The theory of the conflict consists of two levels in analyzing the causes of a conflict. First is the Underlying Causes and second is the Proximate Causes, and both of them are interconnected in explaining the cause of the conflict.

¹ The paper can be found in the book of “Turbulent Peace: *The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*” edited by Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall. Published by UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE PRESS, Washington, D.C. in 2001. P.209-226.

The first level, the underlying causes, focuses on the factors that make some places and some situations to be more prone to violence than others. There are four main clusters of factors as table 1 illustrated; Structural Factors, Economic/Social Factors, Political Factors, and Cultural/Perceptual Factors.

<p style="text-align: center;">Structural Factors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Weak states • Intrastate security concerns • Ethnic geography 	<p style="text-align: center;">Economic/Social Factors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic problems • Discriminatory economic system • Economic development and modernization
<p style="text-align: center;">Political Factors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discriminatory political institutions • Exclusionary national ideologies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intergroup politics • Elite politics 	<p style="text-align: center;">Cultural/Perceptual Factors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Patterns of cultural discrimination • Problematic group histories

Table 1. Underlying Causes of Ethnic and Internal Conflicts

Structural factors consist of three factors: weak states, intrastate security concerns and ethnic geography. The structural factors are most likely be the first important sign of the internal conflict. First, weak states are the starting point for many analyses of the internal conflict. They are mostly the result of colonialism and the lack of political legitimacy, politically sensible borders, endemic corruption, administrative incompetence, and an inability to promote economic development and political institutions capable of exercising meaningful control over the territory placed under their nominal supervision. (Brown, 2001)

Second, intrastate security concerns; when states get weaker over time, internal groups within are concerning over their security. Since weak state can no longer maintain the security, they start to defend themselves and in certain point

the other group will see the defense as an offensive and eventually create a security dilemma.

Third, ethnic geography; to be more specific, states with ethnic minorities are more prone to conflict than others and certain kinds of ethnic demographics are more problematic than others. Some states are ethnically homogeneous, and therefore face few problems of this type. But then it is not impossible for the ethnically homogeneous state to face the internal inharmonic.

Political Factors consist of four factors: Discriminatory political institutions, Exclusionary national ideologies, intergroup politics, and Elite politics. First; discriminatory political institutions factors are related to the kind, condition and the fairness of its political institutions. Michael E. Brown cited that authoritarian are more likely to become fragile to of conflict over time, due to the unfairness within the state, while one group or class's interests are being concerned and the other are being neglected. The same thing can also occur in a democratic condition when some groups are inadequately represented in the government, the military, political parties and other institutions. Violent conflict is likely to occur if oppression and violence are commonly employed by the state.

Second, Exclusionary national ideologies; this factor is related to the national ideology which is not seeing all the citizens to be the same and to have the same rights and privileges, but rather to be the representation of a certain ethnicity and in some cases also religious based.

Third, the dynamics of domestic, inter-group politics. The prospects for violence are great, it is said that if groups - whether they are based on political, ideological, religious, or ethnic affinities - have ambitious objectives, strong senses of identity, and confrontational strategies one to another. (Brown, 2001)

Fourth, some scholars have emphasized elite politics and, more specifically, the tactics employed by desperate and opportunistic politicians in times of political and economic turmoil. The conflict is provoked by elites in times of political and economic trouble in order to fend off domestic challengers. (Brown, 2001)

Economic/Social Factors consist of three factors: Economic problems, Discriminatory economic system, and Economic development and modernization. First, most countries experience economic problems of one kind or another sooner or later, and these problems can contribute to intra-state tensions. Unemployment, inflation, and resource competitions, especially for land, contribute to societal frustrations and tensions, and economic slowdowns, stagnations, deterioration, and collapse can provide the breeding ground for conflict because these problems in economics of a state can deeply destabilizing the peaceful situation.

Second, Discriminatory economic systems; Either on the basis of class or on ethnicity, discrimination can generate feelings of resentment and levels of frustration prone to the generation of violence. Unequal economic opportunities, unequal access to resources such as land and capital, and vast differences in

standards of living are all signs of economic systems that disadvantaged members of society will see as unfair and perhaps illegitimate.

Third, Economic development and modernization; Economic development and industrialization will lead to migration and urbanization disrupting existing family and social systems and undermining traditional political institutions; better education, higher literacy rates, and improved access to grow mass media (paraphrase) raise awareness of where different people stand in society. Eventually raises economic and political expectations, and can lead to mounting frustration when these expectations are not met.

Cultural/Perceptual Factors consist of two factors: Patterns of cultural discrimination and Problematic group histories. The former one is cultural discrimination against minorities. Problems include inequitable educational opportunities, legal and political constraints on the use and teaching of minority languages, and constraints on religious freedom. The later factor has to do with group histories and group perceptions of themselves and others; it is closely related with the “ancient hatreds”.

The second level in analyzing the conflict causes is the Proximate Causes. The proximate causes are consisting of conflicts that are triggered by (1) elite-level as opposed to mass-level factors and (2) internal as opposed to external developments. These different sets of problems generate four different kinds of conflicts. (See table 2)

	Internally Driven	Externally driven
Elite Level	Bad leaders	Bad neighbors
Mass Level	Bad domestic problems	Bad neighborhoods

Table 2. Proximate Causes of Ethnic and Internal Conflicts

After analyzing the underlying causes of the conflict and being informed about which kind of situations and conditions are more likely or predispose to violent and ended in conflict, the question emerges, to what extent will the conflict become? And this second level of analysis will explain about the catalytic factors or the trigger of the conflict as it is interconnected with the underlying causes in elaborating the explanations.

First, as cited by Michael E. Brown as the bad domestic problems are the conflicts can be triggered by internal, mass-level phenomena, such as rapid economic development, modernization, and internal migration.

Second, the conflicts that is triggered by mass level but external in character, such as swarms of refugees or fighters crashing across borders, bringing turmoil and violence with them, or radicalized politics sweeping through regions. These are the conflict caused by the contagion, diffusion and spillover effects referred as bad neighborhoods by Michael E. Brown.

Third, the proximate causes of a third set of conflicts are external but elite level in character: they are the results of discrete, deliberate decisions by governments to trigger conflicts in nearby states for political, economic, or ideological purposes of their own. But this will only work if the targeted state is

already in a condition where violent and conflict are more likely to happen, and where a stable and just society are unable to be targeted (Chester A. Crocker, 2001).

Fourth, the last proximate causes are internal and elite level. These are called as the bad leaders the condition where leaders did power struggles involving civilian or military leader, ideological contest, and criminal assault on the state.

Referring to the theory suggested by Michael E. Brown, a conflict occurs when a place or situation that's already prone to the conflicts as stated in the underlying causes of conflict, and conflict itself do not merely happen. Instead they happen because there is a trigger or proximate causes in conditions that are already prone to it.

It can be seen from the condition of Nigeria, political economic and social conditions that Nigeria is a large country on the African continent but has many problems such as corruption, poverty, political gaps and problems in its governance, those all were the one that triggered the emergence of Boko Haram and create situations prone to conflict. Boko Haram's decision to fight and start a rebellion against the government of Nigeria was not only triggered by the economic development and modernization gaps between the western and northern Nigeria, but also by the existence of external supports for Boko Haram.

The significance of the theory of conflicts proposed by Michael E. Brown in addressing conflict of Boko Haram and the Government of Nigeria is that this

theory can analyze the whole causes of a conflict systematically, starting from its first insurgency in 2009 until the conflicts occurred in 2014 which was triggered by condition of Nigeria. Thus, can be analyzed by using the factors which is already mentioned above.

D. Hypothesis

As the above background, the conflict between Boko Haram and the government of Nigeria from 2009-2014 can happened, according to the theory of conflict causes by **Michael E. Brown** is as follows:

1. Referring to underlying factors, the conflict between Boko Haram and Government of Nigeria happened because of the phenomenon of weak state, the existence of the massive economic problems, unjust of its political institutions, and cultural discrimination against minorities.
2. As cited in the proximate causes, the fragile situation in Nigeria is triggered by a mass level phenomena of having bad domestic problem and bad neighborhoods.

E. Purposes of writing

The purpose of this undergraduate thesis is to explain the reasons and the factors of the conflict between Boko Haram and Nigeria from 2009-2014. The group firstly emerged on 2002 and did some small attacks in the following years. But on 2009, Boko Haram began its Islamist Insurgency in Nigeria and conflicted with the Armed Forces of Nigeria even until 2014. Beside that, the research is also conducted in order to find out more about Boko Haram itself and the condition of

Nigeria where the group firstly established. The research is also aimed at drawing the attention of the society about the conflict happened in Nigeria and the surrounding area which is resulting lots of casualties, even until this recent time.

The other important purpose of research purposed is to implement of the knowledge which has already been obtained from the process of studying in the International Relations program by analyzing theory with the existing phenomenon in hope that it will give a positive contribution especially for the students of International Relations. This undergraduate thesis is required to achieve the undergraduate degree in International Relations program, Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

F. Research Methodology

This research is formulated in two methodologies: method of data collecting and method of explanative research. The method of data collecting is conducted through the library research and also through the media; printed and electronic media, internet, articles or journals and some reference books.

The other method is the method of explanative research; a research which studies the connectivity of cause and effect between two phenomenons or more. The explanative research is used to decide whether the connection of the cause and effect is true or false. Referring to the research question, the aim of the explanative research is able to explain factors of conflict between Boko Haram and the Government of Nigeria in 2009-2014.

Besides that, in analyzing the related data, the deductive method will be used. The way of the analysis of the deductive method is by developing the available theory based on the factual evidences then draws a specific generalization. In this case, the deductive method will explain a phenomenon by considering the conclusion and a part of logic consequences from the presumption being used.

G. The Scope of Research

As previously explained, the movement of Boko Haram was established in 2002 as having no threat against the Government of Nigeria. However many years afterwards Boko Haram began their attacks and threat toward security in Nigeria, and all became real after the emergence of Boko Haram conflict in 2009. As becoming the triggering point, the date has become a milestone of the conflict development from year-after until 2014.

Underlining these problems, a brief summary of the history of Boko Haram; involving its creation on 2002, its first insurgency and conflict with the armed forces of Nigeria on 2009, the conflicts until 2014, and a description of the conditions of Nigeria; is made through this research. Although the conflict had already occurred since 2002 and emerged greatly on 2009, this research will focus on analyzing conflicts within the timeline of 2009 to 2014 as the reference. But the chances are some sources of incidents dated before 2009 can still be used regarding their connectivity to the 2009 to 2014 analysis.

H. Organization of Writing

This thesis consists of 5 chapters and the explanation of each chapter will be elaborated in detail through sub chapters. The case is elaborated thoroughly in chapter I as the case of attempting to write a coherent and systematic paper. The writing systematic of the research is as follows:

CHAPTER I describes the background to the problem, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, purposes of research, research methodology, the scope of research and organization of writing.

CHAPTER II elaborates the dynamic of conflict between Boko Haram and the government of Nigeria and also describes the early history of the founding of the Boko Haram movement; including a profile of the founder and leader of the Boko Haram movement, ideological, membership, the purpose of the Boko Haram, as well as network and material support of the Boko Haram and symbol.

CHAPTER III focuses on the study of the socio-political dynamics of Nigeria, which includes conditions of the region, history, economy as well as natural resources, the throes of a religious or ethnic group in Nigeria as a part of the analysis on the Underlying causes of the conflict.

CHAPTER IV will explain the trigger of the conflict based on the proximate causes of the conflict between the government of Nigeria and Boko

Haram and explanation the establishment of a conflict which is influenced by international factors. It will be closely related with the previous chapter.

CHAPTER V contains the conclusions of all the explanation that has been presented in the previous chapters.