

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

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Abstract

Boko Haram emerged in 2002 formerly named as *Jama'atu Ahlis Lidda'Awati Wal-Sunna*, initially established as a peaceful group known for education. In 2009, the group started its uprising against the government of Nigeria. The international world was shocked when in 2011 the group attacked UN compound in Abuja as the first attack on international actor and later in 2014 the group kidnapped about 276 teenage girls from a school in Chibok, increasing the concern from the international world. The conflict continued and escalated, 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.

Introduction

This paper will explain the factors of conflict between Boko Haram and the government of Nigeria in 2009-2014 by using theory of conflict causes. There are two levels of analysis in this research. First, this research will prove that the condition in Nigeria is already prone to conflict which explained in the underlying causes of the conflict. Second, it will prove that the fragile conditions of Nigeria will eventually triggered by bad leaders, bad domestic problems and bad neighborhoods. In last, it concludes that the factors of conflict are very complex factors explained in underlying causes and proximate causes.

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 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.

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.

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.

<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 extend 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 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.

ANALYSIS ON THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF THE CONFLICT

In the theory of conflict by Michael E. Brown, a conflict occurred has to be analyzed through two levels, First is the *Underlying Causes* and second is the *Proximate Causes*. The emergence of a conflict into a real situation is not merely a simple process, according to Brown the emergence of a conflict is a process where it can be analyzed complexly and deeply rooted within the society where the conflict happened. The sources of the conflict can be easily found within a society which has already come into a real conflict, but it can be also predicted that if the society is already fragile to conflict. On the other hand, when it already comes into a conflict, the analysis on the sources of the conflict is still highly needed, in order to be an alarm or early indicators for the further situation where conflict can be its worst result. Because the

patterns of the causes of the conflict in any states are similar, starting from the problems lies in its history, economy, until its political atmosphere.

As he cited in *Underlying Causes*, this first level is the level where it can analyze a situation and categorized as a fragile situation to conflict. The factors are economic, political, structural and cultural. So that this part is trying to analyze on the underlying causes of the conflict, where this fragile situation was firstly created and finally emerged into the surface. In this part also will be explained systematically how this fragile situation related to the emergence of *Boko Haram*.

Therefore, the underlying causes of conflict are a weak state, unjust political institutions and massive economic problems. Conditions of weak states is a condition in which the State is no longer functioning properly, the absence of equitable welfare, and is indicated by the rampant corruption and the emergence of vigilante groups, armed groups, and social groups because of the weakness of the role of government, formal institutions and the State. Next is unjust political institutions, this is a situation where government institutions do not provide a sufficient portion and fair approach to a particular party, especially in a democratic system contained in Nigeria, and exacerbated by leaders who closes his eyes on it makes the government in power does not longer got the full legitimacy of the people resulting a complex disapproval toward the government. Lastly is the massive economic problems, in this case is poverty, Followed by illiteracy, un-employment and a severe lack of jobs, this is what makes frustration increased and breeding ground for insurgency and rebellion.

THE PROXIMATE CAUSES OF BOKO HARAM AND THE GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA CONFLICT

In previous part, it has explained the underlying causes of the conflict that led to a state that is prone to a conflict. A condition which is already prone to conflict are complex, not only due to one aspect or factor but various interrelated factors create conditions that are no longer comfortable, stable and safe for the population. This condition eventually lead to feelings is not happy and friction between people. These

conditions previously described that is a weak state, unjust political institutions and massive economic problems.

Thus, the factors which led to conflict-prone situation described above and this writing come to the main question, after an area becomes prone to conflict, but not yet the conflict, to which the condition is triggered into a real conflict and triggered by what. Relations between the two analyzes of different factors that will eventually provide the results of an analysis of the factors of conflict between Boko Haram and the government of Nigeria systematically. According to Michael E. Brown, there are four triggers of conflict are bad leaders, bad domestic problems, bad neighbor and bad neighborhoods. A conflict could only be triggered by one trigger, so with four of these triggers can be generated four different conflicts, but could also several of the triggers involved in a conflict. And Brown also stressed the importance of bad leaders as an important trigger in the event of his conflict. In this part will be explained in detail about bad domestic problems, bad neighborhoods, and bad leaders as the triggers of conflict between Boko Haram and the Nigerian government. Although there are three triggers in this analysis, the trigger of conflict analysis focused on Bad Leaders as a primary trigger, but the involvement of other triggers such as bad domestic problems and bad neighborhoods also needed in resulting a concrete analysis.

Bad Domestic Problems of Nigeria

With the condition at the local level has been very supportive to the occurrence of a conflict. Things like that were already described in the previous part, the conflict was marked by a condition that leads to a state of conflict, but at some point or what circumstances would trigger a real conflict. In this section is a section which outlines the domestic issues such as the modernization and rapid economic development that eventually triggered the conflict.

Social inequalities, sharing of natural resources are not evenly distributed, the allocation of the national budget, and infrastructure are unevenly distributed between the north and the south that has a modern and growing very rapidly. At this point, modernization and rapid economic development role is to trigger a conflict.

Modernization by Krishan Kumar in *encyclopedia britannica* “Modernization, in sociology, the transformation from a traditional, rural, agrarian society to a secular, urban, industrial society.” (Kumar). So there are changes in some order in society significantly. Another thing that is the movement of secularization and rationalization of life, but does not mention that religion is not useful at all, remains useful but not as dominant before the onset of modernization, because it can all be explained by science and science.

But the point to be noted is the presence of modernization also those who are not affected by modernization, left behind and did not even receive modernization itself, here was emerge the feelings of frustration, rejection, hatred, and envy. The other thing is the rapid economic development, on this issue is concerned with the gaps and inequities arising from too rapid development, because the facts say indeed there is a gap between the north and the south, as the previous part cited that “Whereas the literacy rate in Lagos, Nigeria’s commercial capital on the coast, is 92%, in Kano it is 49%. In the north-eastern state of Borno, where Boko Haram got going, it is 15%. Without better education, the region will struggle to attract investment or create jobs (Economist, 2013). Without better education, the region will struggle to attract investment or create jobs. With infrastructure such as electricity supply is inconsistent and the inability of local companies to compete with cheap imported goods that are ended up triggered the bankruptcy.” As there are two of the city’s most visible in proofing the gaps is the city of Lagos in the south and Kano in northern Nigeria. As the previous part cited, “Lagos city is a thriving city with adequate infrastructure and the largest city in Nigeria that is the source of many investors and industrial area-industries such as oil. While the city of Kano itself is a city that could be considered inversely proportional to the circumstances in Lagos, a lack of government infrastructure and adequate funding from the central government does not allow for the rapid development there.”

It seems clear that rapid development is not accompanied by the development that equitable and justice. This ultimately affects the ideology of Boko Haram itself which see the government of Nigeria as the government secular, westernized, the

unbelievers and unjust and inappropriate to be followed and adhered to, it would be better to separate and establish the Islamic State by Caliph system that they believe to be a fair system, in the northern part of which is not affected by the overall modernization and become a victim of the rapid economic development. They recognized themselves as the jihadist group who is fighting violently in order to strengthen, propagating and maintain Islam and Islamic values and wanted to erase the western influences and values in Nigeria. With the aim of establishing an Islamic State based on "pure" Islamic law and stops the things that are considered as "Westernization", this includes voting in elections, wearing shirts and trousers or receiving a secular education (Chothia, 2015). The Group was influential in the State of Borno, Adamawa, Kaduna, Bauchi, Kano and Yobe State in Nigeria. That all of this makes the direction of the movement of Boko Haram changed into radical, extreme and violent to achieve the goal that eventually trigger the conflict.

African Region as Bad Neighborhoods of Nigeria

After a local problems triggered a real conflict. Influence of problems outside the territory of a country where the conflict occurred is very influential in the occurrence of a conflict. It is not limited to the problem from the outside and then transmitted or spread into but also the factors and actors, or even a group that supports and triggered a conflict because of varied reasons. According to Brown, this bad neighborhoods trigger can be swarms of refugees or fighters crashing across borders, bringing turmoil and violence with them, or radicalized politics sweeping through regions. Thus, Brown said there are three triggers in here, called as contagion, diffusion, and spillover. Contagion refers to the ideas and actions of a group that influences and inspires other groups. Ideas and actions could be a strategy, tactical, and levels of success which usually indirect. Diffusion is the movement of fighters and supporters from one region to another, which in the end there are additional support for arms and fighters to the targeted group.

So that, the reason given could be the similarity of identity, a common vision and mission, or the shape of an empathy and sympathy over the incident that occurred,

one example is oppression by the government of a country to the people, eventually evoked many actors from the outside to assist the movement of the group exist within a state to fight the government of a State. This happened in Nigeria, in the conflict between Boko Haram and the Nigerian government. Where the situation is unfair and uncomfortable generated by the Nigerian government, which in turn emerged Boko Haram to rebel. But in the year 2009 before the situation is not as bad after 2009. However, after 2009, after the leadership of Mohammed Yusuf, the group transformed into a group that is more brutal and massive. In the period after 2009 this was evidence that the trigger comes from outside who support the action and movement Boko Haram.

As been described in the section "material supports and networks". Boko Haram Believed to be the loyal friend of Al-Qaeda, AQIM and Also al-Shabab in Somalia. The United Nations designate Boko Haram as an Al-Qaeda affiliate and approves sanctions against the insurgents. The Cameroonian government says the group is recruiting new members from mosques in towns bordering Nigeria. Kidnappings and mass executions continue across the northeast and in the capital, Abuja, and suicide bombers target schools and crowded mosques and markets in northern cities like Kano and Maidguri.

In the year of 2006 experts said that they received AQIM training in order to prepare better for Boko Haram fighters as well as supports in their weaponry. As in November 2011, the official spokesman of Boko Haram named Abu Qaqa announced that "We are together with Al Qaeda. They are promoting the cause of Islam just as we are doing. Therefore they help us in our struggle and we help them, too" (Brock, Boko Haram-between Rebellion and Jihad, 2012). He also said that, "any Muslim group that is struggling to establish an Islamic state can get support from al-Qaeda if they reach out to them. It is true that we have links with Al-Qaeda They support us and we support them" (Vanguard, 2011). In 2013, when a large contingent of *Boko Haram* fighters attended an AQIM training centre in Timbuktu, Mali (Simcox, 2014).

This was the trigger which they initially lacked of support in the form of human resources and weaponry, training assistance which was initially not trained become well trained, which was initially not so many fighters become a lot of fighters, make Boko

Haram is getting stronger and finally dared to ignite the conflict in 2009 and re-ignite the conflict with the government after its fall in 2009.

Bad Leaders in Boko Haram and the Government of Nigeria

The last proximate cause is internal and elite level. This called as the bad leaders. Decisions and actions of domestic elites every so often determine whether political disputes veer toward war or peace, proximate causes of many internal conflicts are often decisions and actions by domestic leaders, especially in this conflict. There are 3 main variations in bad leaders, first is an ideological struggle - individuals convictions, second is Criminal assaults on the state sovereignty - drug traffickers, third is power struggles - personal political elite competitions. One to emphasize in this conflict is the dimensions of power struggle, the involvement of leaders in a struggle to obtain, maintain and gaining power over something, it can be some territories, population or legitimacy. Leaving elite decisions and actions out of the equation, as many social scientists do, is analytically misguided (Brown, 2001). Power struggles occurred when there is a lack of legitimacy, so leaders need to do something in order to legitimize their rule again.

The situation is already fragile, created from the conditions that have been described at the underlying causes, such as weak states, unjust political institutions and massive economic problems, eventually triggered become large and real conflicts. One very dominant trigger is Bad Leaders. Another thing to note is the desire of the leaders themselves to gain power, regardless of the conditions that have been bad, the desire or greed or carelessness of a leader in taking decisions or achieve something is indeed decisive.

Leaders who moves the crowd with his attitude and plan, this condition is supported by the ugly situations and an abundance of human resources resulting from unemployment, poverty, illiteracy, and disappointment with the government. This makes leaders more easily moves the crowd to trigger conflict. Which will further be explained is the analysis of the role of leaders in this conflict. As the facts say there are two sides of leadership, government leadership and the leadership of Boko Haram

Nigeria. And both sides have also played a major role in triggering the conflict. Starting from 2009 uprising until 2014.

In 2009 uprising, 5 days battle and crackdown by the government toward Boko Haram occurred. It was firstly believed started from the small incident days before when the group want to bury their comrade. Realize that Boko Haram is dangerous, then the government forces with codename Operation Flush II in Maiduguri took action, wounded about 17 Boko Haram members. Due to this attack Mohammed Yusuf angrily denounced the security forces and called on his followers to rise up against them (Smith, 2014). Following the order of Mohammed Yusuf, Boko Haram members started a violent campaign, made police stations as the target and involved in gun battles, no longer after that military come and brutally cracked down the groups. As the result, Yusuf was captured and handed to the police, in the end executed brutally by the police because he tried to escape. In this uprising conflict about 800 people were killed.

Thus, as the fact above has proofed that, in the 2009 uprising which is the first prominent conflict between Boko Haram and the government of Nigeria leader has a very big role in triggering a conflict, although the early confrontation was seen firstly provoked by the incident in the burial but the trigger was in the hand of the Boko Haram leader. Just imagines if Mohammed Yusuf did not angry and tried to settle the dispute peacefully with the government, without telling his followers to start a 5 days violent campaign in several states in northern part of Nigeria the conflict will not happened. And this decision of the first Boko Haram leader proofed to be the first and dominant trigger of the conflict in the early establishment.

The next year, after the death of Mohammed Yusuf, happens 'resurgence' in 2010, there is an increasing conflict here is the attack on the prison in Bauchi and freed 700 prisoners majority Boko Haram fighters, but at this point it is still unknown who the successor to the leadership . Then in 2012, a man named Abu Bakar Shekau appeared in a video on *youtube.com* claimed to be the successor to the leadership and it is proven that Shekau, a confidant of Mohammed Yusuf, responsible for the leadership of Boko Haram (Brock, Nigeria sect leader defends killings in video, 2012). In the new

leadership, Boko Haram became more brutal and massive; Shekau is believed to be the leader of a far more radicals and extreme than its predecessor. Seen from the data that the beginning of 2012 alone, Boko Haram under the leadership of Shekau responsible for over 900 deaths. Here is more emphasized, the crucial role of a leader in bringing the flow and the condition of a conflict, whether it will be more severe or ended in peace between the two sides.

The next is the leadership of the government, as has been explained previously that Goodluck Jonathan led Nigeria from 2010, right after the conflict started. From the president Goodluck Jonathan he took offensive actions to address this issue. Instead of taking a diplomatic way to talk and settle this dispute peacefully by making a win-win situation where no more further violence emerge, but then he decided to fight this group by making a joint task force; military and police and other states such as Chad, Niger, and Cameroon, which in last trigger a protracted conflict. As in 2013 government forces of Nigeria begin its offensive in Borno Region, following the state of emergency in three states, Yobe, Borno and Adamawa which was in 14th of May. (AFP, 2013)

With conditions in northern Nigeria that has already bad enough, the decision of the president of Nigeria to fight this group at the moment is very risky, as a result is a major conflicts and tend to increase especially after the death of Yusuf and passed on to Shekau, the president at the time supposed to talk peacefully and repair the situation in northern Nigeria that has become a fact as "fuel" of the emergence of this conflict and who also have an impact on the lack of legitimacy of Goodluck Jonathan himself. So that in the end, economic conditions, poverty, infrastructure, education, lack of jobs and unemployment decreases and sources of Boko Haram especially its human resources is also reduced over time due to circumstances which increasingly better. As Brown cited in his writing, mounting economic problems such as unemployment and inflation are on the top and sources of competition are intensifying, thus make people easily follow the leader who have a power. Not otherwise continue to fight but does not improve the conditions there, it continued to fight but does not improve the outcome would be the same, that is the prolonged conflict. The other consequence is the killing of innocence civilians, the government ended killing indiscriminately between Boko Haram fighters

and civilians or non-combatants (Jazeera, 2013). This is where the role of the leader is very decisive and will affect the triggering of a conflict, as small and trivial things whatever was decided by the leader will have much effect, especially in a state that is already prone to a conflict.

Conclusion

In conclusion, all of the explanations and findings from this research has explained deliberately the factors of conflict and has been proven through a systematic analyzing toward both of the subjects, Boko Haram and the government of Nigeria. Thus, the research question of this research has been answered, "Why did the conflict between Boko Haram and the government of Nigeria from 2009-2014 happen?". Conflict occurs because of the underlying causes that have made the conditions in Nigeria became vulnerable, particularly in northern Nigeria, they are weak state, unjust political institutions and massive economic problems, which in last triggered by the proximate causes are bad domestic problems in Nigeria, African region as bad neighborhoods of Nigeria, and bad leaders in Boko Haram and the government of Nigeria.

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