TRENDS AND DEVELOPMENT OF *BOKO HARAM'S* IDEOLOGY

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Abstract

The emergence of the Boko Haram insurgency made scholars in different disciplines focus their attention on the group, especially, when the group resorts to violence in the name of Jihad. The heinous activities of Boko Haram forced the Nigerian government to classify the group as a terrorist organization. Scholars researched the emergence of Boko Haram and its ideology. However, further research needs to be conducted on the historical and dynamic nature of Boko Haram and whether it has a connection with Islamic ideology. Using documentary sources, the paper examines the origin and meaning of the word 'Boko' and its historical dynamics paying emphasis on the prevailing views or perception of the 19th and 20th century itinerant Islamic scholars on Boko. Using relevant evidence on Boko Haram's perception of Western education and its criminal activities, the paper concludes that Boko Haram's ideology has no connection with Islamic ideology.

Keywords: Boko Haram, Ideology, Insurgency, Fundamentalism, Terrorism.

Introduction

The 19th century *Jihad* movement made an indelible mark, particularly, in the development of Islamic education in northern Nigeria. The *Jihad* leaders wrote extensively on almost all aspects of Islamic teachings. As a consequence of a deep sense of grounding in Islamic knowledge, there was strong resistance to the British colonial administration in northern Nigeria. The resistance compelled the imperialists to adopt indirect rule as a mechanism for the administration of the then-Northern

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Protectorate. The colonialists started training clerks on how to read and write for administrative convenience. The training usually, focused on indigenes of the area. This is what was known to be *Boko* (western education). As a result of what transpired between Sultan Attahiru and the British army in 1904, a full-blown war broke out, and hundreds -of Muslims lost their lives. Last (2017:34) pointed out that the take-over of the Caliphate by the British was enough reason for Muslims to seek opportunities to resist alien non-Muslim rule or at least to express their distancing from any association with the rule. It is imperative to point out that this is the provenance of the obvious chasm between imperialism as well as *Boko* in northern Nigeria.

Most literature on *Boko Haram* was usually found in commentaries in newspapers and magazines. These narratives are full of disjointed facts that cannot vividly figure out detailed accounts of the *Boko Haram* phenomenon. Albeit, currently, there are books and articles in quite some books and journals narrating the emergence of *Boko Haram* as an insurgence/terrorist group. However, the information found in these narratives tilted towards chauvinism and religious bias, hence, the need for further academic research to detail factual accounts of the *Boko Haram* phenomenon. In an attempt to highlight the emergence of *Boko Haram,* I classified *Boko Haram* into two distinct phases. There was the *Boko Haram* of the 19th and 20th centuries, which was purely ideological and peaceful. They upheld their beliefs and resisted *Boko* (western education) due to fear of the Christianization of their children.

The second phase is the recent *Boko Haram* insurgency, which also claimed to derive its ideology from an Islamic ideological perspective with the sole objective of establishing an Islamic State devoid of corruption and other anti-social behaviour, although their activities suggest otherwise. The paper also traces the meaning and genesis of the word *Boko* and its dynamic nature, who coined it and how it was coined to become *Boko Haram.* Equally, the paper stresses ideological responses from various Islamic scholars on the position of *Boko Haram* insurgency ideology, whether or not it is in accordance with the right tenets of Islam. The paper also examines whether or not *Boko Haram* is an ideology or insurgency. In conclusion, the paper stresses

that the *Boko Haram* insurgency is driven by terrorist ideological perception rather than Islamic ideology.

Conceptualization of the Word 'Boko'

For clarity, one may need to ask germane questions:

a.) What is the meaning of the word *Boko*?
b.) What is the origin of the *Boko*?
c.) Why was the word *Boko* coined?

The word *Boko* derived its provenance from farmers in the north in their drive to deter birds and animals from damaging their crops. When farmers planted their crops, close to harvest, birds and animals, such as monkeys invaded the farms thereby destroying the crops. In an attempt to deter such birds and animals from destroying the crops, farmers usually, erected what they called *Biri Boko* (skycrow) in other words *mutu mutuni* just to scare away the birds and animals. They used the word *Biri Boko*, which is synonymous with deceit. Precisely the word *Boko* means deceit. It was the farmers who founded the word *Boko,* referring to the fact that Western education is a deceit. In essence, *Boko* (western education) is deceitful, the aim was not just to educate northern Muslims or rather Muslims in general. Underneath it (western education) there was then a hidden agenda majorly toward the Christianization of Muslims in the north.

From another perspective, the word *'Boko'* derived its origin from the word 'Book'. Before the advent of Western education, Islamic scholars were using slates in teaching their students, particularly, the younger ones. For advanced students, the books they were using were usually in loosed format, in essence, the papers were disjointed and not bound together in the form of the book, as we have today. However, with the introduction of Western education or conventional schools, books (exercise books and textbooks) were used for teaching students in the schools. As a result of this, those attending conventional schools were called *'Yan Boko'* (children of books or students of books) because teachers were using books while teaching their students in the

classroom, unlike the way or method used by Islamic scholars in teaching their students.

Equally, the word *Haram* is an Arabic word, that simply means forbidden. In other words, *Haram* means anything which is forbidden or not allowed by the Qur'an or Sunnah (tradition) of the holy prophet (PBUH) and it is compulsory for every Muslim to completely keep away from it. The metaphorical meaning of the word, *Boko* simply means deceit. Therefore, the contextual meaning of the word, *Boko*, was translated as ''western education", palpably denotes that Western education is nothing but a deceit, hence, the need for the Muslims to desist from acquiring it (*Boko Haram*).

Conceptualization of Terrorism

There is no agreed definition of the term terrorism among government or academic analysts, but it is always invariably used in a pejorative sense, most frequently to describe life-threatening actions perpetrated by politically motivated self-appointed sub-state groups (McLean,2009:525). Most definitions of terrorism centred on several factors, including violence, desire for publicity, political motive and intimidation aimed at the civilian population (Magstadt, 2013:433). Scholars, classified terrorism based on ideological perception coupled with achievable targets as a consequence of the attack. Notable among them is Magstadt, who classified terrorism into four main categories; state terrorism, international terrorism, and domestic and transnational terrorism. Of this categorization, *Boko Haram* terrorism falls within the ambit of domestic terrorism. Even though terrorists carry out attacks within a country with no ties to any government. Siegel (2016:389) further points out some forms of contemporary terrorism, which include, revolutionary terrorism, political terrorism, nationalist and retributive terrorism and so forth. Siegel however, classified *Boko Haram* under the ideology of retributive terrorism.

Retributive terrorism denotes that as pointed out by Siegel (2016:397) 'some groups are not nationalist, political, or revolutionary organizations. They do not wish to set up their homeland or topple the government but rather want to impose their social and religious code

on them. Siegel cited *Boko Haram* as an example. It is unequivocal to stress that Siegel's classification of *Boko Haram* under this form of terrorism is at fault lines, because *Boko Haram* terrorist activities are beyond Siegel's assertion, in so far as *Boko Haram* went to the extent of capturing some local government areas in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa states. The local governments were run by the terrorists for some weeks before they were recaptured by the Nigerian military. This refutes the Siegel assertion. *Boko Haram* has the thinking of establishing an Islamic state devoid of any Western influence. Albeit their ideologies chided with Islamic principles.

Boko Haram holds the ideology, which inspired them to vociferously declare Western education forbidden and equally, outburst with thinking of establishing a *Sharia* Islamic State in Nigeria. For clarity, ideology means a comprehensive and mutually, consistent set of ideas by which a social group makes sense of the world referred to as an ideology. Ideology provides criteria for distinguishing truth from falsehood and valid argument from invalid argument and overriding belief, whether in God, providence or history in which adherent of that ideology may make a final appeal (Mclean, 2009: 255). Of course, the activities of *Boko Haram* were claimed to be guided by ideology, but the question is, which kind of ideology? Is it ideology inspired by religious belief (Islamic ideology) or political ideologies; or anti-government ideology? One may be flummoxed to answer this critical question. This is the central focus of this article, which will be addressed in the later part of the paper.

Fundamentalism is equally, one of the key concepts attributed to various groups, more especially, groups that are perpetrating violence in society. Invariably, in the Western understanding of the word, Muslims who strictly, adhere to the tenets of Islam are usually called fundamentalists. Fundamentalism is a belief that one’s religious texts are infallible and accurate and that one seeks to return to a pure version of the faith. The central thinking of this ideology is that believers must restore an older, better order that existed before the calamities of modernity (Mansbach, 2012:230).

Framework of Analysis.

No single theory can adequately, depict the emergence, ideology and heinous activities of *Boko Haram*, largely, due to the complexity of the group. Alienation Theory is one of the theories that could be used as a framework for analysis. The major view of this theory is that terrorism becomes an alternative for people whose religious beliefs alienate them from a postmodern, technological global society, whose foreign influence routinely clashes with tradition (belief). The group also has the belief that modern forms of communication, entertainment and social interaction have brought foreign influences that are corrupting and disrespectful to their traditional (beliefs) way of life (Siegel, 2016:395). The assumptions of the theory vividly translate the ideology of *Boko Haram* and the reasons that inspired the group to resort to all forms of violence to wipe out the corruption of Westernization, which consequently, compelled *Boko Haram* to preach and similarly, declare Western education forbidden.

Another related theoretical framework of analysis is the theory of failed state. Seigel (2016), posits that Dugan and Lafree, in their writings found evidence that terrorist attacks against failed states were much more lethal than attacks against other nations. Their findings further stress that nations that provide access to the political process, holding a wide range of views create a culture that reduces frustration, which could lead to violence. States that cannot maintain order or provide services to their citizens are fertile ground for terrorism (Siegel, 2016:395). This suggests the reasons for the emergence of *Boko Haram* in Nigeria. Some social science scholars classified the Nigerian government as a failed state, largely, due to the failure of the government to provide basic essential social services. Worse than all, is the endemic insecurity situation in the country, kidnappings, herdsmen and farmers skirmishes, ethnoreligious crisis and corruption become the order of the day. The combined effect of these unholy activities precipitated the emergence of *Boko Haram.* This could be buttressed with one of the press releases of *Boko Haram,* which reads: 'We call all northerners in the Islamic state to quit the followership of the wicked political parties leading the country to the current irresponsible,

criminal, murderous political leadership, and join the struggle for an Islamic state that will be corrupt free, where security will be guaranteed' (Liolio, 2013:78).

Ideology is equally, a fundamental framework of analysis for understanding the causation and emergence of *Boko Haram* insurgence in Nigeria. Siegel (2016:396) asserts that terrorists hold extreme ideological beliefs that prompt their behaviour. They developed the perception that they were oppressed and victimized by the government for their beliefs. Once they conclude that the government will not help people with their beliefs they resort to violence to encourage change. They used violence to divide people based on religious and ethnic lines and targeted those opposed to their ideology.

Boko Haram insurgency was instigated by their ideological perception coupled with the beliefs that the Nigerian political elites brought hardship, as a result of their corrupt actions. The group felt cheated, largely, because Muslims are not allowed to adopt *Sharia* as their legal system. As a result of this, they started preaching against government vis-à-vis western education, which ultimately, metamorphosed to violence. *Boko Haram's* indiscriminate killings (both Muslims and Christians in the Mosque and Churches) raised unequivocal doubt on which ideological lines *Boko Haram* belongs to. Two intriguing questions remain vacuum as to whether *Boko Haram's* ideology is driven by the Islamic point of view or Western political ideologies, which the group, is vehemently opposed to. The answer to these questions remained the major thrust of this paper.

The Genesis of *Boko Haram*

Boko Haram, as an ideology emerged when the Western system of education was introduced in Nigeria. The then Muslims opposed Western education (which Hausa people called *Boko*) on the premise of those who brought education to Nigeria coupled with its overall objectives. One may need to ask a question as to why Muslims rejected or opposed Western education. Fafunwa (2004:67-68), gave a convincing answer to this question, where he opines:

> When formal education was introduced to Nigeria, the first schools were organized by Christian missionaries and the main objective was to use the school as a means for converting animists and Muslims to Christianity. Education was 'free'- but with strings attached. The primary and later secondary schools were Christianity-oriented. The missionaries by and large were able to carry out their mission with the approval of the British officials. A 'good' citizen in Nigeria and elsewhere between 1850 and 1960 meant one who was African by blood, and Christian by religion.

Fafunwa further, pointed out that between the 19th and the early 20th centuries, the powerful forces of church and state allied to convert Emirs, Obas, chiefs and people to Christianity. Schools were established by the Christian missionaries. When Christian missionaries started converting some Muslim children, the majority of Muslim parents barred their children from attending the schools for fear of conversion. To further buttress the missionaries' staunch activities to convert Muslims, in 1891, a United Kingdom organization known as the Hausa Association was formed to destroy Fulani imposters so that the Hausa conversion would be easy.

Convincingly, this is the reason why the Nigerian Muslims were opposed to Western education, simply, for fear of conversion. Arising from this 'fear' marked the emergence of *Boko Haram* for over a century. I could remember when I was very young, there was a Hausa song, reads as; *'Yan makarantar BOKOKO, basu karatu ba sallah, basu biyar hanyar Allah.* This means those attending Western education schools, could not read (the Quran), and they did not also pray and they are not following the right path (the path of God). Usman (2017:20) in his attempt to trace the origin of *Boko Haram* points out that:

> the expression of *Boko haram* is not a new phenomenon that started with the so-called *Boko haram* group in Maiduguri… It is a long-standing expression by a section

> of the Muslims in the north who feared that the colonial administration brought Western education to stop Islamic education. This is within the context of the fact that most schools where Western education or *Boko* was taught were established by the missionaries who, in some cases, forced those attending their schools to renounce their Islamic faith to embrace Christianity

The advent of missionaries in Nigeria for evangelism and education started in 1842, but was not open to the Muslims except with the condition of renouncing their religion. In 1895, there was a protest against the colonial government by the Lagos Muslims, agitating for the establishment of Muslim schools (Maigida, 2018:334). It is pertinent to add that the Muslim Students' Society of Nigeria (MSSN) was established in 1954, primarily, to liberate the then Muslim students who were studying in various secondary schools in the then western region. They were forced to renounce their Islamic faith or cause havoc to their studies. Some were converted to Christianity and some changed their Muslim names to Christian names in disguise.

In those days, if somebody was teaching in primary or secondary schools, some people did not collect any gift from him, because the perception was, collecting a salary was 'sinful'. Just for the simple assumption that it was the missionaries that were controlling the schools. Even when the government took over the schools from the missionaries, such perception continued, particularly among the itinerant scholars.

It is worth pointing out that it is not only Nigerian Muslims who resisted *Boko* or Western education. There was such a perception by the Saudi Arabian Islamic scholars. The Permanent *Fatawa* Council of Saudi (Lajnah al-Da'imah) came out with a verdict against teaching or attending modern conventional education. The relevant portion of the *Fatawa* reads in part:

> We invite the Muslim Ummah in line with what the council of senior scholars have said; that they should not enrol their children in missionary schools… O you

> Muslim! Contribute to building hospitals, orphanage homes and schools for receiving your brothers, children and the needy among you (*Da'awa* Institute of Nigeria, 2017:2).

The prohibition in the *Fatawa* centred on the premise of preventing Muslim children from attending schools run by Christian missionaries in Saudi Arabia. This was to reduce the Christianization and westernization of Muslim children and other influences of Christian missionaries via the private educational system. It is imperative to stress that the *Fatawa* permitted Western education; however, it was critical of co-education and not Western education (*Da'awa* Institute of Nigeria, 2017:3). This is to corroborate and further shed more light why Nigerian Muslims resisted *Boko* or Western education for fear of converting their children to Christianity.

There is a disconnect between the ideology of *Boko Haram* of the 19th and 20th centuries, the Permanent *Fatawa* Council of Saudi Arabia and the *Boko Haram* of the 21st century. The former has nothing to do with even intimidation let alone killings of fellow human beings. The thinking/ideology of *Boko Haram* of the 19th and 20th centuries was completely eroded and neutralized by the later part of the 20th century. Some see the emergence of *Boko Haram* in terms of intra-Muslim doctrinal disputes dating back to the Sokoto Jihad of 1804, specifically, the 1940s, and the increasingly intolerance, disruptive and violent way they pursued are critical to understanding the emergence of *Boko Haram* (Mustapha,2017: 187). Last (2017:35-36) chronicled the deepening dissidence flashing back to the 19th century when the Jihad leaders had opposing views with their disciples. He further stressed the context of dissidence in the 20th-century scholars delving from *Yantatsine, Qadiriyya, Kalakato, Izala*, and the Shiites, which Last finally, pointed out the latest of such dissidence is *Boko Haram*. Mustapha (2017:58-63) further highlighted some Islamic sects ranging from *Qadiriyya, Tijaniyya, Izala, Shia, Jamaatul Tajdidul Islami* (JTI) and a host of other sects, their ideologies and activities. It is of interest to note that saved Shi'a movement members, which in recent times turned into bolder and

combatant with the government, the majority of these sects chose to banter with each other. More importantly, these sects were very peaceful and law-abiding. This is suggesting the fact that *Boko Haram's* ideology is a blatant deviation from Islamic teachings.

Boko Haram (as an insurgence) emerged when the 21st century was about to clock in. Muhammad Yusuf, the leader of the movement was a member of some Islamic organizations such as *Izalatul Bid'a wa Íqamatul Sunnah,* the *Salafiyya* organization. He later decided to withdraw his membership from these organizations and formed *Boko Haram*, through which he vigorously preached the unholy ideologies of the movement. Despite the rascal nature of the movement, he was able to win the thinking of many youths, particularly, in the northeast. The *Boko Haram* movement was started in 1995, under the leadership of Abubakar Lawan. Lawan later travelled to study at the University of Medina, Saudi Arabia. Upon Lawan's study leave, Muhammad Yusuf became the leader of the group. Yusuf abandoned the initial doctrine and came up with *Boko Haram* in 2002 (Liolio, 2013:64).

The central conception of Muhammad Yusuf was a reflection of what is happening in Nigeria's domestic settings, essentially, as it relates to social vices, such as corruption, abject poverty, robbery, rampaging kidnapping etc. that become very endemic in Nigeria and the north in particular. According to him, these heinous activities are the direct consequence of formal or Western education; hence, he vociferously, declared to his disciples that Western education is forbidden *(Boko Haram)*. This marked the emergence of *Boko Haram* as a movement. Thenceforth, they started launching lethal attacks on government establishments and security apparatus to establish *Sharia* (Islamic State).

It is palpable to stress that the understanding of *Boko Haram* followers on Western education is far from the truth because there is nowhere formal or Western education system in Nigeria emphasizes or legalizes the teaching of corruption and some anti-social acts. Albeit, it is unfortunate that the Nigerian elites who are in the corridor of power are the perpetrators of most of the social vices in the country, ultimately, moved *Boko Haram* to uphold the views that it is the type of education

they acquired that shaped their thinking, which resulted into primitive fleecing, hence, the group declared western education forbidden. It is equally, imperative to opine that the teaching of *Boko Haram* was a departure from the teachings of Islam. Islam encourages people to seek knowledge irrespective of space and time as well as the forms and format.

Boko Haram: Ideology or Insurgence

The Boko Haram phenomenon was born out of shared Islamic ideology as a response to rampaging social vices (corruption, abject poverty, robbery etc.) characterized by the Nigerian society. *Boko Haram,* from the very beginning of their preaching, their mind-set was shaped by the overzealous Islamic fundamentalism. The approach adopted chided with the laid down procedures of Islam, especially, as it relates to *Jihad* vis-à-vis establishment of Islamic State. *Boko Haram's* narrow understanding resulting from the lack of in-depth knowledge of Islam, inspired the group to indulge in the unholy acts, which ultimately, led to, the now insurgency that claims thousands of innocent lives in Nigeria.

Boko Haram's method of establishing an Islamic State, as proclaimed by the group conflicts with Islamic principles. Muslim scholars unanimously agree that any violent acts, such as bombings carried out in the name of *Jihad* and Islam are criminal acts that have no slightest connection with Islam. The Saudi Arabian Council of senior scholars equally, describes these actions as tyrannical, betrayal, as well as defiance of the cardinal principles of Islamic teaching. (Rijiyar Lemu, 2018:6). The International Union of Muslim Scholars describes insurgency operations, of which *Boko Haram* is a part, as villainous and cowardly act. Equally, WAMY (World Council of Muslim Youth) describes insurgency as well as terrorist activities as tyranny, evil and causing mischief on earth (Rijiyar Lemu, 2018:7).

It is pertinent to stress that as part of the fundamental conditions of waging *Jihad* in Islam, women, aged people and children are not among the target audience unless when they partake in the war. Even in the two most important sources of Islamic religious beliefs (the Quran

and the tradition of the Prophet), which guide all the actions of Muslims, there is no tracing that *Boko Haram* can put forward as the basis for waging the so-called *Jihad* with the view to establishing an Islamic state, which resulted in bombing and killings of innocent Muslims and Christians.

Islam laid down a code of conduct on how Muslims should undertake *Jihad*. Deviation from these guiding principles suggests transgression, which may ultimately, delineate *Boko Haram's* weakest belief/faith or no faith at all. The group's ideology is in perpetual conflict with Islamic laid-down principles as epitomized and perhaps enunciated in the Quran and traditions of the prophet. Equally, *Boko Haram's* ideological perception is unequivocally repugnant to the teaching of Islam, because even where the *Jihad* is allowed, as pointed out earlier, aged people, children and women are exempted.

If the *Boko Haram* thinking is on the premise related to what was taught in the conventional or Western system of education, then their argument is baseless, because what was taught has no connection with what they claimed to be the bases for wagging *Jihad* against the Nigerian elites who are in the corridor of power. Moreover, if the *Boko Haram* perception is on the language or colour, which made them prohibit *Boko* or Western education, then their assumptions contradict the teachings of the Quran and the Tradition of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh). Quran (Chapter 30: Verse 22) says "Among His Signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth and the diversity of your languages and your colours: verily in that are the Signs for those who know (Ali,1998:859)" Based on this verse, God created people in diverse languages and colours, therefore, language and colour, in essence, using English language and what was taught through this medium in conventional schools (taking into cognizance that it was the white people or rather the west who brought this system of education) will not be the bases for *Boko Haram* group to declare western education *Haram* or prohibited. It is imperative to point out that knowledge is part of the accumulated human heritage from previous civilizations and cultures; no one can claim or take credit for its ownership. The *Boko* or Western education is

simply re-packaged by the West after adding what was received from all parts of the world (*Da'awa* Institute of Nigeria, 2017:7).

It is argued, based on the aforementioned, that *Boko Haram*, from the early stage of its inception, had a reflection of Islamic ideology, particularly, in the 1990s and early 2000. However, between 2007 and 2009, the *Boko Haram* insurgency has no connection with Islamic ideology in so far as the renowned Islamic scholars and famous Islamic organizations condemned *Boko Haram's* activities in their entirety. Similarly, no reference (books) in any of the Islamic sources depict what *Boko Haram* uses to back up their argument for perpetrating suicide bombing and rampaging killings in the name of *Jihad* or establishing Islamic State.

The inability of the Nigerian government to provide the needed leadership prepared the ground for the *Boko Haram* insurgency in the country. Bribery and corruption permeated all nooks and crannies of the state apparatuses. These heinous acts were orchestrated by those in the corridor of power thereby leaving the majority of Nigerians in abject poverty and further bringing about the incessant robbery and rampageous kidnappings. It is important to point out that the Nigerian failed state precipitated the emergence of *Boko Haram.*

Conspiracy between the Boko Haram and Politicians

There was the assumption that *Boko Haram's* insurgency was a conspiracy between Nigerian politicians and the group. The group transgressed its acclaimed so-called ideology and tilted to a politically motivated ideology. Davidson (2014:50), in his interview with one of the staunched members of *Boko Haram,* reported the group member stresses that:

> If it hadn't been for the support of northern Nigerian politicians, *Boko Haram* would not have the funds to operate and recruit foot soldiers and suicide bombers. Most of our supporters are disgruntled northern politicians who felt deprived of their Allah-given right to rule Nigeria.

The *Boko Haram* members further stressed the meeting they had with a prominent Nigerian politician who gave them a bagful of millions of Naira, with the instruction that they should create a state of anarchy in the north and some parts of the south so that the country would be ungovernable for President Jonathan. The state of anarchy will bring down the administration of Jonathan, which may result in the military taking over the mantle of leadership. The Head of State may be a chosen north who will rule for a few years and hand over the power to a new civilian administrator that would comprise northerners, who will be sympathetic to their course in the establishment of Islamic State (Davieson, 2014:51). The politician equally, encouraged the *Boko Haram* to continue with their heinous activities; ultimately, the government must come to the negotiation table with them as they did to the Niger Delta Militants. The politician also pointed out to the *Boko Haram* members that the rise of Goodluck Jonathan was a conspiracy with insurgents in the Niger Delta (Davieson, 2014:51).

To further corroborate the above assertions, is the point raised by Australian, Stephen Davies, an international negotiator, who was engaged by the Nigerian government about the release of Chibok girls. In the course of Davies's contact with *Boko Haram* chieftains, he found out that Ali Modu Sharif, the former governor of Borno State and General Ihejirika were the sponsors of *Boko Haram*. Davies, moreover, lamented that a senior official of the Central Bank of Nigeria was also among the sponsors of the group (Olomojobi, 2015:251). It is however, pertinent to add that one of the commanders of *Boko Haram,* Shuaibu Muhammed Bama, who was on the list of wanted terrorists by the Nigerian authorities was arrested in the home of one of the Senators in Maiduguri, in November 2011 (Davieson, 2014:53).

There are quite some assertions enunciating the fact that Nigerian politicians are directly or indirectly tele-guiding the *Boko Haram* insurgency, intending to achieve their selfish political ends. Based on this premise, the paper strongly holds the opinion that the *Boko Haram* insurgency, to a large extent, is no longer driven by Islamic ideological perception. Rather a politically motivated and sponsored

insurgency. Thus, *Boko Haram* committed ideological suicide, which calls for ideological redress to reflect the current reality on the ground.

Conclusion

At the beginning of this paper *Boko Haram* was categorized into two phases: the 19th and 20th century *Boko Haram,* which in fact, its ideologies on *Boko* or Western education was basically on fear of conversion to Christianity, quite some instances were quoted in the paper to buttress these arguments. Despite this fear, they upheld their ideology and also chose to mingle with people peacefully, despite the clash of ideologies. *Boko Haram* insurgency emerged out of sheer Islamic fundamentalism. The movement or group has emerged as a consequence of the heinous behaviour of Nigerian bureaucrats, whose actions and inactions resulted in corruption, abject poverty, kidnapping, robbery and so forth. *Boko Haram* surfaced to proffer a solution to these problems by way of wagging *Jihad* to establish an Islamic State, essentially, to institute peace and tranquillity in Nigeria, specifically, northern Nigeria. Although the group claimed adherent to Islamic principles and or ideology, their actions, such as indiscriminate killings, irrespective of religious belief, suggest otherwise. In Islam, even where *Jihad* is permitted, in the process of wagging the *Jihad*, aged people, women and children are exempted. Considering the various views of highly placed Nigerian politicians, as pointed out earlier in the paper, particularly, as it relates to their support to the group, in conclusion, it is argued that *Boko Haram* insurgency is to a varying degree, a politically sponsored terrorism or insurgency, devoid of any Islamic ideological impetus.

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