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The Social Legal Analysis of the Dynamics of an Ideology of Terror: Is the Boko Haram Insurgency on Trial?

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1. Introduction

The concept of jihad in Islam occupies a sacred place in the religion, this is because, both Allah and Prophet Muhammad (SAW) have unanimously enjoined Muslims of faith and piety to undertake Jihad in the name of Allah but only under approved circumstances.

Nothing can be further from the truth, Jihad in Islam is as old as the religion itself and there is no better testimony to this than the battle of Badr, Hud and other holy wars that were personally sanctioned and led by the Holy Proper Muhammad (SAW).

However, has rightly observed above, although every Muslim has a sacred duty to undertake a Jihad, it is important to note that jihad in Islam does not connote war and violence, as contemporarily mis-adjudged and advocated by political Islamists, such as Al-qaida in Afghanistan, Al-Shabab in East Africa, Al-Nosur Front in Syria, Abu-Sayyad in South East Asia, ISIS (Islamic State organization) in Iraq and Boko Haram in West Africa.

The truth is, in Islamic scriptures and Sunnah of the Holy prophet (SAW) every act of kindness meant for public good and in furtherance of common good of humanity constitutes Jihad in Islam. The Holy Prophet Muhammad (SAW) was reported to have said by the companions that:

When you see evil which challenges the fundamental social logic in Islam a Muslim has duty under the circumstances to change it with his own hands or her own hands, if that is not possible, he or she should change it with his or her own voice, and if that also is not possible, he or she is enjoined to change it with his or her own heart, though this is considered the weakest of faith.

It is the thesis of this discourse that the above Hadith could be interpreted to mean that in Islam and very much so in Christianity that every believer has a sacred responsibility to propagate his or her religion and most importantly, to use the platform of religion to promote the common good of humanity.

Therefore, to suggest like political Islam does, that anarchy, chaos, mass murder, ethnic cleansing, rape, and kidnapping for ransom have justification in the conduct of jihad is only a sadistic figment of imagination.

The group Boko Haram, which constitutes the main thrust of this discussion, has built an unscrupulous reputation for the forgoing activities in the name of Islam. To say the least, the Boko Haram thesis of jihad was built on the paradigm of criminal scriptural ignorance and purposeful political Islam which has profoundly undermine the credibility of the religion. This is why the Boko Haram conflict should be seen for what it is, recognized for what it is and interpreted accordingly; it is not a jihad but a concocted misleading ideology of hate using Islam for a surface brand in order to confuse its original purpose and earn sympathy of the religiously gullible, which most unfortunately formed the greater part of the socially excluded that either by fate or coincidence have been denied the benefit of progress.

It is view point of this research that the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria is a virulent social conflict rather than a conventional military warfare and until and unless the Nigerian government develop a generosity of wisdom, to be pragmatic in appreciating this fact in its counter insurgency strategies, it cannot and will not win the battle for the heart and minds of Nigerians.

2. Boko Haram: The Social Thesis

The purpose of this social legal construction of the Boko Haram Insurgency is to uncover ways in which individuals or groups such as Boko Haram managed to create their imagination of reality. According to Berger on the greatest social scientists of the 20th century, the knowledge base and actions of Boko Haram *represents a complex social construct of a grandious misleading ideology based on Fact skepticism*. It is a deliberately created belief system through interaction with uncomfortable reality. Therefore, according to Berger, Such ideological dogma are usually constructed and institutionalized through social convention legitimized by making the followership of the contraption believed the cause as the scriptural truth. Regrettably, that is the main thrust of the Boko Haram' ideological concept of absolute truth based on misinterpretation of the tradition and the social history of Islam.

In the same vein, Luckman reiterated that socially constructed realities are dynamic and powerful weapon for social engineering and therefore, the basic knowledge of Boko Haram and its chronicled hypothesis on western education should for taken for granted. Having said that, there is overwhelming tendency to be dismissive of it as ignorance of common sense and a figment of imagination, it would be very difficult to deny the fact that Boko Haram's pervasive reality formed the integral part of the body of its thought dynamics. It suffices to say that Luckman et al (1966) has generated some concepts that will enable us comprehend or at least explain the kind of knowledge constructed by Boko Haram through social convention of everyday life.

3. Conceptualization of Boko Haramisim

These concepts are:

- **Institutionalization:** This is the art of convincing the followership that the pervasive Boko Haram ideology has its grounding and legitimacy under Islamic Religion and all its cardinal teachings.
- **Habitualisation:** This is a scenario whereby an individual formed a notionally constructed truth based on obsession with self opinionated ideology driven by profound deception rather than an established fact of religion.
- **Typification:** This Concept is about caged mentality whereby a movement of people arrogate to themselves the notion of ultimate truth therefore opposed to any superior logic contrary to their fraudulently held belief.
- **Maintenance/Transformative:** This connotes the supremacy of ideological opinion or scriptural interpretation of faith.
- **Segmentation and segregation:** This implies a cult like scenario of a group of people segregating itself from the greater society on grounds of ideological logic or fanaticism of faith.

Additionally, the fundamentalist Boko Haram constructionism is likewise reflected in the work of Abubakar (2007) who noted that Boko Haram socially constructed and interpreted the Nigerian "National Pledge" and "National Anthem". According to this myopic thinking, the Boko Haram thought that 'Western World has completely changed the focused thinking of the Muslim about their faith and have induced them to betray God and Religion thereby embracing the cultured mentality of the unbelievers. The supposedly Imam Shekau the spiritual leader of Boko Haram had severally argued during his preachings that the citation of National Pledge and Anthem are against the divine dictates of sharia. It has been argued that the foregoing amounts to a myopic reality of social construct employed by the group as a weapon in a hate campaign of destabilization of the Nigerian State in a desperate bid to create a toxic social condition necessary for their sense of reality. In the same vein, Stark in his work has observed the social construct and ideological standpoint of movements such as that of Boko Haram are usually subjective and patronizing. Although its thesis is profoundly lacking in rationalism and religious logic, it is the main thrust of Boko Haram ideology that islamization of a society could only be brought about through a religious war (the jihad)

The movement has enumerated several ways of realizing their objectives prominently though is the Jihad which the group uphold as the ultimate sacrifice and argued consistently that it is achievable either through peaceful means of dedicated preachings, publication of Islamic jurisprudence and scholarship or else through arms struggles at an unprecedented scale which the group believed as the best dynamics of a holy war. It is the unreserved opinion of the spiritual leadership of the group that persuasive approach through dialogue with a secular authority would be a despicable exercise in futility therefore, the only available option to it is declaration of war on the people and the constituted authority.

According to Gramsci, in the context of tradition of sociology of knowledge, it appears that the only reality as far

as the Yusufiyya Boko Haram is concerned is the product of their social conditions which has much to do with social and economic exclusion. It was the thesis of Gramsci that the excruciating social condition of Boko Haram movement must have underscored its disdain for westernization education which they allegedly blames for creating and sustaining social inequality in the society rather than fanatical religiosity. He went further to say that Boko Haram movement like its kinds all over the world is driven by self centered ideology and most importantly the challenges of their background failure. Under the social thesis therefore, it is the believe thrust of the group that those who embrace western education are cheats and agents of perpetuation of the current social order intended at creating further deprivation and therefore they are legitimate targets of their holy war which has the underpinning of a reversal of social fortune. Therefore, their ironic logic is that if pursuit of human progress based on western education is disrupted could help bring about ascendancy of the uneducated based on stone age development model which would be in consonance with their sense of reality and social condition. The end game of the group is to establish an area of influence by way of a State caved out of the geographic expression which they intend to use to pursue their ideological warfare against the West.

In the same vein, Dr. Anthonio like Gramsci had reinforced the viewpoint that insurgency like the one with Boko Haram has all the characteristics of a conflict of social interest, a kind of class struggle at the core of which is a revolution which would create a new social systems and general political economy build around State Institutions. He further faulted the thesis of Boko Haram on social change which only recognizes violence in practice as the viable vehicle for social engineering of the society because there is no definitive evidence of that in the history of social reformation. At this juncture, it could be acknowledged as partially true the proposition of Boko Haram that Government's social programmes are usually contained in State policies which has direct consequences on the lives of the people therefore, where the impacts have been resoundingly negative due failure of purpose, it becomes legitimate to demand for a policy detour through consultation rather than declaration of a holy war which at the end of the day might create only the illusions of the unbiased social reality.

In the ambit of the same social reality, Karl Marx has argued that the essence and existence of human society is responsible for the evolution of a kind of typology, which itself created artificial social dichotomy which the Marxists challenged as a mere fabrication in order to perpetuate economic exploitation. However uncomfortable, it is worth admitting that like Marxism, the Boko Haramism does not believe in the naturalism of inequalities but rather as an avoidable compulsive socio-economic contraption usually driven by the greed of political establishment. Therefore, it is the purpose of the movement to break the illusionary jinx of western capitalist theology through Jihad in order to defeat its philosophy of social constructivism which in their psych is responsible for much of the perceived social injustices of our contemporary societies. Additionally, the movement neither have the patience nor the generosity of wisdom to accept the theory of socio-economic inequalities as an inevitable social reality.

Having said that, it is pertinent to say that in contrast to Boko Haram's ideology of unprecedented terror, the Marxists does accept the categorization of social constructionism into the weak, the strong and the radical forms, of which in all ramifications Boko Haram represents the extreme radical construct. As a matter of fact, it is the viewpoint of this research that Yusufiyyaa Boko Haramism exemplifies the proposition of Stanley that in every extreme social constructivism there would be some *unbelieving degree of reality*. Other scholars of sociology of knowledge have further argued that there is objective factual element of reality in feminism as real and that includes gender and that these terms may not after all be ideologically or rather be categorized into masculine and feminine because they are ontologically subjective but epistemologically objective. Although this theory of knowledge poses unprecedented challenge to Boko Haram's social constructivism and theory of knowledge, it is evidently clear that they disagreed with feminism in the western concept which promotes the social, economic and political rights of women. It is the social construct of the group that western concept of feminism and sexism are decoys deployed by the West under the pretext of democracy and human rights to corrupt Islamic believe system and social morality.

Evidently, the group has given astounding subjective interpretation to the position of women as defined by the International Convention. The movement has objected in the most strongest term the attempt by the international convention and treaties to empowered women beyond their recommended status in Islam. However, much as one appreciates the Boko Haram's allegiance of opportunity to select massaged doctrines of sharia, it will be difficult to rationalize their fatwah on glass ceiling for women in Islam especially on the fundamental issue of pursuits of education and opportunity. In fact, contrary to the group's controvertial manifesto that the pursuit of Western education is forbidden, there are un-controvertible sunnah and traditions of the holy prophet Muhammad (S.A.W) that established the rights of women to education and socio economic competitive opportunities in the society.

However, jurisprudence of knowledge has rejected the concept of universal truth instead, every notion of reality is a matter of social contract in fact, according to Steven, the notions of what is real and unreal are basically social constructs as defined by the social convention.

In his contribution to the debate on social reality in the context of theoretical development of sociology of knowledge, Merton has described the theology of groups such as Boko Haram including their body of thought as merely trajectory, imaginary and anarchical employed to disrupt the social order under the pretext of religion. However, Merton notion by his own admission had said that there are inbuilt social mechanisms in every existing human society potent enough to counter the excesses of radicalism and the threat of anarchy by extreme left wing religious groups such as the Boko Haram. The inbuilt social mechanism as identified by Merton includes; Conventional Knowledge, Adaptation, Goal attainment, Latency and/or Pattern Maintenance (AGIL).

In Merton's social system theory, he argued that there are sub-systems and the Boko Haram established social and ideological frame is a perfect example of it and that explains the conflict between the defined goal of the movement and the entire conventional goal of the social system like; access to education, economic rights and opportunities, political freedom and the social system of internal security and order. It is obvious that such sub social systems would ultimately fail because it is not built around the aggregate social conscience of the society and therefore not in agreement with the societal norms and values. The in-built mechanism is a product of social consensus and therefore anything that is contrary to it such as the agenda of the Boko Haram especially its campaign of terror under the pretext of religion would be a defeated social purpose. However, despite its cause being a defeated social purpose, the truth still remained that Boko Haram has managed somehow to adapt to social exigencies and maintained its appeal to the uneducated and the socially excluded which constitute the vanguard of its war of attrition against the State.

Therefore for all intent and purposes, the significance of sociology of knowledge in the understudy of right wing ideologies of radical groups such as the Boko Haram is now beyond issues of bias and subjectivity of thoughts, rather than institutionalizing the group, Boko Haramism should be understood as a social phenomenon. Moreover, Sociology of knowledge is concerned with effective planning of society by understanding groups and sub-groups ideological beliefs and dogmatic commitments. It was along these lines that Gafinkel argued that "Effective Planning of the Society can be realized when synergy is established to bridge the gap between institutions of public governance and people in terms of adequate provision of social amenities and security of lives and properties". The destructions of critical Public Infrastructure in Nigeria by Boko Haram was a function of failure of the structure of the Nigerian society as it has degenerated to a degree of both social and moral bankruptcy that it can no longer articulate its social ethics or to mentor the acceptable pattern of social behaviour. It is arguable that had it been that Nigeria had been able to generate such a moral compass and a social purpose built around aggregate social conscience, may be and just may be it would have being spared of the evil menace of the ongoing Boko Haram insurgency. That is what Gafinkel very well articulated in his thesis on social behaviour, society and State responsibility as '*seen but not noticed activities*'. People and Government see but due to failure of responsibilities none could comprehend the underlying dangers of their social actions.

Mannheim's theory on social extremism such as the one exhibited by groups such as Boko Haram had argued that could have its origin in environment and historical condition and could even have gone possibly through comprehensive crystallization from one generation to another by way of a social convention. Reinforcing this viewpoint, both Durkheim and Stark's notion of the society had argued and quite convincingly that pure social ideology does not usually create chaos or promote the bizarre idea of destruction of stable interpersonal relationships among the human membership of the society therefore, ideologies of hate of groups such as the Boko Haram could only have been created by the social injustice entrenched in a given society. Against this background, it is therefore instructive that however sad and disgusting the Boko Haramism is, the ugly reality is that it was the creation of its society. Albeit this might sound controversial or rather somewhat academic, it would be difficult to contest the fact that the social and political condition of the Nigeria had been pivotal to the development of Boko Haram and its sense of social realism. societal members of people are a creation of their own society and could have consciously or subconsciously created ideologies of radical groups like Boko Haram including their kind of thinking. Knowledge he said is true knowledge when its existence is known and accepted by significant members of the society as developmental rather than the destructive Boko Haram's kind of knowledge which thrives in cynicism and social conflict. This latter kind of knowledge, they added, is subjective and is a subject for sociological investigation as far as sociology of knowledge is concerned.

The social transformation of the 17th and 18th century in Foucault's (1966, 1969) "the order of things" and "archeology of knowledge" noted that "it has brought the concept of "Nomothos" and Taxonomia as transformative agents to the study of general knowledge. A number of modernities such as 'Democracy', which

encourages fundamental human rights as against Boko Haram- like Doctrine, Tobi (2005) pointed out that these include the totality of rights of a man which of course includes women that *Boko Haram* viewed as Western construct and that cannot be applied to the Muslim Community.

As human society changes, knowledge also shifts as it is also shaped by social conditions, this the Boko Haram ignored. Foucault (1966) in his argument cited several instances of how knowledge in general grammar change to modern linguistics, natural History into modern Biology, and analysis of wealth to economics. The thesis however added that, humanity and humanism came into being around the 19th century through transformation. It is a well know fact in sociology that change is inevitable from simple to complex Durkheim (1837), from mechanical to Organic and from Rural to Urban so also knowledge as a social condition is being affected by these changes.

It is the same under Islamic theology and with the benefits of scholarship that explains why perhaps there is no book or literature in Islam of firm integrity to corroborate the ideology of murder pursued by Boko Haram and built around their knowledge of truth. In their skewed fanatical Islamism, Boko Haram opposes not only the western education but the knowledge derived from even the Islamic religion books including modern science and culture. According to Taylor's (1875) expose on 'primitive culture' he defined culture as a 'complex whole which constitutes knowledge, value, beliefs, norms and any other capabilities or habit acquired by a man as a member of society'. Culture, he added, is designed for living. It is a way of feeling peculiar to the society and a reflatory mirror of existence.

Without a doubt, ignorance is at the heart of boko haram ideological confusion, take for instance, Hasmir (2009) interviewed the founder of Boko Haram, Mallam Mohammed Yusuf who stated that he believed that the world being described as spherical in shape is contrary to Islamic thinking and therefore it should be rejected. Additionally, he went on to say that the Darwinian theory of evolution which explains that society evolved from simple to complex and the origin of species including other aspects of western knowledge that tries to explain natural things as sin and therefore its study as "Haram" (forbidden).

With reference to this kind type of misleading ideology of ignorance in support of violence, Mannheim (1929) and Stark (1958) in their several works and in particular, "*ideology and utopian*" and *An Essay in the Aid of Deeper Understanding of the History of Idea*" observed that, the placed thinking of Boko Haram and their "*Particular ideology*" are thoughts that could be associated with specific age of a particular socio-historical group. These scholars went on to observe that the structure and mindset of extreme groups like Boko Haram usually shares similarity with the happening in an epoch of a group that had existed hitherto. Therefore, their thinking is a kind that does not believe and would never believe in accepting civilization brought about through evolution and social dynamism and that is why they are always at odds with the rest of the society.

Therefore, Boko Haramism is an idea that is peculiar to the group and their understanding of social conditions always puts them at odds with the convention social norm which continued to define societies and the progress of civilization. Their's is an illusionary kind of knowledge which seeks recognition and justification in history and social retrogression. Mannheim (1929) and Warner Stark (1958) both identified two types of ideologies as particular and total. Although, the main theme of Warner Stark's work is greatly occupied by constructionism nevertheless, it has somewhat explained the Boko Haram construct of reality which the work referred to as the "*world of fiction*", the same viewpoint has been reinforced by Berger (1956) in his work "*the social construction of reality*".

Mannheim (1929) introduced the two ideologies to free knowledge from bias that is 'Truth from being divided and thought from relationism'. However, knowledge according to Mannheim can hardly be separated from the social norms and values as they came about through human evolution. And the thesis went on to say that knowledge can be verified, confirmed and disconfirmed while taking into cognizance experiences and work of authorities. Methodological issues also free knowledge from being divided that is the fundamental faltering of boko haramism which continue to the ignored the social fundamentals of reality despite the fact that according to mannheim, knowledge as product of the society can be easily separated from falsehood.

Lukas (1978), a prominent scholar of knowledge analyzed ideology as 'a system of thoughts, body of idea held by a group such as Boko Haram in order to perpetuate a believe system which challenges the status-quo of the very social foundation of the society with a view to achieving their immediate and remote goals' which could be economic, social, political, religious or even utopian which is a pure function of wishful thinking and therefore unattainable. As a matter of fact, this is not significantly different from the Boko Haram's construct of reality and its resolve to restrict civilization and social progress of humanity to centuries of ignorance and the stone age. This is certainly utopian for an extreme group of anarchists driven by poverty, ignorance and social exclusion to

attempt to rationalize in the 21st century socio-religious conflict on the premise of pursuits of classical education and the dividends of civilization that goes with it. In this chapter of darkness, groups such as the boko haram are prepared to abduct, maimed and kill and be killed in order to disrupt the progress of humanity. Regrettably, those groups thrive in misinterpretation of ideas and beliefs about the social condition of knowledge and usually this is necessary in order to create confusion based on dogmas and to foist on the society a culture of ignorance with a view to dominating it. In the nature of boko haramism and the mentality of its followership, the foregoing represents the ideology of western ideas and thought system which as far as they are concerned is utopian and lacking in in-depth capacity to analyze the social condition of the universe. The tragic reality about boko haram is that they have a uniquely awkward mode of thinking and different criteria for supposition of the truth which ironically negates the fundamental thrust of their ideology and the very believe system they claim to represent. Therefore, it is difficult to analyze or to comprehend boko haramism in the context of group or individual motivations.

However, in a pure study of ideology, it connotes a sample idea which underscored the sociological understanding and epistemological construct of the relationship between knowledge and its existence and between historical and social structure which in turn determines the distinction between existence of knowledge and its relativity to social dynamism. According to Dukheim (1879), human society differentiates and integrates as a consequence of human activity and it naturally expands in order to give room for accommodation of new knowledge. The domain of knowledge therefore, has to accommodate new ideas and reasoning as product of its creation.

The foregoing Dukheim's thesis conforms with orthodox Islamic theology the kind the Boko Haram referred to as 'Ulama'u su'u' meaning the general ideology as opposed to its tragic specific ideology of purpose and body of thoughts distorted, biased and calamitous. Without prejudice to Boko Haramism, it is the aggregate viewpoint among contemporary ideologue that Western education represents a superimposed social imperative needed to protect the society and to sustain the progress of humanity including religion and its best practices. It is a tool of empowerment and a mechanism for containment and purification of power in order to achieve a more just and equitable society. In the same vein, education is a force that ensures social mobility and guarantees organization of human conduct.

The body of knowledge held by the Boko Haram according to the total ideological thinkers such as Borno Ulamas is purely subjective and not objective. In the field of social sciences, this can be analyzed better from the stand point of symbolic interactionists, for instance, Mead (1948) noted in a proposition which unknowingly equivocated the Boko Haram's mentality, the proposition talked about tragedy of purpose on the account of micro-sociological view of point of the knower (which invariably fitted the confusion of Boko Haramism). The truth is that, the thesis of boko haram was based on a false premise and it has neither the accommodation of common sense nor the persuasion of logic hence the deadly conflict between their ideology and the believe structure of the greater society.

4. General and Specific Objectives of Boko Haram: Manifesto

The innermost meaning and intention of Boko Haram was captured by Yede (2008) in his article. He posited that, Boko Haram's manifesto was clearly spelt out in their everyday preaching. The group the article observed believed that the society has been overtaken by evil and sinful un Islamic behaviour now reigns supreme and that was the root cause of social Islamic decadence of among the muslims today. Un-mistakingly, the group blamed the moral decadence among muslims on western education and western culture. It further proceeded with a rather vague and simplistic fatwah (spiritual decree of a muslim scholar or council) that unless these sinful un Islamic behaviour forced on muslim societies through western education are eradicated, the group with a confused mindset is prepared to supposedly cleanse the society of evil with if need be with the last blood of its members. Yelwa (2008) described further that the perception of Boko Haram was that of considering western education as toxic and capable of gradually consuming the Muslim communities and therefore the seeming westernization of muslims under the garb of orthodox western knowledge must be stopped. In the same vein the group believed wrongly or rightly that unless this is pursued and ended through arms struggle, the future generation of muslims will be at greater risks of social Islamic moral bankruptcy and this they vowed to prevent at whatever cost.

From their city preaching and market square advocacies, Kulluji (2008) was able through analogical deduction to deduce Boko Haram's fundamental underpinning governing manifesto. A number of writers and scholars, according to him, have misunderstood the phrase "*Boko Haram*" but that dispassionate analysis of the character, customs and mannerism has shown that they actually generated their original thoughts and ideas from the

orthodox western knowledge itself “Boko” and the success of their evangelism depend very much on technologies and modern inventions. Therefore, to a significant extent, the only purpose their ideology and manifesto has served was that of making nonsense of their cause and exposing their ignorance and hypocrisy for what they are. Take for instance, there is no gain saying that despite their pretended extremism, they use Cell-Phones, chalk and black-board at their strong-hold (Markas). Additionally, they also ride motorcycles and bicycles, watch television and drink potable purified water from treatment plants among other things. All these are products of advances in empirical sciences and they constitute remarkable milestone and progress of human civilization (western education inspired technological revolution).

Zimbio (2009) while trying to explain their understanding of the phrase “Boko Haram” argued that in the actual sense, their perspective of education is sinful and forbidden is better translated by Yelwa (2008) as “*Westoxication*”. Boko Haram, Zimbio (2009) further stressed, is what the boko haramists refer to as those aspects of western education that are in conflict with the Quran and Hadith, and are said to be referred to in the Holy books as ‘haram’ or Sin.

Zimbio (2009) again identified those aspects that are in conflicts as the study of philosophy, Charles Darwin’s social theory of evolution, socio-biology, genetic-engineering, vaccine production and astronomy. Zimbio also pointed out another aspect that is not haram while recalling the teaching of the then leader that as far as the Boko Haram sect is concerned, some western technologies such as weapons are halal as it will be used to defend their ideological dogma any time they are challenged by their enemies.

Sullum (2005) on the other hand has said that Boko Haram believes that education of women in non-Islamic subjects beyond what is needed for their functions as wives and mothers is haram. They also believe that a woman needs nothing more than a level of literacy sufficient to read the Qu’ran or knowledge on how to cook and that going beyond that, according to their warped understanding of the religion of Islam, it becomes displeasing to Allah.

Danfodio (1936) in his writing on the role and position of women in education reflected in his “Nurul albab, Fi Khuruj al Niswan” and countered the notion of Boko Haram on western feminism. The Boko Haramist, Sullum (2005) noted, are always in conflict with these aspects of western-education that are in conflict with the Quran and Hadith, including western-laws, Western-culture and western-science.

Albornowi (2008) argued and maintained that Boko Haram sees the Nigerian constitution as being man-made laws and not divine, and therefore should not be considered I the scheme of everyday life of Muslims. The type of Government established by the Western constitution according to Boko Haram, he said, is not legitimate and that it should be overthrown and substituted with Islamic system and Shariah based regime the subsidiaries of what is referred to as Western Democracy, such as the States and National Assemblies, he maintained, must be taken over by the “*Shurah Council of Ulama’s*”.

While reflecting on the position of Boko Haram on the state of constituted authority, Bukar (2010) on his part pointed out that the law enforcement agents who are meant to protect and protect and preserve Western motivated laws and orders and to see to its workings were viewed and argued by the Boko Haramists as those that must be eliminated in the first instance, he added. Perhaps, he also noted, that his will weaken the laws and certainly lead to a chaotic situation, which may eventually lead to what Durkheim (1844) referred to as state of Anomie Condition in the Society.

A number of Borno Clerics whom the boko haramists refer to as ‘Ulama’u Su’u’ based on the Classification of Clerics by Danfodio (1948) as peace loving clerics, reflected in his writing “Magnum Opus Dhiya Ul-Hukkam” were lined-up to be killed by the Boko Haram who perceived them as threat for the establishment of their philosophical beliefs.

The then leader and founder of Boko Haram, Yusuf (2009) pointed out, when he was arrested on 30th July 2009, and as also reported by Zimbio (2009), that “*Boko Haram*” owes its inspiration to ten sources which they carefully enumerated as follows:

- “As the Prophet Mohammed (SAW) was the last messenger of Allah (SWT), all aspects of western socialization including Science, Culture, social theories, political philosophy, feminism etc which contradicts Shariah are regarded as sin (Kurfu)”.
- “All Muslims must believe that the universal and eternal truth embodied in the Qur’an comes directly from Allah (SWT). And the imperfect “knowledge’ that comes from science is a temporary social and political narrative used to provide a justification for European colonialism, capitalism, cultural imperialism, domination and subjugation”.

- That there can be no such thing as “*The Laws of Nature*”, because any such laws question the supremacy of Allah (SWT). According to the Qur’an, he argued, Allah is omnipotent and directly commands the universe to do his will. “Allah does not act through intermediary laws, and to believe in such laws is “shirk” since it proposes a power equal to that of the will of Allah (SWT)”.
- Boko Haram also challenged the views of scholars such as “Aristotle, Plato, Sir Isaac Newton and Albert Einstein among others on the ground of their explanation of society and nature declaring these null and void. That, “planets stay in their orbits due to the moment-by-moment intervention of Allah (SWT) and not because of some imaginary man-made ‘laws’ devised by Sir Isaac Newton or some other Kufurs”.
- Yusuf the founder of Boko Haram, also challenged in his viewpoint that, “there is no place of the Kufur philosophy of rationalism in Islam. Astronomy he said is “Haram” because of its apparent support for man-made kufar i.e. “Laws of Nature” and also because it conflicts with the geo-centric view of the universe (believing that the sun goes round the earth).
- “Under Sharia Law, women must be given the right that Allah (SWT) and his messenger (PBUH) have instructed, that is the right to stay in their homes and to gain religious instruction in Purdah. They also believe that women must not be educated in anything other than religion beyond the age of eighteen or they may become disruptive to society. They challenged feminism, which popularized the rights of women in the present day Society owing to the fact that global reasoning has culminated to ills such as lesbianism and also accorded power to them more than ever before”.
- Boko Haram asserted that, “in Islamic Education, socialization of the younger ones also include memorization of the Qur’an and military training being all that is required to educate Muslim youths. Perhaps this was dubbed from Deobandid Madarassa of Pakistan which has provided an ideal model”
- What Western Education teaches according to Boko Haram “is far more dangerous than taking poison; for poison kills only a soul but Western Education indoctrinates the entire society”. In their argument, Boko Haram advanced that, “Boko teaches Darwinism theory of evolution which challenges the status-quo of Allah (SWT). It is in an indirect conflict with Qur’an in the same way as they are with the Bible”, they say.
- They also claimed that “the eminent Turkish Scientist Harun Yahya has convinced the majority of Muslim intellectuals that the theory of evolution is both false and deliberately propounded to promote political movements such as imperialism and what is today referred to as globalization of western hegemony”. Consequently, they maintain that there would no place for subjects of philosophy, sociology, socio-biological, geology and anthropology with its “fossils”. They were in their views planted by Satan as deception”.
- Boko Haram also inspired by a book written by a University lecturer entitled “Kufur”; analysed the National Pledge and National Anthem”. National Pledge cited as “I pledged to Nigeria my country”, they view as baseless that a true believer can only pledge to Allah as his/her lord. “To be faithful loyal and honest”, they said to be faithful loyal and honest to Allah. “To serve Nigeria with all my strength”, A Muslim can only serve Allah with all his/her strength and that “not” a territory carved out by kufar and fabricated man made-laws to govern. This the Boko Haram perceived as sin and therefore, it is Haram. “To defend her unity and uphold her honour and glory”, what a Muslim should do is to defend his/her religion.

5. Conclusion

It is the view point of this research that the official narrative on Boko Haram insurgency is both suspect and circumspect because, it is lacking in honesty of purpose, the truth remained that the insurgency is not given a sincere government attention may be because, it has been hijacked by a cabal within government bureaucracy and made a lucrative enterprise. For instance, the insurgency has made national security the top government annual budgetary priority and accordingly allocated awesome budgetary resources but there is nothing on the ground to suggest that those special defence intervention funds are being prudently utilized to finance the counter-insurgency measures. At the end of the day, what happens is a situation whereby the heads of the various security institutions and intelligence agencies responsible for implementing government counter-insurgency strategies helping themselves with the recourses because this is a country where there is hardly accountability in public governance.

Similarly, the political connotation of the insurgency is somewhat deceitful because, while it is true that we can not entirely dismiss the role of geo-politics in the insurgency and government has made so much about this in order to maximize political capital and attract strategic international sympathy, it has not been able to provide tangible evidence of this beyond typical political rhetoric and executive spin.

It could be argued that certain intelligence about the insurgency is not for public consumption because of the sensitive nature of it, fair enough, however, given the near desperate state of the government on this issue, if at all it had such important intelligence on Boko Haram, needless to say that government would have unveiled part of the evidence if at least for it to convince its international security partners, regional and international organizations such as ECOWAS and the United Nations that it has the insurgency under control. The recent security report about the insurgency has only confirmed what is known already that Government's counter terrorism strategy is in tatters and the insurgency has grown in strength and confidence.

Therefore, though the politics of the insurgency cannot be dismissed out rightly, it is the opinion of this research that the available evidence as provided by the government does not validate the grounding of such holistic thesis on the insurgency.

The truth is that, government is struggling with the uncomfortable reality of failure of governance which for decades before it has incentivized the public grievances against it and has further created a united front for well organized and coordinated insurgency against the government.

As a patriotic Nigerian, it is worth admitting for once that the resentment of the misrule in the country has boiled over and the dynamics of it very regrettable, therefore, it is about time that Nigerian government admits at least to itself that the degree of socio-economic exclusion in the country is largely to blame for the emboldened Boko Haram insurgency in the country because, as observed above, it is the thesis of the research that the insurgency is more of a socio-economic conflict rather than a military one.

Therefore, it is left to be seen whether Nigerian government has the integrity and the generosity of wisdom to appreciate the insurgency in that uncomfortable context and begin to take the appropriate, bold and painful measures that are imperative in the circumstances.

It is also the recommendation of this research that both the legal and institutional framework to deal with this kind of insurgency must be strengthened in order to assure both the Country and the international community that rule of law underscored government's current counter-insurgency strategies and that it has enough capacity to deal with the insurgency without recourse to international intervention.

This has become necessary, in view of the fact that the recent reports of International Human Rights groups such as the Human Rights Watch and other civil society groups including the Human Rights Commission under the United Nations have comprehensively indicted the Nigerian Army for alleged genocide and other forms of genocidal human rights abuses in the course of its counterinsurgency operations against Boko Haram in North-eastern part of Nigeria, which remain the epicenter of the insurgency.

Nothing can be further from the truth, despite its democratic credentials which has now become suspect. It is becoming increasing evident that the Nigerian Government lacks the requisite pragmatism to appreciate the social dynamic of this conflict, which would have compelled a changed tactics for dealing with the insurgency. Perhaps, it has been held hostage by a hawkish military high command whose profound mind set is warfare, so much so that, it could not see any alternative to war.

That is the problem with the Nigerian government approach, because the history of insurgency and counterinsurgency has taught us one bitter lesson, that in order to succeed you have to silence your guns and pursue a compulsive, liberal, civil initiative of winning the hearts and minds. This much was admitted by one of the most decorated Generals of the 21st century, the US General David Petraeus, the immediate past Supreme Allied Commander at NATO as well as the Supreme Commander at the US Pentagon during his tour of duty in Iraq and later in Afghanistan, that:

soldiers are trained to kill and therefore, their training is not usually suitable for counterinsurgency operations which requires strategic civil initiative mandatory for winning the hearts and the minds. For me, after guns are silent, you need to begin to build a trust with the enemy because, there cannot be peace without trust.

In the words of legendary Wilson Churchill, the British Prime Minister of the War Cabinet of the second world war- "*it is better to jaw jaw than to war war, because at the very end, it is peace that counts*". Unfortunately, it is this wisdom and vision of leadership in managing crisis that Nigerian government lacks.

Despite a frightening chronology of successes recorded by Boko Haram, its inconsequential militarism and blotted ego have denied the Nigerian Government the opportunity to engage more constructively with the insurgency and it has to be said, time is fast running out for government to convince Nigerians that it has what it takes to win this war.

6. Recommendations

1) It has to be said that Boko Haram represents a social conflict rather than a conventional military conflict. Therefore, government must realize that in order to fight and win this war, it must not proceed through aggressive conventional militarism, but should give serious consideration to the issue of social strategy of winning the hearts and the minds. This much has been acknowledged throughout history by great military strategists, it is therefore a wise counsel that government should in the present circumstances adopt a double barrel option in the pursuit of peace.

2) There is so much dissatisfaction among Nigerians with the way government is executing this war because, wrongly or rightly Nigerians significantly believed that government is manipulating this war in order to maximize its political capital and therefore, it is not in its best selfish interest that the war should come to an end. It is also believed by some pundits that because of the undercurrent motive of this war, government is deliberately withholding information and refusing to take Nigerians along. It is the view point of this research that government has to be open and transparent in order to build trust in Nigerians as well as its international partners in the ongoing desperate crusade against the Boko Haram.

3) Most unfortunately, beyond the official line of political correctness, it has to be admitted that the scourge of Boko Haram insurgency has developed into a phenomenon that further sophisticated and complicated the conflict and therefore, it is no longer an issue of common inner city conflict. It is the view point of this research that one can only fight an ideology such as Boko Haramism with a superior counter philosophy of sound logic, faith, and common sense rather than guns and bombs. Unfortunately, it is the later rather than the former that underpins the present government's counter strategy against Boko Haram.

4) It is obvious that this conflict is destined to intensify between government and Boko Haram, it is therefore natural to assume that human casualties, anguish and sorrow will also increase, therefore, it is only common sense for government to admit to itself for once that its current strategy has failed and ultimately there cannot be a winner in this war. Therefore imperative superior wisdom is to abandon it, swallow its ego and engage with the insurgency constructively, maybe, and just maybe that might be the magic wand in which the solution to this conflict lies.

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