

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### A. BACKGROUND

This thesis attempts to investigate the cause of the transformation of Boko Haram from Islamic movement to terrorist organization in Nigeria. A government that is perceived as unfair, and officials who are incompetent in handling and increasing corruption in Nigeria. The community is engaged in eradicating the government, and creating groups. Boko Haram is a Muslim-based group that originated in northern Nigeria and Islamic movement that reflects the history of Nigeria's bad governance and extreme poverty in the north. This movement is unique, combining sectarian agendas by using violence. The aim is to establish an Islamic state based on Sharia. This group started with an Islamic movement that spread propaganda, but all that changed in 2009 which made this group a violent terrorist group in Nigeria.

Terrorism is an act that refers to violence which targets civilians to pursue political or ideological goals. (Strategy, 2008). Others can call them terrorists, but they as perpetrators describe themselves as liberation movements or fighters against religious, social and economic oppression, imperialism, or a combination of the above. In 1994, the General Assembly's Declaration United Nations on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism, as set out in resolution 49/60, terrorism is a criminal act that aims to provoke a state of terror in society which is for political purposes. Terrorism is an act that cannot be justified under any circumstances, whatever it is from political, religious, ideological, ethnic, racial, or other attributes that can be asked to justify an act of terrorism. (Strategy, 2008)

The diversity of Islam in the world, there are new phenomena appearing to fight for their rights in the application of Islamic law, as is the case in the African continent, which is in Nigeria. Nigeria has a group that is the example of terrorism movement, this movement demanding the application of Islamic law in each state of Nigeria. This group is officially named Jami'atu Ahli Sunnah Wal-Jihad Lidda'awata or known as Boko Haram. (CNN, 2019)

Boko Haram is moderate socio-religious organization, not using violence or means of terror. Then it changed, become a terror organization. From moderate Muslim organization changed to radical or terrorist organization. The Boko Haram group is known for its radical movements, and has positioned its group as a government opposition. This movement sacrificed resistance to the Nigerian government to struggle for establishing an Islamic state based on Islamic Sharia. Moreover it shows an accumulation of political resistance and opposition movements against the holder of power which he considers authoritarian and repressive in Nigeria.

Boko Haram itself was formed in 2002 in Maiduguri, northeast Nigeria. Founded by a young man, the name is Mohammed Yusuf. The aim of this group was to establish an Islamic state, which is in accordance with Islamic Sharia and to eliminate the culture of "westernization" in Nigeria. (Union, 2017). This group emerged as a project group to provide education and support for social welfare provide safety nets for community members. (Lab, 2011)

Resistance movement with the government, there are always factors causing it. Nigeria is one of the countries of the former British colony which was independent in 1960. In the history of the aftermath of British political heritage, British policy in directing its colonial politics made Nigeria

divided into two contradictory regions with religious groups: Islam and Christianity, in which the position of Islam is dominated in the north and the Christian position is dominated in the south. That created a gap in education, social, and welfare conditions between the two regions, with the south being more advanced than the north.

On the other hand, Boko Haram emerge in a rich country with the country's economic income comes from natural resources, that is from oil and natural gas. But with the wealth Nigeria has, the average population is poor and it has one of the biggest foreign debts in the Africa. In addition, there are negative cases such as high crime rates, riots, military coups, and high levels of corruption of state officials. (CEIC, 2019)

It cannot be denied that civil society in Nigeria has long suffered. Because the Nigeria economy is increasingly damaged due to the high of corruption, interethnic conflicts based on religion, crime, unequal welfare, bad from the political system. So that makes civil society move and fight the government through groups. Actually Boko Haram was initially no different from other groups.

Initially, this group did not commit violence under the leadership of Mohamed Yusuf and spread sermons peacefully. Boko Haram also targets people to become its members, young people who have graduated from high school or college. And for anyone who enters the Boko Haram group, proof of their diploma must be destroyed, because Boko Haram opposes formal education from the West and according to Boko Haram it is not Islamic.

Apart from using the peaceful way in its movements. The focus on this movement is to create a group that will one day become large. They started by establishing a mosque, school or educational institution. They also indoctrinate their members by using education channels.

All of that has been arranged so neatly, so that Boko Haram is seen by a group that has benefits and is able to realize what the residents of northeast Nigeria want to prove to the government that is unfair with it.

In 2009, Boko Haram changed. The group came under the spotlight in 2009, since there were many cases and violent conflicts against state security forces. They attacked crowded areas in Nigeria, such as schools, mosques, churches, markets, and killed Muslim clerics. In the conflict, at least 800 people were killed in the attack.

The conflict is getting longer between Boko Haram and the government. Boko Haram continued to advance in realizing his ideals. While their government uses a way so that the group does not make action to show its existence which is increasingly acting. Several times the government gave a warning to Boko Haram, but Boko Haram always ignored it. They are getting stronger and moving forward in the conflict.

Observe the existence of Boko Haram as a radical group, as well as giving a great influence on the Nigerian government of its attack. Therefore, referring to the background above, this Academic writing aims to focus on transformation Boko Haram from an Islamic Movement to terrorist organization.

## **B. RESEARCH QUESTION**

“Why did Boko Haram change from an Islamic movement to terrorist organization in 2009?”

## **C. THEORITICAL FRAMEWORKS**

Relative deprivation and the impetus to violence

Why men rebel, a book by Ted Robert Gurr (Gurr, 1970). Gurr argues in this book that why people engage in political violence (riots, rebellion, coups, etc.), how regimes

respond, and how we to understand protest and rebellion in general, and in certain cases, we must analyze three general factors. First is popular dissatisfaction (relative deprivation). Second are people's justifications for beliefs about the justifiability and utility of political action. Third is the balance between discontented people is capacity to act that is the ways in which they are organized and the government is capacity to repress or channel their anger.

Relative deprivation is the difference between what people think they deserve, and what they really think they can get. If there is a significant discrepancy between what they think they deserve and what they think they will get, there is a likelihood of rebellion. Gurr posits this to be the case even if there is no question that their basic needs will be met. The first situation may be a desperate one, but it is the second that is frustrating.

Frustration produces aggressive behavior on the part of an individual, so too does relative deprivation predict collective violence by social groups. In psychological frustration-aggression theory which argues that the main source of human capacity for violence is the frustration-aggression mechanism. Frustration does not always lead to violence. But when it is long enough and feels sharp, it often results in anger and ultimately violence.

Second are people's justifications for beliefs about the justifiability and utility of political action. To understand belief, it is not enough, maybe even not important, to analyze abstract content of ideology such as customary rights or spokesman motives for revolutionary doctrine. Group identity is more important: What is the identity of the clan, ethnicity, religion, and politics of people? With whom do they feel close, what networks of social interaction and communication connect them? Identity politics is central to understanding people is reference groups, their collective sense of injustice, and their vulnerability to appeals for political action. This

approach does not abandon the important principle of "understanding first person" from Why Men Rebel. But he acknowledged that in much of the world, including the West, apart from its emphasis on individualism, the context of groups and identities shaped the hopes and complaints of society.

Balance between discontented people is capacity to act that is the ways in which they are organized and the government is capacity to repress or channel their anger. Empirical analysis of the causes of political protest and rebellion, namely how people are organized is a direct source of political action. It starts with complaints and group trust and forms the mobilization process. The Why Men Rebel model also looks at the extent to which group organizations begin to move.

The government's response to political action is the main determinant of whether people's anger leads to violence against the authorities or is channeled into other types of actions. Why Men Rebel consider that governments that respond to reform are rarely targets of rebellion. In other words the government supports or creates conflict conditions at every step in the model. Inequality imposed by the government is the main source of complaints; Repressive policies increase anger and resistance; denial of the right to use conventional politics and protests encourage underground activists and foster terrorist and revolutionary resistance.

# Relative Deprivation Theory

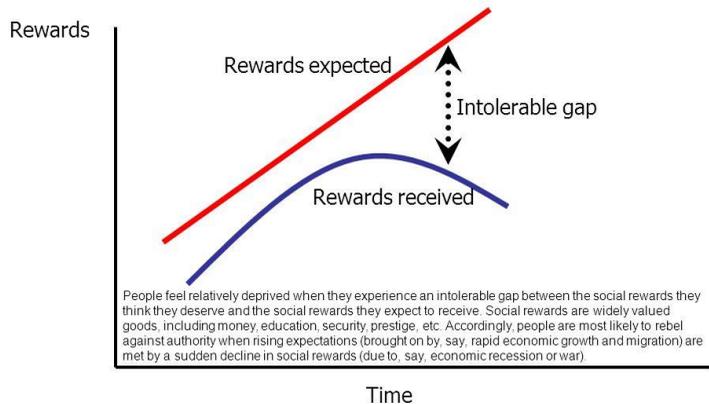


Figure 1.1 Graph of a relative deprivation theory (Gurr, 1970)

Gurr structures his analyzed several sources of group support and their influence on the result of politicized dissatisfaction. When politicized dissatisfaction is widespread and intense, groups that usually serve instrumental functions tend to be use by members to channel protests and if they are not under direct regime control, as a group basis for political violence. The proposed basic relationship is that, given the existence of politicized dissatisfaction, the magnitude and form of political violence varies with the balance of institutional support between the regime and dissident groups. Regimes can minimize support for dissidents and channel political dissatisfaction for constructive or at least non-destructive purposes, insofar as they offer stable and effective institutional alternatives to violent dissent.

Boko Haram is a group originating from northeast Nigeria. Its residents are predominantly Muslim, have a

high passion for religion. In the past, the people were so supportive of the government and believed in the government that all would return to normal before independence by re-establishing Sharia law in Nigeria. Society has high expectations of the Nigerian government, but in reality after Nigeria gained independence and was influenced by Britain everything changed. The constitution changes frequently, and makes Nigeria a secular state.

There are many gaps between the government and society. Which is in fact, there is a lot of corruption of Nigerian officials, the unfairness of the government in the welfare of its people between the southern and eastern regions, the conflict between ethnicity and religion increasingly frivolous. All that makes the people of northeast Nigeria feel disappointed and they are so difficult to accept the reality. From the disappointment, they made an action as one of the political actions. They feel limited opportunities against with the Nigerian government. The action was aimed at letting his complaints about the Nigerian government be heard and wanted attention.

The action was carried out by making a movement, which is a group that wants to change Nigeria. The group is Boko Haram. This group makes mobilization, which aims to establish an Islamic state based on Sharia law. They are active in their movements against the Nigerian government. All of that they did because they were disappointed with the government's work which they considered incompetent.

#### **D. HYPOTHESIS**

The transformation of Boko Haram changed from an Islamic movement into a terrorist organization was caused by the disappointed with the increasingly secular government in Nigeria and repressive policy to Islamic idea.

## **E. RESEARCH METHODS**

The research methodology used for conducting this research was qualitative methodology. One of the techniques was by doing library research. Data analysis was gained from books, journal, articles, and news. Then, the collected data were used to analyze the issue. Then, this research used content analysis as a second method of research for analyzing secondary data.

## **F. SCOPE OF RESEARCH**

To explain the change of Boko Haram. Boko Haram in 2002 was an Islamic movement that aimed to establish Islamic state and then in 2009 rebelled and their existence increased. As a result, Boko Haram's image was damaged and considered as a terrorist in Nigeria. This focused on Boko Haram's transformation from an Islamic movement into terrorist organization.

## **G. OUTLINE**

This research has five chapters which will be arranged as follow:

- Chapter I : This chapter contains Background, Research Question, Theoretical Frameworks, Hypothesis, Research Methodology, and Scope of Research that guides the writer to the next chapter.
- Chapter II : This chapter explain's the elaborate the origin of Boko Haram.
- Chapter III : This chapter explain's about the transformation of the Boko Haram rebellion.
- Chapter IV : This chapter explain's about the causes of transformation from Islamic movement to terrorist organization;Secularism Government in Nigeria and

Repressive Policy to Islamic  
Idea.

Chapter V

: This chapter contains the conclusion  
of all the explanation has been  
presented in the previous chapters.