

***TRANSFORMATION FROM ISLAMIC MOVEMENT TO
TERRORIST ORGANIZATION
CASE STUDY: BOKO HARAM***

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ABSTRACT

The gap in Nigeria is making people tired of the government. 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. Boko Haram is a radical 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.

Key Words: Boko Haram, Radical, Islamic Movement, Terrorism

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

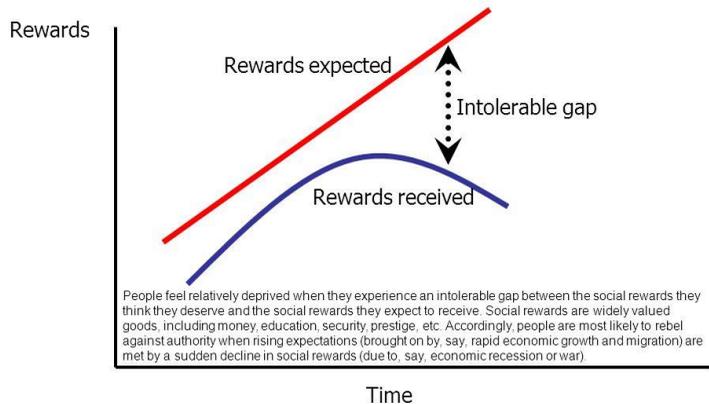


Figure 1.1 Graph of a relative deprivation theory (Gurr, 1970)

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.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The increasingly existing Boko Haram movement, the maker of Boko Haram, has become more aggressive in achieving its goals. They want to show the government that what they are doing now is in response to the dissatisfaction with their work which makes the people suffer. Boko Haram's confession of the use of violence committed is certain. In addition to being an organization that has a complicated plan, its courage serves as an extraordinary commitment to the struggle that they do.

A. Secularism Nigerian Government

One of Boko Haram's main goals is the coronation of an Islamic state in Nigeria. This goal is contrary to Nigeria's constitutional secularity. Rebellion Boko Haram received a response, that his rebellion was an insult to Nigerian secularity. In the contents of *The Nigerian Constitution 1999*, it states that "the Federation or State Government will not adopt any religion as the state religion". The controversy over the status of Sharia Law in Nigeria has led to speculation in the country. (Ezedikachi, 2016)

Nigeria was granted political independence by the British on October 1, 1960, and was given republic status on October 1, 1963. For 55 years after its independence under parliamentary democracy violated by military rule and then followed by the capitalist system of the President of democracy since 1999. Nigeria is a populous country dense, which often makes the Constitution, even up to 5 times in 1960, 1963, 1979, 1989, 1999, making Nigeria more than a secular state. In the draft constitution, the legal position is that religious belief does not affect Nigerian public or government decisions. But in their interactions, Islam and Christianity show each other to try to defeat other religions through aggressive conversion into political associations and religious practices.

A.1 Interactionism in religion practice in Nigeria

Secularism plays a role in the Nigerian Constitution that a person has the freedom to practice his own chosen religion without government interference. Secularism is the legal position in the highest law in Nigeria, which states that religious beliefs should not influence public and / or government decisions. In other words, there is a separation of religion and state. Communities are allowed to practice anything as a religion they believe in, but may not influence public policy.

Religion is a form of service or worship to gods. In Durkheim's theory (Durkheim, 1982), Durkheim's theory of religion further sees God as a private person. According to him all the laws and commands of God are demanded from the community for community self-preservation. With this concept, that a country must adopt state religion to demand good religious behavior from all members of its community. Danbatta as political correspondent of the Nigerian Citizen, he is worried that religion will become a non-governmental affair. He wrote a clause on religious freedom in the Nigerian Constitution, "By writing a clause on religious freedom in our Constitution, we are causing the abolition of that freedom, inviting riots." And what was feared happened after 55 years of Nigerian independence. (Yesufu, 2016)

A.2 Influence secularism in education

In the 1950s and 1960s, there were many religious-based educational institutions and minimal Federal educational institutions. In the mid-1970s, there was a takeover of faith-based schools in Nigeria. Some residents believe that Nigeria will

become a religious state (non-secular state), if the government has not yet taken over the institution of religious education at that time. However, there are some who believe that the takeover of schools is a grave mistake and a violation of the principle of secularism that is embedded in the Nigerian Constitution. (Ezedikachi, 2016)

The inclusion of educational goals in the Constitution makes the achievement of secularism in Nigeria. In the goal of secularism, it wants to be able to liberalize education so that it will not depend on religion. Secularism allows public education to be based on reason and science but as the choice of each adherent any religion can base its education or morals on its religion as a personal choice.

A.3 Quest for the Implementation of Sharia Law

The Federal Government of Nigeria makes it possible with a sharia state court of appeals this is to expand the Sharia into the scope of the criminal justice in question. While Yusuf was so critical of the circumstances and the government, Yusuf was involved in official efforts to introduce and implement Sharia in northern Nigeria in the 2000s. Not achieving these desires has angered young people over government fraud and insincerity and calls for an authentic Islamic revolution.

The Boko Haram sect is a form of strict adherence to the Qur'an and the Hadith, their interpretation was also approved by Ibn Taymiyyah. Abu Qaqa, a spokesman for Boko Haram, explained when interviewed that the agenda of the Boko Haram group was to destabilize Nigeria and bring it back to the pre-colonial period when Sharia law was practiced. In addition, he said they would consider

government negotiations to kneel, and see what was being done in accordance with God's command. As well as their wishes, the imprisoned Boko Haram members were immediately released.



Figure 4.1 The 12 Northern States that Practice Sharia Law (Parramouth, 2017)

Aliyu Tishau, a member of the Boko Haram group, in his interview stated that "what we demand is that countries that declare independence to implement sharia must be carried out in full. Is there a Shari'ah value, if a thief is cut off by corruptors while left free? Or they have forbidden drinking alcohol, but they still drink imported spirits in their respective house. Is that all Sharia already? The leaders of the Boko Haram group argue that this is the reason for the country's misery and all this is because of its secular nature which is compounded by the apparent injustice in this country.

B. Repressive Policy to Islamic Idea

From 2002 to 2009, Boko Haram was a moderate social religious movement with limited demands in

Nigeria. Gradually they became a group that radicalized as a result of Nigeria's repressive policies. The policy encourages Boko Haram to move towards a strategy of violence, one of which is using neighboring countries as a retreat base to facilitate the rationalization of its threats. (Luntumbue, 2015)

The Nigerian government also considers that with Boko Haram, they consider that Boko Haram is a growing terrorist movement, and the country's security forces have reacted with violent repression. On the other hand, the government provides recommendations for the Boko Haram movement that wants to launch its movement in developing an Islamic state in Nigeria. The policy is used so that there is no development of Islam or any religion in the state structure or as a law in Nigeria.

First, the people in Nigeria to obey and resist the temptation to not do something incessant Boko Haram gave a warning to the Nigerian government. Every action taken by outsiders, all must be informed by their knowledge and sensitivity to the religious dimension which is the current Nigerian crisis. The intervention carried out by Boko Haram will be felt by all people and governments as an attack on the basis of religion against Islam.

Second, there must be a focus on humanitarian assistance aimed at meeting basic human needs millions of people who have been internally displaced by the struggle between Boko Haram and the country. Like that assistance must also be available for Nigeria neighbors, which accommodate thousands of refugees. Third, the principle that as a sovereign nation the ideals of democracy must be upheld to a higher standard than terrorist groups. Sensitivity and understanding of the religious dimension the crisis in Nigeria in general has made policy repression for Islamic ideas that want to

develop in Nigeria mentally rejected by the government. (Campbell, 2014)

B.1 Radicalization of Islam in Contemporary Society

Radicalization is often a gradual process and requires time. Entering into an organization is not necessarily immediately radicalized. New members / newcomers can be radicalized because of a group dynamic. Initially influenced, and then turned to extreme views among those who thought the same, extreme cohesion under isolation and threats. As well as competition for gaining support and popularity within radical group. (Institute, 2017)

Radicalism occurs because of a driving factor. Nobody radicalizes itself. If there is something that resembles consensus in growth evidence based on what supports or attracts people back for radicalization, a personal relationship is important. This can be relatives, friends, or group connections. In addition, social ties become strong in recruitment. Relationships become very influential through various mechanisms, all of which can be identified to be very important factors to motivate people to engage in radical thinking or a radical practice of violent action. From this radicalism refers to acts of terrorism.

Questions from the book *Why men Rebel*, from Tedd Robert Gurr. "Why do people engage in political violence (riots, rebellions, coups, etc)?" The study of rebellion, radicalization, transformation leading to terrorism, answers in the analogy of "the ladder for terrorism". On the ground floor, people feel injustice, but some of them don't do anything. Unlike those who think critically, immediately find solutions to their problems and some still not satisfied. The frustration kept pushing them up to the second floor. Their

positions are receptive, they are influenced by leaders to divert their aggression into someone they consider an enemy. Then some of them moved to the third floor, by creating groups and their involvement in the morality of radical organizations that allowed them to see radicalism as a justified strategy. And on the fifth floor, they are individuals who are trained to avoid the inhibition of mechanisms that can prevent them from being injured or who they consider enemies, killing enemies or who disagree with them, and they equipped and sent to carry out acts of terrorism.

Radicalization must be understood in a broad context, in which a political and cultural resistance to a person is delegated and central authority stagnates. The history of the uprising is very strong against colonialism and is very receptive to radical Islam. So many populations in the area, such as Nigeria, question the concept of a secular state. Boko Haram members described his violence as a response to a decade long history of persecution against Muslims in the north Nigeria.

Radicalization can occur because it resonates with populations in the region with economic and social inequalities, and the lack of access to education that disproportionately affects those who are already poor and marginalized. And cause feelings of anger towards the central authority. In addition, the level of unemployment of young people in Nigeria is recorded as a contribution to the factor of radicalization.

Actually there are so many causes and processes of radicalization in northern Nigeria. The report was strengthened by the case of students attending the Qur'an (almajirai). It was found that they had been radicalized, and the majority of those interviewed expressed this view as opposed to the basic principle of

Boko Haram's ideology itself, namely Salafi. Radicalization of women is connected to the broader context of gender roles in Nigeria. The expectation of women to depend on men disappears when they see their husbands joining Boko Haram. Or the kidnapping case committed by Boko Haram against women. They finally shared their ideology and participated in the operation. They serve in logistics experts, recruiters, or operational leaders, even as bait to carry out suicide bombings.

Research conducted by Mercy Corps, that Boko Haram members do not share a demographic profile. The ex-members who have been interviewed, there are so many backgrounds of Boko Haram members. Of those who have jobs or are unemployed. Some of those present from Islamic or secular schools were forced into, and those who dropped out. How did the sect initially attract everyone from various backgrounds to be able to join it. In addition, in the Mercy Corps study, Boko Haram was indeed frustrated with the Nigerian government and then created a group. Which is Boko Haram taking advantage of deep complaints from the community around government shortcomings and security breach to get a foothold in the community. They were former members of Boko Haram, recounting that at some time they supported the group, hoping it would bring change in the Nigerian government. Then the support is then reduced as Boko Haram tactics become more brutal.

Lack of confidence in the government, state forces and security, added with injustice, self-protection and economic hardship the main driver of Boko Haram's readiness to use radicalism in practice, take up arms and finish off those who disagree with them. With radicalization they assume all can be conquered, and the ideals of the group can be realized.

CONCLUSION

Conflicts between Boko Haram and the Nigerian government occurred because of a dispute that did not end and did not find a meeting point between the two parties. Disputes that began from 2002, and found the high point in 2009 that made Boko Haram even more violent. The cause of the outbreak of the dispute was explained in the previous chapters, and all of that underlies the change or transformation carried out by Boko Haram which started from the Islamic movement into a terrorist organization. Nigeria whose political order often changes its constitution, which makes a few changes to the rules and makes the government weak and chaotic. All of that has an impact on the society, which makes it unequal. With this, groups emerged to make a movement to change the actions of the government. This aspect became an influence on the dispute between Boko Haram and the Nigerian government which resulted in Boko Haram transforming, which was the answer to the hypothesis in the first chapter.

The basic cause of the changes made by Boko Haram from the Islamic movement to a terrorist organization is because Boko Haram's understanding has changed to become more radical, and the increasingly secular Nigerian government. This has an impact on religious practices and education in Nigeria, and the occurrence of political uprisings. In the analysis of chapter four, Boko Haram is explained more intensively and shows his existence because of the change in ideology which was initially peaceful turned into radicalism and extremism. His movement that uses violence is solely his goal to establish an Islamic state and is the path of God through jihad.

Many analyses speculate about the collapse of Nigeria. But Boko Haram also revealed the failure of the Muslim community to unite, develop and organize a joint response to modernity in Nigeria. In fact, the Mohammed Yusuf sect is a challenge for Nigeria and the Islamic state, which was

continued by Abubakar Shekau, whose leadership style was radical. It should be underlined that the pioneers of the movement are those of their leaders who have been able to move the masses against the government.

Thus, the question of "Why did Boko Haram change from an Islamic movement to terrorist organization in 2009?" has been answered. All of this happened because of the increasingly secular Nigerian government, political rebellion, and from the Boko Haram side whose movements were increasingly radical. With the ideals of Boko Haram wanting to establish an Islamic state based on Sharia, justifying all the roads for them to use in consideration of the reasons above.

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