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Olumuyiwa Temitope Faluyi • Sultan Khan  
Adeoye O. Akinola

# Boko Haram's Terrorism and the Nigerian State

Federalism, Politics and Policies

 Springer

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# Preface

While there has been an explosion of books on terrorism and counterterrorism at the global and regional levels, few have documented country-specific experiences of terrorism. The need to fill this scholarly gap motivated this volume on the reality of Boko Haram's reign of terror in Nigeria.

The book draws from a critical standpoint of knowledge. Through desktop research (relying on official – policy and legislative – documents as well as relevant studies), it presents a nuanced understanding of armed insurrection in Nigeria. It is important to explore the sociopolitical environment in which Nigerian government-led counterterrorism operates. The ethnic-driven politics and policy which characterized Nigerian federalism have impeded sustainable peace and security in the country. Lopsided federalism, the nature of the state, and the characteristics of its leadership explain the state's incapacity to maintain peace and order within its territorial integrity.

This book is divided into nine chapters. The first presents the Boko Haram case in context, examines the background to Nigeria's security challenge, explores the evolution of Boko Haram from a local to an international terrorist group, and highlights the divergent factors responsible for the protracted armed insurrection in the country. [Chapter 2](#) presents understandings of terrorism and counterterrorism and delves into the two major approaches to counterterrorism: hard and soft power. In [Chap. 3](#), we historicize the reality of Nigeria's federalism and how Boko Haram exploits the politicization of ethnic and religious diversity to sustain the conflict.

[Chapter 4](#) provides a theoretical framework for understanding the Boko Haram dilemma and the factors responsible for the evolution of the armed sect and the protracted nature of the conflict. The Nigerian state's fragility directly explains the emergence of Boko Haram and the implementation of ineffective counterterrorism. The subsequent chapter, [Chap. 5](#), provides a holistic overview of Boko Haram. It digs into its origins, ideology, evolution, hierarchy, strategies and approach to conflict, and the depth of Boko Haram's reign of terror. The chapter reveals the transformation from agitated group to insurgent group and engages its international posture.

In **Chap. 6**, we focus on the various counterterrorism strategies adopted by the Nigerian government. These exist on the pedestal of the National Counter-Terrorism Strategy and Acts of the National Assembly, called NACTEST. The chapter interrogates government performance in the implementation of NACTEST, identifies its achievements, and exposes the limitations of legislative and other policy frameworks in dismantling Boko Haram's terrorism and ensuring peace and security in the crisis zones. **Chapter 7** explores the implications of counterterrorism strategies for the state, society, and economy. It exposes the skewed fiscal relations under the defective federalism and how decisions on Boko Haram are driven by primordial, political, ethnic, and religious considerations. **Chapter 8** presents a case study approach to understanding terrorism. Cases are drawn from other countries experiencing terrorism, while the chapter interrogates the activities of selected terrorist organizations across the world. This exposes the peculiarity of the Boko Haram case and the culpability of state institutions in mismanaging the conflict. In the last chapter, **Chap. 9**, we situate the conflict in context and provide pragmatic and sustainable policy recommendations for resilience and peacebuilding. The chapter also highlights the "road map" toward ensuring peace and security in Nigeria. It reiterates that the Nigerian government has the responsibility to protect lives and property across the entire country.

The book is an intellectual contribution to knowledge expansion in terrorism. Specifically, it is a resource pool and knowledge reservoir for stakeholders in the Nigerian peace and security agenda, in particular, actors involved in the formulation and implementation of policies aimed at halting Boko Haram's terrorism. Furthermore, students (particularly at postgraduate levels) of political science, military science, policy studies, sociology, criminology, peace, security, and conflict studies will find the book of great value. Experts and researchers in the aforementioned disciplines will also find a pool of insightful information. We express our appreciation to everyone involved in the successful completion of this book and particularly appreciate Deanne Collins who edited it.

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# Abbreviations

ACGSF	Agricultural Credit Guarantee Scheme Fund
AfDB	African Development Bank
AQIM	Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
CBN	Central Bank of Nigeria
CCTV	Closed-Circuit Television
CCTVs	Closed-Circuit Televisions
CJTF	Civilian Joint Task Force
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
CTRs	Currency Transaction Reports
DIA	Defence Intelligence Agency
DSS	Department of State Security
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EDCs	Entrepreneurship Development Centres
EFCC	Economic and Financial Crimes Commission
EU	European Union
FCT	Federal Capital Territory
FGN	Federal Government of Nigeria
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIABA	Inter-Governmental Action Group against Money Laundering in West Africa
GSPC	<i>Salafist</i> Group for Preaching and Combat
ICC	International Criminal Court of Justice
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IEDs	Improvised Explosive Devices
IRA	Irish Republican Army
ISIL	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
ISIS	Islamic State in Iraq and Syria
JOTRO	Joint Military Task Force named Operation Restore Order
LCBC	Lake Chad Basin Commission
MASSOB	Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra
MLPA 2011	Money Laundering (Prohibition) Act, 2011

MLPA 2012	Money Laundering (Prohibition) (Amendment) Act, 2012
MNJTF	Multinational Joint Task Force
MOSOP	Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People
MUJAO	Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa
MW	Mega Watts
NACTEST	National Counter-Terrorism Strategy
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
NCS	Nigerian Customs Service
NEMA	National Emergency Management Agency
NFIC	Nigerian Financial Intelligence Centre
NFIU	Nigerian Fraud Intelligence Unit
NIA	National Intelligence Agency
NIMC	National Identity Management Commission
NIREC	National Interfaith Religious Council
NIS	Nigerian Immigration Service
NPC	Northern People's Congress
NPF	Nigerian Police Force
NSCDC	Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps
ONSA	Office of the National Security Adviser
PFLP	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
PINE	Presidential Initiative on the North East
POC	Proceeds of Crime
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
RRF	Refinancing and Restructuring Fund
SALWs	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SIM	Subscriber Identity Module
SMEDAN	Small and Medium Enterprises Development Agency of Nigeria
SMMEs	Small and Medium Scale Enterprises
STRs	Suspicious Transaction Report
TPA 2011	Terrorism (Prevention) Act 2011
TPA 2013	Terrorism (Prevention) (Amendment) Act 2013
TSCTP	Trans-Saharan Counterterrorism Partnership
UBEC	Universal Basic Education Commission
UK	United Kingdom
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
USDOD	United States Director of Defence
US DOD	United States Department of Defence
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VSF	Victims Support Fund
₦	Naira, Nigeria's Official Currency
\$	United States of America Dollars

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