EXPLAINING THE REVOLT OF BOKO HARAM:

DEMOGRAPHY, GOVERNANCE & CRISIS IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

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WHY DOES NIGERIA MATTER?

- **Scale**: Pop=178+ million: 20 % of SSA → Enormous Internal Market
- **Post 1999**: Emergence of Educated, Middle Class in Southern States
- **Exports**: Oil & Gas Production: Oil =2-2.5 m/b/d: LNG is Growing
- **US Interests**: Secure Energy relative to Persian Gulf & Transport Costs
- Light Weight, LO Sulfur = Ideal for Gasoline in US Refineries
- **Growth**: 7 %+, Larger than South Africa, US Exports: GE Gas Turbines
- **Democracy**: US-Model Constitution & Improved Election in 2011
- **Regional Security Partner**: ECOWAS, Peacekeeping, Pipelines, Trade
- **Scale**: Break Up or Crisis will Destabilize Region: Refugees & Chaos
Origins of Revolt: Boko Haram

Fertility in Northern Nigeria ➔ Demographic-Ecological Crisis

➔ Generational “REVOLT” by Excluded & Enraged Youths

Fragmentation of North’s Muslim Religious & Political Elite

North: Elites Fail to Cope with Economic Globalization-(1986)

Northern Elites Empower Global, Heterodox & Extreme Sects

➔ Failure of “Political Shari’a” Provides Opportunity for BH

North: Local Governance Failures & Default to Federal Police

2009: Federal Security Forces Provoke Insurrection by BH
The Sahel region extends between the 250 mm and the 900 mm isohyete (based on mean annual rainfall 1961-90, SDRN-FAO).

Note that the Cape Verde Islands, although not included in the map, are also defined as Sahel.

Source: Millennium Ecosystem Assessment
PROJECTED CHANGE IN SAHEL: TEMPERATURE AND POPULATION

SHRINKING WATER LEVELS IN LAKE CHAD

This collection of maps has been sourced from a series of satellite images provided by NASA Goddard Space Flight Center:


Photo Credit: UNEP
POPULATION GROWTH IN SHARI’A STATES

Population Growth in Sharia States

Year
2006 2007 2008 2009 2010

50,000,000 51,000,000 52,000,000 53,000,000 54,000,000 55,000,000 56,000,000 57,000,000 58,000,000 59,000,000
NORTHERN “YOUTH BULGE”
FERTILITY VARIATION BY ZONE

Total Fertility

North West: 7.3
North Central: 5.4
South West: 4.5
South South: 4.7
South East: 4.8
North East: 7.2
Nigeria: 5.7

Source: 2008 Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey
Mean Number of Children Born to Women 40–49

Mother's Highest Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Mean Number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>5.3</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Women 15-19 Who Have Given Birth or Are Pregnant with 1st Child

- Sokoto: 46.7%
- Katsina: 65.0%
- Zamfara: 47.0%
- Kano: 42.2%
- Kaduna: 31.6%
- Jigawa: 45.0%
- Kebbi: 38.9%
- Nigeria: 22.9%
- North West: 44.6%

Source: Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey
Currently Married Women 15-49 Who Are Using Any Form of Contraception

Source: Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey 2008
Women's Educational Attainment

Women's Education by Highest Level Completed

- Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey 2008

- No Education
- Primary
- Secondary

Source: Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey 2008
Women 15–49 Who Completed Secondary School

- **North West**: 5.3%
- **North East**: 5.0%
- **North Central**: 12.9%
- **South West**: 29.6%
- **South South**: 26.1%
- **South East**: 28.6%

**Nigeria**: 17.5%

Source: 2008 Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey
Women 15–49 Who Completed Secondary School

- Sokoto: 1.40%
- Katsina: 0.60%
- Zamfara: 3.30%
- Kano: 8.40%
- Kaduna: 12.6%
- Jigawa: 1.10%
- Kebbi: 3.70%
- Nigeria: 17.5%
- North West: 5.3%

Source: Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey
Living on a Dollar per Day

North West 71.8%
North Central
50.1%
South West 55.7%
South South
South East 60.6%
North East 70.0%
Nigeria 61.6%

Source: NBS Poverty Profile 2010
averages unweighted
Children Under 5 Who are Moderately or Severely Stunted

Source: Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey 2008
Figure 7: Nutritional Indicators by Region in Nigeria (Measure DHS 2004)

Nigeria Nutrition Indicators by Region

- Children under 5 years who are stunted (%)
- Women who are too thin (BMI < 18.5) (%)
- Women who are overweight (BMI ≥ 25) (%)
Divisions within Northern Muslim Elite

Power Shift (1999): Divides & Isolates Northerners from Petro-rents

Globalization, Economic Liberalization, & Privatization Favor South

Privatization Policies Limit Gains from “Federal Character” in North

Collapse of “Zoning” Agreement in PDP Marginalizes Politicians

Northern Politicians Unable to Unify in ONE Political Party

Northern Governors Fail to Implement Regional Recovery Plan

Governors Fail to Manage Urban Local Governments & Youths

Political & Religious Elites Divide over Restoration of Shari`a
Rise of Abubakar Gumi: Anti-Sufi Scholar & Salafist Leader

1956 War → Gumi Appointed Hajj (Pilgrim) Representative in Saudi

Declares Sufis Apostates (Takfir) & Opens Door to Killing Muslims

Creates Izala as Modern, Mass Membership Organization (1978)

Izala Spearheads Demand for Restoration of Shari`a Criminal Law

Salafists Drive Restoration of Shari`a Criminal Law in 2000-03

Failure of “Political Shari`a” Creates Opportunity for Extremism
Izala splinters after Gumi’s Death (1992) over *Takfir* → Jaffar Adam Emerges

Jaffar Adam’s Student was **Mohammed Yusuf**: Both Preached in Maiduguri

Yusuf Opposes “Political Shari`a” as sham & Preaches for “**True-Full**” Shari`a

Yusuf Opposes Western Education/Gender Mix & Science as Un-Islamic (*kufr*)

Forms Alliance with Borno Governor & Creates Urban Enclave of Believers

Declares Nigerian State Un-Islamic, Illegitimate & Opposes State Employment

**Revolt**: Attacks Legitimacy & Life-Style of `Yan Boko, e.g. Western Educated Muslims

Funds Needs & Voices Support for Urban Poor Against `Yan Boko & Police Abuses

After Conflicts with Borno Governor & Nigerian Police, Moh Yusuf Rebels in 5 States

2009: After Assassination by Police, Boko Haram Declares Jihad against Nigeria State