

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)

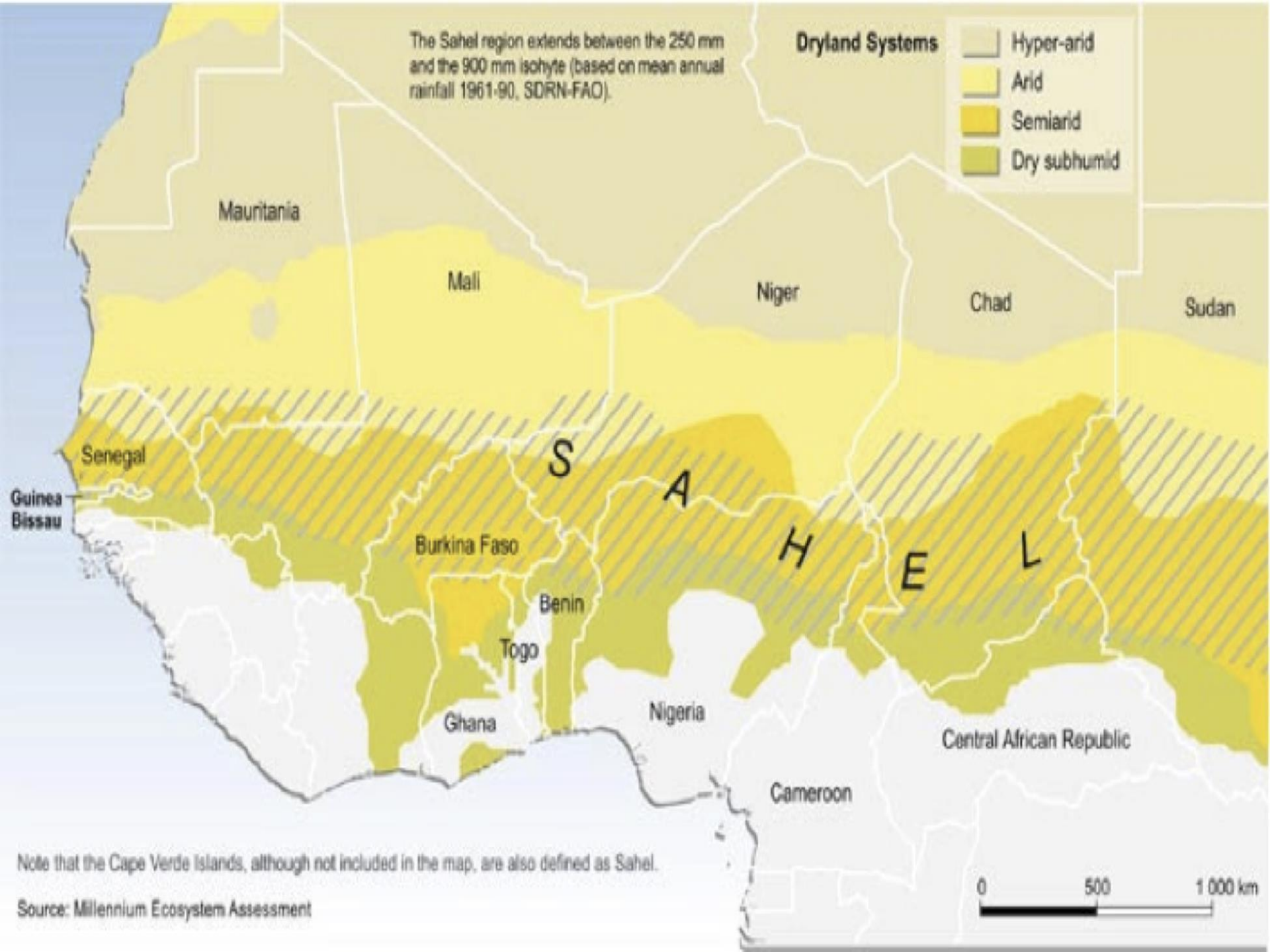
**Northern Elites Empower Global, Heterodox & Extreme Sects**

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

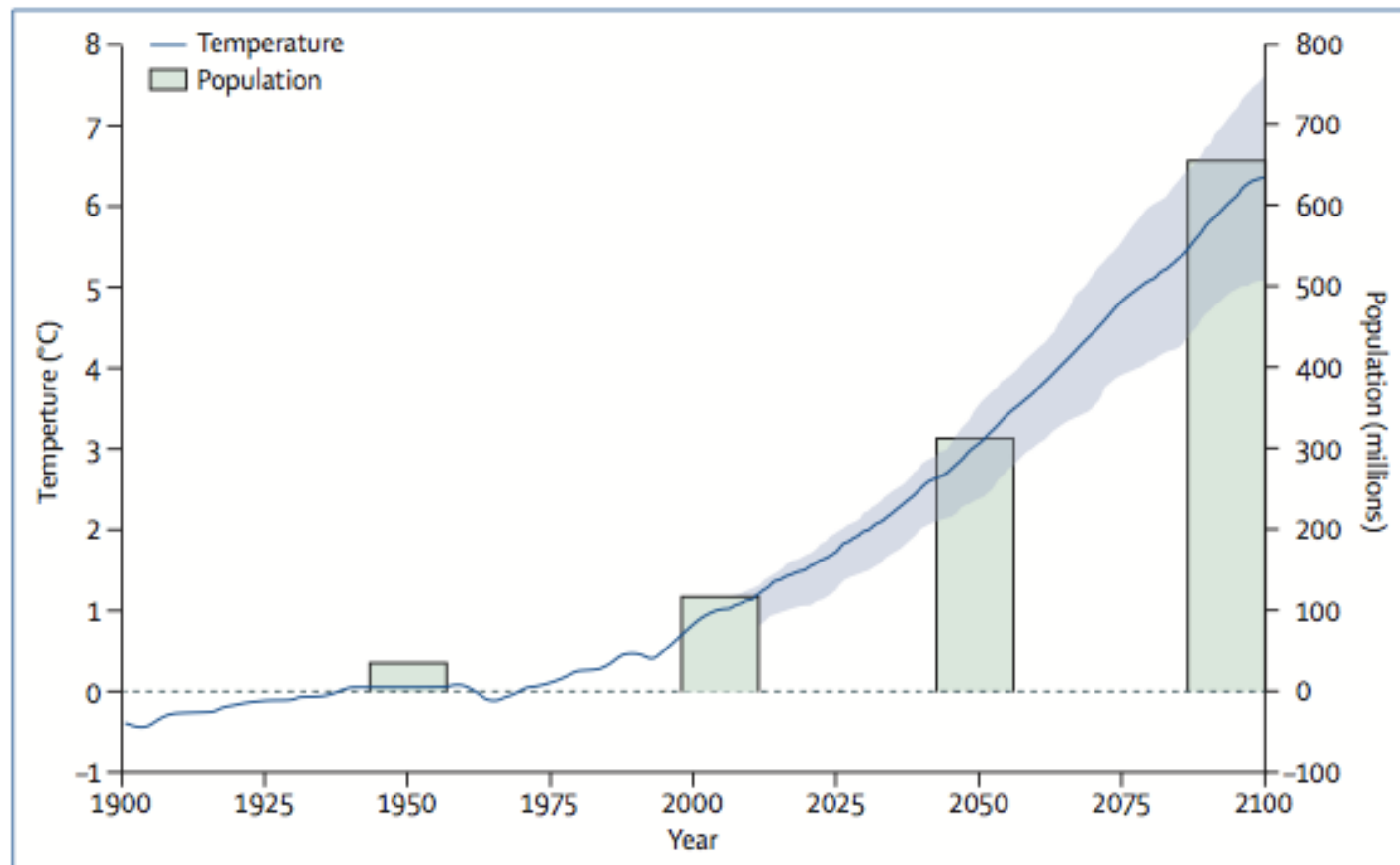
**North:** Local Governance Failures & Default to **Federal Police**

**2009:** **Federal Security Forces** Provoke Insurrection by BH





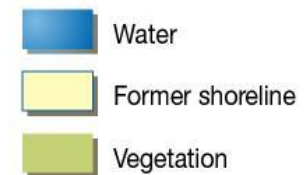
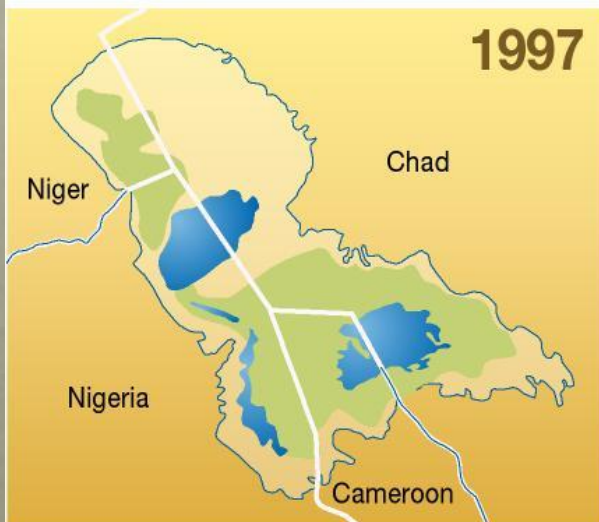
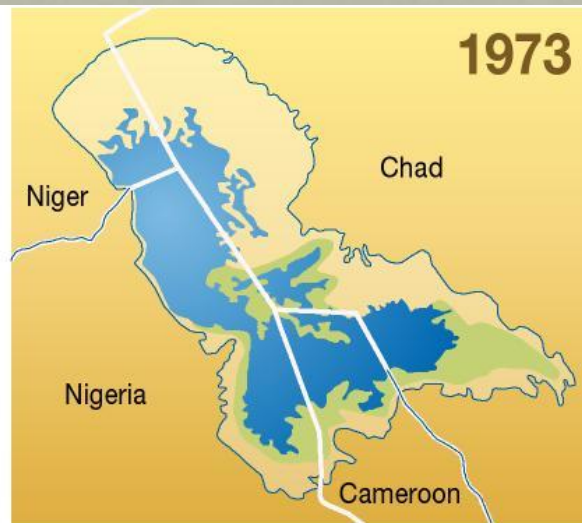
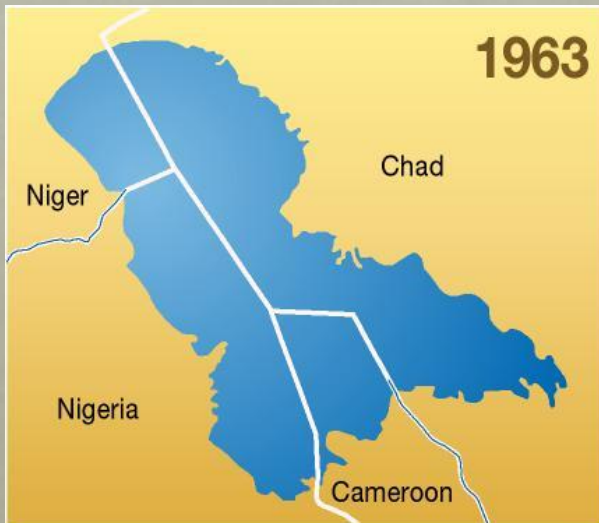
# PROJECTED CHANGE IN SAHEL: TEMPERATURE AND POPULATION



**Figure: Projected change in population and ambient temperature in the Sahel (1900–2100)**

Adapted from Potts and colleagues.<sup>5</sup>

# 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:

<http://www.gsfc.nasa.gov/gsfc/earth/envIRON/lakechad/chad.htm>

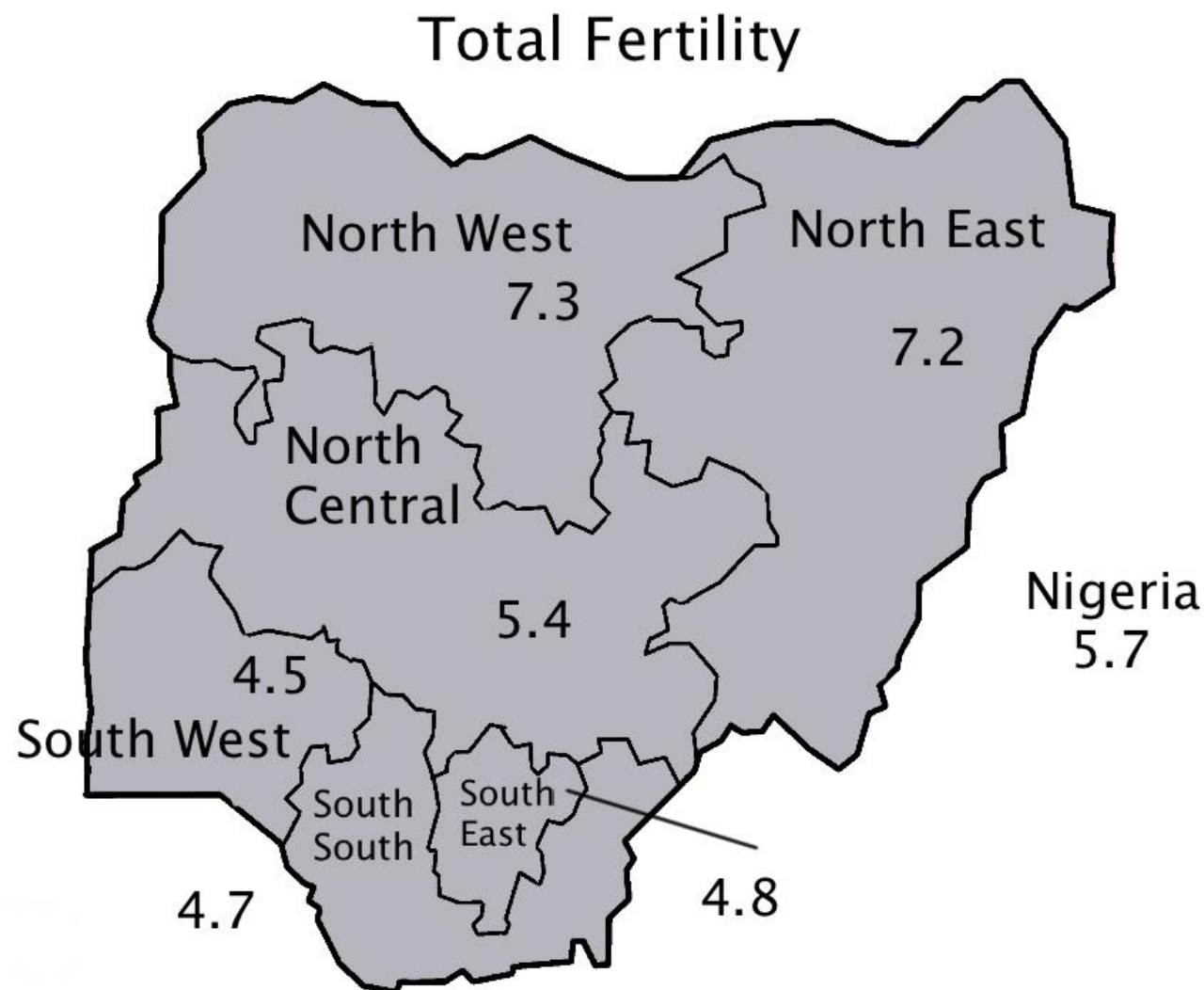
PHILIPPE REKACEWICZ  
FÉVRIER 2008



# POPULATION GROWTH IN SHARIA STATES



# NORTHERN “YOUTH BULGE” FERTILITY VARIATION BY ZONE

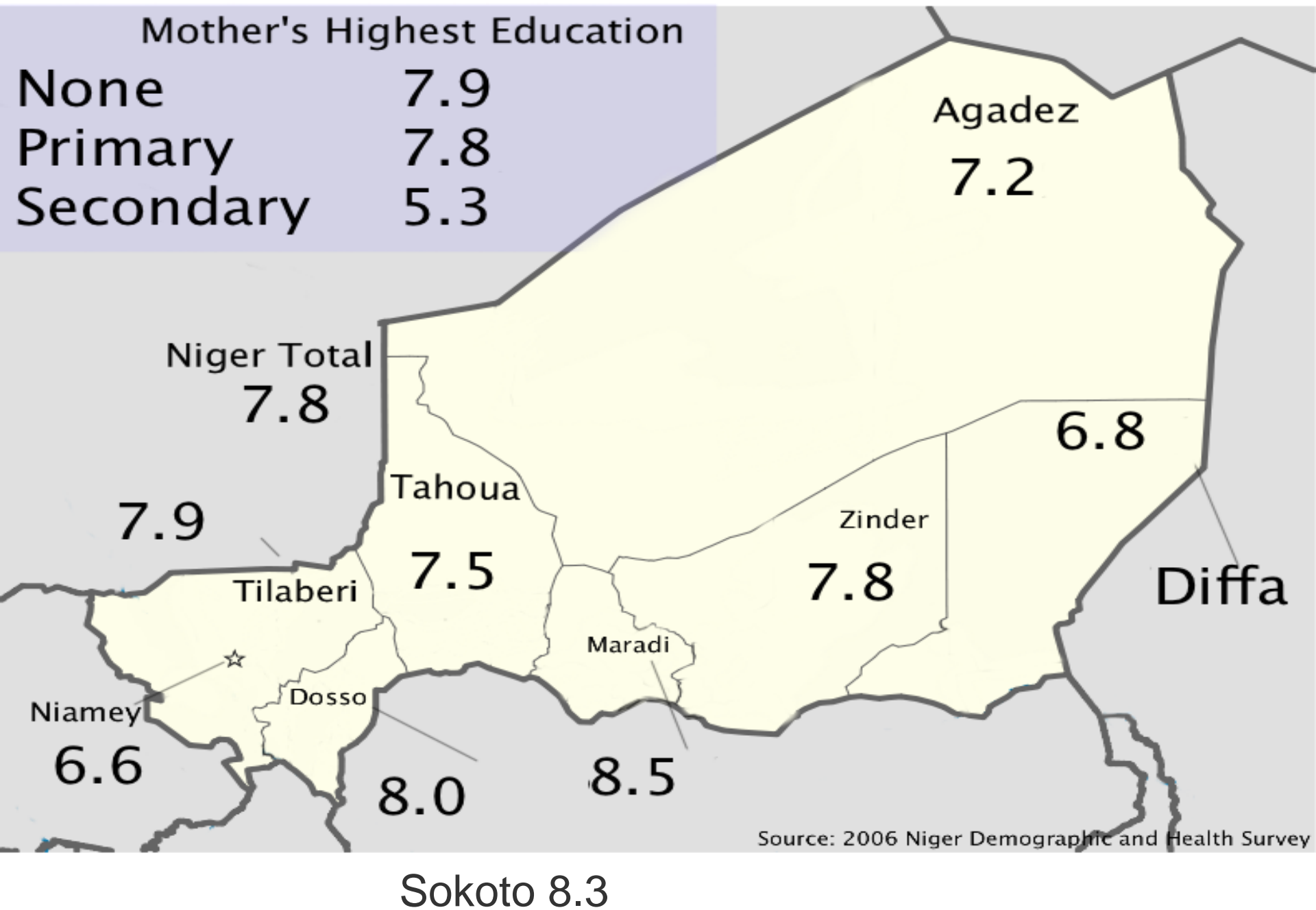




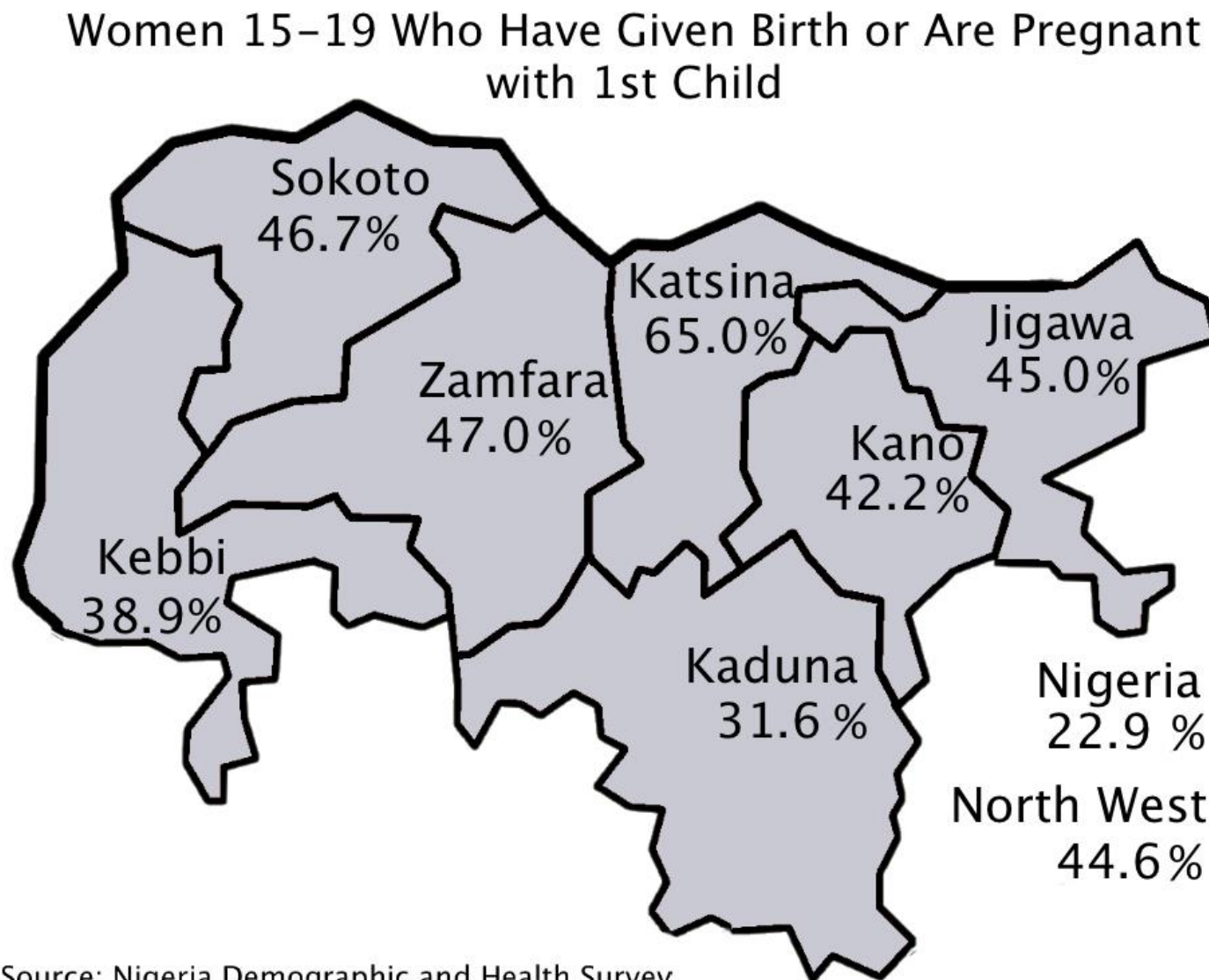
# Mean Number of Children Born to Women 40-49

Mother's Highest Education

None	7.9
Primary	7.8
Secondary	5.3



# WOMEN 15-19 WHO HAVE GIVEN BIRTH OR ARE PREGNANT WITH 1<sup>ST</sup> CHILD

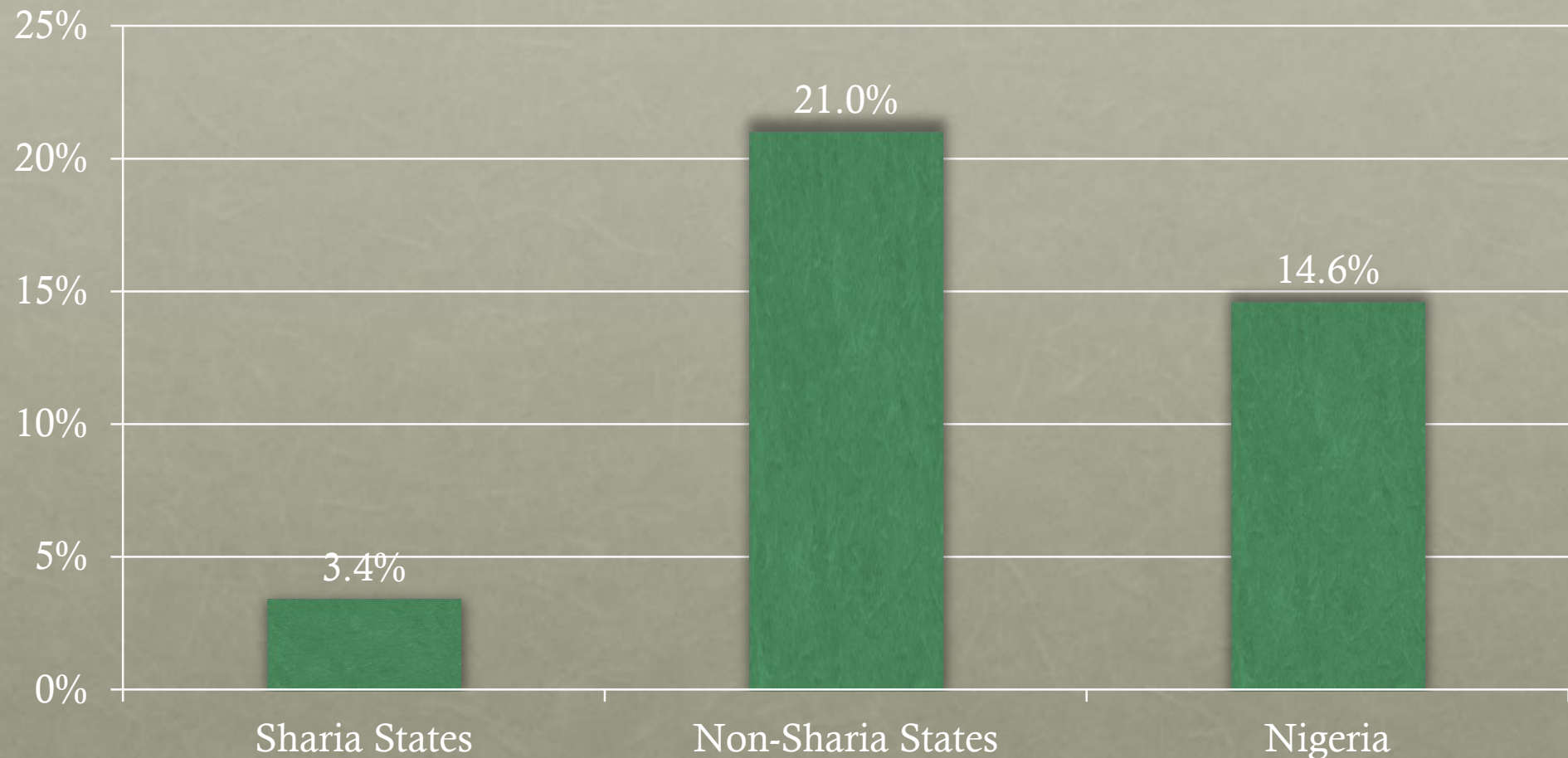


Source: Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey



# CONTRACEPTION

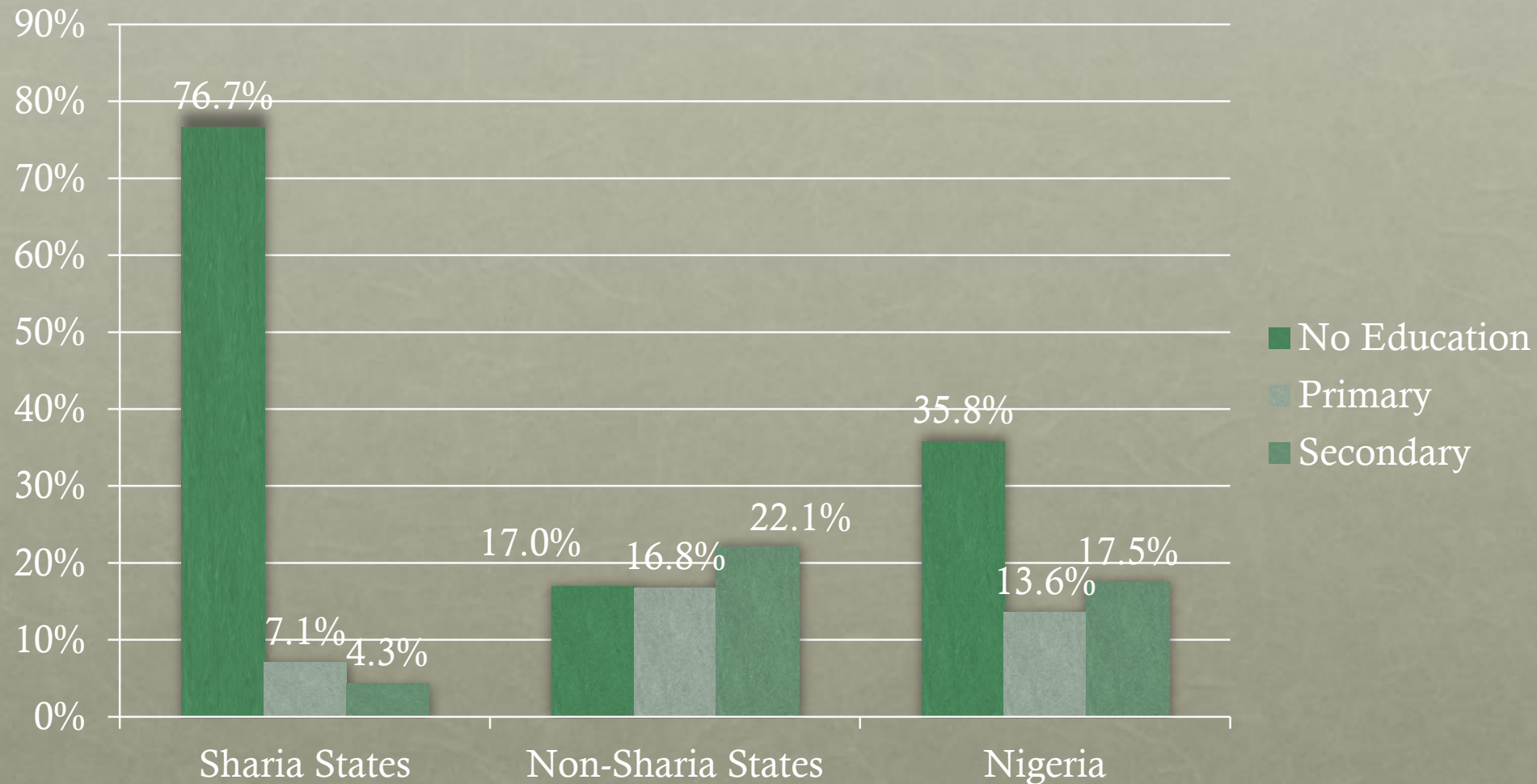
Currently Married Women 15-49 Who Are Using Any Form of Contraception



Source: Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey 2008

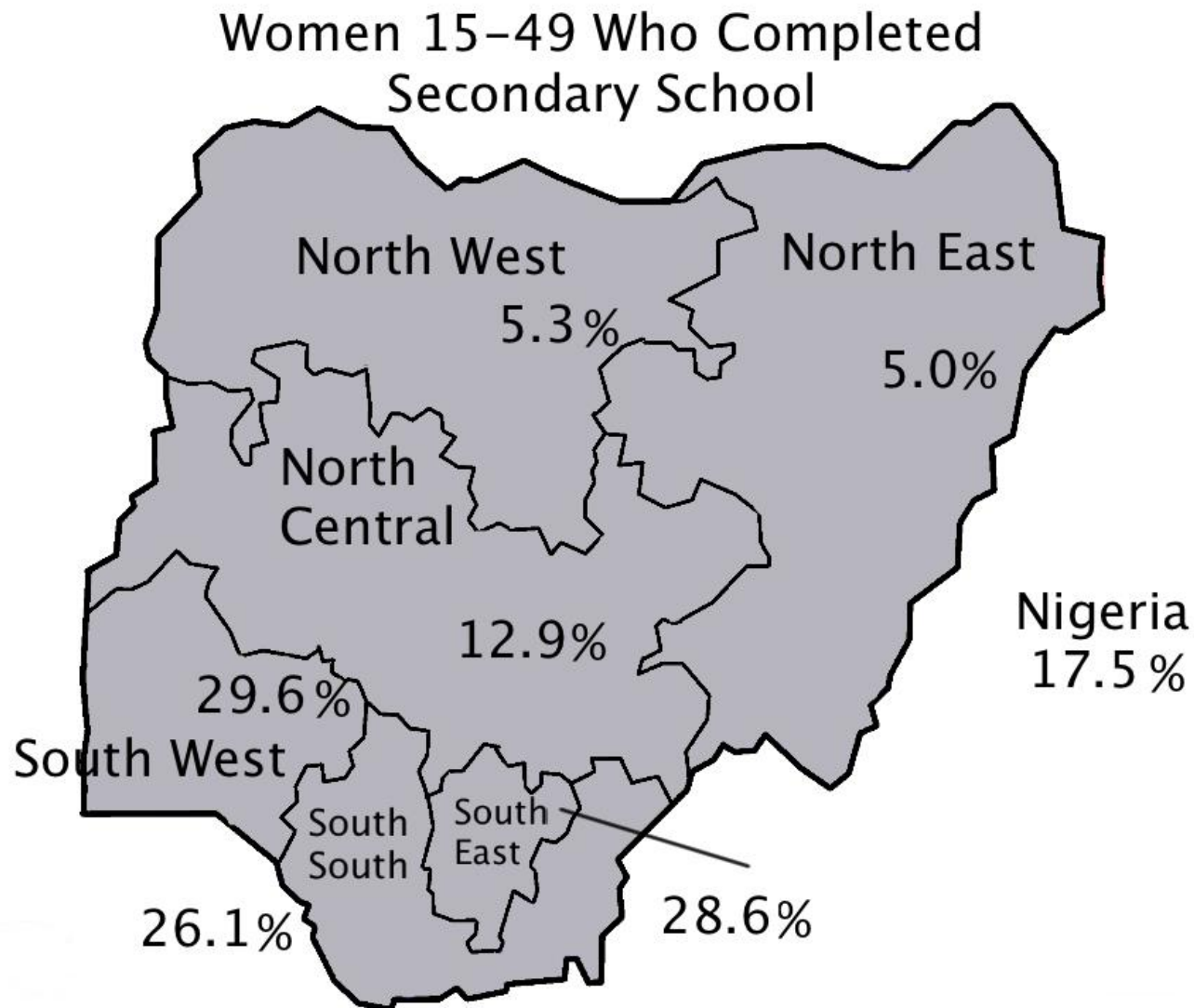
# WOMEN EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Women's Education by Highest Level Completed





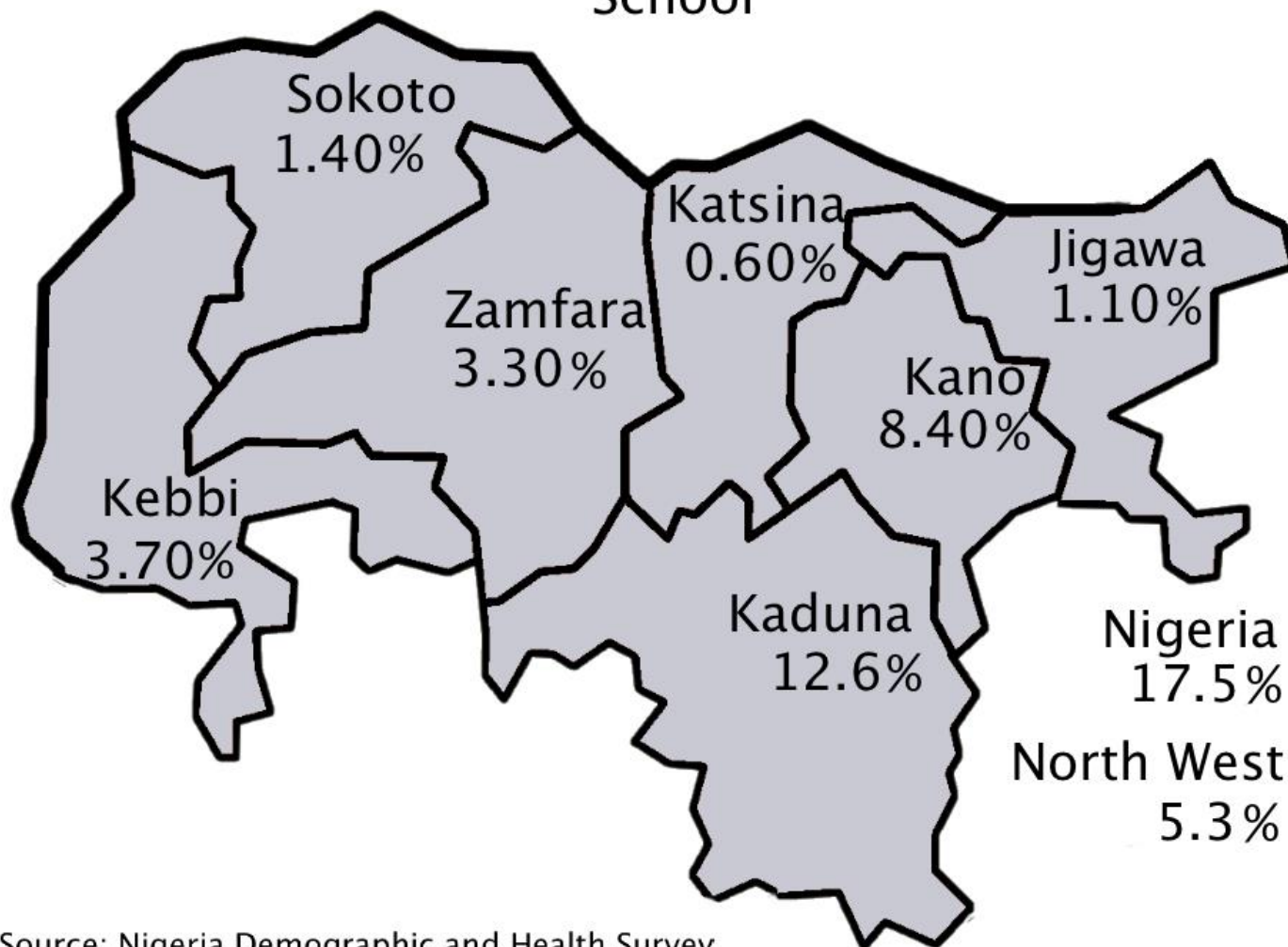
# WOMEN – SECONDARY



Source: 2008 Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey

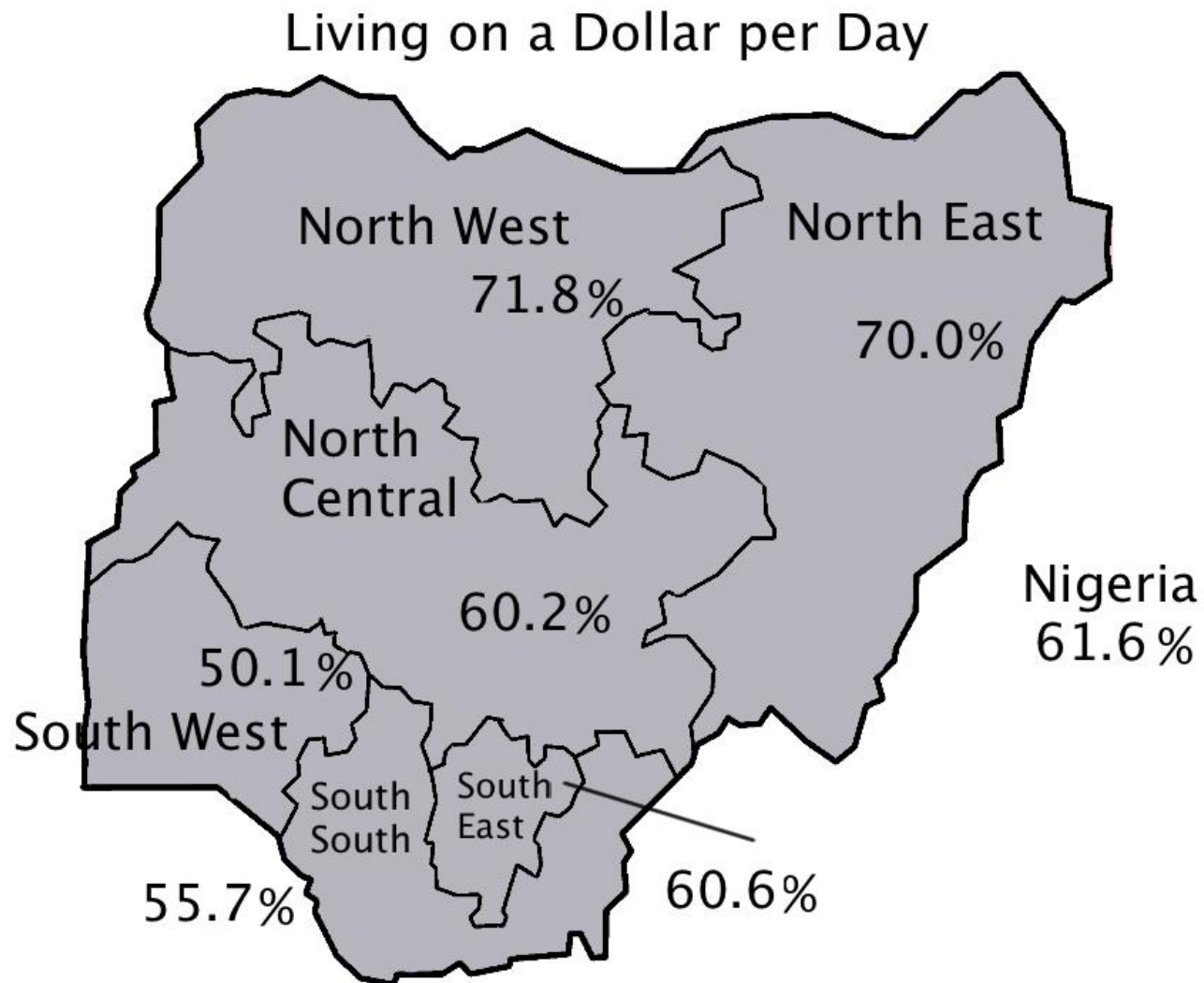
# WOMEN WITH SECONDARY EDUCATION

Women 15-49 Who Completed Secondary School



Source: Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey

# LIVING ON A DOLLAR A DAY





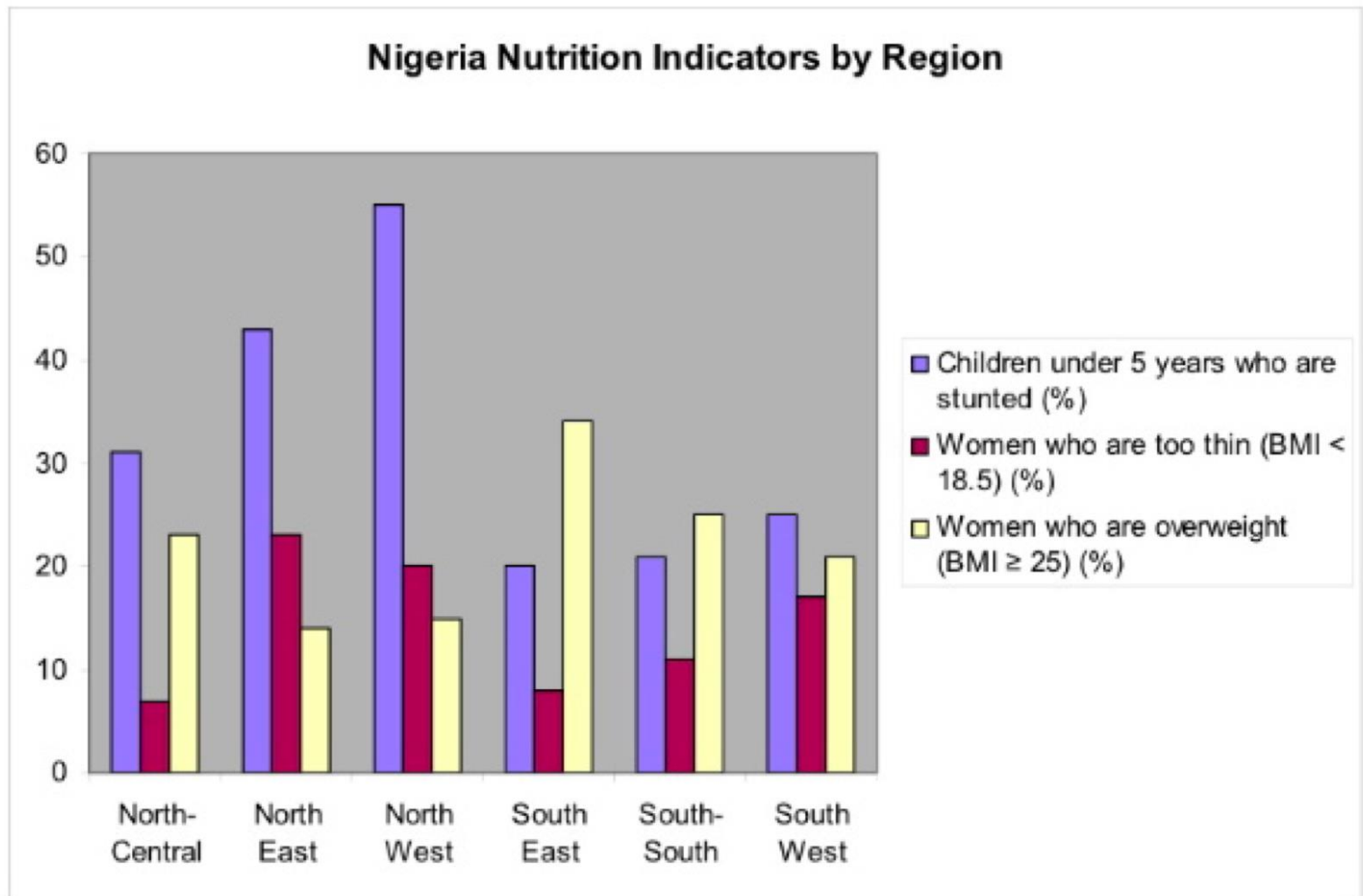
# MALNUTRITION

Children Under 5 Who are Moderately or Severely Stunted



# NUTRITION

Figure 7: Nutritional Indicators by Region in Nigeria (Measure DHS 2004)



# 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



# RELIGIOUS FRAGMENTATION AND EXTREMISM

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

# DIVISIONS & EXTREMISM: RISE OF *BOKO HARAM*

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