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# ANATOMY OF AFRICA'S EVIL SIAMESE TWINS: A COMPARATIVE RESEARCH OF BOKO HARAM AND AL-SHABAB

The activities of terrorist movements like the Boko Haram and the Al-Shabab in recent times have dealt a hefty blow to the collective stability of the African continent and its multi-pronged socio-economic fortunes. The ensuing debacles and the varying inundating levels of ignominy and infamy wreaked on Africa by these groups have spontaneously elicited reactions from the global community over the years. Though steady progress has been made in this regard, the swinging and vacillating strategies of the sect to adopting unconventional mediums to carrying out domestic and transnational attacks leaves much to be desired. Relying on secondary data, this study undertakes a comparative analysis of the Boko Haram and Al-Shabab. Through a review of existing documents, this article argues in line with policy ramifications that, in as much as policy homogeneity may be essential, and perhaps a sine qua non-alternative to be relied on in the quest for the fight against these anti-social incendiary sects, there is still less fruitful outcome and therefore necessitates the need for further policy options. In conclusion, the research equally entreats a neck turn consideration of experimenting with individual countryspecific policy options as a way to fight terrorism, all within a much stronger broader international community framework. Until this is considered, terrorism may remain an albatross around the neck of Africa, and the international community whiles the fight becomes a façade.

**Keywords:** *Terrorism, Africa, Boko-haram, Al-Shabab, Anatomy, Comparative, Interrogation,* 

# Introduction

The expanding sphere of influence and devastating consequences of violent extremist groups such as the Islamic State, Al Qaeda, Boko Haram, and Al-Shabaab are the main challenges posing threat to peace in today's world.

In Africa alone, 33,300 deaths are estimated to have been caused by these extremists between 2011 and 2016, with associated displacement and economic devastation that has contributed to the worst humanitarian disasters ever seen on the continent<sup>1</sup>. Nevertheless, Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram from Africa are considered one of the most lethal groups of jihadists in the world. These violent extremist groups are contributing to the main source of instability in Africa. Furthermore, the persistent problems of poverty, economic scarcity, youth unemployment and misallocation of economic resources have been fertile grounds for extremism in Africa<sup>2</sup>. Even though terrorism is so rampant taking place in the most developed countries, however, the sub-Saharan region of Africa equally is considered as infamous for terrorism, with 16 countries vulnerable to high rates of terrorist risk. These countries are mainly located in neighboring bloc extending from West to East Africa, such as Nigeria, Kenya, Somalia, Mali, Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, South Sudan, and Chad, etc. This is unlike the southern region which stands out as a sub-region of relative stability.<sup>3</sup>

On the contrary, out of 18,814 deaths caused by terrorists around the world last year, more than half of were caused by the militant escapades of only four groups, including the Islamic State, the Taliban, al-Shabaab, and Boko Haram. According to the Global Terrorism Index 2018 conducted by the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP), these four terrorist organizations were responsible for 10,632 deaths in the year 2017. Their activities have contributed to the instability of some of the world's most dangerous countries, including Afghanistan, Iraq, Nigeria, Somalia, and Syria. In the last decade, they have accounted for 44% of all terrorist deaths<sup>4</sup>. In 2006, the Al-Shabaab extremist militant group emerged. It is an associate body of Al-Qaeda and although its main area of activities in Somalia, it has also strengthened its ability to launch attacks on Somali bases and even others outside Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda in the past few years, while also threatening Djibouti and Burundi<sup>5</sup>. Al-Shabab was the most deadly terrorist group in sub-Saharan Africa in 2017, responsible for 1,457 deaths, an increase of 93% over the previous year. Two-thirds of deaths occurred in the Somali capital Mogadishu. The most serious incident occurred in October 2017, when an explosion occurred outside the Safari Hotel in the Hodan area of the city, killing 588 people and injuring 316 people. On September 21, 2013, Al-Shabaab demonstrated its ability after organizing the attack at the Westgate Shopping Center in Nairobi, killing 65 people. Conversely, Boko Haram's insurgency began in 2002 as a local Islamic religious group in Maiduguri, Borno, in northern Nigeria. The insurrection explicitly opposed the Nigerian government and the West's influence in northern Nigeria because it tried to introduce Sharia law. Like most rebel groups, the Boko Haram group used violent and guerrilla tactics against the Nigerian state in an attempt to destabilize the government. Unlike other insurgent groups, the Boko Haram wanted to replace the rule of government and build a caliphate

in the north.<sup>6</sup> Also, since their appearance in the northeastern part of the country in 2002, the Boko Haram have spread their terrorist activities to other neighboring countries, including Chad, Cameroon, and Niger, and they have also sworn allegiance to the Islamic State. Most of the group's attacks last year were conducted in Nigeria - especially in the Borno state - with fewer numbers reported in Cameroon and Niger. The organization is notorious for its massive hostage-taking and widespread use of children and women as suicide bombers. Even more, their recent attacks and abductions of nearly 300 schoolgirls on April 14 caught the headlines and worldwide attention.<sup>7</sup>

# **Conceptual and Theoretical Framework**

There is no worldwide consensus on the definition of terrorism among scientists, countries, international organizations, and even terrorists themselves<sup>8</sup>. This is due to the fact that the hero of one person can be a terrorist of another person, and the problem with the issue of terrorism is extremely political and charged emotionally. However, as Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram organizations use terrorism for political gains, such as establishing Islamic rule to replace the status quo, this study elucidates terrorism as "the power to use or threaten to bring about political change". Terrorism types are different, but for the purposes of this study, we will focus on two types of terrorist groups who claim their raison d'être on religious ideology, a principle that is included in the definition of religious terrorism as follows; Political violence is motivated by the absolute belief that secular powers have authorized and directed terrorist violence to achieve greater glory in faith. Acts carried out in the name of faith will be forgiven by extraordinary powers and may be rewarded in the afterlife. In fact, as long as religious violence is an expression of the will of the gods, religious beliefs can legalize violence9. There are several unproven explanations for the causes of terrorism, but this study based on relative deprivation theory explains the situation that led to the emergence of organizations such as Al-Sababab and Boko Haram mainly as a result of their emphasis on group ferocity. Gurr<sup>10</sup> uses relative deprivation to explain the political violence that occurs when people feel that they have been deprived of the benefits or rights they deserve. This sense of denial is exacerbated when they compare their situation to the surrounding environment and realize that others' lives are better than theirs. According to Gurr, "the possibility of collective violence varies greatly depending on the extent of the relative lack of class members" because "men tend to become angry beyond their social skills. If these measures are insufficient, they gradually accept their limitations.

## Methodology

This study used the comparative case method to study the two most famous

Islamic terrorist organizations in modern times, with a view to discovering their patterns, similarities, and contrasts of their goals, organization, operational structure, and mode of action. Through qualitative methods collection and analysis of information only from a small number of cases<sup>11</sup>to complete such tasks; Collier<sup>12</sup> argues that "this emphasis on a few cases is acceptable because there are relatively few cases of phenomena under consideration, showing signs of the need for analysis."

Because of the obvious difficulties and time constraints associated with access to the leaders and members of the two terrorist organizations, this study relied on the main public information provided by government agencies, as well as terrorists, archive sources and existing secondary source media statements. Besides, trying to open up a new understanding of the brand of Islamic terrorism with the support of these two terrorism cases, Lijphart<sup>13</sup>pointed out that; "due to the inevitable lack of time, energy and financial resources, an in-depth analysis of multiple cases may be more promising than a surface statistical analysis of many cases."

# Linkage existing between Al-Shabab and Boko Haram

Clearly, the inextricable link existing between the Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab has facilitated the exchange of knowledge and other resources which has undoubtedly contributed significantly to making these two organizations one of the most deadly terrorist organizations in West and East Africa. However, both sides have declared a caliphate similar to ISIS and their modes of operation are almost the same. Both groups also target their activities mostly at the military, the police, and all government agencies. Therefore, the Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab should not be considered as two separate entities as they complement each other in order to achieve their goals. For example, the explosion of a bomb by Boko Haram is a strategy adopted also by Al-Shabaab. In the year 2016, the former Somali President Hassan Sheikh Mohammad discovered the potential for cooperation between these two extremist groups, both of which wish to establish an Islamic caliphate in their respective domiciles. When Boko Haram was pressured by the military in the year 2009, they fled to Somalia to find protection and training. The degree of cooperation is now questionable as these groups have different affiliations, but the truth is that they work together.14

## A comprehensive view of Terrorism in Africa

In general, acts of terrorism are ubiquitous in the Western world. The attack which took place in Paris in November 2015 killed 130 people. In March 2016, an attack in Brussels also killed 30 people and injured 230 others. The attack by Khalid Masoud which killed four people in London in March 2017 is another painful evidence of terrorist attacks on developed countries. In all

of these cases, the Islamic State is basically responsible for organizing these complex attacks.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand; developing countries like Afghanistan, Kenya, Nigeria, Somalia, Iraq, Libya, Mali, Nigeria, Burkina Faso, and Syria have also suffered terrorist attacks. An obvious example is Al-Qaeda's attack in a hotel in Bamako, Mali which took place on 20 November 2015, resulting in the seizure of 170 people and the death of another 20. Another example is the attack on Tunisia on November 24, 2015, which caused the Tunisian Presidential Guard to be attacked by a suicide bombing related to the Islamic State (ISIS). Besides, on February 26, 2016, after a suicide bomber detonated a bomb at the door of the SYL Hotel in Mogadishu, Al-Shabaab's subordinate organizations also killed at least 15 people and injured others.

In another incident in Côte d'Ivoire on March 13, 2016, an Al Qaeda organization attacked the province of South Etoile<sup>16</sup>. This series of reports on terrorist attacks points to the problems that terrorism poses to the African continent. Despite this, the impact of terrorism reported in the West of Africa seems to be minimal, but in the case of Western terrorist acts, the opposite is true. In all of these cases, Western media often receive an appropriate response. Citizens generally prefer CNN, BBC, Daily Mail, Yahoo! ABC News, CBS News, Guardian, France 24 and other Western media. However, few people spend time organizing news from local sources on the site. With regard to terrorism in West and East Africa, it is clear that Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab are the worst. East Africa is primarily seen as an incredibly high area of fearbased oppression, a situation that is largely triggered by Al-Shabaab.

North Africa also follows the same pattern due to the influx of Al-Qaedarelated groups.<sup>17</sup> However, as the tide of terrorism intensifies, there seems to be an inevitable end sign. In the future, the 2015 Global Terrorism Index marks Nigeria as a country that is vulnerable to terrorist attacks and since the year 2011, North Africa has been in a period of political turmoil for a long time, when Libya was the main target of the so-called Arab Spring in the world. Subsequently, in 2014, North Africa has been regarded as a terrorist exporter, with a large number of jihadist terrorists from Tunisia, Morocco, Libya and Algeria joining the Syrian and Iraqi wars. In this case, the government's concern is mainly that these jihadists support other local jihadist groups after their return, thus endangering national security and stability.<sup>18</sup>

Additionally, Al Qaeda is full of confusion about the politics of the Maghreb. AQIM has about 1,000 employees in Algeria and other parts of Chad, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Nigeria, and Tunisia. AQIM has made it thought to "get rid of" the North African region's perceived harmlessness to the West. The organization and its allies had large areas in Mali in 2013 and were later expelled by French soldiers. In sub-Saharan Africa, Kenya, Mali, Nigeria, and Somalia are countries that have been severely affected by terrorism and these terrorist activities continue to escalate with cases ranging from; attacking a hotel in Mogadishu, attacking Westgate's shopping center, and kidnapping girls in

Nigeria. On April 14, 2014, members of the Boko Haram Armed Organization kidnapped 276 students in a dormitory in Chibock, northern Nigeria. The plight of the female students was called "Chibock Girls", which aroused the indignation of the international community and triggered a campaign to release them with the label "#BringBackOurGirls."<sup>19</sup>

In any case, Jones et al.<sup>20</sup> judged the crusade on the grounds that it offered the Boko Haram ad for free, turning it into a global hostage brand. Overall, the result was an invitation from the Chibok Girls to highlight the international influence of Boko Haram in all media. Abduction is so widespread that hatred for the organization has increased worldwide. Incident of a suicide bombing at the United Nations headquarters in 2011 recorded 23 dead people in Abuja, making Boko Haram more popular.<sup>21</sup> Later<sup>22</sup>, Boko Haram extended its influence to Cameroon, Chad and Niger and other West African neighbors', causing further damage.

Al-Shabaab remains the burden of the African Union (AU), which is trying to protect the fragile Western-funded Somali government from these Islamic militants. In the past decade, AU forces have fought with Al-Shabaab and have driven extremists out of Mogadishu, the capital of the country, and expelled many other fortresses in the Horn of Africa.

The activities of these groups have not only stagnated but have also caused these countries to fall into recession. For example, Boko Haram (known for its bombing in markets, mosques, and schools) is constantly launching a series of shocking attacks in Nigeria, killing thousands and displacing millions of people.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, this shows that the threat of terrorism remains real and terrible in Africa.

## The emergence of Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram

From the mid-1977 to March 1978, the Ogaden War broke out and there was strong opposition to President Siad Barre on the domestic political front. There were three main forms of opposition to President Barak: the attempted coup, the departure of government officials and military officials, and the development of political associations<sup>24</sup>. The peak of the conflict eventually pushed Somalia to the threshold of extremism. Although it eventually gave birth to Al-Shabaab, the ultimate goal of Al-Shabaab was to remove all traces of foreign influence by defeating the central government and imposing an interpretation of Islam (Islamic law) and the establishment of Greater Somalia.<sup>25</sup> In the end, Al-Shabaab tried to gain complete control of Somalia, and Somalia did not have a successful government after the fall of the Barre government in 1990/91. The recurrence created fertile ground for the brutality of the tribe and was defended by warlords.<sup>26</sup> The government's deficit has led to the rise of many insurgents, tribesin and terrorist organizations that thrive without state control.

In the early 2000s, due to pressure from Ethiopia, strategic mistakes and the influence of internal opposition, the Islamic League lost a lot of influence and was then divided into several categories. One of the most authoritative is the Union of Islamic Courts (ICU), a free association of clergy and militia, which quickly managed to establish mechanisms to control much of Somalia. In order to control the escalation of the situation, the Ethiopian army moved to Somalia at the request of the United Nations (UN) on July 20 in order to support the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and control Baidoa. After months of fighting with the ICU and other militia forces, the Ethiopian army decided to invade other parts of the country in December to disperse the Union of Islamic Courts and establish a TFG in Mogadishu. Both the Patriots and Islamists regard the invasion of Somalia's historic rival Ethiopia as a humiliation. On the other hand, many Somalis believe that Ethiopia is acting on behalf of the United States of America (United States), and Ethiopia's participation is widely considered to be a desire to combat the 1993 Black Hawk phenomenon or a major offensive plan to assault Muslim countries. In view of the disintegration of the Union of Islamic Courts, Al-Shabaab has become the main Islamic armed group operating in Somalia, launching guerrilla attacks on Ethiopian and AU forces and Somali enemy groups, and also implementing some kind of command in the vast areas of the country. The unremitting efforts of the establishment of the national government eventually led to the establishment of the internationally recognized Somali federal government in 2012.

Al-Shabaab opposed the federal government and the African Union Mission in Somalia. The fighting between the Somali federal government and Al-Shabaab militia has been displaced and continues to expel thousands of Somalis from Kenya, Djibouti, Yemen, Sudan, Egypt and Ethiopia (UNHCR 2010-2011). Due to international efforts, the US-led missile attack on southern Somalia led to the assassination of the main force of the Somali Al-Shabaab, Ahmed Gordon.<sup>27</sup> Prior to this, the United States launched a missile attack in 2008, killing Gordan's predecessor, Aden Hash Ayro. The change in leadership has had a huge impact on the structure of the organization. Al-Shabaab subsequently evolved from a nationalist Islamic rebellion to a transnational branch of Al-Qaida, which was used to monitor most of southern Somalia. Sheikh Ahmed Umar took the lead after the death of Godein, whose influence was confirmed by a deadly attack on Somalia and Kenya in 2015.

This shows that Al-Shabaab's attacks are not limited to Somalia but they even attack all countries that struggle with their principles and ideologies. A good example is an incident that occurred on April 2, 2015, when Al-Qaeda militants from the Quartet attacked a Kenyan university called Garissa, killing 142 students, six security forces members and 4 attackers themselves. Since the explosion of the US Embassy in Nairobi on August 7, 1998, the attack is still considered to be the deadliest attack in Kenya. The attackers separated the students for religious reasons and allowed the Muslims to leave, taking a large number of Christian's hostage.<sup>28</sup>.

As part of its organizational structure, Al-Shabaab has a judicial system that considers issues within its territory. According to Islamic law, a person tried and convicted is publicly executed under the orders of the governor responsible for issuing the court's decision. Cases ranging from espionage to theft are punished by the death penalty, whip log, and amputation.

As for Nigeria, Boko Haram has been developing dynamically since 2002. The Nigerian security forces established the beginning of the sect in 1995<sup>29</sup>. Although these extremists were in peace at an early stage, they held a brief armed uprising and attempted to establish an Islamic State in the north in June 2009. But this was brutally suppressed by the army, causing many deaths among the members of the sect. The name of Boko Haram can be interpreted as "prohibiting Western education." After a dispute with the Nigerian government in 2009 and the death of the leader Muhammad Yusuf, the organization launched a violent campaign and in 2010, the new leader Abubakar Shekau declared jihad against Nigerian government and the United States. In March 2015, this extremist organization pledged allegiance to the Islamic State Group.According to Shola 2015<sup>30</sup>, Boko Haram reflects Nigerian society. This shows the paradox that a country is so rich but so poor. Young people in the department are unemployed. Campbell<sup>31</sup> expressed the same view that the Boko Haram uprising was a direct result of the long-term mismanagement of the Nigerian federal and state governments and the political marginalization of northeastern Nigeria. Therefore, it can be said that poverty and religion are the main unitary factors of terrorist organizations, not the driving force of terrorism. The main dissatisfaction lies in a wide range of political and social discourses that polarize the distribution of Christianity and Muslims, wealth and beneficiaries and victims of corruption in northern and southern Nigeria. The North and the South have differences in economic, political and religious terms. Part of the reason is that the 12 northern states have decided to adopt Islamic law.<sup>32</sup> The impact of terrorism on Nigeria is enormous, for example in 2014, Nigeria's recorded the most terrorist deaths, reaching more than 300% and causing 7,512 deaths. In addition to the Boko Haram, Fulani militants also continue to pose a threat in Nigeria. On May 5, 2014, some attackers used guns and explosive devices to attack residents and buildings in Gamboru Ngala, Nigeria. The attack killed at least 315 people, injured unidentified people and destroyed many buildings and in 2014, Boko Haram killed an additional 6,644 people.

#### Similarities and differences between Boko Haram and Al-Shabab

### Similarities:

# Ideology

It should be noted that the main ideology behind Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab is based on Wahhabism. Mutanda stated that Wahhabism was named after the Muslim Sunni scholar Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab, who taught Islamic Orthodoxy and conservatism Islamic doctrine (now Saudi Arabia) in the 18th century. This is the doctrine that sees the world in black and white. Al-Wahhab planned to integrate Islam into its most sophisticated structure, abandoning religious development and polytheism. The Wahhabism or Salafism of the Arabic Al-Salaf al Salih (pious ancestors) emphasized that there are basically two types of people. Salafists (Wahhabis) - champions or divinely chosen people who go to heaven because of their acquiescence to God and preach to Allah according to the strict rule of the Salafists - and to others, denouncing the same Muslims and non-Muslims. Radlicki<sup>33</sup> argued that if Wahhabism became more and more outrageous, Islam will begin to lose its basic standards of resistance and inevitably become the basic ideology of organizations, eg Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab. The religious radicalism of each group allows them to legitimize and rationalize scandalous activities according to the decision of the Wahabist belief system. These groups work together with mafia groups. Radlicki states that they recognize increases resulting from illicit black markets and self-reported method allocation. They drink wine, smoke drugs, assault young girls, assault villages and destroy important materials – actions considered unethical by the Qur'an. This accordingly just implies that religion is being utilized as a means to an end.

## **Targets and Tactics**

These terrorist organizations are essentially seeking to achieve any tactical goals. The basic strategic objectives of the two groups are similar. Fundamentally, this is related to weakening government authority and establishing ungoverned space. The two terrorists are Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab, targeting government officials, including police officers, journalists, pacifists, international aid workers, companies, diplomats and other civilians. Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab are both involved in kidnappings and sabotage. They use bombs, gunshots, and suicide bombings to cruelly treat citizens and soldiers. In addition, it was reported that both terrorist groups had raped and perpetrated widespread violence against women and forced recruitment of combatants, including children. According to Country reports<sup>34</sup> on Terrorism 2013 showed that Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram organize a strict code of conduct for women within their jurisdiction and people who violate the rules are often sentenced to death.

### Differences between Al-Shabab and Boko Haram

#### Strategic Difference

The real difference between Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab can be traced to their identity. Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab have both sworn allegiance to ISIS and al-Qaeda respectively. Al Shabaab's essential objective is to overthrow the Somali government and also to set up an Islamic emirate inside the nation guided by strict adherence to the Shariah law. For example, Al-Shabaab has imposed penalties in territories under its jurisdiction such as the amputation of the hands of thieves and the stoning of women accused of infidelity. This organization also prohibits items and activities such as western music and videos, shaving and bras.

Conversely, Boko Haram, which translates roughly as "Western education is forbidden," is a Sunni Islamist militant organization that opposes western education and influence in Nigeria and their strategic target is to introduce an Islamic administration across Nigeria in order to replace the current secular and democratic system. Its founder Mohammad Yusuf was vigorously imparted by the assessments of Ibn Taymiyyah, who happens to be a fourteenth-century researcher of Islamic fundamentalism.<sup>35</sup>

### **Organizational Structure**

Another area in which the two groups differ is in their organizational structure. Boko Haram is a fragile terrorist group with a decentralized organizational structure. The head of the group sits in the Shura committee, a governing body of 30 people that oversees the organization's regional cells. These cells vary by location and tactical experience, including military, explosives specialists, welfare social providers, intelligence and surveillance, and medical committees. In the case of Boko Haram, Shekau is the head of the group and serves as chairman of the Shura committee and each member of the Shura Committee manages certain group sectors.

Comparatively, al-Shabab is a hierarchical organization led by its Emir ("Prince" or "Commander") under the leadership of Ahmed Umar Abu Ubaidah. Under the control of Emir are a set of regional commanders who manage the group's presence in their occupied territories. Aside from Emir, there is a vice that also has the power to appoint a 10-member Shura Council to oversee the regional commander of Al-Shabab. The shura council has the power to develop a policy for the group, which is expected to be followed by local governments within the group's territory. While the Emir directs the Organization's Shura Council, regional officials can take action and make decisions without the consent of the Emir or the Shura Council. Every office or unit has its own main goal and is freely reliant on the others for the continuation of the association.<sup>36</sup>

#### Recruitment

Boko Haram takes advantage of the bad economic and social conditions in northeastern Nigeria and neighboring regions in order to convince potential members to join the group. The ability of Boko Haram to provide its members with economic prospects and to avoid the persecution of the group has attracted new recruits. The recruits likewise join Boko Haram through collective coercion or pressure from associates and family members. The group reinforces their recruitment numbers by abducting and forcing prisoners to serve the group. Some prisoners, comprising of women and children, are forced to carry out attacks, including suicide bombings.

In comparison, Al-Shabaab has extensively recruited within the Somali society, as well as from the diaspora through propaganda campaigns, often in video format. The group's utilization of social media for propaganda publicity has brought in recruits from around the globe. The recruitment by Al-Shabaab is mainly carried out in Somalia and Kenya and they attract new recruiters by posting progressively advanced videos online, involving videos with English subtitles – most by means of its al-Kataib Media platform encouraging youth to join the group. They also keep on spreading their message through Radio in Somalia to attract young people and teenagers. In order to meet their target, they sometimes abduct children from schools and this has compelled others to escape Al-Shabab-controlled zones to evade conscription. In addition, another huge distinction between these two terrorist groups is that Al-Shabab is further developed in the utilization of technology, for example, they use twitter online strategy and media as compared to Boko Haram and this helps them to exhibit their operations efficiently.<sup>37</sup>

### Funding

Boko Haram uses the hawala system to raise funds and they also create local funds through bank robbery, taxation, extortion, smuggling, trafficking, and ransom payment and even plunder of the village's money, food and livestock.<sup>38</sup> Also, according to reports, this group receives funding from AQIM and they use these relationships to obtain weapons from Libya's stockpiles. In addition, there were allegations that the local government officials paid Boko Haram not to attack their district and they get finance from politicians and people in high positions as a result of this. In contrast, Al-Shabaab's finances come from taxing communities in the areas under its jurisdiction, as well as private fundraising activities undertaken by supporters outside Somalia. Al-Shabaab also seeks protection from Somali-based companies and conducts its own business trading activities and taxing revenue from a locally available resource.

# Security

# A multinational joint task force (MNJTF) African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM)

Comparing these two task forces there are differences that exist between them. Firstly, considering Multinational joint task force (MNJTF), they are anticipated to battle Boko Haram and Islamic State – West Africa territory in the Lake Chad district and because is a multinational coalition, it is composed of the majority of the forces of Benin, Cameroon, Chad, Niger, and Nigeria. It is headquartered in N'Djamena. Nigeria's neighbors' have worked through regional organizations such as the African Union (AU), the West African Economic Community (ECOWAS), and the Lake Chad Basin Committee (LCBC). The LCBC founded the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) in 1998, whose mandate has since been extended to focus on terrorism as a priority area.

Conversely, AMISOM was established by the African Union Peace and Security Council on January 19, 2007, with an initial six-month mandate. On 21 February 2007, the United Nations Security Council approved the mission's mandate. The African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) is also an active (East Africa) regional peacekeeping mission operated by the African Union with the approval of the United Nations Security Council. The forces of AMISOM consisted of soldiers from Uganda, Burundi, Djibouti, Kenya, and Ethiopia. It also has the mandate to support transitional governmental structures, implementing a national security plan, training the Somali security forces and helping create a safe environment for the delivery of humanitarian aid.<sup>39</sup>

# Repercussions of Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram

# Health sector

Owing to the uncertainties of the Al-Shabaab Islamist activities, many health workers have fled Somalia. This has caused sternly harm to the country's health sector, especially the Afgooye hospital and other places. Afgooye hospital is located in the agricultural town of Afgooye, 30 km southwest of the Somali capital, Mogadishu. This hospital is one of the many health care centers formerly supported by the international medical charity Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF), which translates as Doctors without Borders. As a result of this support, the hospital was able to provide free medical services to residents of Afgooye and its surrounding areas. Nonetheless, MSF International left Somalia due to security concerns pertaining to the safety of their teams in the country. For the past 22 years, MSF's international charity has been one of

the few basic health care providers in Somalia and health centers supported by Médecins sans Frontières provide a range of services, including free basic health care, malnutrition treatment, surgery, epidemic responses, water and relief supplies. Conversely, MSF's international teams with more than 1,500 staff working in medical programs throughout Somalia, including Mogadishu and the two outlying cities of Afgooye and Daynille, as well as eight other cities across the country stopped their operations for fear of their lives and this as a result negatively affected the lives of "hundreds of thousands" in Somalia<sup>40</sup>.

In addition, the Boko Haram insurgency, which began in 2009, mainly affected the people living in northeastern Nigeria and health services in the region were harshly affected. One of them is the Borno state which was at the epicenter of the group rebellion and so far, more than 20,000 people have been killed and over 2 million people fleeing their homes. There are more than 7 million people in need of humanitarian assistance in the states of Borno, Yobe and Adamawa - and more than half of these population are children. The rebellion further aggravated these problems and also destroyed their health system and the Boko Haram insurgents have destroyed about 788 health facilities in the area. In Borno for instance, 48 health workers were killed and more than 250 injured. The state has lost up to 40% of its facilities and only one-third of the remaining facilities in Borno are still functioning. In the last two years, the state of Borno lost 35% of its doctors to other states. In addition, the insecurity in these areas occupied by insurgents has made planning and providing basic health interventions difficult<sup>41</sup>.

## Education

Al-Shabaab is a dangerous Islamic extremist terrorist organization in Somalia that has been brutally attacking the country's educational system. In the areas they controlled, Al-Shabaab enforces their interpretation of Islam in schools and even threatened or killed teachers for declining to act in accordance with their demands. This comprised a ban on the teaching of English, geography, and history; enforcing the segregation of girls and boys in schools and limiting girls' clothing; Preventing women from teaching; imposing their own teachers in the schools, and using class time to teach extreme Islamist ideology. Somalia's educational enrolment rate is the lowest in the world due to the activities of the Al-Shabaab; the net attendance rate for boys is 18%, for girls at 15% for primary schools, 12% for boys and 8% for secondary school girls (2007-2011). Only 20 percent of the population was literate in 2012.<sup>42</sup> In September 2009, Al-Shabaab cautioned against using textbooks provided by the United Nations, claiming that they are teaching students' un-Islamic subjects. In April 2010, Al-Shabaab had reportedly banned schools in Jowhar from announcing the end of the lesson with bells because they were reminiscent of those rung in churches. This violence and harassment have caused teachers to flee, hundreds

of schools to close for varying lengths of time, and students, particularly girls, to drop out in large numbers.

From January 2011 to December 2012, the United Nations verified 79 educational attacks, affecting at least 5,677 children. Nevertheless, security challenges and lack of access to large areas of southern Somalia were controlled by these militant groups. Several students told Human Rights Watch that their schools were targeted by Al-Shabaab, during the Ramadan offensive in Mogadishu in August 2010. The government is trying to reform the educational sector by introducing a new curriculum in the country that does not have a unified system. The government is working hard to build a new system to recruit more than 3 million out-of-school children; private education institutions are also working with the government." Schools and universities are important institutions for our children to receive education, so we have a responsibility to protect them from anything that might erode Islamic beliefs," the Al-Shabaab spokesperson said. Al-Shabaab is an organization linked to Al Qaeda to overthrow the government and enforce its strict Islamic law, warning private education institutions not to implement a new curriculum, calling them "violation of Islamic teachings" and saying they will punish those who resist their claims.

On the other hand, the Boko Haram group in Nigeria has also gravely attacked the country's education system. If the attacks continue, the negative legacy over time will be harmful to Nigeria. Boko Haram is based in Nigeria and the translation of the group name in Hausa is read as "Western education is forbidden." The group's impact on education has devastated the entire Nigerian education system by preventing the youth from getting an education and also attacking the system in every possible way. In their crusade to stop education, teachers have been the most of their target. For instance, more than 600 teachers have been murdered and 19,000 teachers have possibly fled from their homes and communities for the fear of their life. Besides, other teachers have been threatened, injured or even abducted. Because of this dangerous environment, finding a teacher who is willing to teach in these areas has become a great struggle. The entire Nigerian education system feels the impact of Boko Haram's activities on education. With a country of a total population of more than 160 million, about 10 million Nigerian youth are not attending school and the majorities are the girls. Instead of the girls having access to basic education on how to read and write particularly in the north, they mostly get married in their teens and the boys who get dropped out of school are recruited into these terrorist groups. As of the beginning of 2016, an estimated 952,029 school-age children escaped violence, with little or no access to education. The group acts of violence have caused massive displacement among innocent citizens and forced school-age children to be placed in private homes and communities. For instance, Borno is considered to be one of the states that have suffered losses in education, 22 out of the 27 local government regions have closed

schools for at least two years. With this gridlock on education, children are more prone to being caught in a cycle of poverty. The influence of Boko Haram terrorist activities on education has affected thousands of students and deprived them of what they deserved. For the state with the lowest attendance rate in the countrywide, assaults on the education system have severely damaged Nigeria. Education is the foundation of society; without it, development is very difficult.<sup>43</sup>

## Tourism

The tourism industry is an important source of income which contributes to economic development in any developed or developing country. It promotes a good relationship and images among countries. Through tourism, a lot of people from different countries like to visit another country for pleasure, to see a natural beauty and enjoy the climate or weather of that country. Even though Somalia has potential tourist attractions such as diving spots along the Red Sea coast and a wide array of flora and fauna, many tourists have considered Somalia not to be a holiday destination for anyone to visit. The fact of the matter is that many deemed the country as one of the most dangerous countries in the world plagued by political infighting, violence and terrorism. Since the collection of tourism data in 1995, the United Nations World Tourism Organization has never recorded the number of people visiting the country. Governments all over the world also recommend their citizens to avoid traveling to the country for fear of kidnapping or attack. Somalia's reputation as a tourist destination with pristine beaches erased right after the beginning of the 1991 Civil War. Besides, security remains a major challenge, and the terrorist organization such as Al-Shabaab has almost attacked all major hotels and restaurants in Mogadishu. According to the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism, between 2007 and 2014, al-Qaeda-affiliated groups launched more than 1,700 attacks inside and outside Somalia, killing more than 4,000 people and injuring the same number.44

Similarly, despite the strong cultural richness and rich natural beauty of Nigeria, Boko Haram extremists in the Northeast continue to drive local and foreign visitors from the country's tourist destinations. In recent years, Nigeria's tourism industry has been adversely impacted by the security challenges in the Northeast, and as a result, some foreign countries at the different times of the crisis have issued travel warnings on Nigeria, including even in the government's seat in Abuja. However, in effect, the World Bank's report on international inbound tourists (number of tourists traveling) to Nigeria has fallen from 1,555,000 in 2010 to the lost level of 486,000 in 2012. A recent report by tourism experts has shown that the northern region has lost more than N 30 billion owing to the ongoing insurgency. Experts also noted that within five years, the region is experiencing the arrival of the lowest tourists,

unconvincing business visits, no opening of a hotel with an international brand, closure of amusement parks and bars, government revenue loss and gross stifling of social life.<sup>45</sup>

Additionally, the group who swore allegiance to the Islamic State has destroyed the 500-year-old Sukur cultural landscape, the first UNESCO World Heritage Site in the Madagali Local Government Area of Adamawa state. It was declared a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 1999 and it has also been a jewel in Nigeria's tourism industry, but between 2014 and 2015, Boko Haram's group attacks in Madagali and other Adamawa local government areas changed the story of Sukur. Adamawa is deemed to be one of the three states that have been hit hard by the Boko Haram uprising, which killed over 10,000 Nigerians and displaced more than two million people. In the past, tourists came from different parts of the world to visit this tourist site. For instance, due to the popularity gained by this tourist site, the American and British ambassadors in Nigeria were all residing in Sukur; the Chinese ambassador was also in Sukur and many tourists from many of these countries also came to Sukur. According to experts, since the attack of the Boko Haram and the burning of the Hindi Palace, an iconic building among other traditional architectural structures, it has damaged the integrity of the World Heritage and today, analysts believe that Sukur which used to be a cultural landscape no longer exists as hitherto and this has drastically decreased revenues coming into the country.

### Conclusion

The implosion of some parts of Africa into unstable and stagnant polities is an unfortunate and wretched occurrence that has attracted many worries and concerns across the length and breadth of the globe. The face and fashion adopted by terrorist movements to stage acts of instability have assumed a more unconventional and all too unfamiliar mode over the years. The enterprise of terrorism has equally become more sophisticated, investment-driven and partnership-based. Because this has been the case, the wheels of terrorist movements have become more effective and efficient. This is amplified in series of attacks including the attack on not only the United States of America (USA) but also in other African countries that have been under the scourge of terrorist movements like Boko Haram and Al-Shabab. The frequency and courage with which terrorist movements openly undertake their activities, to an appreciable extent clearly demonstrate institutional weaknesses in the social structures of polities. In much the same way, one thing apparent is the deficit in institutional intelligence in polities. To a larger extent, this has created a germane ground for the festering of terrorism. Institutional weaknesses have for years been a chronic malady of African states. More specifically, the porous borders of African countries have for instance spurred the spread of conflagrations to other areas and also sufficiently provided support for the transportation of

terrorists and their accessories to other African countries. These conditions have emboldened the endeavors of Boko Haram and Al-Shabab who have been belligerent and principal security threats to the continent, thereby impeding progressive efforts. To countervail the situation, this paper calls for devising and accelerating plans to build state capacity in all its dimensions. Of much essence and critical in this view is the strengthening of the capacity of security structures. Primacy must also be placed on bolstering domestic intelligence and military capacity at the state level. This would help counter nation-wrecking acts against fragile states. A departure from the traditional status quo whereby much premium is placed into a much broader global engagement to the neglect of the affected and mother states provenance of insurrections would help input some appreciable level of reforms into the fight against terrorism in Africa.

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