

## ISLAMIC MILITANTS AND INSURGENCY IN NORTHEASTERN NIGERIA: A COMPARISON OF THE IDEOLOGY AND METHODOLOGY OF MAITATSINE AND BOKO HARAM

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### Abstract

The incidence of insurgency in Northeastern Nigeria has been a phenomenon that affects socioeconomic settings of many inhabitants resulting from the devastating effects that it has in terms of destruction of lives and properties worth billions of naira from its inception. There was a perception that Boko Haram started in the early 2000s and the insurgency became formidable around 2010 but, there was the reminiscent of such insurgent attacks from Maitatsine since 1980s which is mostly neglected by researchers. The ideology and methodology of Maitatsine and Boko Haram seem similar to some extent and the problem is the root causes and how the escalation of their ideology exploded into a gory of bloodshed. This paper seeks to identify the ideology and methodology of Maitatsine and Boko Haram using comparative method. The methodology used for this work is qualitative method of data collection and analysis. The study is a conceptual theoretical paper which used thematic analytical interpretations in data gathering and research findings. The paper used secondary sources of data in the process and content analysis was used for data analysis. The paper discovered that, the ideology, method of operation and effects of Maitatsine and Boko Haram insurgencies are similar only that the magnitude and quantity of loss of lives and properties differ because of the possession of modern warfare by Boko Haram. Thus, insurgency in the region can be eliminated by identifying the root causes, prevented and deal with accordingly using military and non-military means.

**Keywords:** Militants, Insurgency, Maitatsine, Boko Haram, Ideology, Methodology.

### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

Islam is a religion which is believed to have an all-encompassing means of subjecting its followers in spiritual worship in all ramifications including political, economic, social and cultural as well as worldly and heavenly activities in totality. It is expected that all believers in Islam should follow strictly the holy teachings of the Quran and Prophetic Hadith in their daily life conduct (Qaradawi, 1991:8). There are

numerous verses in some chapters in the Quran (Chapter 2, 3, 9 and 10) and many prophetic Hadith (Sahih Al Bukhari Book 12 Hadith 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 and Sahih Muslim Book 12 Hadith 1285, 1286, 1287, 1288, 1289, 1290, 1291, 1292, 1293, 1294, 1295 and 1296) that discussed extensively on Jihad. The verses identified above discussed on the nature and principles of Jihad (striving in the course of Allah) and the Hadith reported by Bukhari and Muslim mentioned above discussed on the procedure and practical Jihad undertook by the Prophet in his lifetime and his companions and the many rewards with promises of paradise for those who are engaged in Jihad.

There are many Islamic scholastic views, interpretations and analysis of what a Jihad is and how it should occur. However, some contemporary Muslim youth misunderstood the concept of Jihad and their perception led them towards extremism which led to militant movements across the globe in various parts of the Muslim world making Islam a misunderstood, misperceived, stereotyped and negatively perceived religion. It is emphasised by Al Qaradawi (1991:8) that: "Islam's call for moderation and its warning against extremism is clear in the Quranic texts and Hadith". For instance, he cited Quran chapter 2:143 that Allah stresses clearly the need for the Muslim Ummah to be moderate.

Nigeria is one of the countries with a large number of Muslims in the world with the Northern part of the country believed to have been Muslim dominated. The global world made militant movements contagious and as such, Northern Nigeria was affected in the 1980s by Maitatsine militant movement and later Boko Haram in the year 2000 to the present. The Northeastern region of Nigeria was affected by Maitatsine assault in the 1980s in Gombe, Bauchi, Mubi, Yola and Maiduguri. The geopolitical zone is currently being affected by the Boko Haram insurgency in all its parts and beyond. This study is an attempt to examine critically and analytically the factors that led to the movement of Maitatsine and Boko Haram and their ideology and methodology of operation. The paper differs from the previous works in this area of study because it attempted at looking at the phenomenon of Islamic militancy from the perspective of both the Western scholarship and Islamic aspect. This is to enable for a better perception of the situation and the similarity with which they might keep on resurfacing unless they are holistically tackled permanently. The objectives of the study are as follows: to examine the factors that necessitated the recurring Islamic militant movements in Northeastern Nigeria and to analyse the ideology and methodology used by Maitatsine and Boko Haram in their operation to propose solutions that will prevent their future occurrence.

## **2.0 BACKGROUND/LITERATURE REVIEW**

In this section, some related scholastic views and analysis were reviewed from various sources using thematic sections and this consists of the term insurgency in its broader sense, discussion of the background of the area of study, Maitatsine in Northeastern Nigeria, Boko Haram in Northeastern Nigeria and a comparative discussion of their nature, ideas and methods succinctly.

### **2.1 Background of the Area of Study: Northeastern Nigeria**

Northeast is one of the geopolitical zones of Nigeria consisting of six states including Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba and Yobe. It occupies slightly less than one-third of Nigeria's total area (Wikipedia 2017). The Northeast geopolitical zone of Nigeria covers close to one-third (280, 419km<sup>2</sup>) of

Nigeria's land area (909, 890km<sup>2</sup>). It comprises of six states as mentioned above. According to projections for 2011 by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), Northeastern States have 13.5% (23, 558, 674) of the Nigerian population which is put at 173, 905, 439 (National Bureau of Statistics, 2015).

The Northeast geopolitical zone shares international borders with Cameroon in the East, the Republic of Chad to the Northeast and the Niger Republic to the North. The zone is a major contributor to national net food production but has the worst socioeconomic conditions in the country with the absolute poverty rate at more than 70% which characterises the zone as having the highest rate of poverty in Nigeria. The zone which has been historically known as tranquil and peaceful for many decades has in recent years been facing serious security challenges (NBS 2017). The Maitatsine riot in the 1980s and the recent Boko Haram insurgency made the zone susceptible and vulnerable to security challenges. The following map indicates the location and position of Northeastern Nigeria.



Figure 1 Map of Nigeria Showing the Northeast Geopolitical Zone

Source: Google Pictures 2017

## 2.2 Maitatsine in Northeastern Nigeria

The Maitatsine riots were a series of violent uprisings instigated by Islamist militants in Northern Nigeria between 1980 and 1985 which was the first religiously-inspired violence in Northern Nigeria (Harvard Divinity School 2018). One of the major trends that have characterised Northern Nigeria from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century to the present is the emergence and/or resurgence of revivalists, reformists, radicals, fundamentalists and revolutionary Islamic movements. Most of these movements have at various stages of their development and almost during every period, opposed and in some cases totally rejected established and existing Islamic scholarship. More often than not, the militant and extremist variants of these movements have become very critical of the nature, character and constituent order of the state in Nigeria (Isa, 2010:318).

Maitatsine riots took place in different years in different parts of the North such as Bulumkutu in Maiduguri 1982, Jimeta 1984, Kano 1980, 1982, 1987, 1990 and 1995, Gombe 1985 and 1991, Rigasa in Kaduna 1982, 1992 and 2000 (Fatima, 2014). The Maitatsine movement was founded by Mohammed Marwa was based known by his nickname Maitatsine commonly known from the word “Allah Tatsine” meaning may curse of God be on you. He was a controversial preacher in Nigeria, and Maitatsine is a word from Hausa meaning “the one who damns” referring to his curse-laden public speeches against the Nigerian state (Lubeck, 1985). He was originally from Marwa Cameroon and he migrated to Nigeria in Kano where he portrayed himself as a Prophet. The British colonial authorities sent him to exile but he returned after political independence in 1972. His followers increased dramatically and that led to his increased confrontation with the government leading to riots and attacks on security personnel and civilians in the 1980s resulting in the death of thousands of people in the North (Niels 1989). Boko Haram was perceived by a scholar (Toni, 2011) as the extension of Maitatsine.

The chain of Maitatsine riots in Northeastern Nigeria occurred in Bulumkutu in Maiduguri in 1982, 1984 in Yola, 1985 in Gombe and Bauchi. There is agreement on the centrality of economic factors by a scholar (Adesoji 2011) on the outbreak of the riot but Danjibo (2010) relates it more to state failure politically and ideology. A conspiracy theory is not totally dismissible in the emergence of Maitatsine and other Islamic militants who are manipulated, directed and financed by the unpatriotic local mafia and their foreign partners to destabilise the country (Isichei 2011). It is believed that the Maitatsine riots had cost around 3000 lives in Northeastern Nigeria (Adesoji 2011). The figures are contestable as it is believed to have been more than that.

### **2.3 Boko Haram Insurgency in Northeastern Nigeria**

Boko Haram is an extremist movement shaped by its Nigerian context reflecting the history of poor governance and extreme poverty in the North (Campbell, 2014). Boko Haram is an Islamic militant movement based primarily in the Northeastern region of Nigeria in the states of Borno, Yobe, Adamawa, Taraba, Gombe and Bauchi and some Northwestern states of Kaduna, Kano and Plateau in the Northcentral. The group’s official name is Jama’atu Ahlil Sunnah Lil Da’awati Wal Jihad in Arabic meaning “People committed to the propagation of the Prophet’s teachings and Jihad. It was tagged “Boko Haram” in the local Hausa Language by the inhabitants in the Northeastern state of Borno where it was started a phrase loosely translated as “Western education is forbidden” (Bowser and Sanders, 2012).

There is no sacrosanct time frame when the Boko Haram started. One of the accounts stressed that the sect started in 1995 under the leadership of one Malam Abubakar Lawan and then names several times from Ahlul Sunnah Wal Jama’ah Hijra to the Nigerian Taliban to Yusufiyah sect to Boko Haram. It has been observed that the early attacks by the sect started in 2003 in Kanama and Geidam Yobe State and in 2005 in Panshekara in Kano State (Onuoha, 2010:55). Boko Haram is considered a political uprising, a religious organisation, or a social movement or a purely criminal affair. The group graduated from insurgency to terrorism after the so-called “Taliban” attack in 2003 in which it started striking police stations in remote areas. It was later metamorphosed into full-blown terrorist group with deadly attacks after the assault of the army and the extra-judicial killings of the sect leader in Maiduguri Muhammad Yusuf (Montclos, 2014:137).

Another version suggested that the sect Boko Haram was officially founded by the late Muhammad Yusuf in 2002 in Maiduguri. Since then, it has undergone various changes in organisation and membership as well as operation (Giroux & Gilpin, 2014:2). This position has contradicted the above statements of the

genesis of Boko Haram although the periodisation is closely linked, the place of birth and leadership differ in this and the above positions. One thing that is indisputable is it has come into official limelight under the late Muhammad Yusuf even if he is not the actual founder of the group. Sergie & Johnson (2014) also agreed with Giroux & Gilpin on the genesis of the sect as against the above scholars. Nkechi (2013) identified the various contradictions on the genesis and founder of the sect and concludes that there is no specific or final position on who is the original founder of the Boko Haram sect or its exact date of operation citing the above two different positions as her justification.

However, one narrative agreed that the sect was established as long as 1995 by the one Abubakar Lawan but when he was leaving for further studies in University of Madina he appointed the Late Muhammad Yusuf to take over the affairs of the group (Olojo, 2013:2). Boko Haram was originally a peaceful Islamic movement but later moved progressively towards militant extremism since 2009, regularly attacking Nigerians and foreigners, Muslims and Christians, northerners and even residents of the capital, troops and civilians. For a number of years, the group was treated as an internal Nigerian problem. However, Boko Haram's illicit and armed activities increasingly take place across the country's borders which became clearly a concern for the international community (Barna, 2014:1).

The violent nature of Boko Haram witnessed its inception in 2009 which has changed from using low-level guerilla tactics to outright warfare. In spite of a brief flare-up of violence in 2004, until the Nigerian police attack in July 2009, the worst that the sect did was isolation and radical Islamic teachings. From 2009 forward, the sect became violent beyond mere insurgency but full-blown terrorism which led to civil unrest and international concern (Cook, 2014:4). Since 2009, Boko Haram has attacked Nigeria's police and military, politicians, schools, religious buildings, public institutions and civilians with increasing regularity (Sergie & Johnson, 2014:1).

As the name suggests, the group is adamantly opposed to what it sees as a Western-based incursion that threatens traditional values, beliefs and customs among Muslim communities in Northern Nigeria. In an audiotape posted on the internet in January 2012, a spokesman for the group Abubakar Shekau even accused the US of waging war against Islam. Most of the members are largely drawn from Kanuri tribe in who are concentrated in Northeastern Nigeria and the Hausa/Fulani spread across Northeast, Northwest and Northcentral (Forest, 2012:3). There is a different opinion on this although not contradictory since the author above said most of the members not all because the Southern ethnic groups such as Igbos and Niger-Deltans as well as Christians too were apprehended among the sect members on many occasion as compiled by Isaiah (2011) in one of his article in Leadership Newspaper titled "Is there more than meet the eyes".

The group was taken to a new stand of violent extremism and terrorism when on July 10 after Abubakar Shekau emerged as the sect's leader with the demised of late Muhammad Yusuf declared that, Jihad has begun and subsequently within few years the group became Africa's most violent group (Zenn, 2012). The movement was seen as an offshoot of Maitatsine but with different ideology and similar method of operation which is violence and resentment for the Western world (Umar, 2013:1). The Boko Haram differs with Maitatsine in the sense that it has grown more active and deadly in its attacks against state and civilian targets in recent years (Blanchard, 2014). Rogers (2012) also agreed that radical Islam in Nigeria has not started with the Boko Haram uprising. Indeed, he went as far back as the colonial era to buttress his arguments where he cited the case of resistance by the Northern Muslim groups against colonialism as the root followed later by Maitatsine's resentment of Western ideas and values in which the Boko Haram built on.

Like many radical organisations, the Boko Haram sect believed that full implementation of Shari'ah requires political change and jettison of Western institutions and structures (Montclos, 2014:8). Despite numerous factors that may have suppressed the movement, Boko Haram has managed not only to continue their operations but to grow and evolve as an organisation (ElKhaim, 2012:1).

## 2.4 Maitatsine and Boko Haram: A Comparison

It has been observed (Toni, 2011) that Boko Haram can be perceived as the offshoot of Maitatsine owing to their nature, emergence, ideology, and methodology of operation. They emerged in the same enclave, claimed the same religious doctrine and made the same movement for taking up arms against the state and the civilians that disagree with their ideas. For instance, while Maitatsine started like a peaceful preaching movement without violence but being critical, the Boko Haram too started on the same footing (Danjibo 2010 and Adesoji 2011).

In addition, the Maitatsine and Boko Haram despised Western education and anything Western be it political, cultural and economic and it was that resentment that led to their nomenclature because Maitatsine cursed anything Boko and governmental and Boko Haram did the same from their inception. Furthermore, Maitatsine tagged all Muslims that disagreed with their ideology as infidels and claimed their blood is lawful to be spilt and Boko Haram has the same thought. Both the Maitatsine and Boko Haram believed that arms should be taken up against the constituted authority and use violence to establish Islamic state where they can enforce Islamic law or Shari'ah (Isa 2010 and Fatima, 2014).

Also, the Maitatsine capitalised on their perception of some Quranic verses and Prophetic Hadith on the notion of Jihad and Boko Haram too did the same in calling for abstention from Western education and radical approach towards Islamisation. There are also rumours of conspiracy from some unscrupulous elements that are perceived as enemies of Islam and Muslims and Nigeria at large internally and externally to create confusion and disaster for the populace in Northeastern Nigeria such as the postulation of Isichei (2011). Professor Dauda Ojobi a former Pastor from Benue State who converted to Islam claimed in a widely circulated video and audio that Maitatsine was sponsored by the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) and he went ahead to write in his Book titled "Islam in the Bible" the same claim. Such claim was also circulated widely by many national dailies in Nigeria severally. Surprisingly, such claim was never debunked or countered from the time for almost ten years to date. However, even with the beliefs in conspiracies, the Muslims are behind the movements and the killings which means whatever one decided to believe they are an Islamic movement perpetrated by Muslims.

The above views disclosed that Maitatsine and Boko Haram have the same style in all their ramifications even though the Boko Haram movement is more coordinated and advanced due to the procurement of superior firepower compared to the use of crude weapons by Maitatsine which made their crushing easier and faster than Boko Haram. It is also understandable that such phenomenon of Islamic militarism might continue to resurface periodically if the political, socioeconomic and religious aspects of the country are not restructured accordingly.

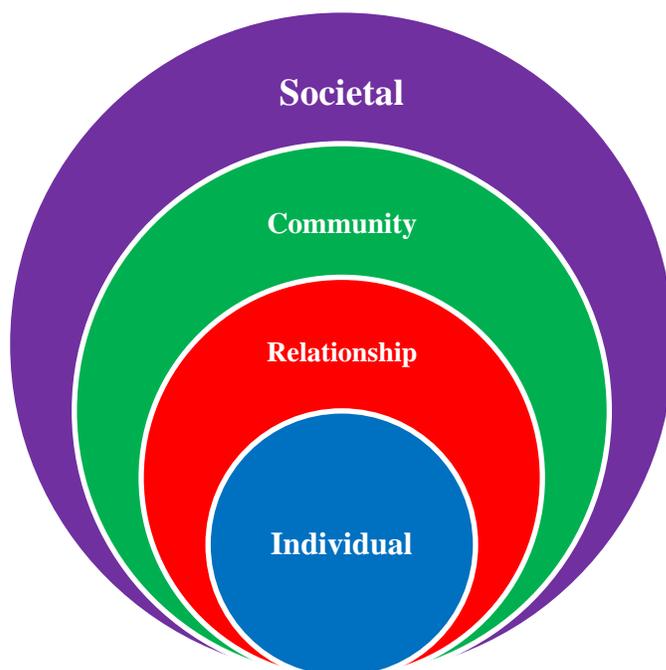
## 3.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Unlike the previous works that relied on Western theoretical discourse in discussing this subject matter, this work used two major theories in its theoretical postulations of the nature, causes and comparison of

Islamic militant movement in Northeastern Nigeria with a specific case study of Maitatsine and Boko Haram. The theories used are the Social-Ecological Model of Violence and Yusuf Qaradawi's postulation of Islamic Extremism.

### 3.1 Social-Ecological Model of Violence theory

According to the Social-Ecological Model of Violence theory, the goal of the model is to stop violence before it begins. Violence can be understood and prevented using four ways as illustrated in the diagram below.



**Figure 2 Four Components of Violence Understanding and Prevention**

Source: Dahlberg 2002 (Designed by the Author 2018).

The basic assumption of the theory is in order to prevent violence, it is better to focus on programmes and policies of prevention rather than curation and implementing such programmes and policies should pay attention to reduce risk factors and increase protective factors at each of the different levels in the model above. And failure to prevent will definitely lead to its occurrence and social violence can be a result of ecological factors such as poverty, unemployment, hunger, disease, illiteracy and inequality (Dahlberg 2002).

At the first level which is individual, there are four major issues including personal characteristics, biological factors, behaviour and personal experience. The risk factors are identified as age, gender, low

level of education, hostility towards others, isolation, unemployed, substance use and history of engaging in violence. The strategies to be implemented at this level consist of school-based programmes, in-home programmes, after-school programme, group sessions that increase knowledge and classroom-based health curriculum (Dahlberg 2002).

The second level is a relationship which is an interaction between two or more people. Risk factors in this category involve fights, tensions, struggles, marital instability, family separation, poor communication, poor supervision and monitoring of children, association with aggressive or delinquent peers and emotionally unsupportive family. The strategies to be adopted here consist of education and family support, a mentoring programme, peer programmes, relationship workshops on family and increase emotional support to children (Dahlberg 2002).

At the third level, is the community and this is settings of institutions in which social relationship takes place. The risk factors here are social connectedness, income level, lack of neighbourhood organisation, limited economic opportunities and low level of social services. The strategies to be used at this level should include the development of qualitative social services, community associations' work and city planning for a better life for all (Dahlberg 2002).

In the last level the societal, it is societal factors that created a level of acceptance or intolerance for violence. Also included here are factors that can create and sustains the gap between different segments of society. The risk factors include here social norms, cultural norms, health policies, economic policies and educational policies. The strategies of prevention in this level should include national media campaign including TV, radio, newspapers and internet method of communication to create awareness and change the way people think about violence (Dahlberg 2002).

### **3.2 Yusuf Qaradawi's postulation of Islamic Extremism**

Professor Yusuf Al Qaradawi postulates some assumptions on Islamic extremism by identifying it like diagnosing a disease from its early stage to its full manifestation. He identified that there are some pre-conditions which if the youth in Islam started manifesting then, they are definitely moving towards extremism and are avoiding moderation that is encouraged by Islam in its scriptures. Here, he lamented that the government must monitor youth and their activities, as well as ideology and once, these symptoms, are exhibited, they should be curbed or extremism will manifest in its fullest and that will lead to violence in the name of Islamic religion which cause insurgency and terrorism in our current world. The symptoms identified by Qaradawi are discussed succinctly below (Qaradawi, 1999:9).

The first manifestation of extremism according to Qaradawi is "bigotry and intolerance". Bigotry is the clearest evidence of extremism. This cause a person to be obstinately devoted to his own opinions and prejudices as well as rigidity which deprives him of clarity of vision regarding the interests of other human beings, the purposes of Islamic law or the circumstances of the age. Such a person does not allow any opportunity for dialogue with other so that he may compare his opinion with theirs and choose to follow what appears to him most sound. This attitude concludes Qaradawi (1991) contradicts the principles of Ummah consensus and Prophetic teachings and must be condemned and stopped immediately it appears (Qaradawi, 1991:20).

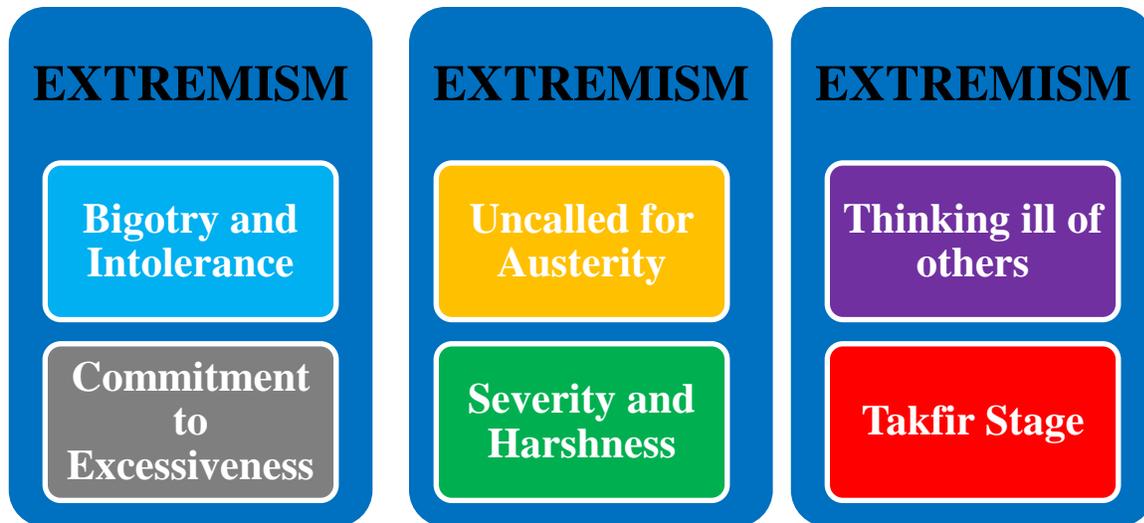
The second manifestation according to Qaradawi (1991) is imposing on the general populace what God has not required of them. This manifests in a perpetual commitment to excessiveness and in attempts to

force others into a similar commitment despite the existence of good reasons for facilitation and the fact that God has not ordained such austerity. The Prophet himself urged that things should not be made difficult for people. Sometimes these extremists went as far as describing anybody that does not conform to their thought as out of Islam. If these types are not deterred as early as possible, they will take up arms against the fellow Muslims and non-Muslims (Qaradawi, 1991:23). The third mark of extremism identified by Qaradawi (1991) is what he called “uncalled for austerity” where people are compelled to do what is not required of them like forcing non-Muslims to practice Islam because they live as a minority in the Muslim land.

The fourth manifestation of extremism is severity and harshness. This manifest itself in the harsh treatment of others, roughness in ones’ approach, and crudeness in calling to Islam all of which are contrary to the teachings of the Quran and Sunnah. Firmness is only mentioned in connection with two situations in Quran; first in connection with the war against oppression and self-defense (Chapter 9 verse 123) second in connection with carrying out the Islamically prescribed penalties for specified transgressions against humanity (Quran chapter 24 verse 2). In the area of calling one to Islam, there is no place for violence or harshness (Qaradawi, 1991:28).

Thinking ill of others is another manifestation of extremism that must be taken care of because it comes with suspicion and distrust of others. An extremist depicts people as being guilty of transgression, innovation, or disrespect for Allah’s law and Prophet’s Sunnah. He jumps to a conclusion rather than looking for explanations and his sincerity and integrity of those who disagree with him are always called into question (Qaradawi, 1991:29). If these extremists with such notion are not contained earlier, they take weapons and tag all Muslims that didn’t believe in their ideology or follow their methodology as infidels and unbelievers and kill them.

In addition, Qaradawi (1991) identified that; extremism reaches its zenith of manifestations when it reaches the stage of Takfir (labelling fellow Muslims as unbelievers). When an individual or groups deny others the right to safety and protection and instead sanctions taking their lives, confiscating their property and refusing to abide by any covenant concluded with them, then extremism has reached a level beyond Islam. This is the trap that the Kharijites (those young Muslims during the period of Sayyid Ali’s Khilafah in 650 AD who pronounced the Caliph himself and all Muslims that did not go into their extremism as infidels and took weapons to kill them. They were mentioned by the Prophet (PBUH) that they were coming after his demise they will profess religion extremely beyond Islamic teachings and that they should be handled with care and dealt with accordingly by the authorities concerned to avoid them causing wreckage on the people) fall into (Qaradawi, 1991:31). This can be illustrated using a model for easy perception.



**Figure 3 Assumptions on Extremism and Manifestations of Extremism According to Postulation of Professor Yusuf Al Qaradawi**

Source: Qaradawi 1991 (Model designed by the author).

From the above so far, it can be summarised and conclude that the two theories used in this study are applicable practically and explain the context of this work. This is because the Dahlberg's (2002) four preventive measures of violence and Qaradawi's six manifestations of extremism all point towards the situation of Islamic militants in Nigeria. In the case of Dahlberg (2002), it can be perceived that the policymakers failed to prevent the risk factors for violence that is why it occurred and is re-occurring now. In the case of Qaradawi (1991), it seems all the six manifestations of religious extremism manifested in Northeastern Nigeria without the government taken any measures or action to stop it and when it reached the sixth stage which is that of Takfir, the extremist found solace in killing and attacking both the Muslims and non-Muslims thinking that only those with their ideology and methodology can be genuine Muslims while at the same time perceiving that they must Islamise all by force as against the Quranic and Sunnah teachings argued by Al Qaradawi (1991) in his discourse.

While analysing the issues into the expanded view, unlike Qaradawi (1991), Awdah (2004) supported the view above in a very succinct and assertive manner where he identified that the major causes of militarism, fundamentalism, extremism and problems of contemporary Muslim Ummah can be deduced from the one simple condition which is "Ignorant followers and incompetent scholars". This is supportive of Al Qaradawi's position in a different and generalized approach.

#### 4.0 METHODOLOGY

The paper used a qualitative method of data collection and analysis. And since the paper is a conceptual theoretical approach, it used only secondary sources of data for analysis and interpretation. Textbooks, articles from journals, reports from organisations and agencies and internet sources were used. The philosophical approach towards the research is the use of a paradigm of an inductive logical analytical method where few rich data gathered was used for an expanded analysis and interpretations. The data

obtained was discussed and analysed using thematic analysis such as models, tables and sub-themes for findings.

## **5.0 DISCUSSIONS AND FINDINGS**

### **5.1 Discussions**

There are many instances in which the Maitatsine and Boko Haram insurgents have convergence and that made them look like a continuation of the same movement in different times and nature. This section discussed these similarities and what made them differ in terms of their nature and operation.

### **5.2 Ideology**

The Maitatsine and Boko Haram are believed to have shared the same ideology of a radical Islamic extremism where even the Muslims that do not share the same view as them are regarded as renegade and infidels. They believed that strict adherence to Islamic teachings and practice must be implemented by all means including the use of force and violence. They also have the ideology of revolting and disobeying the constituted authority especially if the leadership of Western democratic style of government. They detest anything Western in all its ramifications. These ideas are believed to have been exactly shared by the two terrorist groups by many scholars such as Al Qaradawi (1991), Danjibo (2010), Adesoji (2011), Isichei (2011) and Fatima (2014). Al Qaradawi in his theoretical underpinning in numbers 1 to 6 identified the ideology of the extremist to have included intolerance and bigotry, thinking ill of others, uncalled for austerity and Takfir in addition to others.

The indication of such intolerance can be seen from the way they defied all reasoning and logical arguments from their superiors in knowledge. For instance, Islamic clerics like Sheikh Jaafar Mahmud Adam, Sheikh Muhammad Auwal Adam Albani Zaria and Sheikh Dr Isa Ali Ibrahim Pantami all engaged Muhammad Yusuf the leader of Boko Haram during the early stage of their call against Western education with constructive and logical arguments. The leader of the sect was all the times defeated in arguments and he admitted that but, later he will return with his radical ideology fully. The same thing occurred with the Maitatsine where the Northern clerics and authorities showed to him clearly the evil of his ideology, but he defied their call for a better understanding. This means they have the same ideology and may continue to resurface in succession if nothing concrete is put on the ground to deter such movements in future.

### **5.3 Sources of Funds**

One fundamental issue that is not credibly ascertained is the sources of funds and operation for the Maitatsine and Boko Haram sects. In the case of Maitatsine, it was known that they used a limited approach and resources in their activities perhaps, during their times due to limited availability of sophisticated weapons and the crude nature of militants' movements across the globe in addition to a limited source of funds for undertaking their activities. They mostly used personal incomes such as the services they offer in manicure and pedicure services, laundry services and other menial household jobs that they performed to be paid. They used the proceeds to procure local weapons such as knives, cutlasses, swords, arrows and bows, clubs and sticks for their operation. The Nigerian government

possessed superior firepower with AK 47 guns and artilleries and as such, they were crushed easily and successfully within the shortest period as discussed by Isa (2010), Danjibo (2010) and Adesoji (2010).

In the case of Boko Haram, many reports indicated that even before the sects was transformed into a full-blown insurgent and the terrorist group later they have been procuring modern sophisticated weapons and threatening the Nigerian securities and Nigerian government on many times with violence. There are different school of thoughts on their sources of funds such as conspiracies which believed that external sources and internal mafias are behind their finances (Isichei 2011) and others believed that the spread of Al Qaeda in central Africa and West Africa in Somalia, Mali, Libya provided the route for arming of Boko Haram through Trans-Saharan route (Blanchard 2014, and Montclos 2014). It has already been observed by Al Qaradawi (2011) that such extremist can go to the extent of intolerance if their ideas are not accepted. In the same way, Dahlberg (2002) believed that if a group movement is not monitored and harmonised by the government, it will lead to deviant behaviours such as extremism most especially if the economic opportunities are limited.

#### **5.4 Methodology and Operation**

The methodology of Maitatsine and Boko Haram according to Isa (2010), Danjibo (2010) and Adesoji (2011) involves extremism and the use of violence towards the constituted authority, civilians, Muslims and non-Muslims alike unless and until their views are accepted and followed. While the Maitatsine conspired to attack security and public in Northeastern states in many towns, the Boko Haram did same only the weapons differ. They used the same starting point of calling against anything Western and strict adherence to radical Islam. The two sects also used guerilla tactics instead of conventional warfare and that explains why the insurgency lasted longer than expected (De Montclos 2014).

It has been argued extensively by Al Qaradawi (1991) that these insurgents can go to the extreme of Takfir stage where they identified even the Muslims as unbelievers provided they did not agree with their views and in this stage, they can go to any extreme in pursuing their ideas including the use of violence as manifested in the case of Maitatsine and Boko Haram. Furthermore, Dahlberg (2002) in his four level of analysis on social-ecological violence observed that until the preventive measures are put in place at the individual, relationship, community and societal including economic prosperity, political development, social cohesion, there are tendencies that people can be recruited by deviant peers at different levels to create violence that was caused by human ecological factors as in this case study.

#### **5.5 Findings**

The research discovered that the Maitatsine and Boko Haram share many things in common and are seen to have been the same Islamic militant movement in Northern Nigeria and specifically in Northeastern Nigeria from the 1980s to date. It is believed that the first movement (Maitatsine) provided the room for the emergence of Boko Haram as its continuation in other ways in modern times the places in which they seemed to be the same are summarised in the following table.

**Table 1 Comparison of Maitatsine and Boko Haram Ideology and Methodology**

<b>Ideology and Methodology</b>	<b>Maitatsine</b>	<b>Boko Haram</b>
Origin	Peaceful radical preaching	Peaceful radical preaching
Movement	Islamic extremism	Islamic extremism
Approach	Intolerance and bigotry	Intolerance and bigotry
Ideology	Prohibition of Western values	Prohibition of Western values
Methodology	Violence and insurgency	Violence and terrorism
Impacts	Destruction of lives and properties	Destruction of lives and properties

Source: Author 2018

The research found that there are possibilities that such Islamic militarism in Northeastern Nigeria and North at large will continue to re-emerge unless a serious measure is taken in addressing the political, cultural, socioeconomic and religious aspects of the Northern Nigerian society by the policymakers.

## 6.0 CONCLUSION

The paper concludes that both Maitatsine and Boko Haram are Islamic extremist that emerged because of the loose nature of policy makers in the North towards religious issues and failure to put in place adequate measures to prevent the occurrence of such movements. The socioeconomic situation in the Northeast in terms of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, disease, corruption and inequality is worse than any other region in the country and as such, the hopeless restive youth became an easy prey for recruitment into such fundamentalist agenda easily.

The paper also concludes that unless and until strict measures are provided in terms of addressing the root causes of such militant movements, even if the current Boko Haram insurgency is defeated, such groups will continue to re-emerge interally and they will continue to develop tactics of operation in accordance with modern warfare and modern machinery of fighting. As such, the research recommends the following as permanent panaceas to the menace of Islamic militarism.

1. A censorship monitoring process should be put in place as a mechanism where religious clerics are censored by authorities concern so that any obscure or weird movements should be blocked instantly;
2. A Shura committee should be constituted in which qualified scholars from all the Islamic sects would be involved to approve preaching and preachers so that any scholar that wanted to engage in Da'awah must be recommended with a license by the committee and any undesired move could make the license to be withdrawn;
3. The government must acquire superior firepower fighting tools that can crush all insurgency in its early stage;
4. Intelligence gathering should be given much attention to detect such underground movements and dismantle them;
5. The government must ensure a vibrant economic policy that will reduce inequality, poverty, generate employment and boost lives positively in the Northeast;
6. Social amenities such as roads, communication, education, welfare and other social services must be provided to all by the policymakers and
7. Information and public awareness campaign on the dangers of these movements should be inculcated in our national dailies, TVs, radios, social media and in the mosques and the need to expose any suspicious movement like that by the Muslims populace.

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