

ANATOMY OF AFRICA’S EVIL SIAMESE TWINS: A COMPARATIVE INTERROGATION OF BOKO HARAM AND AL-SHABAB.

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ABSTRACT

It is an open knowledge and apparently a truism that the activities of terrorist movements like the Boko haram and the Al-Shabab in recent times has dealt a hefty blow to not only the collective stability of the African continent, but also, its multi-pronged socio-economic fortunes. The ensuing debacles and the varying inundating levels of ignominy and infamy wreaked on Africa has spontaneously elicited reactions from both state and non-state actors over the years. Though steady progress has been made in this regard, the swinging and vacillating strategies of the sect to adopting unconventional stratagems, to carrying out domestic and transnational attacks leaves much to be desired. Relying on secondary data - literatures, this study undertakes a comparative analysis of the Boko haram and Al-Shabab. Through a review of existing documents, it argues in line with policy ramifications that, in as much as policy homogeneity may be essential, and perhaps an available sine qua non option to be relied on in the quest for the fight against these anti-social incendiary sects. In conclusion, the research equally entreats a neck turn consideration of experimenting individual country specific 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 while the fight becomes a façade hovering around like an apparition.

Keywords: Anatomy, Sub-Saharan Africa, Boko Haram, Al-Shabab, Comparative interrogation.

1. 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 facing peace in today’s world. In Africa, 33,300 deaths are estimated to have been caused by the extremists between 2011 and 2016, with associated displacement and economic devastation that contributed to the worst humanitarian disasters ever seen on the continent (UNDP, 2017). 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 the main source of instability in Africa. Also, persistent problems of poverty, economic scarcity, youth unemployment and misallocation of economic resources have been fertile ground for extremism in Africa (Genyi, 2015). Among the countries of the world, the sub-Saharan region of Africa is more infamous for terrorism, with 16 countries vulnerable to high rates of terrorist risk. These countries are mainly located in neighbouring 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 (Aon, 2015).

On the contrary, out of 18,814 deaths caused by terrorists around the world last year, more than half 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), the four organizations were responsible for 10,632 deaths in 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. (Dudley, 2018). In 2006, the Al-Shabaab extremist militant group emerged. It is an associate body of Al-Qaida and although its main area of activities is 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 (Staff report, 2014). 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. (Dudley, 2018). On September 21, 2013, Al-Shabaab demonstrated its ability after organizing the attack at the Westgate Shopping Center in Nairobi, killing 65 people (staff reports, 2014). 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. (Azama, 2015). In addition, since its appearance in the northeastern part of the country in 2002, it has spread to other neighbouring countries, including Chad, Cameroon and Niger, which have 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 in Cameroon and Niger. The organization is notorious for its massive hostage-taking and widespread use of children and women as suicide bombers. (Dudley, 2018). The recent attacks and abductions of nearly 300 schoolgirls by the Nigerian group Boko Haram on April 14 have caught the headlines and worldwide attention (staff reports, 2014).

1.1.1 The methodology of the study;

In order to fully understand the repercussions of Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram in sub-Saharan Africa, the application of research methods focuses on a literature review of existing terrorism research. The study is also descriptive in nature or style, based on the results of previous work in the area of the Boko Haram uprising in Nigeria and Al-Shabaab in Somalia. Newspapers were also used for contemporary development in the field of the insurgency. The survey did not use the primary source of information. Qualitative and objective analysis of the data obtained to determine the repercussion of two terrorist groups. As mentioned, (Burnham et al., 2004, quoted Morris 2009), the full spectrum of data from various sources provides qualitative analysis, which provides a thorough analysis of a phenomenon. It provides a more comprehensive and thorough explanation of the subject in a more holistic manner, as well as the possible future impact of seeking a permanent solution to the crisis.

2. Who is Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram?

2.1 .1 Al Shabab

Al-Shabaab is a jihadist extremist organization founded in East Africa founded in 2006 as a militant youth wing of the now defunct Union of Islamic Courts. The group's leader was Ahmed Abdi Godane who was killed on September 1, 2014, in an American air raid in southern Somalia. Predecessor Aden Hashi Ayro was killed in a preceding US air raid in a remote village in southern Somalia. (Chothia, 2014). The organization used the guerrilla strategy to gain territorial

control in Somalia. It controls small pockets of jurisdictions Kenya and Ethiopia along the Somalia border and most parts of southern Somalia. Al-Shabab, however, enforces a strict version of the Sharia law (Islamic law) and prohibits activities such as listening to music or shaving under the areas it controls. Under al-Shahab's strict brand of sharia, stonings, amputations, and beheadings are regular punishment for criminals and apostates. The organization destructively persecutes non-Muslims and often clashed with humanitarian and international aid workers. In addition, the ideology of Al-Shabab is usually portrayed as a hallmark of Salafism and Wahhabism that supports takfir, the excommunication of apostates or unbelievers. Despite the organization's many goals in the past, the group is primarily fighting for the creation of a fundamentalist Islamic state in the Horn of Africa, which includes not only Somalia but also Djibouti, Kenya and Ethiopia. In addition, after the organization swore allegiance to Al Qaeda in 2012, Al-Shabaab began a series of violent attacks in neighbouring Somalia, including the Westgate Mall attack in Nairobi, Kenya in September 2013, killing 68 people and injuring 175 people. The extremist group is also responsible for Garissa University's April 2015 attacks, in which five Al-Shabab fighters invaded the Kenyan university, killing nearly 150 people. Since then, the group has continued to make terrorist attacks outside its Somali fortress. When Al-Shabaab attacked Western targets for the first time, an attacker exploded a hidden laptop bomb on a Daallo Airlines flight, leaving Mogadishu to the city of Djibouti on February 2, 2016(Counter Extremism project, 2018). The group depicts itself as carrying on a jihad against "enemies of Islam" and is fighting against the Federal Government of Somalia and the African Union in Somalia (AMISOM). Al Shabaab has been classified as a terrorist group by Australia, Canada, the United Arab Emirates, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Since June 2012, the US State Department has open bounties on several senior commanders of the group.

2.1.2 Boko Haram

Boko Haram is an Islamic militant group headquartered in northeastern Nigeria. Its official name is Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad that in Arabic means "People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet Teachings and Jihad". The Boko Haram also translated local Hausa

into "Western education is a sin." (BBC, 2016). Leader Mohammed Yusuf, an influential Islamist cleric monastery from Borno State, established the group in Maiduguri in 2002. However, since 2009, the group has carried out murders and major acts of violence in the country. The group became internationally known through the most notorious for its mass kidnapping of 276 teenage schoolgirls in the city of Chibok, Nigeria in April 2014. In August 2011, at least 25 people were killed and more than 110 injured in a suicide bombing in the United Nations building in Abuja, Nigeria, which attracted international attention ((ADL, 2014.)The original intent of the group was to eradicate corruption and injustice in Nigeria, which has blamed Western influences, and to enforce sharia or Islamic law. Later, the organization vowed to retaliate against Yusuf's death and other members killed by security forces in 2009.(Encyclopedia Britannica, 2018). Yusuf's followers regrouped under Abubakar Shekau and began committing regular murders and attacks. In 2015, back on the defensive, Boko Haram pledged allegiance to the Islamic State (also known as ISIS and ISIL).Boko Haram continues to conduct attacks in Nigeria and neighbouring countries, especially in Niger. In the summer of 2016, there was a public split in the organization, with one fact continuing to be loyal to Shekau and the other following Abu Mus'ab al-Barnawi, who promised to reduce civilian casualties and realign Boko Haram's efforts on fighting the states and the militaries.

2.1.3 Similarities of Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab

Boko Haram and al-Shabaab are radical Islamist sects operating mainly in Nigeria and Somalia and are both engaged in prolonged insurrections and terrorist campaigns. Both insurrections, Boko Haram and al-Shabaab, are probably to continue for at least several years, and the success in halting the violent terrorist attacks they perform will probably require a combination of social reform, negotiated de-escalation and varying degrees of military force. By the end of 2014, both organizations were responsible for several high-profile terrorist incidents, including a wave of Boko Haram suicide bombings in Nigeria and al-Shabaab cross-border attacks in Kenya. In their antagonism towards non-believers of its theologically defective mark of Islamic fundamentalism, both groups also have a history of using the Christmas and New Year periods for the attacks. (Waddington, 2015).

As rebellious groups, Boko Haram and al-Shabaab naturally share several organizational and operational similarities. Basically, they strive to achieve many of the same tactical goals: Both groups have the same basic strategic goals regarding the destruction of state authority and the creation of ungoverned spaces. In addition, their current course of action is limited by similar factors faced by most insurgent forces: limited access to logistical support and the need to avoid or control direct confrontation with security forces.

Two African Islamic terrorist organizations - Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram - are responsible for many terrorist acts. The two groups, or at least their leaders and most of their followers, adhere to a Wahhabi version of Islam practised in Saudi Arabia, and all oppose Western influence in the countries in which they operate. The groups also share a predilection for internal group violence. Leading leaders of Al Shabab and Boko Haram have recently been killed by competitors.

They are both completely false on ideology or philosophy. No aims, no goals, no beliefs...they're both savage pirate, drug cartel, organized crime-terror groups. Their crimes are the same... robbery, rape, torture, murder, mutilation, extortion, kidnapping, beheading, slavery, smuggling, poaching. Both hide in wooded/ rocky/desert terrain, both use guerilla warfare tactics, terrorist atrocities, human shields, and especially local bribes/ corruption for power/ territory (Waddington, 2015).

2.1.4 Differences in Boko Haram and Al Shabab

Al Shabab is located near to the coast, so it is engaged in piracy in addition to other crimes at sea. Al Shabaab is a bit more sophisticated and partly shaped because it is near the sea. Boko Haram is landlocked in jungle and desert more primitive or less sophisticated. The range of activities of these two groups is also very different. While reported deaths involving the Boko Haram have been spatially limited to northeastern Nigeria and along borders within Cameroon and Niger, those involving al-Shabab have occurred in much of Somalia and in several locations in Kenya (Raleigh, Kishi, Russell, Siegel and Williams, 2017).

Al-Shabab is a violent fundamentalist Islamist group of 7,000 to 9,000 fighters linked with Al Qaeda and operating in Somalia and parts of Kenya. According to ACLED data show that in 2016 al-Shabab was involved in the largest number of violent events by a conflict actor in Africa recorded that year (1,136), resulting in a total of 4,282 reported death. Boko Haram is a militant Islamic fundamentalist organization in northeastern Nigeria, loosely linked to the Islamic State. ACLED data show that Boko Haram participated in 419 events in 2016, claiming a total of 3,500 casualties (Raleigh, Kishi, Russell, Siegel and Williams, 2017).

3. Repercussions of Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram

3.1.1 Health sector

Owing to the uncertainty of the Al-Shabaab Islamist activities, many health workers have left Somalia. This has caused severe harm to the country, especially Afgooye hospital and other places. Afgooye hospital is located in the agricultural town of Afgooye, 30 km southwest of the Somali capital, Mogadishu. The hospital is one of the many health care centres formerly supported by the international medical charity Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF), which translates as Doctors without Borders. However, due to their support, the hospital was able to provide free medical services to residents of Afgooye and surrounding areas. Nonetheless, MSF International left Somalia due to security concerns for its 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. Health centres supported by Médecins sans Frontières provide a range of services, including free basic health care, malnutrition treatment, surgery, epidemic responses, water and relief supplies. MSF's international teams with more than 1,500 staffs worked 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 for fear of their lives. This has negatively affected the lives of "hundreds of thousands" in Somalia (Osman, 2013) what is more in 2008, when the Islamists of Somalia, al-Shabab, took control of the city of Hudur in the region of Bakool, they expelled the only aid agencies operating in the city and looted the storerooms in the city's only medical center, a maternal health service. It has severe repercussion on the people living in this area.

In addition, the Boko Haram insurgency, which began in 2009 has mainly affected people living in northeastern Nigeria. Health services in the region have been harshly affected. One of them is the Borno state which has been at the epicentre of the insurrection. So far, more than 20,000 people have been killed and over 2 million people have fled their home. There are more than 7 million people in need of humanitarian assistance in the states of Borno, Yobe and Adamawa - and more than half are children. The insurrection has aggravated these problems and also destroyed the health system. In addition, Boko Haram Insurgents have destroyed about 788 health facilities in the area. In Borno, 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 has lost 35% of its doctors to other states. In addition, the insecurity in the areas occupied by insurgents has made planning and providing basic health interventions difficult. (Afrolabi, 2017)

3.1.2 Education

Al-Shabaab is a dangerous Islamic extremist terrorist organization in Somalia that has been brutally attacking the country's education system. In the areas it controlled, Al-Shabaab enforces its interpretation of Islam in schools and 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 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 per cent of the population was literate in 2012. (GCPEA, 2014). In September 2009, Al-Shabaab cautioned against using textbooks provided by the United Nations, claiming that they are teaching students' un-Islamic subject. 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. (GCPEA, 2014).

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, including during the Ramadan offensive in Mogadishu in August 2010. The government is trying to reform the education sector by introducing a new curriculum in a 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 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. (Osman, 2018).

In addition, Boko Haram, the dangerous Islamic extremist terrorist organization in Nigeria, has 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 as "Western education is forbidden." Boko Haram's impact on education has devastated the entire Nigerian education system by stealing youth education and attacking the system in every possible way. Teachers were targeted. 600 teachers were murdered and 19,000 teachers fled in fear. Other teachers were threatened, injured or even abducted. Because of the dangerous influence, finding a teacher who is willing to teach in the area has become a great struggle. The entire Nigerian education system feels the impact of Boko Haram on education. With a total population of 160 million, about 10 million Nigerian youth are not attending school, many of the girls. Instead of reading and learning, they got married in their teens, and the boys who were out of school were recruited into terrorists. As of the beginning of 2016, an estimated 952,029 school-age children have escaped violence, with little or no access to education. The massive displacement in the hands of Boko Haram has forced school-age children to be placed in

private homes and communities. In such communities, schools are consisting of students of the same age who gather in large rooms or under trees for about three to four hours a day. However, these children have no access to textbooks and their teachers have to teach without teaching materials. In Borno, one of the states that have suffered damage, 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 impact of Boko Haram on education has affected thousands of students by stealing what is rightfully theirs. For a nation with the lowest school attendance countrywide, the attacks on the education system have been seriously detrimental to Nigeria. Education is the foundation of society; without it, development is very difficult.”(Waller, 2017).

3.1.3 Tourism

The tourism industry is an important source of income and economic development in many countries. It promotes a good relationship between the countries. People from different countries like to visit other countries for pleasure, to see natural beauty, climate and weather. (Krishna, 2015).

However, Somalia has potential tourist attractions such as diving spots along the Red Sea coast and a wide array of flora and fauna (Country Report, 2014). Somalia is not considered a holiday destination for anyone. It is 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 travelling 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. Security remains a major challenge, and the terrorist organization 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 (Dahir, 2016).

Despite the strong cultural richness and rich natural beauty of Nigeria, the insurrection of Boko haram in the Northeast drives local and foreign visitors from the country's tourist destinations.. In

recent years, Nigeria's tourism industry has been adversely affected by the security challenges in the Northeast, with some foreign countries at the different time of the crisis have issued travel warnings on Nigeria, including in the government's seat in Abuja. In effect, the World Bank's report on international inbound tourists (number of tourists travelling) 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.(Hazeez, 2015)

Additionally, Boko Haram, which has sworn 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. It should be a jewel in Nigeria's tourism industry, but between 2014 and 2015, Boko Haram's attacks in Madagali and other Adamawa local government Areas changed the story of Sukur. Adamawa is one of the three states that has 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. The American and British ambassadors in Nigeria were in Sukur; the Chinese ambassador was also in Sukur. Tourists from many of these countries 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 has damaged the integrity of the World Heritage. Today, analysts believe that Sukur as a cultural landscape no longer exist as hitherto.

4.Conclusion

The implosion of some promising parts of Africa into unstable and stagnant polities is an unfortunate and sad occurrence that has attracted much worries and concerns across the length and breadth of the globe. The face and trends in staging acts of terrorism has changed over the years. Investments and partnerships have now assumed a much more coordinated and strengthened like never before. This is amplified in series of attacks including the attack on the

United States of America (USA). And sub Saharan Africa, which has been the center stage for Boko haram and Al-Shabab terror experiments has not been immune and is likely not to be free from such epic undertakings. It is apparent that, these groupings have also found the institutional weaknesses and the deficit in institutional intelligence inherent in Africa as germane to capitalize on in raking in huge “profits” to attain their objectives. Institutional frailties have for years been a chronic and symptomatic part of African states. The porous borders of African countries have for instance also spurred the spread of the conflagration to other areas and also provided support for the transportation of terrorist and their accessories other African countries. Like never before in the history of Africa, Boko Haram and Al-Shabab have worn the face of a belligerent movement that have, in addition to being a principal security threat to the continent, have also stymied progressive efforts, through their retrogressive activities. Plan devised to impel the fight against terrorist movements must among other factors concentrate on building state capacity. Given the deadweight that their activities exert on economic development, and regional stability, primacy must 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 inject some appreciable dosage of refines and reforms into the fight against terrorism in Africa.

5. Recommendations

After examining the uprisings of Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab in Nigeria and Somalia and their impact on the two countries, we made the following recommendations;

1. The Nigerian and Somali governments should intensify their border surveillance with neighbouring countries to control the influx of illegal migrants and limit all unauthorized routes and weapon connections. The Government of Nigeria and Somalia should work together with the international community to fight the Boko Haram and Al- Shabaab insurrection. Terrorism is a global phenomenon and it is therefore recommended to resolve terrorism through global cooperation.

2. The approach that can work better is that it is high time Nigeria and Somalia government look for a way of negotiating with this group.

3. In addition, poverty should be addressed across the country through employment generation by governments at all levels, a collaboration between government and the private sector, revamping ailing firms and empowering youths and women through skills acquisition programs and agricultural practices.

4. Finally, from any perspective, education tends to change the physical, intellectual, emotional, and spiritual abilities of people in cultural, political, and social environments to achieve a peaceful and harmonious life. It is a comprehensive education that will moderate unwanted behaviour in a Nigeria and Somalia education plan at all levels

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