Cameroon. Too Much to Carry: The Perception and Ramifications of Boko Haram's Activities on Cameroon

Walter Gam NKWI

Abstract. *This paper examines the activities and consequences of Boko Haram in Nigeria and how it is perceived and conceived in Cameroon within the government circles and the local population. It further focuses on the historical roots of the Boko Haram. Using internet sources, secondary data and personal observations, the paper contends that this conflict, like most conflicts in human history, has a spill-over effect which has affected Cameroon in a significant way. Both the government and local population have to a large extent been affected by the activities of Boko Haram.*

Key words*: Boko Haram, Cameroon, Nigeria, Yaounde Summit, ECOWAS, West Africa, Gulf of Guinea, Piracy.*

Walter Gam NKWI, PhD
University of Buea,
Cameroon

———

Introduction: Objectives; Understanding Boko Haram

Two unrelated events have inspired me to write to this paper. First, from Monday 24 to Tuesday 25 June 2013, twenty-five West African and Central African heads of State met in Yaoundé, Cameroon for the summit on Maritime Security in the Gulf of Guinea. This was meant to coordinate their efforts in addressing illegal activities in the region that have recently surpassed Somali piracy. The challenge facing the Yaoundé Summit, one of the most important ever held in Africa, was to provide a coordinated regional and international response to the scourges of piracy, drug trafficking, armed robbery and other illegal maritime activities in the Gulf of Guinea. To this end, the

leaders reviewed and adopted a series of measures that were previously reviewed at the March 2013 inter-ministerial conference which was held in Cotonou, the capital of Benin. In Cotonou, the ministers for Security, Foreign Affairs and Defense from the 25 West African and Central African States produced a Memorandum of Understanding on maritime security in these two African regions and approved a draft Code of Conduct designed to prevent and combat piracy, armed robbery and illegal activities committed against ships. The Yaounde summit was organized with the support of the United Nations and the African Union was attended by member countries of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Commission of the Gulf of Guinea (CGG), among other international partners. According to the International Maritime Bureau (IMB), 966 sailors were attacked, with 5 of 206 hostages killed in West Africa in 2012, compared to 851 off the Somali coast in the Gulf of Aden, a notorious piracy area. In the first quarter of 2013, the Gulf of Guinea, where there are large-scale oil industry operations on the West African coast, was the scene of 15 incidents. Nigeria alone suffered 11 cases of piracy in the region (including 9 involving firearms), and Cote d'Ivoire suffered 3 incidents, the report said. This paper is not about the Gulf of Guinea per se. It is about Boko Haram, whose activities span the geographical space of Central and West Africa emanating from Nigeria. It is the microcosm of a larger project which seeks to evaluate the impact of Boko Haram conflict around the Lake Chad region. It specifically focuses on the consequences of Boko Haram on Cameroon.

This anecdotal story points us to several issues. The first is the existence of Boko Haram across Nigeria-Cameroon boundary and the kidnapping of foreigners. The second is the complicity of Boko Haram with al Queda. The third is the relationship of Boko Haram with AQIM and the Tuareg rebels of Northern Mali. All these suggest the importance and gravity of Boko Haram conflict in the sub-region but this essay focuses on the net effect of Boko Haram on Cameroon.

Conflict is a feature of all human societies, poor or rich; developed or underdeveloped. Consequently, no human group or community exists without the logical dialectical op-position of friend-enemy either among its members or between it and others. Human groups exist with definite objectives which may be realized with or without the assist-ance of others. Whoever puts into jeopardy the concrete realization of the common objectives or the achievement of the *bonum commune* creates a situation of conflict and becomes the enemy or a less friendly partner (Nkwi, 1987, p. 64). The African continent has witnessed conflicts of various kinds. These conflicts are as varied as its causes and the ways these conflicts affect other areas are as diverse as the regions.

One of the distinguishing features of Africa's political chemistry is its many protracted social and political conflicts. These conflicts do not operate in isolation. Their activities have ripple effects in the areas which they operate. North, Central and West Africa ap-

pear to be rife with conflicts and arm militias seeking for a redress of cultural norms according to their whims and caprices. The Al-Shabab of Somalia representing the horn of Africa, the Boko Haram of West Africa and Al-Qaeda branch of North Africa, AQIM of Mali; Janjaweed of Darfur, the Seleka rebels which have taken the better part of Central Africa. All these have a common objective, which is to do away with Western civilization. According to these groups, the Western civilization is 'evil' and should therefore be cleansed. The event which occurred in the North of Cameroon and which was orchestrated by Boko Haram was just a tip of an iceberg indicating and confirming that a conflict in a country would have its ramifications felt by its neighbours and beyond. Is this what has been going through most of the continent with groups that resemble Boko Haram in formation and objectives? This paper takes its inspiration from such events and focuses on examining the deeper effects and historicity of Boko Haram on Cameroon.

What is Boko Haram?

Boko Haram has received multiple meanings and definitions from scholars with varied backgrounds (Adibe, 2012; Adesoji, 2010; Akokegh, 2012; Cook, 2011; Johnson, 2011; Last, 2009; Mantzikos, 2010; Ojo, 2010; Onapajo, 2012; Pham, 2012; Thomson, 2012; Walker, 2012). Despite all these various definitions, there is need to contextualize the meaning of Boko Haram. Broadly, it is known as the Congregation and People of Tradition for the Proselytism and Jihad. It is an Islamic movement which strongly opposes non sharia legal systems and what they deem as Westernization. It seeks to establish the sharia law in the country, especially in the Northern parts of Nigeria. It was formed in Maiduguri. Etymologically, the term Boko Haram comes from Hausa, an indigenous language that is largely spoken in Northern Nigeria. 'Boko' in Hausa figuratively means "Western education" and "Haram", again figuratively, means "sin" (literally meaning 'forbidden'). Loosely, translated from Hausa therefore the term means "Western education is forbidden" (Rodolico, 2012; Austen, 2010). It means that anything about Western civilization ranging from dressing codes, eating, and culture, is aberrational to Boko Haram. In summary therefore, Boko Haram stands for a civilization against another civilization and therefore could aptly be described as a clash of two civilizations based on religious beliefs.

Since the beginning of the 21st Century (2001), when the activities of Boko Haram became more visible in Nigeria, researchers, scholars and journalists, and jacks-of-all-trades have taken a keen interest in it. The intensity and gravity of the group activities necessitates a visit at the literature. The literature which is legion and indicates that much ink has flown. This will do us some good if we take up some snapshots here to appreciate how much of the ground has been covered thus far. All the literature so far cannot be covered in a single paper. Some scholars have focused on the origins of Boko Haram. Loimeier (2012) provides an historical background paying attention to the Yan

Izala movement of reforms within Islam. Last (2007, 2009 and 2011), International Crisis Group (2010) and Warner (2012, p. 38-40) have all attempted to provide an historical account. Others have defined and sustained their stand that Boko Haram is a terrorist group (see Popoola 2012, p. 43-66; Omitola, 2012; Onapajo, 2012, p. 337-357; Musa, 2012; Soyinka, 2012; Ojo, 2011, p. 45-62; Maiangwa *et al.*, 2012, p. 40-57; Barrett, 2012, p. 719-736; Bagaji, 2012, p. 33-41). Yet, others have posed the question regarding what Boko Haram really is (Walker, 2012; Rogers, 2012, Thomson, 2012; Adibe, 2012; Adesoji, 2010; Akokegh, 2012; Cook, 2011; Mantzikos, 2010). Others still have focused on examining the current happenings surrounding Boko Haram and violence in the south of Nigeria. Watts (2009) offers a nexus between the string of events in the North and the rich oil Delta of South East Nigeria while Walker (2012) offers an interesting link between real and imagined Boko Haram. Other scholars that belonged to this school include Onuoha, 2010; Ifeka, 2010; Danjibo 2009; Adesoji, 2010. Still others have attempted to trace Boko Haram's relations with the Al-Shabab of Somalia (Cook, 2011). Some of the works have remained at best skeletal and limited in scope (Akokegh, 2012, p. 46-55).

This body of literature, although not comprehensive enough, suggests that much has been written on Boko Haram. Despite the significant amount of literature, there are still yawning gaps to piece the 'conflicting narratives together' (Adib, 2012, p. 47-64) and therefore add to the budding literature and debates. The effects of Boko Haram in Cameroon, its perception and conception notwithstanding, have remained a *terra incognita* in the scholarship. In what follows in this paper, I wish to demonstrate not just the activities of Boko Haram but – so crucial to the paper – the consequences of the activities in Cameroon and a deeper historical touch which has not been adequately tackled so far. How has the *modus operandi* of the group affected the geo-politics and social configuration of Cameroon?

In other to achieve this objective, the paper starts by situating the significance of such a study. Is it worth undertaking a study of Boko-Haram in Nigeria and of its ripple effects on global politics? Absolutely yes! From the significance, the paper will logically focus on the historical origins of Boko Haram much so because an historical dimension of such a movement is so important for a proper understanding of today's dynamics. So far the historical accounts given by scholars have remained fractured and not properly tackled.

The third part of the paper will provide a synopsis of the activities of Boko Haram, while in the fourth part I will show the ramifications of Boko Haram in Cameroon. Part five will be the conclusion and the last part a list of reference material used in the paper.

Significance of the Study

The reemergence of the Nigerian militant Islamist group Boko Haram has been a cause for significant concern both to Nigeria and to its neighboring states and above all to the

academia. Since late 2010, the organization has been responsible for a brutal crusade of attacks that have been targeting public officials and institutions and, increasingly, ordinary men, women, and children, wreaking havoc across Northern Nigeria, with its ramifications spilling over to Cameroon. In terms of human casualties, at least 550 people are believed to have been killed in many separate attacks in 2011 alone, a grim toll that has been accelerating while scores of others were maimed, rendered widows or orphans, while others too became refugees. Meanwhile, Boko Haram's rhetoric and tactics indicate that the organization has expanded its reach well beyond its original base in northeastern Nigeria. As a matter of fact, its *modus operandi* indeed has evolved and is still evolving into a transnational threat with links to other terrorist groups and violent extremists in North, West, and East Africa. The group thus constitutes a wider threat to the political, economic, and security interests in Africa and more particularly to the sub-region. Given that Nigeria is Africa's biggest oil exporter (it holds the world's 10th largest proven reserves) as well as the continent's most populous country, instability there has significantly wider implications to world politics and especially to its neighbor Cameroon. For the gravity and intensity of Boko Harma's operations in Nigeria, the table below gives a bird's eye view and makes the paper more relevant, as it charts the path for a better understanding of what is happening in Nigeria and as a result of how the consequences have directly and indirectly spilled over and beyond Nigeria.

Table 1: Date and Place of Operations in Nigeria

Date	Place of Operation
September 7, 2010	Bauchi prison break
December 31, 2010	December 2010 Abuja attack
April 22, 2011	Boko Haram frees 14 prisoners during a jailbreak in Yola, Adamawa State
May 29, 2011	Northern Nigerian bombing
June 16, 2011	The group claims responsibility for the Abuja police headquarters bombing
June 26, 2011	Bombing attack on a beer garden in Maiduguri leaving 25 dead and 12 injured
July 10, 2011	Bombing at the All Christian Fellowship Church in Suleja Niger State
July 11, 2011	The University of Maiduguri temporarily closes down its campus citing security concerns
August 12, 2011	Prominent Muslim Cleric Liman Bana is shot dead by Boko Haram
August 26, 2011	2011 Abuja bombing
November 4, 2011	2011 Damaturu attacks
December 25, 2011	December 2011 Nigeria bombings
January 5–6, 2012	January 2012 Nigeria attacks
January 20, 2012	January 2012 Kano bombings
January 28, 2012	Nigerian army says it killed 11 Boko Haram insurgents
February 8, 2012	Boko Haram claims responsibility for a suicide bombing at the army headquarters in Kaduna.
February 16, 2012	Another prison break staged in central Nigeria; 119 prisoners are released, one warden killed.
March 8, 2012	Christopher McManus, abducted in 2011 by a splinter group Boko Haram, was killed, together with another hostage.
May 31, 2012	During a Joint Task Force raid on a Boko Haram den, it was reported that 5 sect members and a German hostage were killed.

Date	Place of Operation
June 3, 2012	15 church-goers were killed and several injured in a church bombing in Bauchi state. Boku Haram claimed responsibility through spokesperson Abu Qaqa.
June 17, 2012	Suicide bombers strike three churches in the Kaduna State. At least 50 people were killed. 130 bodies were found in Plateau State. It is presumed they were killed by Boko Haram members.
October 3, 2012	Around 25–46 people were massacred in the town of Mubi, in Nigeria, during a night-time raid.
March 18, 2013	2013 Kano Bus bombing: At least 22 killed and 65 injured, when a suicide car bomb exploded at Kano bus station.
May 7, 2013	At least 55 killed and 105 inmates freed in coordinated attacks on army barracks, a prison and police post in Bama town.
July 6, 2013	Yobe State school shooting: 42 people, mostly students, were killed in a school attack in northeast Nigeria.

SOURCE: Ayodeji Bayo Ogunrotifa, (2013) "Class Theory of Terrorim: A Study of Boko Haram" *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol 3 No 1; Also see http//en. Wikipedia.org/wiki/Boko_Haram. Retrieved on September 3rd, 2013.

A cursory peruse of Table 1 above suggests that between 2010 and 2013 there were twenty-six attacks carried out by Boko Haram. Out of these attacks, the least were in 2010. In 2011, there were eleven attacks and the apotheosis of the attacks came in 2012, with thirteen attacks alone. The table should not be taken as covering all the activities of Boko Haram, as this pre-dates 2010. Yet it is relevant for the reader to have a broad view of its activities. These attacks were mostly in the Northern parts of Nigeria and calls into question why and what the origins of Boko Haram are. There is no doubt that countless accounts have been given as to the origins of Boko Haram, but for a more profound appreciation of this paper, a re-capitulation is absolutely necessary. This paper therefore becomes relevant as it adds in its small way to the budding literature on Boko Haram.

Staking the Study Area

Like most of Africa today, Cameroon is a colonial construct. It has passed through three colonial masters, starting with the German administration, which lasted from 1884 to the outbreak of World War One. After the war, the country was partitioned between France and Britain. France took 4/5 of the territory and Britain took 1/5. Both administered their territory as Mandated and Trusteeship zones under the auspices of the League of Nations and United Nations respectively. Britain administered its portion of the territory as an appendage to the Eastern Provinces of Nigeria, while the French administered its own portion as part of the French Equatorial Africa. Both colonial powers carried different colonial policies in territory (Ngoh, 1999).

The outbreak of World War Two quickened the pace of nationalism in the post war period. Constitutional reforms grew apace and, by January 1960, French Cameroon gains

independence as *La Republique,* while British Cameroon, which, under Nigeria, lagged behind, gained its independence through a Plebiscite and a constitutional conference, which was meant to harmonize the constitutions. On October 1ˢᵗ, 1961, it gained independence through Reunification (Ngoh, 1999).

Evidently, from 1961, Cameroon became a bilingual country, with more than 250 ethnic groups. French Cameroon constituted the majority in terms of size and population, while British Cameroon was the minority. The constitutional making, coupled up with these disproportions, was to be a source of conflict for the new state in the coming years. This became known as *the Anglophone problem* as the Anglophones claimed with evidence that they were over marginalized in the country (Nkwi, 2004; Chereji & Lohkoko, 2012). The situation took a quicker turn in the 1990s with the economic downturn and re-democratization after the collapse of the Berlin Wall. As of 2000, the country became riddled with serious crisis ranging from mass unemployment, rising inflation, increase in the prices of foodstuffs and fuel. This made the country too vulnerable for any crisis that could occur in between its borders. This threat was to prove realistic with the operations of Boko Haram in Nigeria.

The Historical Roots of Boko Haram

Several views and schools of thought in relation to the origin of Boko Haram have been cropped up with various arguments about the origins of Boko Haram. One of these views stipulates that Boko Haram is based on the acknowledgment of Osama bin Laden's popularity after the attacks of 9/11 and the strong unpopularity the West faces among a population that is very poor and feels betrayed by its Westernized and/or Western-educated elite. In this sense, Boko Haram is an ultra-violent social movement that has deep roots in the social and economic marginalization of a large section of Nigeria's northern population. This highlights the issue of the divergent (and largely unequal) economic and social dynamics of Northern versus Southern states in Nigeria (Pham, 2011& 2012; Elkaim, 2012; Marchal, 2012; Rogers, 2012). Accordingly, this school of thought gives the impression that Boko Haram got its inspiration and rise to prominence because of Al-Queda, and of Osama Bin Laden, who orchestrated the bombings and ultimate destruction of the twin towers on September 9, 2001.

Another school of thought headed by Aghedo & Osumah (2012, p. 858-863) suggested that Boko Haram could be understood as one group among many. He noted that the group has existed under a variety of names, including "*Ahlulsunna wai'jama'ah hijra* and… the 'Nigerian Taliban' and 'Yusufiyyah' sect", and that the group probably exists in two main factions. The scholars further state that the "country's porous borders" are facilitating and helping the group in terms of movement of people and ammunition as well as its growth in the sub region.

The third school holds that the creation of The Sokoto Caliphate, which was established by Uthman dan Fodio in 1804 to rule parts of what is now Northern Nigeria, Niger and Northern Cameroon in the late 19th century, has a direct relation with the origins of Boko Haram (Ekem, 2012; Thomson, 2012; Hills, 2012). Ever since it fell under British rule in 1903, there has been resistance among the area's Muslims to Western education. Boko Haram was conceived on the basis of previous Islamic revivalist experiences in Nigeria. Its main affiliation is related to the *jama't izalat al bid'a fia iqamat as sunna* (society of removal of innovation and reestablishment of the sunna), known as izala or *ffian izal.* This movement is a *fiahhabi,* anti-sufi movement established in 1978 in Jos by Sheikh Ismaila Idris (1937-2000). It was one of the fastest-growing Islamic reform movements in Nigeria. The movement was very much shaped by the teachings of Sheikh Abubakar Gumi (1922-1992), a leading Islamist pioneer of reform in 20th-century Nigeria. Sheikh Gumi campaigned against sorcery and witchcraft and promoted Islamic education for women until his death in 1992, when *izala* suffered an acrimonious split between two factions within the movement (Jos based and Kaduna based) and as a result appears to have lost most of its authority and credibility among Nigerian Muslims. The two factions eventually reconciled in 2011. This school, in short, shows that Boko Haram is related to another group within Nigeria.

Furthermore, another school which is headed by Hansen & Aliyu Musa, (2013) uses the Martinique scholar, Frantz Fanon's work, *The Wretched of the Earth*, to understand the emergence of Boko Haram. The scholars suggest Fanon's concept of 'the wretched' remains relevant and useful. Apparently, they used the notion of racial foreigner, in this case the British, to position Fanon and how he could make sense of the understanding of Boko Haram. These scholars further draw a link that sees all violence in the north as due to Boko Haram, with AQIM of Mali as influence upon it, rather than affiliates of the latter group being responsible. For instance, the kidnappings of the British and Italian nationals in Sokoto had their roots in the racial xenophobia which implicitly was embedded Fanon's treatise. This school was supported by Forest (2011).

These various narratives about the origins of Boko Haram are relevant to our study. But we need a complete historical compendium to grasp a fuller understanding of the group. The interconnectivity of world states and the attempted hegemony of the West on people of the universe have serious repercussions on the beginnings of Boko Haram in Nigeria. The main objectives of Boko Haram are to do away with anything pro-Western. It goes without saying that Boko Haram is out to purify a civilization that has been adulterated. If these two objectives are tenable, then it is realistic to see the very existence and survival of the group in the light of other global groups which have similar objectives in Africa and the world at large. Boko Haram's origins therefore could be linked to Al-Qaeda; AQIM of Mali, whose activities stretch as far as Algeria, Al-Shabab of Somalia, and Janjaweed of Darfur. It will be a historical misnomer if we attempt to

understand one of these groupings, even if it was Boko Haram, without understanding the involvement and interconnecting cobweb structures of the others. All these groupings have been labeled in the Western media as terrorist organisations because they share one main common objective, which is to give Western civilization a death blow.

Closely related to the above point is the geo-political and/or common historical benchmarks which this Northern Nigeria area shares. Northern Nigeria's ecology is what geographers have known for a very long time as the Sahel. This zone saw the rise of empires which embraced trade as far back as the 10th Century. The ancient empires of the Western Sudan, which started with Ghana, Mali, Kanem, Songhai, and Kanem-Bornu, existed and survived because of Islam, whose rulers embraced trade across the Sahara desert (Abubakar, 1977; Ajayi & Crowder, 1974; Ajayi & Espie, 1969). The empires rose and fell, and the last of the empires was Kanem-Bornu. A cursory observation of the operation of Boko Haram and other sister organisations indicates that they are standing on the ground of the previous Islamic empires of Western Sudan. To add to this point, in 1804, the jihads were launched in Sokoto. The aims and objectives of these holy wars show a similarity with the objectives of Boko Haram and other organisations in the region.

The jihads represented a religious war, albeit its execution and consequence which showed some political indications. As a war to purify Islam, which the adherents felt, rightly or wrongly, that had been compromised, it was fought with renewed ferocity and intensity. The jihads of the 19th century were carried out under the guidance of Uthman dan Fodio against the Hausa states of Northern Nigeria. There is enough mentioning of the name in the literature but the missing link is who he really was and what he really wanted, as well as the relation between his movement and today's Boko Haram.

Uthman dan Fodio, who descended from the Fulbe Toronkawa migrant clan from Futa Toro in the fifteenth century, was born in 1754 in the Hausa state of Gobir. While growing up, it is assumed that he undertook a thorough study of Islamic theology, law and mysticism in the Arabic language. After mastering his studies he gradually and systematically built up a following, and consequently strained the relations that had existed between himself and the traditional rulers of the neighbouring Hausa states (Njeuma, 1978; Fanso, 1989). In 1788-1789 he eluded an assassination attempt which was plotted by the sultan of Gobir. Because of his escape, negotiations were opened to establish peace between Uthman and the sultan, and the former was given the right to spread Islam in the sultanate. Through that preaching Uthman further gained considerable influence and more adherents among the Gobirawa, much to the indignation of the Sultan (Fanso, 1989, p. 81).

It is assumed that at the age of 40, Uthman received, in a dream, instructions to 'unsheathe the sword of truth'. He immediately began preaching that war against the nonbe-

lievers was not only inevitable but necessary, as sanctioned by Prophet Mohammed. The indignant sultan attempted to restrict Uthman and his preaching, while strengthening of Islam in his state resulted in a serious clash between the two. This clash was quite particular and led to the decision by Uthman and his followers to get away from Gobir (to make a hijra) in order to prepare for a holy war. In 1804, open hostilities between Uthman forces and Gobir began. After several battles, Uthman's forces defeated Gobir, and he established his headquarters at Gwandu. Thus the Gobir wars saw the beginning of jihads in Northern Nigeria, which were to extend to the entire sub region. Fulbe emissaries from all over Hausaland and Fumbina went to secure Uthman's blessing and returned to their various states with the flag to propagate the jihad (Adeleye, 1971; Njeuma, 1978). By the time Uthman had established his headquarters at Sokoto, and was at the head of an emerging Islamic Empire, he was known as Shehu, Sultan or Caliph of the Sokoto Caliphate. From this Caliphate, his power radiated to different directions with the sole aim of purifying Islam from Futa Toru to Futa Borno – an area that swallows almost the whole of Sahelian West African countries today (Last, 1977). What is crucial is that this brand of Islam was imported from the Middle East and it passed through North Africa and the Sahara desert to West Africa. It was never Westernized.

The caliphate did not survive forever. European imperialism in Africa suffered the catastrophic effects of the achievements on indigenous nation building and civilizations. First, during the Anglo-German partition of Adamawa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, most parts of this empire fell into either German or British hands. The imposition of colonial rule saw the Yola Emirate annihilated, with parts going to modern day Nigeria and Cameroon. When the British colonized Nigeria, Northern Nigeria fell under the grandiose policy of Indirect Rule. Through this policy, the British empowered traditional rulers, especially the emirs and at the same time produced educated elite. This was the beginning of the erosion of the caliphate. The Futa Toro and Futa Bondu which covered the Senegambia and Mali areas witnessed the French onslaught and collapse giving rise to the French Equatorial Africa (Webster & Boahen, 1980, p. 1-46).

What is important again and even more relevant is the relationship between the above literature and Boko Haram. This has a direct relation with Boko Haram in several ways. Boko Haram operates in Northern Nigeria just as the jihadist had done in the 19th Century. Just as Uthman dismissed the adulterated Islam, Boko Haram's teachings today have rejected Western civilization and the secular Nigerian state which they have described as *dagut* ("evil") and unworthy of allegiance in an effort to replace it with a purified Islamic regime. One will not be completely wrong to think that Boko Haram is standing on the footprints of the Sokoto Caliphate that was devastated by the colonial forces. The group's aims are more to do with self-preservation than political or religious, and make a compelling case for their mafia-like organization (Davis, 2012).

Some of Boko Haram's Activities

From the discussion so far, the Boko Haram uprising was not the first forceful attempt to impose a religious agenda in Nigeria. Violence based on religion in Nigeria is indeed neither new nor confined to Muslims. Over the last 30 years what has changed is that religious dissent is based in cities and not, as before, in the countryside (Olaniyi, 2011). Moreover, dissent is increasingly violent, in part because it was urban and therefore in closer proximity to the urban centered authorities. Boko Haram appears to be an original phenomenon in Nigerian history, with targeted assassinations nor car bombings against official buildings, but a sustained campaign of attacks over several months. In the last 30 years, one may quote several precedents: the Maitatsine uprisings of 1980 in Kano (Adesoji, 2011), and 1982 in Kaduna and Bulumkutu, 1984 in Yola and 1985 in Bauchi are often compared to the present situation. Following the Maitatsine crises were several other major clashes. These include the Kano metropolitan riot of October 1982; the Ilorin riot of March 1986; the University of Ibadan crisis of May 1986; the Kafanchan/ Kaduna/ Zaria/ Funtua religious riots of March 1987; the Kaduna poly-technic riot of March 1988; the Bayero university crisis of 1989; the Bauchi/Katsina riots of March /April 1991; the Kano riots of October 1991; the Zangon-Kataf riot of May 1992; the Kano civil disturbance of December 1991; and the Jos crisis of April 1994. Similarly, between 1999 and 2008, 28 other conflicts were reported, the most prominent being the recurrent crises in Jos, in 2001, 2002, 2004 and 2008 (for more details see Schwartz, 2010). This litany of attacks shows that many other attacks have been going on in Nigeria besides the Boko Haram. What makes Boko Haram's so unique is their objectives and the sustained ambition to carve out a theocratic Northern Nigeria.

Their activities have often occurred in the Northern Nigerian states, which include, amongst others, Bauchi, Kano, Yobe, Bornu. Their weapons include AK 47 rifles, locally made rifles, double barrels guns, bows and quivers, walkie-talkies (Ibeh, 2013; Adesoji, 2011). With these weapons, it is possible for Boko Haram to attack civilians and even the security forces that stand in their way, to achieve their objectives. In August 2011, the group carried out suicide attacks on the UN headquarters in Abuja, in which more than 20 people were killed. All these attacks have had serious repercussions not only on Nigeria but on their neighbors, also.

Boko-Haram in Cameroon

The consequences of Boko Haram are numerous and varied. The risks presented by the militant group are amplified primarily through the prevalence of porous borders in the West African sub-region. Cameroon is a potential target due to its proximity to Nigeria, as well as to their porous borders, their demographics and their socio-economic realities notwithstanding. Newspaper reports and individual reports indicate that members of the extremist group are increasingly present in Lagdo, a cosmopolitan settlement in the

north Region, causing fear and insecurity/uncertainty amongst the population."They are easily identifiable by their bizarre dressing. "They wear long beards and red or black headscarves" (Tembang, 2012) Peter Kum, a reporter with the French *La Nouvelle Expression,* a daily newspaper reported Tuesday, January 3, 2012. According to him, since several months before, Lagdo locals had testified that the strangers were combing surrounding villages and actively preaching anti-Western sermons, establishing units and proposing huge amounts of money to those willing to follow them.

The Nigerian border with Cameroon is of 1,690 km and many ethnic groups are divided by the border. The porous nature of this border heightens the potential spread of terrorist activities into the country. The vulnerability to the spread of Boko Haram is compounded by the fact that Cameroon shares a border with the Northern Nigerian states, where Boko Haram already exerts a strong influence. This proximity to Northern Nigeria is therefore a particular threat to its security, given the relative ease with which Boko Haram's elements can cross into the country, as it faces a risk with only two of the four Nigerian states bordering Cameroon (Taraba and Adamawa states).

It should be noted that citizens of Cameroon have been suspected of participating in Boko Haram attacks in Nigeria as well. This alleged involvement implies that Boko Haram activities could already be spreading or have already spread across Nigeria's borders and that it could possibly already be conducting some of its activities, such as training recruits, and planning and executing terrorist acts, in neighboring countries. Although there is little evidence, the probability cannot be under looked. Boko Haram also uses neighboring countries as safe havens. Allegations that some Boko Haram militants have migrated to Cameroon after committing attacks in Northern Nigeria are rife. In addition, there have been incidences of Boko Haram attacks on the border between Nigeria and Cameroon. The May 21 suicide attack on a police station in the Taraba state, on Nigeria's border with Cameroon, illustrates the growing level of insecurity at this border post. Although Boko Haram has not claimed responsibility for this incident, the attack is in line with the *modus operandi* of the militant group and, needless to say, exposes the vulnerability of this border area. If Boko Haram has relations with sister organisations like AQIM and Al-Queda, and Janjaweed sympathized with Boko Haram, they must have been helping out as havens of the militias.

Cameroon's vulnerability to terrorism is compounded and complicated by socio-economic malaise and dissatisfaction with the government, which exist in the country, and citizens could easily fraternize with groups like Boko Haram to destabilize the existing peace. But there is no doubt that if left unchecked, the combination of these two elements might allow for fundamentalist ideology to thrive and result in the sprouting of terrorist activities in this country. It is therefore crucial to prevent the movement and infiltration of any elements such as Boko Haram into both countries. But the June 2013 events showed that Cameroon could not be exempted from the activities of Boko Haram.

The kidnapping of a French tourist and subsequent claim by Boko Haram caused panic both within the government and among civilians as well.

Border Security Measures

The governments of Nigeria and Cameroon have made enormous efforts to strengthen border security and prevent the spread of Boko Haram's activities into their regions. This shows the magnitude of Boko Haram's activities in the country. For example, the Nigerian government closed down several times sections of its border with Cameroon as part of stricter border control measures. However, this was insufficient and tighter, more efficient border control measures need to be put in place to prevent the movement of Boko Haram and other criminal elements across borders. This attempt failed because the borders are mostly very porous and one and the same cultural stock of people straddle the borders. In addition, the closure of borders provokes further consequences. It is notable, for instance, that citizens in Cameroon and Nigeria rely on cross-border trade for economic sustenance. For instance, the closure of Cameroon-Nigerian borders greatly hampered trade in that part of Cameroon and Nigeria. Nigerians in particular have borne the brunt of the closure of their border with Cameroon as drought in Northern Nigeria means that many citizens rely on trade with Nigeria for food. The closure of this border has compounded the food shortage problem in Niger.

Other efforts towards border security include the agreement to create a Nigeria-Cameroon trans-border security committee. One of those agreements was signed on February 22, 2012 by the Nigerian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Olugbena Ashiru, who represented the Federal Government of Nigeria, and the Vice-Prime Minister and Minister Delegate of the Presidency of Cameroon, Amadou Ali, who signed on behalf of the Cameroonian government. According to Ali, the agreement showed that confidence has been restored through permanent dialogue, consultation and re-enforcement of cooperation between Cameroon and Nigeria. On the whole, the Agreement was needed because the members of Boko Haram are well noted for entering Northern Cameroon after causing havoc in Nigeria. The bilateral agreement was meant to establish a security committee as part of measures to further look for possible ways to deny the insurgents and criminal elements easy access through the Nigeria-Cameroon boundary into either Cameroon or Nigeria.

The Concerns in Government Circles in Cameroon

Politically, when the insurgence bombed a police headquarter on June 16, 2011 at Kano, its impact was also on Cameroon. The stakeholders in Cameroon government spoke in panic about a possible infiltration into the country by elements of the radical Boko Haram sect in Nigeria. Coming on the heels of Presidential elections, the government sources did not take it lightly. Historically, the concern was made more serious by the

fact that military people who attempted to overthrow President Paul Biya in the 1984 *coup d'etat* were drawn from the same Northern regions bordering Northern Nigeria which are seen as subject to the perceived infiltration by Boko Haram Islamists. "Should it be true that the Boko Haram elements who have crossed the border into Cameroon contain some of the military people who attempted to overthrow Biya in 1984, then there is a lot of trouble in the works for us both before, during and after the presidential election", said a senior government official who chose to remain anonymous for fear of repercussions from government. The ruling Cameroon Peoples' Democratic Movement (CPDM) party has reasons to worry as the ranks of the military are heavily populated by Northern personnel, some of who were accused of being behind the 1984 coup attempt. Furthermore, many of those implicated in that coup fled and took refuge in neighbouring countries, especially in Northern Nigeria.

No doubt, the border zones of both countries have many families who live on either side of the territorial divide and who have much in common. And with the porous boundaries, international border lines tend to fade in the blur. After the 1984 coup attempt, it was rumored that thousands of Northern Cameroonians were extra-judicially killed and buried in mass graves in Biya's home region in the south. Others, such as the current Minister for Communication, Issa Tchiroma Bakary, were tried and sentenced to long prison terms. Another victim was Daokole Daissala, who ironically helped to salvage CPDM out of defeat in the 1992 legislative elections when his MDR faction struck a coalition deal with the ruling party to enable it retain control of Parliament. Mr Daissala was eventually appointed Minister of State for Posts and Telecommunication. The man the Northern putsches were fighting to restore to power in 1984 was Biya's predecessor as Head of State, President Ahmadou Ahidjo.President Ahidjo was popular among his Northern compatriots, and much as the authorities seek to portray matters otherwise, resentment of the Yaounde regime remains high among northerners. Common logic therefore holds that most Northern Muslims are still sympathetic with their man Ahidjo. With the arrival of the Boko Haram in Cameroon, it became obvious that the Biya regime will not take it lightly as it was affected both directly and indirectly.

Furthermore, while presiding at a December 15, 2011 security coordination conclave devoted to maintaining peace and order before, during and after the 2011 end-of-year festive period, the Highest Public civil servant of the region, the Governor of the North Region, El HadjGambo Haman did not mince words. He instructed security forces to be on the alert, noting the increasing influx and presence of Boko Haram militants in parts of the region. "The Boko Haram being chased from Nigeria's Northeast, as well as thousands of runaway Chadian soldiers in irregular situation here must be closely monitored to avoid unwanted trouble throughout the national territory," he warned. Separate sources suspect that the presence of the extremist Boko Haram militants has soared steadily following increasing clampdowns on them by the Nigerian government, especially following the Christmas Day blasts that left close to 50 dead. Security sources

and administrative officials in the North Region, speaking on condition of anonymity, say that for the time being, there is no need to panic (Timchia, 2012). They claim that intensified intelligence monitoring implies the activities of the terrorists are under control.

As a matter of fact Cameroonian authorities and civilians both have been wary of the Boko Haram's activities into local communities and mosaaques. Historically, there are cultural and religious similarities between Cameroon's Far North Region and neighbouring Northeastern Nigeria. One of the worst violence acts that occurred in Northern Nigeria in 1980 was caused by a Cameroonian cleric, Mohammed Marwa, who led the Matatsine insurrections. Cameroon North and Nigeria's north share similar deepseated Muslim, political grievances and the likelihood is that Boko Haram's ideology could trigger off political problems in Cameroon, as well. This was evident when the Cameroonian political analyst and lecturer in international law at the International relations institute (IRIC) said:

> Cameroon should worry about Boko Haram. We have a civilized Islamic practice in Cameroon. However, we are not sure that we won't have radicals one day. Boko Haram's fight is due to the economic and political context of northern Nigeria, with disputes over the equal sharing of national resources. Cameroon finds itself in a similar context and so measures must be taken (Tembang, 2012).

Such a statement coming from a high profile political and intellectual and illustrates how much of a threat Boko Haram poses to Cameroon. Surprisingly, the government strategy to curb the excesses of Boko Haram has been, for the most part, military. More than 1,600 soldiers have been removed from their barracks and deployed strategically in the Far North region in localities close to the border with Nigeria. At the expense of the military, the ordinary civilian on the street appears not to have any knowledge of what Islam is neither does he/she know what Islamism is all about. Rather than giving a firm knowledge to the inhabitants on this, the government has quarantined troops around the border. Unfortunately, the border is 1,690 km long and they could not possibly have troops all along the entire width and breadth of the border.

For some residents of Cameroon's Far North Region, the troop deployments and increased security measures seem to be causing more fear than Boko Haram. According to Yousouf, "this period is very difficult for us. Our fear is not exactly Boko Haram, but the soldiers' presence. Everyone here is presumed to be a suspect by soldiers…but we have been collaborating with the security forces by giving information and reporting suspected persons"

Mosques and Koranic schools affected

The mosques as well as the koranic schools are areas for the dissemination of Muslim culture. The appearance of Boko Haram in Cameroon sent ripples down the spines of these structures. Collective oral sources within the Moslem community testified that

there were indicators that militants of Boko Haram were in Cameroon and were consequently preaching their doctrines in some mosques. The civil administrators were quite swift to act. On February 2, 2012, the Divisional Officer for Limbe, some 1500 kilometers from Northern Cameroon, Tsanga Foe, closed a mosque when there were allegations that members of Boko Haram had infiltrated it. In a related manner, the Divisional Officer for Wouri, Douala, the economic capital of Cameroon, Benard Okalia Bilai convened Imams and Muslim community leaders and instructed them to come up with ways of repelling any establishment of the Boko Haram sect in Douala and even other parts of Cameroon. In the meeting, he said:

> "We have been informed of attempts of Boko Haram infiltration. Their doctrine is anti social as it condemns Western education. It's a doctrine that condemns what today constitutes the values of our society and top authorities of the country don't accept that such a hateful dogma is established in our communities, and thus the necessity of this meeting. We must be vigilant" (Tembang, 2012).

In Yaounde, Hayatou Muhamadou, the head of Islamic studies in the central mosque said: "we don't permit unidentified preachers in mosques and the Islamic community in Cameroon has been warned against such practices…what we cannot guarantee is avoiding unknown worshippers in our local mosque. It is difficult to point out extremists in worship" (Tembang, 2012).This suggests that although precautions could be taken by the mosque authorities, it still remained very doubtful whether security was a 100 percent tight, as it was difficult to avoid unidentified extremist worshippers.

Boko Haram and Refugees in Cameroon etc

Refugees the world over are outcomes of war and natural resources. At a purely social level, the activities of Boko Haram have had serious consequences on the neighboring states, by the number of refugees it has produced in Cameroon and in particular in the Northern Region of Cameroon. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNCHR) reported that no fewer than 3,000 Nigerians have fled into Cameroon as a result of the activities of Boko Haram, adding to the already 100,000 refugees (Timchia, 2013). The arrival in Niger actually compounded and complicated an already parlous situation – the UNCHR confirmed that there were already 6,000 refugees and most of them were children who came from rural villages across the border and from the towns of Maiduguri and Baga in Northern Nigeria. Chad, a third possible destination for the Nigerian refugees fleeing Boko Haram's activities, merely closed its borders although it already had 155 refugees from Nigeria (UNCHR, 2012). Following the fatal Christmas Day attacks in Nigeria claimed by the group, authorities in Cameroon's Far North Region have also reinforced surveillance on all fronts. Several Quran learning centers have been reportedly shut down and Islam teachers were being closely watched by intelligence operatives.

Trade is affected

The activities of Boko Haram have affected cross border trade between Nigeria and Cameroon., which sustains the local economy deals in commodities that include onions, rice, maize, livestock and other agricultural goods, which are exported from the Northern region of Cameroon to Nigeria. Fertilizer, sugar, textiles, 'zua-zua'(petrol) and electronics are imported from Nigeria. According to Doudou Yaouba, a trader in Maroua, the regional capital of the Far North, who exports groundnuts to Nigeria's Borno state and imports sugar and textiles, "this Boko Haram thing has resulted in tight border security and continuous checks, making business impossible to us. This was worsened by the kidnapping of the French tourists. Today all the goods must be checked. I am thinking of starting another business due to the security restrictions".

The Northern Region also depends on Nigerian petrol known in its creole language as 'zua-zua'. This petrol which was often smuggled across the Nigerian-Cameroonian boundary from Nigeria has significantly dropped because of the stricter border controls. This has led to an increase in the price per liter from 500CFA Francs to 650 CFA Francs. Joel Alim, a 'zua-zua, trader in Maroua lamented that "there are so many border checkpoints and its is very difficult for zua-zua suppliers to get through petrol which at the moment costs 650 CFA Francs as compared to 400 CFA Francs before the outbreak of Boko Haram and its activities in Nigeria".

The fertilizer import from Nigeria actually ceased. The Nigerian authorities have banned the production and distribution and hence its export. The Nigerian government had felt that fertilizer was used by Boko Haram to manufacture explosives and bombs which they used in their operations. Similarly, cattle trade was also affected. An important cattle trader, Ousmanou Mamadou, remarked that "more than 1,000 cattle are traded into Nigeria weekly from Cameroon. But the movement of the herds has been very slow and even blocked at certain points by the Nigerian security". Trade in general was negatively affected through the activities of Boko Haram. Trade and customs officials in Maroua maintained that nearly 80 percent of its regional economy has shrunk since the closure of the borders as a result of the activities of Boko Haram in neighboring Nigeria.

Concluding Remarks

I started my story with a short snapshot from two unrelated events, which took place in Northern Cameroon, which was the kidnapping of a French family in that part of the country and the conference of heads of states which took place in Yaounde to find ways to tighten maritime security. As far as the kidnapping of the armed militia was concerned, it was evidently orchestrated by an armed militia group in Nigeria, widely known as Boko Haram. That event had wider implications in the region than meet the eye. It was coming on the heels of activities which Boko Haram had carried out in Nigeria, one of Africa's largest and most populated countries. While anxious to espouse

their ideology which was purely anti-Western and putting in place a theocratic system especially in Northern Nigeria, it has wreaked havoc in Nigeria causing panic in the neighboring states of Niger, Chad, and Cameroon and to a little extend Benin. Using a wide range of literature, this essay has accomplished one thing: it has demonstrated with enough evidence that the Boko Haram affected Cameroon in a number of ways. These various ways are political, social and economic. The government circles and the local population received Boko Haram with fear as evident from what the government officials said. On a final note, if proper care is not taken, the ramifications of Boko Haram in the coming years will be more than what this paper has sketched out.

References

1. Abubakar, S. (1977). *The Lamibe of Fombina: A Political History of Adamawa, 1809-1901.* London, England: Oxford University Press.
2. Adeleye, R.A. (1971). *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria*. London, England: Longman
3. Adesoji, A. (2010) ."The Boko Haram Uprising and Islamic Revivalism in Nigeria", *Africa Spectrum*, Vol 45 No 2, pp. 95-108.
4. Adesoji, A. O. (2011). "Between Maitatsine and Boko Haram: Islamic Fundamentalism and the Response of the Nigerian State", *Africa Today*, Vol 57 No 4, pp. 98-119.
5. Adibe, J. (2012). "Boko Haram: One Sect, Conflicting Narratives", *African Renaissance*, Vol 9 No 1, pp. 47-64.
6. Agbiboa, D. E. (2013). "Ethno-Religious conflicts and the Elusive Quest for National Identity in Nigeria", *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol 44 No 1, pp. 3-30.
7. Aghedo, I. & Osumah, O. (2012). "The Boko Haram Uprising: How Should Nigeria Respond? *Third World Quarterly*, Vol 33 No 5, pp. 853-69.
8. Ajayi, A.J.F & Espie I.(1969). *A Thousand Years of West African History.* Ibadan, Nigeria.
9. Ajayi, J.F.A. & Crowder, M. (Eds). *History of West Africa,* Vol.1. London, England: University of Oxford Press.
10. Akokegh, A. F. (2012). "Boko Haran: A 21st Century Challenge in Nigeria" " *European Scientific Journal*, Vol 8 No 21, pp. 46-55.
11. Austen, P.K. (2010). *One Thousand Languages: Living Endangered and Lost.* California: California Press.
12. Bagaji, A. S. Y. (2012). Boko Haram and the Recurring Bomb Attacks in Nigeria: Attempt to Impose" *Cross-Cultural Communication*, Vol 8 No 1, pp. 33-41.
13. Barrett, R. (2012). "Terrorism Finance: Preventing the Financing pf Terrorism" *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law*, Vol 44 No 3, pp. 719-36.
14. Chereji, C.-R. & Lohkoko, A. E (2012). "Cameroon: The Anglophone problem". *Conflict Studies Quarterly*, 1, pp.3-23.
15. Cook, D. (2011). "Boko Haram: A Prognosis" James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, Rice University.

16. Danjibo, N.D. (2009)."Islamic Fundamentalism and Sectarian Violence: The Maitatsine and Boko Haram Crises in Northern Nigeria" in Clément Boutillier (ed.) *Proceedings of the 2009 IFRA Nigeria Conference in Zaria*.

17. Elkaim, Z. (2012). "Boko Haram: The Rise, Success and Continued efficacy of Insurgency in Nigeria" ICT Working Paper Series.

18. Fanso, V.G. (1989). *Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges*, Vol.1: *From prehistoric times to the Nineteenth century*. London, England: Macmillan Publishers.

19. Forest, J. J. F. (2011). "Al-Queda's Influence in Sub-Saharan Africa: Myths, Realities and Possibilities" Perspectives *on Terrorism*, Vol 5, No 3-4, pp. 63-80.

20. Golwa, J. P. & Alozieuwa, S. H.O. (2012). "Perspectives on Nigeria's Security Challenges: The Niger Delta Militancy and Boko Haram Insurgency Compared", *African Renaissance*, Vol 9 No 1, pp. 65-90.

21. Hansen, W. W. & Aliyu Musa, U. (2013). "Fanon, the Wretched and Boko Haram" *Journal of African and Asian Studies*, advance online publication.

22. Hills, A. (2012). "Policing a Plurality of Words: The Nigerian Police in Metropolitan Kano" *Africa Affairs*, Vol 111 No 442, pp. 46-66.

23. Ibeh, N. (2013). "Boko Haram, members flee to Niger as Nigerian Military arrest 55 terrorists in Yobe, Borno" *Premium Times,* Monday September 9.

24. Ifeka, C. (2010). "War on Terror": Africom, the Kleptocratic State and Under-Class Militancy in West African-Nigeria" *Concerned Africa Scholars*, No 85.

25. International Crisis Group (2010). "Northern Nigeria: Background to Conflict", Africa Report168.

26. Johnson, T. (2011). "Boko Haram" *Council on Foreign Relations*, 27 December.

27. Kashi, E. & Watts, M. J. (2008). *Curse of the Black Gold*, New York: Powerhouse.

28. Last, M. (1977). *The Sokoto Caliphate.* Longman, England: Longman.

29. Last, M. (2007). "Muslims and Christians in Njigeria: An Economy of Political Panic". *The Round Table*, Vol 96 No 392, pp. 605-616.

30. Last, M. (2009). "The Pattern of Dissent: *Boko Haram* in Nigeria 2009", *Annual Review of Islam in Africa*, No 10, pp. 7-11.

31. Last, M. (2011). "Northern Nigerian Militancy: Who and What are Boko Harem" *African Arguments*, July 15.

32. Loimeier, R. (2012). "Boko Haram: The Development of a Militant Religious Movement in Nigerian". *Africa Spectrum*, Vol 47 No 2-3, pp. 137-55.

33. Maiangwa, B.; Okeke U.; Ufo, Whetho, Ayo and Onapajo, Hakeem (2012). "Baptism by Fire: Boko Haram and the reign of Terror in Nigeria". *Africa Today*, Vol 59 No 2, pp. 40-57.

34. Mantzikos, I. (2010). "The Absence of the State in Northern Nigeria: The Case of Boko Haram", *African Renaissance*, Vol 7 No 1, pp. 57-62.

35. Musa, A. O. (2012). "Socio-Economic Incentives: NewMedia and the Boko Haram Campaign of Violence in Northern Nigeria". *Journal of African Media Studies*, Vol 4 No 1.

36. Mwajiru, M. (2001). Conflict Management in Africa: Lessons Learnt and Future Strategies; Nairobi: Centre for Conflict Research (CCR) and Friedrich Ebert Stifling (FES).

37. Ngoh, V.J. (1999). "The Origins of the marginalization of former Southern Cameroon, 1961-1966: A Historical Analysis. *Journal of Third World Studies,* vol.xvi, No.1.

38. Njeuma, M.Z. (1978). *Fulani Hegemony in Yola (Old Adamawa), 1809-1902*. Yaounde, Cameroon: CEPER.

39. Nkwi, P. N. (1987*). Traditional Diplomacy: A Study of Inter-Chiefdom Relations in the Western Grassfields, North West Province of Cameroon*. Yaounde, Cameroon: Publication of the Department of Sociology, University of Yaounde.

40. Nkwi, W.G. (2004). "*The Anglophone Problem" in Cameroon: From a Federal to Unitary State.* Limbe, Cameroon: Presbook.

41. Ogunrotifa, A. B. (2013). "Class Theory of Terrorism: A Study of Boko Haram". *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol 3 No 1, pp. 27-59.

42. Ojo, E. O. (2010). "Boko Haram: Nigeria's extra-Judicial State". *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, Vol 12 No 2, pp. 45-62.

43. Olaniyi, R. O. (2011). "Hisbah and Sharia Law Enforcement in Metropolitan Kano". *Africa Today*, Vol 57 No 4, pp. 70-96.

44. Omede, A. J. (2011). "Nigeria Analysing the Security Challenge of the Goodluck Jonathan Administration". *Canadian Social Science*, Vol 7 No 5, pp. 90-102.

45. Omitola, B. (2012). "Terrorism and the Nigerian Federation: The Challenges of Disintegration in the Fourth Republic". *African Security Review*, Vol 21 No 4, pp. 4-16.

46. Onapajo, H. & Uzodike, U. O. (2012). "Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria: Man, the State and the International System", *African Security Review*, Vol 21 No 3.

47. Onapajo, H. U. U. O. & Whetho, A. (2012). "Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria: The International Dimension". *South African Journal of International Affairs*, Vol 19 No 3, pp. 37-57.

48. Onuoha, F. C. (2010). "The Islamist Challenge: Nigeria's Boko Haram Crisis Explained". *African Security Review*, Vol 19 No 2, pp 54-67.

49. Pham, J. P. (2012). "Boko Haram's Evolving Threat" *Africa Security Brief,* No 20.

50. Pham, J. P. (2011). "The Dangerous 'Pragmatism' of Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb". *Journal of the Middle East and Africa*, Vol 2 No 1, pp. 15-29.

51. Pham, J. P. (2011). Foreign Influences and Shifting Horizons: The Ongoing Evolution of al Queda in the Islamic Maghreb". *Orbis*, Vol 55 No 2, pp. 240-54.

52. Popoola, I.S. (2012). "Press and Terroeism in Nigeria: A Discourse on Boko Haram". *Global Media Journal African Edition*, Vol 6 No 1, pp. 43-66.

53. Rodolico, J. (2012). "A Modern wired university grows in Nigeria". *Christian Science Monitor,* 6 August.

54. Rogers, P. (2012). "Nigeria: The Generic context of the Boko Haram Violence". *Oxford Research Group* briefing.

55. Schwartz, S. (2010). "Is Nigeria a Hotbed of Islamic Extremism". United States Institute of Peace Brief 27.

56. Tembang, S. (2012). "Boko Haram in Lagdo, Cameroon". *Africa Newsreporter,* Wednesday 11.

57. Timchia, Y. (2013). "Crackdown on Boko Haram sends Nigerian Refugees into Cameroon". *Africa Review,* June 19.

58. Yusha'u, M. J. (2012). "Representation of Boko Haram Discourses in the British Broadsheets". *Journal of Arab & Muslim Media Research*, Volume 5, Number 1, pp. 91-108.