### Artur WEJKSZNER

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7638-9708

DOI: 10.14746/ps.2020.1.21

# BOKO HARAM – THE EVOLUTION OF JIHAD ACTIVITY IN NIGERIA 2015–2019

This article aims to show the fundamental variables that impacted the evolution of the operations of Boko Haram in the second half of the 2010s. The temporal frame is dictated by the structural changes within the jihadist movement, which are embodied by the emergence of Islamic State in mid-2014. Several months later, in March 2015, Boko Haram became an affiliate of Islamic State. The period indicated in the title, however, constitutes only an episode in the relatively long history of this Nigerian terrorist organization, the activity of which can be divided – in the opinion of J. Peter Phamin – into at least four stages: (1) the rise of Islamic insurgency in Nigeria; (2) Boko Haram's inclusion into the structures of the global jihadist movement (which, in fact, meant its affiliation with Al Qaeda); (3) the organization's territorial expansion in Nigeria; and (4) the establishment of a province of Islamic State in Western Africa (Pham, 2016: 2-13). The latter has been essential to the history of Boko Haram so far. This stage was characterized by large-scale violence (in terms of the number of attacks and casualties) and focusing on strictly criminal activities which go far beyond the strategic and tactical framework of classical jihad activities, and demonstrates that Boko Haram has abandoned the role of being the vanguard in the global Islamic revolution

Classical jihad activities stand for the tactics propagated by Ayman az-Zawahiri, who took the position of the *emir* (chief commander) of Al Qaeda Central Command after the death of Usama ibn Laden. Divisions inside the jihadist movement were the outcome of the clash of two approaches to combating the enemies of Islam, namely the moderate radicalism of az-Zawahiri and the hyper-radicalism of Abu Musab al-Zarkawi, the "Founding Father" of Islamic State (Wejkszner, 2017: 106–108). The difference between these two approaches boiled down to the scale of violence applied and the choice of targets for attacks. Al-Zarkawi permitted attacks against Shiites, profanation of mosques, public executions of prisoners and employing the tactics of spectacular terrorism (the victims of which included also Sunnis). The same tactical guidelines were adopted and implemented by the members of Boko Haram, following their commander Abubakr Shekau (Celso, 2015: 263; Brakoniecka, 2015: 41–45).

## THE ORIGINS, STRATEGIC GOALS, STRUCTURE AND EVOLUTION OF BOKO HARAM

The group's name comes from two languages: Hausa and Arabic. The first word, *boko* is of Hausa origin (the first syllable is long, the second one is pronounced in

a low tone) and can be translated as "counterfeit" or "deception." The word *boko* is frequently used to denote a non-Islamic education. The second word, *haram*, means "forbidden" in Arabic (Femi, 2013: 266). The entire phrase, *boko haram*, can therefore be rendered as "non-Islamic education is forbidden" (Oftedal, 2013: 13). Another name of this group is *Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad* (people committed to the propagation of the Prophet Mohammed's teachings and Jihad) (Faluyi, Khan, Akinola 2019: 60; Piłaszewicz, 2012: 12).

The origins of radical jihadism in Nigeria date back to the mid-1990s. The first radical Islamist structures were initiated by their "Founding Father" and leader, Abubakah Lawn (Waldek, Jayasekara, 2011: 168) or Abubakar Lawan (Onuoha, 2010: 55). Mohammed Yusuf was one of the most famous first-generation leaders. Earlier, he was active in the Izala Society, a Salafi group established in the late 1970s which opposed all kinds of religious innovation (*bid'a*) (Anugwom, 2019: 47). He made up for his lack of formal education with religious fervor. In the 1980s, in the mosques of Maiduguri, he warned the Muslim community against secularization, materialism and succumbing to external influences. A visible result of adopting this attitude was his withdrawing from political life and focusing on building a socioreligious movement.

Initially, Boko Haram was referred to as the "Nigerian taliban" (or "Nigerian students") since its social base was provided by Islamic youths (mainly from Maiduguri) (Faluyi, Khan, Akinola, 2019: 61). The current name did not emerge until 2003–2005 to eventually spread in the late 2000s.

Since the beginning, Boko Haram has promoted the introduction of Sharia law, fighting against the Westernization of Nigerian society, deposing the political elite from the Christian south and establishing an Islamic state on Nigerian territory (Bartolotta, 2011). This point of view was familiar to Al Qaeda, which operated in Islamic Maghreb in North Africa (Zenn, 2015: 17-21; Zenn, 2020). Mohammed Yusuf was strongly in favor of the dichotomous image of socio-political reality. He was of the opinion that Islamic society faced the threat of destruction caused by chaos, corruption and depravity brought from the outside. By depravity, Mohammed Yusuf understood all non-Islamic influences (not necessarily coming from outside the territory of Nigeria). Given this grave threat it was the obligation of all Muslims in Nigeria to embark on the path of jihad in order to defend the system established by the Rightly Guided Caliphs, embodied primarily by Sharia law. Although Sharia law was applied in twelve provinces in North Nigeria, its implementation defied its essential principles, having become an instrument of oppression in the hands of the political elite (Kozera, Popławski, 2018; 6–7; Anugwom, 2019; 53-60).

This ideology, which was characteristic of the entire jihadist movement, did not constitute a strict set of principles for the group's members. In other words, the actions of Boko Haram's individual operating units were incompatible, and sometimes actually contradictory to Yusuf's slogans. He had taken these slogans from other ideologists of jihad, such as Abu al-Ali Mawdudi, among others. Yusuf compared the situation in Nigeria to that of modern Pakistan. He characterized them both in terms of the syndrome of a besieged fortress. Only a revolutionary insurgency by

the Muslim vanguard could result in ultimate success and the defeat of the foes of Islam (which included also anti-Islamic values associated with democracy, nationalism, Marxism and secularism) (Brakoniecka, 2017: 68–72). The doctrine managed to remain coherent in the field of propaganda, which efficiently fueled recruitment (Anugwom, 2019: 57–59). At least in the first decade of Boko Haram's activity (and definitely until the government counteroffensive in 2009), violence was not promoted as the main method of jihad. Over time, however, it became the main – if not the only – instrument of jihadist struggle.

The organizational structure of Boko Haram resembles that of other jihadist groups, especially Al Qaeda. In terms of the typology of organizational structures of terrorist organizations, it combines hierarchical and network structures. The Consultative Council (shura) occupies the main position in this structure. In the period under analysis, the Council was headed by the commander (emir) Abubakar Shekau. Shekau was one of two deputies of Yusuf as leader (Faluvi, Khan, Akinola, 2019: 69). Operating activities were the responsibility of a network structure of units (or operational hubs). Their number in the period analyzed is difficult to assess. Each of them had its own commander who received instructions from Shekau. Each commander had completed military training outside Nigeria (in jihadist camps in Libya, Mali or Sudan) (Anugwom, 2019: 91-92). The entire operational territory of Boko Haram was divided into zones in which individual local structures (micro-networks) operated. This structure should be viewed as a source of potential conflict regarding current operations. The structure of autonomous units embedded in a hierarchical structure may produce decentralist tendencies associated with potential opposition to the authoritarian model of managing the entire structure, which became especially clear when Abubakr Shekau took command (Brakoniecka, 2015: 39-40).

Operational activity would be impossible were adequate financing sources absent. In the opinion of Ona Ekhomu, Boko Haram secured financing from both legitimate and illicit sources. He included proceeds from trade, government subsidies and donations to charities in the former. Edlybe Eze Anugwom added membership fees to this list. Initially (at the time of Yusuf) these fees amounted to approximately 100 nairas daily (Faluyi, Khan, Akinola, 2019: 77). They made up a total of approximately 3,000 nairas per person per month (an equivalent of USD 8.00) (Anugwom, 2019: 93-94). According to Ekhomu, illicit sources included proceeds from the smuggling of arms and drugs, human trafficking and ransoms from abductions. Numerous local units of Boko Haram collected finances from common criminal activity. For instance, the members of Boko Haram units in North Nigeria traded foodstuffs, acting as middlemen in the fish trade in Baga (North-East Nigeria, near the Chad Lake). Even in this case, however, members of Boko Haram stole the food to resell it, or offered compulsory protection to food sellers. A number of local business owners paid membership fees to Boko Haram and delivered benefits in kind (e.g. cell phone cards). Non-governmental organizations were also used as intermediaries to collect financial resources from members and supporters of Boko Haram. Homeless children begged for them on the streets of cities in North Nigeria. It is interesting that Boko Haram received financing through state subsidies (of a semi-official character) provided by regional state authorities (especially in Borno, Bauchi and Kano States). In the 2000s, these subsidies amounted to approximately 10 million nairas (1 Nigerian naira equals ca. USD 0.0026) per month. The payments were made in order to ensure that Boko Haram would maintain the ceasefire. Illicit operations were apparently more profitable. They involved mainly smuggling of arms, drugs and money. People (mostly women) were also smuggled and kidnapped for ransom. The most famous case, which has been extensively analyzed, concerned the abduction of 276 girls from Chibok, Borno State, in Nigeria on April 14, 2014. Members of Boko Haram pretended to be Nigerian soldiers who had arrived to evacuate the girls. Around 50 girls managed to escape from the transport and inform the authorities about the crime. In May 2016, 21 girls were released after a ransom of USD 13 million was paid. Later on, after another payment, a further 82 hostages were released. A similar crime, albeit with less media coverage, was committed in Dapchi, Yobe State, on February 19, 2018, Terrorists from Boko Haram abducted 110 girls from a local high school. In the following month, the authorities negotiated the release of the remaining girls from Chibok and the new abductees from Dapachi. A several million-dollar ransom was negotiated again. Members of Boko Haram gained considerable resources also from ransoms paid for third-state citizens. For example, a ransom of USD 3,150,000 was paid for the release of the Fournier family from France, who were kidnapped in the Waza National Park in North Cameroon. Kidnapping people for ransom, Boko Haram adopted the modus operandi from Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb. Jihadists from Nigeria were apparently trained in this respect in Al Qaeda camps. The profitability of this criminal activity can explain why it was relatively frequent in the 2010s. Members of Boko Haram carried out armed attacks on shops and banks quite often. In the mid-2010s, Boko Haram gained considerable income from imposing a compulsory tax on persons and companies in the areas controlled by Boko Haram fighters. Those who refused to pay or stalled their payments were publicly punished and sometimes even executed. It is difficult to estimate the scale of human trafficking, including women treated as sexual slaves. It is also difficult to even estimate the extent to which Boko Haram was involved in drug trafficking (Ekhomu, 2020: 65-76).

In the late 2000s and early 2010s, Boko Haram was responsible for an Islamic armed insurgence during which Mohammed Yusuf was captured and executed in July 2009. He was replaced as group leader by Abubakar Shekau. Boko Haram employed guerrilla warfare tactics at that time, as evidenced by mainly targeting military bases, police units and police stations as well as state prisons. The headcount of Boko Haram at the peak of the fighting can be estimated at ca. 50,000 fighters (Ekhomu, 2020: 83). They made extensive use of vehicle-borne and person-borne improvised explosive devices (VBIEDs and PBIEDs respectively). Explosive devices were frequently planted in houses (house-borne IEDs – HBIEDs). These tactics combined with careful selection of targets translated into a rapid increase in fatalities.

A significant manifestation of Boko Haram's activities was prison breaks. The pragmatic aspect of choosing this kind of target seemed obvious. Boko Haram would mainly attack those facilities where its members were being detained. Over a dozen such attacks were carried out in 2009–2014 (details are presented in Table 1).

Number of No. Facility name Date of attack prisoners freed July 2009 482 1. Maiduguri September 2010 759 2. Bauchi 3. Yola April 2011 14 119 4. Koton-Karfe, Kogi State February 2012 5. June 2012 Damaturu, Yobe 41 6. Malha, Adamawa December 2012 35 7. Maiduguri January 2013 79 8. Gwoza, Borno March 2013 118 9. Bama, Borno May 2013 105

October 2014

366

Table 1 Selected prison breaks by Boko Haram 2009–2014

Source: Ekhomu, 2020: 85.

Mubi, Adamawa

10.

One of the other main tactics employed by Boko Haram fighters involved terrorist attacks (primarily by suicide bombers). The number of fatalities in this terror campaign is difficult to estimate. According to the Council of Foreign Relations, Boko Haram was responsible for ca. 10,000 fatalities in 2014 alone (Moore, 2015). In the first half of 2014, the group seized control over a considerable portion of Borno State (except for its capital – Maiduguri). However, by the end of 2015, it had been pushed out of this area by government forces.

#### **BOKO HARAM AND ISLAMIC STATE**

On March 7, 2015, the leader of Boko Haram pledged allegiance to Caliph al-Baghdadi. By virtue of the decision of the latter, a new *Wilayat* was established: *Gharb Ifriqiyya* (Islamic State West Africa Province). This declaration was purely symbolic, however. The new *Wilayat* was only a declarative step towards a global caliphate. In the opinion of Osman Antwi-Boateng, the popularity of this concept is rooted in history. In the case of Nigeria, its former glory was embodied by the Sokoto caliphate, an empire of the Fulbe people from the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. On the other hand, the resentment towards European metropolises, dating back to their colonial conquests, continue to be extremely strong (Antwi-Boateng, 2017: 24). They produced solutions that dominated the socio-political sphere but were alien to Islamic tradition (democracy, political plurality). Islamist slogans gained popularity due to socio-economic factors, such as a relatively high illiteracy rate, high unemployment rate, housing difficulties, omnipresent corruption and misappropriation of profits from crude oil sales.

In the second half of the 2010s, Boko Haram continued to employ tactics that were characteristic of the entire jihadist movement. Unlike before, the period of struggle under the banner of Islamic State marked the trend of extreme brutality and advancing anarchization of activity. Importantly, this is the result of Boko Haram having adopted the Islamic State's model of approaching the enemies of jihadists (and the conver-

gence across the entire movement) on the one hand; and abandoning strategic goals (apparently for purely pragmatic reasons) and focusing on *ad hoc* objectives (usually profit-related) on the other. Another significant aspect concerns the internationalization of Boko Haram's jihadist activities. In other words, operating as a province of Islamic State, Boko Haram became more committed to guerrilla and terrorist campaigns in Nigeria as well as in West Africa (Eke, 2015: 4). Table 2 indicates the numerous similarities between Boko Haram and Islamic State.

 ${\it Table~2} \\ {\bf Boko~Haram~and~Islamic~State-a~comparative~analysis~of~essential~characteristics}$ 

Characteristics	Boko Haram	Islamic State
Rejection of exist-	Rejection of the post-colonial order estab-	Criticism of the colonial order established
ing social and po-	lished after the collapse of the Sokoto cali-	by nation-states which led to the collapse of
litical order	phate, including artificial borders. Criticism	the Ottoman caliphate. Criticism of secular
	of Western influence (democracy, education)	regimes in Muslim states whose policies
	which undermines Sharia governance.	defy Sharia principles and discriminate
	Opposition to the Christian conspiracy	against the Sunni population.
	which aims to destroy Islam.	
Idealization of	The postulate to re-establish the caliphate	The re-establishment of a caliphate extend-
a mythic past	(on the territory of the historical Sokoto ca-	ing primarily over the territories inhabited
	liphate).	by Muslims.
Choosing the en-	Fighting colonial influence and the politi-	Fighting the enemies of Islam, both close
emy	cal domination of Christians in Nigeria and	(the secular regimes in Iraq and Syria) and
	Cameroon. Another enemy are those Mus-	remote (Western regimes).
	lims (Sunni) who are against jihadists.	Other jihadist groups who have not subor-
		dinated to the power of the caliph are also
G	Trick I OI :	enemies.
Strategic goal	To introduce Sharia governance.	To establish a global caliphate and to intro-
D		duce Sharia governance.
Patriarch govern-	Complete subjugation of women and chil-	Complete subjugation of women and chil-
ance model	dren through the limitation of their rights or	dren through the limitation of their rights or
	slavery. Recruitment of children and women	slavery. Recruitment of child soldiers.
	to carry out terrorist activities (suicide attacks).	
Charismatic lead-	Abubakr Shekau – a charismatic leader	Charismatic role of caliph al-Baghdadi.
ership	( <i>emir</i> ) of the group.	Charismatic fole of campil at-Bagildadi.
Kidnapping	One of the main instruments of terror.	An instrument employed to achieve tactical
Kidiiapping	The main instrument of generating profits.	goals (terror) and generate profits.
Ethnic and sectar-	Christians as the main target for attacks (de-	Elimination of Kurds, Shiites, Alawites,
ian cleansing	stroying churches, expulsion).	Yazidi and Christians (attacks on churches
		and mosques, expulsion, genocide).
Development of	Construction of new society ruled by Sharia	Construction of new society ruled by Sharia
new social struc-	principles.	principles.
tures		

Source: The author's own elaboration on the basis of Celso, 2015: 265.

The tactics of guerrilla warfare that had been used hitherto were not rejected altogether, but lost their importance. The outcomes of guerrilla warfare were particularly visible in 2014–2015 (Pham, 2016: 13) and can be exemplified by the attack on and seizing of the town of Baga on January 3, where the headquarters of international antiterrorist forces that coordinated the struggle with Boko Haram were located (Mark, 2015). The attack resulted in ca. 2,000 fatalities and thousands of refugees who had

to flee to Chad in the aftermath of the attack (Muscati, 2015). Baga was practically razed (schools, residential houses, hospitals and shops were burnt down) (Pham, 2016: 14). Importantly, Nigeria was not the only site of Boko Haram's terrorist activity. On June 15, 2015, two suicide terrorists launched an attack in the capital city of Chad, N'Djamena, killing 23 people and wounding a further 80. Three days later, Boko Haram jihadists attacked two villages in the region of Diffa, east Niger, killing over 40 people. On July 13, 2015, Boko Haram terrorists carried out two suicide attacks in Fotokol, Logone-et-Chari Department, Far North Cameroon, killing 13 persons (including civilians and one soldier). Starting in March 2015, young women have increasingly been used as suicide bombers. According to Fr Atta Barkindo, they have carried our one terrorist attack in four (Barkindo, 2016: 4).

In August 2016, the caliph of Islamic State appointed Abu Musab al-Barnawi as the *emir* of the local *wilayat* (Ekhomu, 2020: 125–126). Shekau responded to this decision with an armed rebellion. This internal conflict resulted in the relatively diminished operating activity of Boko Haram and a focus on struggles between different factions.

# EXAMPLES OF THE EVOLUTION IN BOKO HARAM'S JIHADIST ACTIVITY

Boko Haram members successfully employed terrorist tactics in the mid-2010s. Following the tactical guidelines of Islamic State commanders, they put special emphasis on suicide attacks, which were relatively frequently used in guerrilla activities. An example can be provided by an attack carried out on June 4, 2015 in Maiduguri, by a young woman carrying explosives attached to her body by terrorists. The bomb was detonated at one of the control points in Maiduguri (Ekhomu, 2020: 98).

The terrorist campaign went beyond classic jihadist activity and embraced criminal activities conducted primarily for financial reasons. Kidnapping for ransom ensured a stable supply of funds which were indispensable when purchasing weapons and carrying out paramilitary actions. As time went by, in the second half of the 2010s, kidnapping strongly intensified, targeting also Nigerian families who could afford to pay ransoms of over ten thousand US dollars. Cold-blooded murders of civilians (who were beheaded) ensured the obedience of the intimidated population, but did not attract many followers. Although az-Zarkawi did not approve of female sexual slavery, the practices whereby women were physically and mentally mutilated, forced to marry and convert to Islam became commonplace in the territories of Islamic State and Boko Haram alike. The 2015–2019 terrorist campaign was launched against a whole group of *soft targets* (Wojciechowski, Osiewicz, 2017: 92). On a large scale, jihadists in Nigeria carried out premeditated attacks on religious sites (Shiite mosques and Christian churches) and other symbolic targets (Antwi-Boateng, 2017: 26–31).

On July 1, 2015, Boko Haram jihadists attacked mosques in Kukawa, Borno State, killing 97 people. On the following day, they massacred two villages near Monguno (Borno State again) killing 48 people (mainly women and children) (BBC, 2015). Similar attacks were launched in October 2015 in Nganzai, Borno State (AFP, 2015) and

Kirchinga, Adamawa State (Fulani, 2015); and in January 2016 – in Dalori (near Maiduguri) (NAN, 2016). Targeting the inhabitants of smaller towns and villages became a way to retaliate for failures suffered when fighting against government forces during this period. Terrorist attacks were carried out with various weapons: melee weapons (at least five people had their throats slit in Kirchinga on October 1, 2015 (Fulani, 2015)), firearms and explosives (mainly through suicide attacks).

Over the following two years, another type of Boko Haram operating activity intensified. In 2017, four times more children were forced to conduct suicide attacks in North Nigeria than in 2016. UNICEF reported that from January to August 2017 alone, 83 children were involved in such attacks, including 55 girls (frequently under the age of 15). The majority of the 27 boys were disguised as girls during the attacks (UNICEF, 2017).

In the second half of the 2010s, attacks on educational establishments intensified. Choosing symbolic targets of this kind was dictated both by propaganda and tactical considerations. On the one hand, such targets were the sui generis mission of Boko Haram, and on the other guaranteed operating success since schools and universities were not protected well enough. In May 2015, a Boko Haram terrorist attacked a higher vocational school in Potiskum using light weapons and an IED (improvised explosive device). He managed to wound fourteen people before he was shot dead (Ekhomu, 2020: 123). The university in Maiduguri was repeatedly targeted. Several suicide attacks were launched on the university campus and in its vicinity in 2017. In one such attack in April 2017, two young women detonated explosives, killing four people. One month later, on May 13, 2017, three persons (including one female) carried out a suicide attack (detonating PBIEDs), killing themselves and one other person. Five days later, a simultaneous bombing took place near the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine targeting both the academic staff (Professor Aliyu Mani from the same Faculty had been killed in a similar attack in January 2017) and students. This terrorist offensive was likely inspired by Boko Haram fighters having been defeated by government forces (Ekhomu, 2020: 121-122).

On February 19, 2018, Boko Haram terrorists wearing Nigerian military uniforms entered a junior high school in Dapchi, Yobe State. They succeeded in persuading 110 girls that they would receive military protection in the face of an imminent rebel attack. Similar to the girls from Chibok, the hostages were driven in trucks to an unknown location. Several girls succeeded in escaping from the transport. Representatives of the Nigerian government negotiated the release of abducted girls, 104 of whom were soon released. The only Christian girl in the entire group was offered freedom in return for her converting to Islam, which she rejected. Importantly, this kidnapping was allegedly perpetrated by a group associated with Abu Musab al-Barnawi (Ekhomu, 2020: 125–126).

Two spectacular terrorist attacks were launched in Nigeria in June and July 2019. On June 16, three suicide bombers (including two females) detonated explosives in Kondunga, Borno State, targeting football fans. The terrorists succeeded in killing 30 people and wounding a further 40 (Adebayo, 2019). Six weeks later, on July 27, a Boko Haram unit attacked funeral mourners in Nganzai, Borno State, killing 65 people and wounding a further 10 (Sawab, Hartocollis, Ives, 2019).

\*\*\*

The jihad in Nigeria started long before the Iraqi-Syrian caliphate was founded. The highly patriarchal and decentralized structure of Nigerian Boko Haram was united by a common feeling of discontent with the difficult economic situation, xenophobia and the cult of violence providing the foundations for the paramilitary success of the group. Over time, it supported decentralization tendencies which had a destructive influence on the strategic dimension of Boko Haram's activity. In other words, short-term pragmatic objectives were considered essential. These trends solidified as the group disintegrated into factions which became the case in August 2016.

The essential changes concerning the tactical activity of jihadist Boko Haram in the period analyzed include the extreme radicalization (brutalization) of paramilitary struggle as evidenced by the massacres of the civilian population (mainly in rural areas) in Nigeria and neighboring states. Another characteristic feature of Boko Haram's evolution involves the feminization of terrorist activity, evidenced by suicide attacks carried out by young women who had been enslaved and forced to perpetrate such attacks.

The actual collapse of the proto-state structures of Islamic State in 2018 seemed to have had a limited impact on the activity of Boko Haram, which had already been in the vanguard of the hyper-radicalism of Islamic State, in fact setting the direction for the entire jihadist movement. The relatively limited operating activity of Nigerian jihadists during the final two years of the period concerned seem to be the outcome of the competition between various factions. Yet, the smaller involvement of Boko Haram fighters in terrorist activities meant neither a radical change nor their abandonment of earlier tactics, as evidenced by the launching of spectacular acts of terrorism, among other things.

### REFERENCES

- Adesoji A. (2010), The Boko Haram Uprising and Islamic Revivalism in Nigeria / Die Boko-Haram-Unruhen und die Wiederbelebung des Islam in Nigeria, "Africa Spectrum", Vol. 45, No. 2.
- Adebayo B. (2019), 30 dead in triple suicide bomb blasts in Nigeria, CNN, 17.06.2019, https://edition.cnn.com/2019/06/17/africa/nigeria-triple-bomb-blasts-intl/index.html (March 2020).
- AFP (2015), 20 shot dead by suspected Islamists in NE Nigeria: locals, AFP, 22.10.2015, https://news.yahoo.com/20-shot-dead-suspected-islamists-ne-nigeria-witnesses-224347258.html (March 2020).
- Agbiboa D. E. (2013), *The Ongoing Campaign of Terror in Nigeria: Boko Haram versus the State*, "Stability: International Journal of Security and Development", Vol. 2, Issue 3, DOI: 10.5334/sta.cl.
- Agbiboa D. E. (2014), *Peace at Daggers Drawn? Boko Haram and the State of Emergency in Nigeria*, "Studies in Conflict & Terrorism", Vol. 37, Issue 1, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2014.853602.
- Antwi-Boateng O. (2017), *Boko Haram and the Islamic State: A Tale of Two Terrors*, "Conflict Studies Quarterly", Issue 18, January 2017.
- Anugwom E. E. (2019), *The Boko Haram Insurgence in Nigeria. Perspectives from Within*, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.
- Barkindo A. F. (2016), *Boko Haram-IS Connection: Local and Regional Implications*, "Counter Terrorist Trends and Analysis", Vol. 8, Issue 6, June 2016.

- Bartolotta C. (2011), *Terrorism in Nigeria: The Rise of Boko Haram*, "World Policy Journal", http://worldpolicy.org/2011/09/19/terrorism-in-nigeria-the-rise-of-boko-haram/ (March 2020).
- BBC (2015), Nigeria Boko Haram crisis: Militants 'kill 150', BBC News, 2.07.2015, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-33369713 (April 2020).
- Brakoniecka S. (2015), Wpływ przywództwa Abubakra Shekau na rozwój organizacji Boko Haram, "Afryka", No. 42.
- Brakoniecka S. (2017), Salafizm wobec władzy świeckiej myśl polityczna Muhammada Yusufa, ideologa organizacji Boko Haram, "Afryka", No. 45.
- Celso A. N. (2015), *The Islamic State and Boko Haram: Fifth Wave Jihadist Terror Groups*, "Orbis", Vol. 59, Issue 2, DOI: 10.1016/j.orbis.2015.02.010.
- Eke S. J. (2015), How and why Boko Haram blossomed: Examining the fatal consequences of treating a purposive terrorist organisation as less so, "Defense & Security Analysis", Vol. 31, Issue 4, DOI: 10.1080/14751798.2015.1087102.
- Ekhomu O. (2020), *Boko Haram: Security Considerations and the Rise of an Insurgency*, CRC Press, Taylor & Francis Group, Boca Raton–London–New York.
- Faluyi O. T., Khan S., Akinola A. O. (2019), *Boko Haram's terrorism and the Nigerian state. Federalism, politics and policies*, Springer, Cham.
- Femi A. (2013), Boko Haram: The emergence of a terrorist sect in Nigeria 2009–2013, "African Identities", Vol. 11, No. 3, DOI: 10.1080/14725843.2013.839118.
- Fulani I. D. (2015), *October 1 Tragedy: Boko Haram strikes in Adamawa, slaughters 5*, "Premium Times", 1.10.2015, https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/190893-october-1-tragedy-boko-haram-strikes-in-adamawa-slaughters-5.html (March 2020).
- Gray S., Adeakin I. (2015), The Evolution of Boko Haram: From Missionary Activism to Transnational Jihad and the Failure of the Nigerian Security Intelligence Agencies, "African Security", Vol. 8, Issue 3, DOI: 10.1080/19392206.2015.1069120.
- Kozera C. A., Popławski B. (2018), Boko Haram, al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, al-Shabaab Similarities and Differences. Analysis of the Genesis, Evolution, and Strategies of the Islamist Violent Extremist Groups in Africa, Center for Strategic and Defense Studies, CSDS Viewpoints, 2018/3.
- Mark M. (2015), *Thousands flee as Boko Haram seizes military base on Nigeria border*, "The Guardian", 5.01.2015, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/05/boko-haram-key-military-base-nigeria-chad-border (April 2020).
- Moore J. (2015), Nigerian Military Enter 'Final Stages' of Boko Haram Offensive, "Newsweek', https://www.newsweek.com/nigerian-military-enter-final-stages-boko-haram-offensive-324384 (March 2020).
- Muscati S. (2015), *Anatomy of a Boko Haram Massacre*, Human Rights Watch, 10.06.2015, https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/06/10/anatomy-boko-haram-massacre (March 2020).
- NAN (2016), Scores die in terrorists attack in Dalori, Borno, "The Guardian", 31.01.2016, https://guardian.ng/news/scores-die-in-terrorists-attack-in-dalori-borno/ (March 2020).
- Oftedal E. (2013), *Boko Haram an overview, Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI)*, https://publications.ffi.no/nb/item/asset/dspace:2365/13-01680.pdf (March 2020).
- Onuoha F. (2010), The Islamist Chellenge: Nigeria's Boko Haram Crisis Explained, "African Security Review", Vol. 19, Issue 2, DOI: 10.1080/10246029.2010.503061.
- Pham J. P. (2016), Boko Haram: The strategic evolution of the Islamic State's West Africa Province, "The Journal of the Middle East and Africa", Vol. 7, No. 1, DOI: 10.1080/21520844.2016.1152571.
- Piłaszewicz S. (2012), Odrodzenie i radykalizacja Boko Haram, "Afryka", No. 36.

- Sawab I., Hartocollis A., Ives M. (2019), *Nigerians Flee After Men on Motorbikes Shoot Down Mourners*, "The New York Times", 29.07.2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/29/world/africa/nigeria-attack-boko-haram-funeral-.html (March 2020).
- UNICEF (2017), *Use of children as 'human bombs' rising in north east Nigeria*, UNICEF, 22.08.2017, https://www.unicef.org/press-releases/use-of-children-human-bombs-rising-north-east-nigeria (March 2020).
- Waldek L., Jayasekara S. (2011), Boko Haram. The evolution of Islamist extremism in Nigeria, "Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism", Vol. 6., No. 2, October, DOI: 10.1080/18335330.2011.605217.
- Wejkszner A. (2017), Globalna sieć Al-Kaidy. Nowe państwo islamskie?, Warszawa.
- Wojciechowski S., Osiewicz P. (2017), Zrozumieć współczesny terroryzm. Wybrane aspekty fenomenu, Warszawa.
- Zenn J. (2015), A Biography of Boko Haram and the Bay'a to al-Baghdadi, "CTC Sentinel", Vol. 8, Issue 3, March.
- Zenn J. (2020), Boko Haram's Conquest for the Caliphate: How Al Qaeda Helped Islamic State Acquire Territory, "Studies in Conflict & Terrorism", Vol. 43, Issue 2, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2018.1442141.

#### ABSTRACT

This article analyzes the rise and evolution of Boko Haram, a Nigerian jihadist organization operating since March 2015 under the banner of Islamic State. The key changes in the ideology, tactics, and goals of Boko Haram have been identified providing in-depth insight into how and why the organization has evolved. The evolution of jihadist activity of Boko Haram included at least two dimensions: firstly – the extreme radicalization of paramilitary struggle manifested in the massacres of civilians in rural areas; and secondly – the feminization of jihadist activity with special regard to the involuntary participation of young women in suicide bombings. The analysis of the facts discussed in the article is based on one of the qualitative scientific methods, namely case study. The main reason to apply this method is the need to investigate the abovementioned changes in the activity of Islamic terrorists within the time limits indicated in the title of the article.

**Keywords:** Boko Haram, Islamic State, Nigeria, jihadism, terrorism

# BOHO HARAM – EWOLUCJA AKTYWNOŚCI DŻIHADYSTYCZNEJ W NIGERII W LATACH 2015–2019

#### **STRESZCZENIE**

W niniejszym artykule analizie poddano genezę i ewolucję Boko Haram – nigeryjskiej organizacji dżihadystycznej, która od marca 2015 r. walczy pod flagą Państwa Islamskiego. Szczególny nacisk położono na identyfikację kluczowych zmian o charakterze ideologicznym, taktycznym, a także w zakresie celów strategicznych, co pozwoliło na bardziej wnikliwe wejrzenie w przebieg procesu ewolucji Boko Haram. Ewolucja aktywności dżihadystycznej wspomnianej organizacji obejmowała przynajmniej dwie płaszczyzny: po pierwsze – skrajną radykalizację walki paramilitarnej manifestującą się w szczególności w masakrach ludności cywilnej na obszarach

wiejskich; po drugie – feminizację aktywności dżihadystycznej, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem przymusowego udziału młodych kobiet w samobójczych zamachach bombowych. Analiza faktografii zawartej w artykule miała miejsce w oparciu o jedną z jakościowych metod naukowych w postaci studium przypadku. Głównym powodem jej zastosowania była konieczność prześledzenia wspomnianych wyżej zmian w zakresie aktywności terrorystów islamskich we wzmiankowanych w tytule artykułu cezurach czasowych.

Słowa kluczowe: Boko Haram, Państwo Islamskie, Nigeria, dżihadyzm, terroryzm