

“Boko Haram – An Annotated Bibliography”

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Introduction

This document provides an annotated bibliography of the Nigerian group Boko Haram. The bibliography does not include newspaper or online news stories, though in the first section I do list blogs and websites that have a fair bit of relevant content. I've included links wherever possible, and indicated if pieces are open access or require subscription – please let me know if links are broken or the status of a piece is wrong or has changed. Articles listed without comments are often of limited use – there are some journals listed here with fairly low editorial standards.

Thank you to those who have sent me pieces or links - I'd welcome corrections and further suggestions.

Where to Start

For those new to the topic, I'd suggest that [Davis 2012](#), [Mantzikos ed. 2013](#), [Pham 2012](#) and [Walker 2012](#) are the best places to start (all open access), perhaps followed by one of the [Adesoji](#) pieces ([2010](#) [open access], [2011](#)), articles in [Busher ed. 2014](#) (open access), [Elkaim 2012](#) (open access), [Oyeniyi 2014](#) and something by [Agbibo](#) (maybe [2013d](#) [open access] or [2014](#)). If you only read one (fairly long) piece, I'd suggest [International Crisis Group 2014](#) (open access).

[Robertson 2012](#) is a disturbing indication of possible U.S.-led interventions; [Marlatt 2014](#) provides another useful bibliography (both open access).

Blogs and Websites with Nigeria-related content

Africa in Transition - <http://blogs.cfr.org/campbell/>
Africa is a Country – <http://africasacountry.com>
African Arguments - <http://africanarguments.org>
African Futures - <http://forums.ssrc.org/african-futures/>
Conflict, Security & Development Group – <http://www.securityanddevelopment.org>
E-International Relations - <http://www.e-ir.info>
Informed Comment – www.juancole.com
International Crisis Group - <http://www.crisisgroup.org>
Nigeria Research Network - <http://www.qeh.ox.ac.uk/research/research->

[networks/nrn](#)

Oxford Research Group - <http://www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk>

The Jamestown Foundation – <http://www.jamestown.org>

Main Entries

1. Abimbola, Seye, Malik, Asmat Ullah and Mansoor, Ghulam Farooq (2013) "The Final Push for Polio Eradication: Addressing the Challenge of Violence in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Nigeria", *PLOS Medicine*, 10.10, e1001529, doi:10.1371/ journal.pmed.1001529 [open access]

A useful analysis of the three remaining countries with endemic polio; and the remaining barriers to eradication. Polio has become a major political issue in Nigeria, with some country-specific concerns but also sensitivity due to the CIA hunt for Bin Laden making use of a fake programme for DNA testing.

2. Adesoji, Abimbola O. (2011) "Between Maitatsine and Boko Haram: Islamic Fundamentalism and the Response of the Nigerian State", *Africa Today*, 57.4, 98-119 [requires subscription]

Mainly looks at the 2009 events associated with Boko Haram, and compares them to the Maitatsine ['the one who damns', named after the preacher Muhammed Marwa] uprisings of the 1980s. That provides a useful longer term background to more recent events. Some of the socio-economic analysis is quite useful. It suggests, though without much evidence, that Boko Haram is getting support from global jihadist groups and specifically claims "affinity with the North Africa branch of Al-Qaeda" (Adesoji 2011, 105). The most useful part for me was the description of the 'Boko Haram riots' of 26-30 July 2009 which followed the attack on the group's hideout in the Dutsen Tenshin area of Bauchi. These riots occurred in the states of Bauchi, Kano, Yobe, and Borno, especially the last. The group's leader Ustaz Mohammed Yusof was captured and killed in police custody. Over 700 people died in these protests, the riots and the crackdown. Quite helpful on membership and affiliation.

3. Adesoji, Abimbola (2010) "The Boko Haram Uprising and Islamic Revivalism in Nigeria", *Africa Spectrum*, 45.2, 95-108. [open access]

This article is very similar to Adesoji 2011, but with more of a focus on recent events.

4. Adele, Bamgbose J. (2013) "The Boko Haram Crisis and Nigeria's External Relations", *British Journal of Arts and Social Sciences*, 11.II, 126-39 [open access]
5. Aderinigbe, Adejare Morenikeji and Olla, John Oluwafemi (2014) "Kidnapping Terrorism and Political Violence, Implication for Strategic Security Management in Nigeria", *Developing Country Studies*, 4.6, 16-19 [open access]

6. Afeno, Odomovo S. (2012) "The Boko Haram Uprising and Insecurity in Nigeria: Intelligence Failure or Bad Governance", *Conflict Trends*, 1, 35-41 [open access]

A readable brief account for a more policy-orientated audience.

7. Agbiboa, Daniel Egiegba (2013a) "Ethno-Religious conflicts and the Elusive Quest for National Identity in Nigeria", *Journal of Black Studies*, 44.1, 3-30. [requires subscription]

Looks at the wider context of Nigerian politics and the ethnic makeup of the country as a whole.

8. Agbiboa, Daniel Egiegba (2013b) "The Nigerian Burden: Religious Identity, Conflict and the Current Terrorism of Boko Haram", *Conflict, Security and Development*, 13.1, 1-29 [requires subscription]

This is more explicitly on Boko Haram, with some useful discussion especially around religion.

9. Agbiboa, Daniel Egiegba (2013c) "Living in Fear: Religious Identity, Relative Deprivation and the Boko Haram Terrorism", *African Security*, 6.2, 153-170 [requires subscription]
10. Agbiboa, Daniel (2013d) "The Ongoing Campaign of Terror in Nigeria: Boko Haram versus the State", *Stability: International Journal of Security & Development*, 2.3, 1-18 [open access]
11. Agbiboa, Daniel (2013e) "Why Boko Haram Exists: The Relative Deprivation Perspective", *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*, 3.1, 144-57 [requires subscription]
12. Agbiboa, Daniel Egiegba (2014) "Boko-Haram and the Global Jihad: 'Do Not Think Jihad is Over. Rather Jihad Has Just Begun'", *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, DOI: 10.1080/10357718.2014.891564 [requires subscription]

These are all helpful pieces, but there is quite a bit of overlap between them. 2013d is probably the most generally useful; 2013c is good on identity politics; 2013e on deprivation (also discussed in 2013c). 2014 is more up-to-date and has some suggestions of global linkages to al-Shabaab and al Qaeda.

13. Aghedo, Iro and Osumah, Oarhe (2012) "The Boko Haram Uprising: How Should Nigeria Respond?" *Third World Quarterly*, 33.5, 853-69. [requires subscription]

A useful survey of the available literature, with a methodological focus and use of

some interviews. Helpful background on other and earlier non-state violence within Nigeria, suggesting that Boko Haram should be understood as one group among many. Notes the group has existed under a variety of names, including "Ahlulsunna wai'jama'ah hijra and... the 'Nigerian Taliban' and 'Yusufiyyah' sect" (Aghedo and Osumah 2012, 858), and that the group probably exists in two main factions (p. 859). Notes the "country's porous borders" as helping the group in terms of movement of people and arms (p. 863). "In August 2011 the commander of US Africa Command held that the BH has ties with al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and Somalia's al-Shabaab" (p. 864). Calls for a "human security approach rather than the current emphasis on a repressive state security approach" (p. 853) within Nigeria.

14. Aghedo, Iro and Osumah, Oarhe (2014) "Insurgency in Nigeria: A Comparative Study of Niger Delta and Boko Haram Uprisings", *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, DOI: 10.1177/0021909614520726 [requires subscription]

Useful on the overall context of Nigeria as a state, and the comparison with the Delta links it to wider political economy debates.

15. Ajayi, Johnson Olusegun (2013) "The Boko Haram Insurgence in Nigeria and the Threat to National Security", *An International Journal of Arts and Humanities, Bahir Dar, Ethiopia*, 2.2, 1-20.
16. Akokegh, A. F. (2012) "Boko Haram: A 21st Century Challenge in Nigeria", *European Scientific Journal*, 8.21, 46-55 [open access]
17. Akpan, Felix, Ekanem, Okonette and Olofo-Adeoye, Angela (2014) "Boko Haram Insurgency and the Counter-Terrorism Policy in Nigeria", *Canadian Social Science*, 10.2, 151-55. [open access]

A brief analysis with some comments on the period after the declaration of the state of emergency in the northeastern states. Argues, unconvincingly and not always consistently, for a stronger line from the Nigerian state that deals with them as a terrorist group, rather than freedom fighters.

18. Alao, Dayo and Uwom, Oguchi (2012) "Terrorism in Nigeria: An Analysis of North/South Media Coverage of Boko Haram (November 2011 to March 2012)", *International Review of Business and Social Sciences*, 1.8, 49-62 [open access]

Useful as a source of interpretations from Nigerian media, though the analysis is tenuous at best.

19. Anonymous (2011) "Boko Haram: Nigeria's Growing New Headache", *Strategic Comments*, 17.9, 1-3 [requires subscription]

Briefing for the International Institute For Strategic Studies.

20. Anonymous (2012) "The Popular Discourses of Salafi Radicalism and Salafi Counter-radicalism in Nigeria: A Case Study of Boko Haram", *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 42, 118-44 [requires subscription]

Very helpful on the religious debates within Islam, where Boko Haram sits within them, and what it has said through a wide variety of media. Explains in some detail what Western elements of education, political practice etc. (*boko*) they find *haram*. Good on criticisms within Nigeria, especially from Sheikh Ja'afar Mahmoud Adam - assassinated by Boko Haram in 2007.

21. Anyadike, Nkechi O. (2013) "Boko Haram and National Security Challenges in Nigeria: Causes and Solutions", *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development*, 4.5, 12-23.
22. Ayoola, Kehinde A. and Olaosun, Ibrahim E. (2014) "Media Representation of Boko Haram in Some Nigerian Newspapers", *International Journal of English Linguistics*, Vol 4 No 3, 49-58 (open access).

Useful on the unreliable nature of much national reporting.

23. Bagaji, Ali Simon Yusufu (2012) "Boko Haram and the Recurring Bomb Attacks in Nigeria: Attempt to Impose", *Cross-Cultural Communication*, 8.1, 33-41 [open access]

Spends a lot of time on discussion terrorism in general, and not much on the specifics of Nigeria.

24. Barrett, Richard (2012) "Terrorism Finance: Preventing the Financing of Terrorism", *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law*, 44.3, 719-36 [requires subscription]

Has a much more general focus, but briefly mentions Boko Haram in terms of their financing, suggesting they have had funds raised from AQIM kidnapping, and supplemented this with bank raids, car-jacking and other crime (p. 723).

25. Blanquart, Gabrielle (2012) "Boko Haram: Terrorist Organization, Freedom Fighters or Religious Fanatics? An Analysis of Boko Haram Within Nigeria, an Australian Perspective and the Need for Counter Terrorism Responses that Involves Prescribing them as a Terrorist Organization", *Proceedings of the 3rd Australian Counter Terrorism Conference, 3rd-5th December, 30-36* [open access]

An Australian perspective, but not much for a general audience except perhaps for the comparison with AQIM.

26. Brinkel, Theo and Ait-Hida, Soumia (2012) "Boko Haram and Jihad in Nigeria", *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies*, 40.2, 1-21 [open access]

Quite a general account, though useful for setting this in a wider context.

27. Busher, Joel (ed.) (2014) special issue on 'Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism in Sub-Saharan Africa', *Journal of Terrorism Research*, 5.1.

Contains several articles on Boko Haram, as well as discussions of al Shabaab and al-Qaeda affiliated groups.

28. Chilwa, Innocent and Adegoke, Adetunji (2013) "Twittering the Boko Haram Uprising in Nigeria: Investigating Pragmatic Acts in the Social Media", *Africa Today*, 59.3, 83-102 [requires subscription]

Written before #bringbackourgirls became news, but interesting on social media, especially from within Nigeria.

29. Cook, David (2011), "Boko Haram: A Prognosis", James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, RiceUniversity, December 16 [open access]

Takes a hardline approach, but has some useful statements and interviews with Boko Haram members. Downplays any link to AQIM, but stresses its relation with al-Shabab in Somalia.

30. Copeland, Foard (2013) "The Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria", *The Civil Military Fusion Centre*, 7pp. [open access]

A policy briefing on behalf of NATO.

31. 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*. [open access]

Danjibo is based at the Peace and Conflict Studies Programme, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan. Compares the 2009 Boko Haram uprising with the 1980 Maitatsine events, in a similar way to Adesoji 2009.

32. Davis, Carlo (2012) "Boko Haram: Africa's Homegrown Terror Network", *World Policy Journal* [open access]

A brief analysis with a really helpful diagram of the movement and its links to other groups. Argues that the group's aims are more to do with self-preservation than political or religious, and makes a compelling case for their mafia-like organization. Suggests that Nigeria's security services are making things worse, and need to stop

"their extrajudicial killings, and pursue justice rather than revenge". A longer-term fix can only come through dealing with Nigeria's corruption.

33. Duruji, Moses Metumara and Oviasogie, Faith Osusumwen (2013) "State Failure, Terrorism and Global Security: An Appraisal of the Boko Haram Insurgency in Northern Nigeria", *Journal of Sustainable Society*, 2.1, 20-30 [open access]

Sets Boko Haram within a wider study of terrorism and state actions; and within Nigerian politics more generally.

34. Elkaim, Zachary (2012) "Boko Haram: The Rise, Success and Continued Efficacy of the Insurgency in Nigeria", ICT Working Paper Series [open access]

Provides some historical background, especially on the northern and southern protectorates that constituted Nigeria, and on the tensions between the Sokoto caliphate and the Kanem-Bornu Empire before British rule. Good on recent events, and political decisions made within the Nigerian government.

35. Fiore, Giuseppe (2014) "Why Boko Haram Should be on the European Union List of Designated Terror Groups", *African Security Review*, 23,1, 78-83 [requires subscription]

The title explains this one – an argument of designation.

36. Forest, James J. F. (2011) "Al-Qaeda's Influence in Sub-Saharan Africa: Myths, Realities and Possibilities", *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 5,.3-4, 63-80 [open access]

Useful on the wider regional context and on AQIM.

37. Gartenstein-Ross, Daveed (2012), "Is Nigeria the Next Front in the War on Terror?" *Foreign Policy*, July 3rd [open access]

Brief report on the situation for a US audience, suggesting that the country is descending into religious war, and noting supposed links between Boko Haram and al-Qaeda. Read in comparison with other sources for the problems with this analysis.

38. Gilbert, Lysis Dodd (2014) "Prolongation of Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria: The International Dimensions", *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, 4.11, 150-7 [open access].

Not well written, but some useful comments on the permeable borders between Chad-Niger-Cameroon-Nigeria; and the timeline of recent events is helpful. Light on evidence for claimed links to other groups, and some alarming recommendations.

39. Giroux, Jennifer and Gilpin, Raymond (2014) "#NigeriaOnTheEdge", *Policy*

Perspectives, Vol 2 No 2, 1-4.

Discussion of the challenges facing Nigeria as it approaches presidential elections in 2015; and some intriguing (though not well-referenced) discussion of splinter factions within the overall group.

40. Golwa, Joseph P. and Alozieuwa, Simeon 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. [subscription required]

Some conceptual work on definitions of insurgency and terrorism, with reference to two major areas of conflict within Nigeria.

41. Hansen, William W. and Aliyu Musa, Umma (2013) "Fanon, the Wretched and Boko Haram", *Journal of African and Asian Studies*, advance online publication, doi: 10.1177/0021909612467277 [requires subscription]

Uses Frantz Fanon's work to try to understand the emergence of Boko Haram. It suggests his concept of 'the wretched' remains useful, and that even if the notion of a racial foreigner is irrelevant to this case, Fanon is helpful in making sense of it. Seems a bit too willing to see all violence in the north as due to Boko Haram, with AQIM as an influence upon it, rather than affiliates of the second group being responsible—for example, the kidnappings of the British and Italian nationals in Sokoto. Has a useful note on the difficulty of using Nigerian media for accurate reporting on Boko Haram.

42. Hill, J.N.C. (2013) "Religious Extremism in Northern Nigeria Past and Present: Parallels Between the Pseudo-Tijanis and Boko Haram", *The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, 102:3, 235-244.

Links 1920 colonial-era struggles to the present moment: useful in providing a deeper historical background.

43. Hills, Alice (2012) "Policing a Plurality of Worlds: The Nigerian Police in Metropolitan Kano", *Africa Affairs*, 111.442, 46-66 [requires subscription]

A useful account of policing in Kano, from a key writer in international politics. Her 2009 book *Policing Post-Conflict Cities* is well worth a look too.

44. Idowu, Amos Adeoye (2013) "Security Laws and Challenges in Nigeria: The Boko Haram Insurgency", *Journal of Applied Security Research*, 8, 118-134 [requires subscription]

The legal side is quite useful here, as is the listing of Boko Haram demands and beliefs.

45. Ifeka, Caroline (2010) "War on 'Terror': Africom, the Kleptocratic State and Under-Class Militancy in West Africa-Nigeria", *Concerned Africa Scholars*, 85 [open access]

Good on the political economy of the country and the wider region, with some useful discussion of US strategic commands in the area. Has some good detail on the 2009 events, and situates these well within other uprisings and violence in the country. Some helpful discussion of the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) and the Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDVF).

46. International Crisis Group (2010) "Northern Nigeria: Background to Conflict", Africa Report 168 [open access].

Provides what it says—a useful and thorough background context to events, though a few years out of date.

47. Ingram, Alan (2008) "HIV/AIDS, Security and the Geopolitics of US-Nigerian Relations", *Review of International Political Economy*, 14.3, 510-34 [requires subscription].

Very good study of the wider context of Nigeria within the Bush-era 'war on terror' by a political geographer. Especially useful on the relation between biopolitics and geopolitics.

48. International Crisis Group (2014) "Curbing Violence in Nigeria (II): The Boko Haram Insurgency", Africa Report 216 [open access] (The previous 'Curbing Violence in Nigeria' report is on the 'The Jos Crisis').)

A very useful account, with background, analysis and suggestions for ways forward. Detailed references and draws on a lot of primary research. Highly recommended.

49. Ishola, Oluwabukola Mayowa and Shoewu, O. and Olatinwo, Segun O. (2013) "A Conceptual Design of Analytical Hierarchical Process Model to the Boko Haram Crisis in Nigeria", *Information and Knowledge Management*, 3.3, 9-19 [requires subscription]

For those that like the convenience and easy answers of mathematical models.

50. Johnson, Toni (2011) "Boko Haram", *Council on Foreign Relations*, 27 December [open access]

US perspective on the events, especially in terms of what role the US should or shouldn't play in the region.

51. Josiah, Ucheawaji G., Adesina, Adefemi S. and Ehioghae, Efe M. (2014) "The Role of Dialogue in the Search for National Security in the Face of Boko Haram Phenomenon: A Case Study of 2 Samuel 20: 16-22", *Research on*

Humanities and Social Sciences, 4.4, 85-92.

A reading of an Old Testament verse to explore possibilities for dialogue.

52. Karmon, Ely (2014) "Boko Haram's International Reach", *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 8.1, 74-83.

Suggests that since the UN building attack in Abuja in 2011, Boko Haram has been an international concern. Useful on the wider West of Africa context, with some discussion of the global dimension.

53. Kashi, Ed and Watts, Michael J. (2008) *Curse of the Black Gold: Fifty Years of Oil in the Niger Delta*, New York: Powerhouse.

A remarkable collection of photographs of the Delta by Ed Kashi, with text by Michael Watts and others. Useful for the wider context of Nigerian politics, and in particular the way the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta was dealt with by the state. Some images and text can be found in this piece in *Mother Jones*.

54. Last, Murray (2007) "Muslims and Christians in Nigeria: An Economy of Political Panic", *The Round Table*, 96.392, 605-616 [requires subscription]

Useful background on the different religions in Nigeria, with a call for city-by-city studies, rather than a straight-forward divide.

55. Last, Murray (2009) "The Pattern of Dissent: *Boko Haram* in Nigeria 2009", *Annual Review of Islam in Africa*, 10, 7-11 [requires subscription]

Good on the 2009 events, with a longer view from the author of *The Sokoto Caliphate* (1967).

56. Last, Murray (2011) "Northern Nigerian Militancy: Who and What are Boko Haram?" *African Arguments*, July 15 [open access]

Another good account, particularly of Nigerian state responses and constraints.

57. Loimeier, Roman (2012) "Boko Haram: The Development of a Militant Religious Movement in Nigeria", *Africa Spectrum*, 47.2-3, 137-55 [open access]

A good general account, with some historical background, particularly on the Yan Izala movement of reform within Islam.

58. Lyman, Princeton N. (2009) "The War on Terrorism in Africa", in John W. Harbeson and Donald S. Rothchild (ed.) *Africa in World Politics: Engaging a Changing Global Order*, Boulder Co.: Westview Press, Ch. 11 [open access]

Takes a broad historical and geographical focus, which is helpful for setting Boko Haram in a wider context. Pre-dates much of the recent activity, but has a discussion of Nigeria, especially in relation to the Delta in 2008.

59. Maiangwa, Benjamin, Okeke Uzodike, Ufo, Whetho, Ayo and Onapajo, Hakeem (2012), ["Baptism by Fire': Boko Haram and the Reign of Terror in Nigeria"](#), *Africa Today*, 59.2, 40-57 [requires subscription]

Analyses Nigeria as a failed state, with some interesting detail on Boko Haram that is unavailable elsewhere.

60. Malachy, Chukwuemeka Eke (2013) ["Boko Haram Insurgency: A Northern Agenda for Regime Change and Islamization in Nigeria, 2007-2013"](#), *Global Journal of Human Social Science*, 13.5, 87-98 [open access]

Some good discussion of existing literature on terrorism and Boko Haram's position relative to it. Some of the conclusions and recommendations underestimate the complexities, but a helpful timeline of attacks is provided.

61. Manfredi, Victor (2014) ["The Phrase *Boko Haram* contains no Etymologically Hausa Word"](#), African Studies Center, Boston University [open access]

A useful brief note on the linguistics of the group's name; compare to Newman 2013.

62. Mantzikos, Ioannis (2010) ["The Absence of the State in Northern Nigeria: The Case of Boko Haram"](#), *African Renaissance*, 7.1, 57-62 [requires subscription]

The piece is most useful for the background, as it predates key events in 2011 and since. The discussion of other Islamist groups in Nigeria historically is quite useful. The point about the absence of the state is important, though this piece doesn't make much of it. It is important in making sense of how Boko Haram operates rather than simply opposes, and, like Hezbollah, how it does many things commonly ascribed to states.

63. Mantzikos, Ioannis ed. (2013) [*Boko Haram: Anatomy of a Crisis*](#), Bristol: e-International Relations.

A useful compilation of pieces from the website [e-International Relations](#).

64. Marlatt, Greta E. (2014) ["Boko Haram: A Brief Bibliography of Open Source Information"](#), Calhoun Institutional Archive of the Naval Postgraduate School [open access]

Many of the articles listed are discussed in this bibliography, but it also provides links to books, websites, theses and dissertations, and more political reports, especially from the USA.

65. Musa, Alivu O. (2012) "[Socio-Economic Incentives: New Media and the Boko Haram Campaign of Violence in Northern Nigeria](#)", *Journal of African Media Studies*, 4.1, 111-24 [requires subscription]

Suggests that religion is not the key factor in Boko Haram, but rather economic deprivation in the north of the country. Also examines the uses of new media (internet and mobile phones) in how the group operates.

66. Newman, Paul (2013) "[The Etymology of Hausa *boko*](#)", Mega-Chad Research Project [open access]

A useful discussion of the term 'boko' which is suggested means sham or fraud, and came to be associated with the Latin alphabet, and therefore Western Education, rather than being linked to the English word 'book'. Compare Manfredi 2014.

67. Niworu, Salihu Mohammed (2013) "[Boko Haram Sect: Terrorists or a Manifestation of the Failed Nigerian State](#)", *Journal of Politics and Law*, 6.2, 245-50 [open access]

Fairly good on the problems of Nigeria generally, situating Boko Haram within that wider context.

68. Nwanegbo, C. Jaja and Odigbo, Jude (2013) "[Security and National Development in Nigeria: The Threat of Boko Haram](#)", *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 3.4, 285-90 [open access]

Short piece that makes the argument that insecurity is a barrier to development in the country. Not especially useful.

69. Ochoche, Jeffrey M. (2013) "[Modeling Boko Haram: A Game Theoretical Approach](#)", *International Journal of Science and Technology*, 2.11, 777-83.

Another mathematical 'solution' to the situation.

70. Oftedal, Emilie (2013a) "Boko Haram: A Transnational Phenomenon?", Master's Thesis, Department of Political Science, University of Oslo, <https://www.duo.uio.no/bitstream/handle/10852/36925/OftedalxMaster.pdf?sequence=1>
71. Oftedal, Emilie (2013b) "Boko Haram – an Overview", Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (Forsvarets forskningsinstitutt [FFI]), <http://www.ffi.no/no/Rapporter/13-01680.pdf>

Two related pieces of work – the Master's Degree was funded by FFI. Both are comprehensive studies; 2013b has an extensive timeline.

72. Ogunrotifa, Ayodeji Bayo (2013) "[Class Theory of Terrorism: A Study of Boko](#)

Haram", *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, 3.1, 27-59 [open access]

A historical materialist account with a long historical frame, with some useful detail on recent events.

73. Ojo, Emmanuel O. (2010) "Boko Haram: Nigeria's Extra-Judicial State", *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 12.2, 45-62 [open access]

Discusses the security response to Boko Haram, and the large number of extra-judicial killings.

74. Okai, Nicholas (2014) "Terrorism in West Africa: Boko Haram, Adding Some Few Recommendations to the Yamoussoukro Declaration", *International journal of Innovative Research and Development*, Vol 3 No 5, 219-23 (open access).

75. Okoli, Al Chukwuma and Iortyer, Philip (2014) "Terrorism and Humanitarian Crisis in Nigeria: Insights from Boko Haram Insurgency", *Global Journal of Human Social Science*, 14.1, 39-49 [open access]

Some useful figures and a chronology up to April 2012.

76. Olaniyi, Rasheed Oyewole (2011) "Hisbah and Sharia Law Enforcement in Metropolitan Kano", *Africa Today*, 57.4, 70-96 [requires subscription]

Useful on the city of Kano itself, and the partial reintroduction of Sharia law since 1999. Boko Haram wants much more extensive use of Sharia.

77. Omede, A. J. (2011) "Nigeria: Analysing the Security Challenges of the Goodluck Jonathan Administration", *Canadian Social Science*, 7.5, 90-102 [open access]

Provides some useful analysis of legal, political and military responses to non-state groups within Nigeria, of which Boko Haram is but one.

78. Omitola, Bolaji (2012) "Terrorism and the Nigerian Federation: The Challenges of Disintegration in the Fourth Republic", *African Security Review*, 21.4, 4-16 [requires subscription]

Compares Boko Haram to the groups operating in the Niger Delta, and good on the territorial challenges of keeping the country together.

79. Omololu, Omololu Toluwanimi (2014) "The Boko Haram Phenomenon as a Derivative of the Inherent Ethnic Security Dilemma in Nigeria's Political System", *Online Journal of Social Sciences Research*, 3.2, 38-48 [open access]

Another piece that emphasizes the structural problems of Nigeria's political system. Maiangwa et. al. 2012 and Tonwe and Eke 2013 are more useful.

80. Onapajo, Hakeem and Uzodike, Ufo Okeke (2012) "[Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria: Man, the State and the International System](#)", *African Security Review*, 21.3, 24-39 [requires subscription]

Uses Kenneth Waltz's work on the causes of war to analyse Boko Haram at three levels – individual, state and international system. Some good detail on how the group operates.

81. Onapajo, Hakeem, Uzodike, Ufo Okeke and Whetho, Ayo (2012) "[Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria: The International Dimension](#)", *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 19.3, 337-57. [requires subscription]

Looks at Boko Haram's links outside Nigeria.

82. Onuoha, Freedom C. (2010) "[The Islamist Challenge: Nigeria's Boko Haram Crisis Explained](#)", *African Security Review*, 19.2, pp 54-67 [requires subscription]

Good on the 2009 events.

83. Onuoha, Freedom C. (2013) "[Porous Borders and Boko Haram's Arms Smuggling Operations in Nigeria](#)", Al-Jazeera Center for Studies [open access]

A short report which is useful on Nigeria's political geography.

84. Onuoha, Freedom C. (2014) "[Why do Youth Join Boko Haram?](#)" *United States Institute of Peace Special Report* [open access].

A valuable study on a key issue within the situation. The policy recommendations, if taken as whole rather than partially, would do much to improve the situation in the north of the country generally.

85. Osumah, Oarhe (2013) "Boko Haram Insurgency in Northern Nigeria and the Vicious Cycle of Internal Insecurity", *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 24.3, 536-560.

Another piece that focuses on the structural problems in Nigeria, which is especially good on poverty.

86. Oyewole, Samuel (2013) "[Boko Haram and the Challenges of Nigeria's War on Terror](#)", *Defense & Security Analysis*, 29.3, 253-262 [requires subscription]

Fairly good on the counter-terrorism policies of the Federal government.

87. Oyeniyi, Bukola Adeyemi (2014) "One Voice, Multiple Tongues: Dialoguing with Boko Haram", *Democracy and Security*, 10.1, 73-97.

This is a very helpful article that analyses speeches by Boko Haram and opponents, many of which are hard to find today, and argues that there are two distinctive elements within the group's message: a protest within fundamentalist Islam in the country; and a protest within Nigeria against corruption and ineffective addressing of socioeconomic problems. It suggests that the first can and should be addressed by the federal state, but the first is outside the scope of a secular state. The conclusions are based on some unconvincing arguments, but most of the process of getting there very useful.

88. Peters, Michael A. (2014) "'Western Education is Sinful': Boko Haram and the Abduction of Chibok Schoolgirls", *Policy Futures in Education*, 12.4, 186-9.

Contemporary response to the kidnapping, with a wider view of attitudes to women and education.

89. Pham, J. Peter (2012) "Boko Haram's Evolving Threat?" *Africa Security Brief*, 20 [open access]

Not a bad place to start, with a lot of detail and background on the group.

90. Pham, J. Peter (2011a) "Foreign Influences and Shifting Horizons: The Ongoing Evolution of al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb," *Orbis*, 55.2, 240-54 [requires subscription]

Given the alleged links between Boko Haram and AQIM, this is a helpful background piece on the latter.

91. Pham, J. Peter (2011b) "The Dangerous 'Pragmatism' of Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb", *Journal of the Middle East and Africa*, 2.1, 15-29 [requires subscription]

Another useful piece on AQIM, and particularly its transnational operations.

92. Ploch, Lauren (2012) "Nigeria: Current Issues and U.S. Policy", *CRS Report for Congress* [open access]

A briefing for the US Congress, with some useful background on the country as a whole in terms of its economy, health, politics, and society.

93. Popoola, I.S. (2012) "Press and Terrorism in Nigeria: A Discourse on Boko Haram", *Global Media Journal African Edition*, 6.1, 43-66 [open access]

Looks at targeting of journalists by Boko Haram, which helps to explain some of the media coverage within Nigeria.

94. Reeve, Richard (2014) "The Internationalisation of Nigeria's Boko Haram Campaign", *Oxford Research Group Special Global Security Briefing* [open access]

A brief and very up-to-date (May 2014) analysis, including the kidnapping of the Chibok schoolgirls and foreign links to Nigerian Federal forces.

95. Robertson, Racine W. E. (2012) "Pre-Emptive Threat Mitigation: Neutralizing the Boko Haram Threat to U.S. Interests", *Naval War College* [open access]

Robertson is a Major in the U.S. Army who advocates a much more engaged strategy for AFRICOM (the US military command based in Stuttgart dealing with the African Continent) and pre-emptive action in Nigeria. She talks up the links between Boko Haram and AQIM, and suggests that AFRICOM's 'Theater Strategic Objectives' can best be met by the use of "Engagement Teams (ETs) to neutralize the foundation of the Boko Haram in Nigeria" (p. 2), and especially future collaboration between Boko Haram and AQIM (pp. 4-5). The ETs being called for are 20-30 men teams, with at least a 50% Nigerian component "including local state citizens, police, military and both Islamic and Christian religious leaders" (p. 5) and a US part "should consist of U.S. military Chaplains, Intelligence, Ordnance, Corps of Engineers, Administrative, Logistics, Civil Affairs and Special Forces personnel, agents from the FBI and CIA, U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), Department of Homeland Security (DHS), Department of Justice (DoJ) and USDA [Department of Agriculture] employees" (pp. 5-6). Suggests such activities also need to work in relation to Nigeria's northern neighbours in Chad and Niger.

While it does recognize there are structural issues that lead to support for Boko Haram, and that the legacy of colonialism is important, this proposal is disturbing. It suggests that "Engagement Teams in Nigeria would pre-empt an all-out war that could potentially destabilize the entire region and block access to key U.S. interests. Efforts by the Nigerian government to end the horrors brought about by the Islamic radicals of Boko Haram are simply not broad enough in scope to truly eradicate the roots of this insurgency. A purely military solution will not work. Rife with religious, economic and ethnic strife, corruption and many other traits of a failed state, Nigeria is still an emerging power" (p. 16).

96. Rogers, Paul (2012) "Nigeria: The Generic Context of the Boko Haram Violence", *Oxford Research Group* briefing [open access]

Short briefing that focuses on economic and political marginalization as a cause.

97. Salaam, Abeeb Olufemi (2012) "Boko Haram: Beyond Religious Fanaticism", *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 7.2, 147-62.

The discussion of the police here is especially useful, as is that of the wider political geography of Nigeria, but this is also a good general account.

98. Sampson, Isaac Terwase (2013) "[The Dilemmas of counter-bokoharamism: Debating State Responses to Boko Haram Terrorism in Northern Nigeria](#)", *Security Journal* doi:10.1057/sj.2013.2 [subscription required]

The comparison with groups in the Niger Delta is helpful here.

99. Schwartz, Stephanie (2010) "[Is Nigeria a Hotbed of Islamic Extremism?](#)" United States Institute of Peace Brief 27 [open access]

If you can get past the title this is a fairly useful analysis, following a USIP public event on Nigeria. It dates from 2010 and events have moved on beyond what is looked at here. Better for background and history on Nigeria than on more recent politics.

100. Simon, Okolo Ben (2014) "[2015 and the Survival of the Nigerian State](#)", *African Security Review*, 23.2, 161-71 [requires subscription]

Analyses Boko Haram within the wider challenges facing Nigeria. Points to the potential for further violence around the Presidential elections of 2015, and understandably pessimistic for the future.

101. Simonelli, Corina et. al. 2014. "[START Background Report: Boko Haram Recent Attacks](#)" [open access]

Produced for START (National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism) which is a US Department of Homeland Security center of excellence. Some useful data, a recently updated timeline, and comparison with other global groups, but with a strong political agenda.

102. Solomon, Hussein (2013) "[Counter-Terrorism in Nigeria: Responding to Boko Haram](#)", *The RUSI Journal*, 157.4, 6-11 [requires subscription]
103. Thomson, Valarie (2012) "[Boko Haram and Islamic Fundamentalism in Nigeria](#)", *Global Security Studies*, 3.3, 46-60 [open access]

Good on the longer historical background, including the tensions between British colonialism and Islam in the north, especially in the Sokoto Caliphate of the 19th century.

104. Soyinka, Wole (2012) "[The Butchers of Nigeria](#)", *Newsweek*, January 16th, [open access]

Short, angry piece by the Nobel-prize winning Nigerian writer.

105. Tonwe, Daniel A. and Eke, Surulola J. (2013) "[State Fragility and Violent Uprisings in Nigeria](#)", *African Security Review*, 22.4, 232-43 [requires subscription]

Usefully situates Nigeria within debates around 'failed' or 'fragile states'; and suggests the need for a broader-based response to resolve some of those issues rather than just targeting Boko Haram.

106. Ubhenin, Oscar Edoror (2012) "[Constructing the Boko Haram Uprising in Nigeria: A Civil Society Perspective](#)", *Revija za bezbednost/The Security Review*, VI, 22-34 [open access]

Some useful discussion of 'civil society' in Nigeria and the socio-economic elements of the group.

107. Waldek, Lise and Jayasekara, Shankara (2011) "[Boko Haram: The Evolution of Islamist Extremism in Nigeria](#)", *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 6.2, 168-78 [requires subscription]

Has some good historical background, and useful information on group structure, funding and communication strategies.

108. Walker, Andrew (2012) "[What is Boko Haram?](#)", United States Institute of Peace Special Report [open access]

A very good introductory account of the group, from March 2012, with some historical background pre-2009 that is lacking in other accounts. Good on the links—real and imagined—between Boko Haram and other groups in the country and region, and especially on the kidnapping of Europeans Chris McManus and Franco Lamolinara in May 2011 and their failed rescue in March 2012, which was almost certainly the work of a different group.

109. Warner, Zach (2012) "[The Sad Rise of Boko Haram](#)", *New African*, April 1st, 516, 38-40 [open access]

Very short account, but gives a lot of historical background. Puts the rise down to alienation of young Muslim men from Nigeria's politics, and gives the text of a speech by President Goodluck Jonathan in early 2012 calling on the group to state their grievances.

110. Watts, Michael J. (2009) "[Crude Politics: Life and Death on the Nigerian Oil Fields](#)", Niger Delta: Economies of Violence Working Paper 25 [open access]

Geographer Michael Watts has written about Nigeria for several decades. His recently reissued book *[Silent Violence: Food, Famine, and Peasantry in Northern Nigeria](#)* provides an invaluable background to a study of this part of the country. The above piece is one of his most recent, and puts the Boko Haram events of 2009 in

relation to the violence around the oil fields in the south of the country. There is also an important interview in *The Huffington Post* from May 2014.

111. Yusha'u, Muhammad Jameel (2012) “Representation of Boko Haram Discourses in the British Broadsheets”, *Journal of Arab & Muslim Media Research*, Volume 5, Number 1, 20 November 2012 , 91-108 [requires subscription].

Compares *The Guardian* and *The Telegraph*, and concludes that – despite domestic ‘ideological divides’ – there is no appreciable distinction in how they have reported on Boko Haram. Uses this as a basis for suggesting that anti-Islam has replaced anti-communism in Western media.

112. Yusuf, Hakeem O. (2013) “Harvest of Violence: The Neglect of Basic Rights and the Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria”, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 6.3, 371-91.

More theoretically driven than most pieces listed here, using critical theory to interrogate the topic, and a lot of focus on contextual issues that help to explain the situation.

113. Zenn, Jacob (2014) “Boko Haram and the Kidnapping of the Chibok Schoolgirls”, *CTC Sentinel*, Vol 7 No 5, 1-8.

Suggests Ansaru is the Nigerian AQIM; and that Abubaker Shekau is a *nom de guerre* for a number of Boko Haram figures, no longer a single person. Some useful discussion of kidnapping as a general tactic.

114. Zenn, Jacob and Pearson, Elizabeth (2014) “Women, Gender and the Evolving Tactics of Boko Haram”, *Journal of Terrorism Research*, 5.1, 46-57.