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# Boko Haram and the International Community; the Ramifications of Targeted Sanctions

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Nigeria has a protracted history of virulent instability one of which is the Boko Haram waged act of terrorism. Since the implosion of the terrorist group, the Boko Haram has been one of the biggest threats to Africa's most populous country in terms of intensity, organization and spread. Gauging from the sophisticated nature of weapons and high-level intelligence that characterized the various strata of violence waged by the terrorist group, it becomes obvious that, such grouping, do not operate in a vacuum but subsist on motivations, material and ideological aids or influence tapped sought from parent groups. The glaring horror escapades of the lethal group as recorded in the displacement and death of innocent civilians, abductions (of the Chibok girls), depth of violence, face to face the degree of quivers and shivers injected into Nigeria and its entire society, and the international community at large made their activities a subject matter of obsessive discussion. Given the how their activities dealt a hefty blow to the socioeconomic stability and tranquility of western and central Africa, one may aptly understand the swift harsh response with which the global comity of nations dealt with the enigma. The consequences of their activities have precipitated starvation, forced migration and a sharp decline in FDI. In the face of the terrorist groups transgressions, inter alia, the subsequent obfuscation and asphyxiation of not only Nigeria and its environs, but also the world at large, the United Nations (UN), in concert with the European Union (EU), the United States of America (USA), resolved to impose harsh targeted sanctions also known as smart sanctions on the groups ranging from travel ban on its associates, assets freezing of its membership etc. Essentially, these were meant to deter the group. It is therefore against this disturbing background that the research is conducted. This paper discourses on violence under the Boko Haram uprising and further interrogates the Nigerian state and the international community's response in relations to analyzing the impact of the diplomacy of sanctions deployment against belligerent groups- to ascertain its effectiveness or otherwise. It concludes that unless the international community concretely tackle and intensifies its resolve to ensure the strict application of punitive measures, the efficacy of sanctions would likely remain a facade and a cast in the chimera.

Keywords: Targeted or Smart sanction, Terrorism, kidnapping

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#### INTRODUCTION

Undoubtedly, terrorism stands erect as one of the biggest challenges facing Nigeria in particular and the world in general with a major existential menacing threat to collective global security and economy. It is almost a truism that, all continents and races alike in the world have had a sordid and insipid taste of its destructive ramifications. This notwithstanding, given the huge economic returns in terrorist activities and undertakings, more particularly considering its potential to benefit the superpower countries noted for purveying arms and plundering natural resources, it becomes more crystal clear that, such acts of instability may not be truncating any time soon.

Against the groundswell of the concatenation of terrorist attacks around the world, vis-a-vis its potential spread over and trickle-down effect on polities and established social structures have contributed to generating an overwhelming interest in the subject matter of terrorism. The attendant swirling disquisitions have created a litany of varying perspectives of conceptions and definitions bordering on terrorism. In spite of this, there is, however, no universally accepted definition. Generally, terrorism could be said to be a form of violence against defenseless civilians to achieve a political and/or religious objective(s). The terrorists' ultimate goal is to create an atmosphere of fear and anxiety among the people where they carry out terror attacks (, Gross, R., & Marshall, R., 2006). In the views of Neria, Y., Gross, R., & Marshall, R. (2006), in the event of uprisings, characterized by disturbances, terrorist groups ensure the creation of an atmosphere where people prioritize long-term concerns about their safety. The foregoing description within the context of terrorism is not far from the experience of Nigeria and Africa in particular, and Africa in general. At this juncture, it is worthy to state that, the major underpinning of all these retrogressive happenings have to a larger extent been nourished by the existence of weak government structures which have by extension created porous and feeble structures. This unfortunate exiting situation has invariable rendered Africa defenseless and vulnerable in the fight against terrorism and other violent extremist organizations operating in sub-Saharan Africa such as the Al-Shabaab in Somalia, Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb in the Sahara (AQIM), the Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda and more precisely Boko Haram in Nigeria, (Kaufman, 2012) etc.

In the league of terrorist groupings, the Jama'atu Ahlis-Sunnah li-Da'awati wal-Jihad, commonly referred to as Boko Haram is widely considered one of the deadliest terrorist groups in Africa unceasingly making waves around the globe. This violent extremist group continues to launch assaults on communities. As part of their hallmarks, they have engineered assassinations, explosions, and onslaughts on the entire Nigerian social structure. In specific terms, their attacks in northern Nigeria have claimed the lives of thousands of people whiles causing serious irreparable damages to properties- with most affected states in northeastern Nigeria being Adamawa and Borno, not leaving out Bauchi, Gombe, Taraba and Yobe where an estimated score of about two million (2 million) people were recorded displaced (United States Department of State Publication Bureau of Counterterrorism, Furthermore, to these, their attacks have caused large and destructive losses. They have had devastating humanitarian effects beyond the borders of Nigeria, deep into neighboring countries like Cameroon and Chad. The amalgamation of all these has compounded to shake the stability and peace of both western and central Africa

Actually, the activities of the Islamist fundamentalist grouping peaked to nauseating with the abduction of the 200 female students in government schools in Chibok Town, Borno State, Nigeria which the group publicly claimed responsibility. This act of open act of intransigence provoked international outrage which

garnered global appeal, and subsequently, triggering the famous campaign "Bring Back Our Girls". Before this, a handful of people knew or were aware of Boko Haram in the world. The sect was a somewhat hermitage residing one. In response to the unhealthy situation, the United Nations (a body incepted to maintain international peace and security), under Chapter V of the UN Charter and the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), which mandates the body to respond to any threat or breach of international peace and security or any act(s) of aggression stepped in to still the tranquil waters. Noteworthy is the fact that the triggering or application of sanctions came in vogue at the peak of the humanitarian crises in Iraq which saw the strict application of comprehensive sanctions. Under the circumstance as was the case in Irag, the UN introduced targeted sanctions, otherwise known as smart sanctions intended to whip leaders, offenders' political elites and segments of society deemed responsible for reprehensible behavior into line, whiles mitigating the impact of collateral damage on the general population.

In the aftermath of the much-reported kidnapping of the Chibok girls, the UN Security Council exercised its responsibility by invoking targeted sanctions against Boko Haram. In the strict application of the conventions attached to the sanctions, the sect was included in the list of Al-Qaeda organizations subject to an arms embargo, assets freeze and travel ban (BBC.). In evaluating the impact of sanctions, the Security Council's Al- Qaida Sanctions Committee underscored the prominence of effective implementation of the Al- Qaida sanctions regime as an important tool to combat terrorist activities. As part of measures to handle and contain insurrection trigger groups, the body urged all member states to actively participate by nominating for listing additional individuals, groups, undertakings, and entities which be subject to the sanction's measures (Security Council's Al-Qaida Sanctions Committee, 2014,). Not ending there, it prompted the US government to impose sanctions against the terrorist organization Boko Haram, its kingpin,

Mus'ab al-Barnawi, and other global affiliate networks. As such, the US Department added Boko Haram, later rechristened ISIS-West Africa, to the list of groups under sanctions for global terrorism("Adeyemo, 2018).

In what appeared to be taking stringent actions against the sect, the initiative by the US impelled the EU to also slap sanctions on Nigeria's Boko Haram as a terrorist group linked to Al Qaeda several weeks after kidnapping the Chibok schoolgirls. Ever since the United Nations has increasingly used this type of sanctions to address a wide range of threats to international peace and security. These comprise the fight against terrorism, the prevention of conflict, the consolidation of peace agreements, the protection of the civilian population, the support of democracy, the improvement of resource management and the reduction of the general intent of weapons of mass destruction Targeted sanctions consortium (TSC, 2013)

#### THE METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

To fully understand the sanctions imposed on the terrorist activities of Boko Haram, the applied methodology mainly centered on a literature review of existing researches on terrorism. The study employed the historical method of research and analysis. This is due to the nature of the research which sought to illuminate those forces that shaped the phenomenon of the Boko Haram insurgency in Northern Nigeria in the past, especially from 2009, to the contemporary time. The study is also descriptive in nature or style as it built on the findings of earlier works done in the field of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria; while Newspapers were also relied upon for the contemporary development in the field of the insurgency. The survey also does not use primary sources of information. The data obtained were objectively analyzed qualitatively to determine the negative effects. As mentioned, (Burnham et al., 2004, cited Morris 2009) the full range of data from different

sources provides qualitative analysis, which provides an in-depth analysis of a phenomenon. It provides a detailed and thorough explanation of the subject that has been explored in a more comprehensive way and the likely implications for the future as regards the search for a permanent resolution of the crisis.

# A general summary of sanctions and terrorism in Nigeria

Attributable to the monstrosities as of late by Nigerian fanatic group, the United Nations Security Council included Boko Haram, to its Al Qaeda Sanctions List, a blacklist of individuals and organizations affiliated with Al Qaeda. The designation subjects Boko Haram followers to punishments that incorporate a freeze on assets, a travel ban, and an arms ban. Nigeria had sought the designation as part of a more extensive reaction to an influx of assaults on schools and other targets by the group and its abducting of almost 300 students some few years ago. The Security Council designation declaration referred to the group's acknowledged affinity and joint effort with Al Qaeda and its "violent insurrection using terrorist strategies." The designation was hailed by Samantha Power, the United States ambassador, who said the Council's activity had "shut off significant roads of subsidizing, travel and weapons to Boko Haram, and indicated worldwide solidarity against their savage activities."( Rick Gladstone,2014). The European Union also imposed sanctions on Nigeria's Boko Haram as an Al-Qaeda-connected extremist group weeks abducted more than 200 Nigerian students. The choice to blacklist the group pursues its designation as an extremist movement two weeks prior by the United Nations. Boko Haram, whose name deciphers freely from the Hausa language spoken broadly in northern Nigeria as "Western education is sin, was added to the EU list alongside Syria's jihadist Al-Nusra Front for the People of the Levant. The move subjects Boko Haram and Al-Nusra just as individuals or entities supporting them

monetarily or materially to sanctions including an arms ban, asset freeze, and travel ban. Boko Haram, which was made 10 years back, requests the formation of an Islamic state in mainly Muslim northern Nigeria. Its assaults have left thousands dead since 2009(AFP/PTI Brussels June 3, 2014).

The United States government has imposed new sanctions on the terror group, Boko Haram, and its factional leader, Mus'ab al-Barnawi. The new sanctions authorized by the U.S. Treasury Department focuses on the Islamic State and its associated networks around the globe. The U.S. department included Boko Haram, otherwise called ISIS-West Africa, to the sanction list for worldwide terrorism, Mr. al-Barnawi and Mahad Moalim from Somalia and seven associations in Africa and Asia. connected to an Islamic State (ISIS), were added to the list. Mr. al-Barnawi was the spokesperson for Boko Haram before the group pledged loyalty to ISIL.AllAfrica,2018).

Africa is a region blessed and wealthy in human and natural resources. The area accounts to a great extent for the least developed nations on the globe. Social and economic conditions in numerous African nations are very deplorable. Widespread poverty, youth fretfulness, and joblessness, elevated amounts of lack of education are a few highlights portraying numerous African states. The area has been home to interstate wars, tribal and communal wars, armed insurgency and the present pattern of rising extremist groups across the region. Featuring the difficulties confronting Africa the United Nations Secretary-General had this to state "Terrorism, trafficking in arms, drugs, and individuals, and other transnational types of sorted out wrongdoing are compromising security in Africa's huge Sahel area." (Boycott Ki-Moon, 2013). Africa is home to the absolute deadliest insurrection groups, such as the Boko Haram bunch in Nigeria that has been threatening the Lake Chad district; al-Shabaab in East Africa with its militant assaults past the shores of Somalia; to AQIM and other radical bunches in the Sahel area that invades the land of

Algeria, Mali and Mauritania. Nigeria has been on the terrorist spotlight since 2009, after the emergence of Boko Haram. Prior to the emergence of Boko Haram, the Nigerian state had to struggle with the activities of Nigeria Delta militants .The two groups are largely a product to a great extent a result of Nigeria's failure in governance which has brought about youth joblessness, rising poverty levels and extending (widening) of the gap between the rich and poor people. Boko Haram is viewed as a result of huge scale socio-economic and religious belief system superbly fit into historical insecurity, its narratives and current grievances. (Forest, 2012) Religious manipulation, manifest poverty, and political discontent are factors that breed extremism seen as the battle between the oppressor and the oppressed. (Ajayi, 2012)

#### **Purposes of Targeted or Smart sanctions**

The purposes of targeted or smart sanctions can be divided into three (3) main categories: Coercion, Constraint, and Signaling. Coercion mainly forces governments or actors to change or discontinue their behavior in order to meet certain demands of the Security Council. While constraint is purposely to impose a burden on target from engaging in a proscribed activity, signal sanctions are designed to clearly identify countries that deviate from international norms and standards (Targeted sanctions consortium (TSC, 2013)

#### **Types of Targeted Sanctions**

In general, targeted or smart sanctions can be classified into Six (6) different types. They include; Individual/entity sanctions, Diplomatic sanctions, Arms embargo or proliferation, commodity sanctions, transportation sanction, and financial sector sanctions.

Individual/entity sanctions (most often asset freezes and travel bans) are applied to individuals and corporate entities (companies or political parties). Diplomatic

sanctions are limitations placed on a government's diplomatic activity, and they address measures such as restricting recognized personnel, travel and a general suspension of intergovernmental organizations. Arms embargoes or proliferation, on the other hand, is related to goods (largely limited impact on fighting forces or security sector). While commodity sanctions restrict trade from certain products in the target country or region, they are often used for valuable natural resources such as diamonds or wood. Transportation sanctions refer to the ban on international transit by carriers (marine, aerial) from the targeted state. Finally, financial sector sanctions comprise (for example, a ban on investment, and restrictions on banking services) and an oil embargo (Targeted Sanctions Consortium (TSC-2013).

#### Why Targeted or Smart sanctions were initiated?

In the mid-1990s, the world was shaken by humanitarian crises and tormented by guilt. In the aftermath of Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait the same year, the United **Nations** Security Council (UNSC) imposed comprehensive sanctions against Iraq. According to the Global Policy Forum, this supposedly non-violent alternative to the military force has resulted in a humanitarian catastrophe as amply evidenced in the backlash of the comprehensive sanctions which left in its stead deaths, diseases, and resentment rather than positive change. The outcomes from these gave rise to widespread excoriation of the United Nations' actions, which in turn gave rise to considerable debate about how sanctions might best be imposed. The pursuit of alternative measures to avoid a recurrence of the situation led to series of projects and workshops undertaken to solicit and scout for harmless and novel ways of addressing the issue of economic sanctions which leaders of the UN unanimously concluded as disproportionately harmful to powerless citizens and as such should be avoided." The principal outcome in terms of the solution devised became targeted or smart

sanctions which have come to stay as the UNs reigning sanction policy.

Revolving around targeted sanctions were dual ideas which sought to comprehensively tackle different failings in comprehensive sanctions. The first was that targeted rather than comprehensive sanctions should be imposed for the sake of humanity because of its potency to avoid collateral damage and save innocent bystanders from harm. On the other hand, however, drawing lessons and inferences from the Iraqi case study reinforced a belief that comprehensive sanctions were not as particularly effective as envisaged to have. This was premised on the generalization that, it exposed the innocent to unbearable sufferings, whiles the perpetrators of misconducts are allowed to go unpunished (kanji, 2017).

#### **Definition of Terrorism**

The concept of terrorism is one of the most controversial raging issues in the social science field of study. The controversy encircling the conceptualization and definition of the term "terrorism" has been in the discourse melting pot for some time now. There is still lacking a widely accepted definition (Spencer, 2006). Some authors such as Walter Laqueur even contend that "a comprehensive definition of terrorism... does not exist and will not be discovered in the foreseeable future (Walter Laqueur, 1977). Jeffrey Simon, on the other hand, posits that there are at least 212 different definitions of terrorism worldwide, of which 90 are used by governments and other institutions (Simon, 1994). In one of the most rigorous attempts to define terrorism, Alex B. Schmid and Albert Jungman also examined 109 different definitions of terrorism. In a more recent study, Leonard Weinberg, Ami Pedahzur and Sivan Hirsch-Hoefler examine 73 definitions of terrorism from 55 articles in three leading academic journals on the topic, and come to the conclusion that "[t]terrorism is a politically motivated tactic involving the threat or use of force or violence in which the pursuit of publicity plays a

significant role (Weinberg, Pedahzur & Hirsch-Hoefler, 2004).

For the first time, an internationally acceptable definition was reached under the League of Nations, but the "Convention" drafted in 1937 was never established. The UN member states, however, have not yet had an agreed definition. As such, terminology consensus would be needed for a single comprehensive agreement on terrorism, which some countries prefer instead of the present twelve piecemeal conventions and protocols ( Pasayat, 2010). Insufficient agreement on the definition of terrorism was the main obstacle to significant international countermeasures. The UN Secretary-General as a result of this expressed his dissatisfaction with the international community's inability to reach a mutually agreed definition (Kalamdh, 2011)In his own words, he emphatically stated that, "I understand and accept the need for legal precision, but let me say frankly that there is also a need for moral clarity". He then proceeded to identify the bottom line in the debate on a definition of terrorism, more particularly emphatic that, "there can be no acceptance of those who seek to justify the deliberate taking of innocent life, regardless of cause or grievance. If there is one universal principle that all people can agree on. Surely it is this". (Supra note12) Thus, the definition of terrorism shall be broad enough to include into itself all acts, methods and practices of terrorism which invades the fundamental rights of people or state, as criminal and unjustifiable, wherever and by whomsoever committed.

### Why is it problematic and more difficult to define Terrorism?

In the wake of the seeming difficulty to pass a unified concept and definition of terrorism, Boaz Ganor advanced the following reasons: (Schmid, 2004)

1. Because terrorism is a "contested concept" and political, legal, social science and popular notions of it are often diverging;

- 2. Because the definition question is linked to (de-) legitimization and criminalization;
- 3. Because there are many "terrorists" with different forms and manifestations;
- 4. Because the term has undergone changes of meaning in the more than 200 years of its existence
- 5. Because terrorist organizations are (semi-)clandestine and the secrecy surrounding them makes an objective analysis difficult;
- 6. Because the definition question is linked to whether or not terrorists work for or against one's own (national) interests, and, consequently double standards tend to be applied;
- 7. Because the boundaries with other forms of political violence (e.g. assassination, [guerrilla] warfare) are hazy or unclear:
- 8. Because the state, with its (claimed) monopoly of the use of force and its legal definition power, can exclude any of its own activities (e.g. indiscriminate repression) from the definition:
- 9. Because it is linked to a discussion of primary responsibility for initiating a downward spiral of action-reaction violence and a discussion of root causes:
- 10. Because some authors use two different vocabularies (force vs. violence; terror vs. terrorism) for the state- and non-state actors;
- 11. Because the conceptual and normative frameworks of the users of the term differ (e.g. criminal justice model, war model);
- 12. Because the discussion on terrorism has been linked to issues regarding self-determination, armed resistance against foreign occupation and racist regimes;
- 13. Because those who engage in acts of terrorism often also engage in other, more legitimate, forms of armed conflict and/or engage in political party politics;
- 14. Because the violence perpetrated by the terrorists' opponent might be as indiscriminate, or worse, than the one of those that are deemed "terrorists."
- 15. Because the assessment of the terrorist act is intertwined with the discussion concerning the actor's

goals and the status of the actor itself.

These aforementioned differences by Boaz Ganor have made it difficult to conclude on a comprehensive definition of international terrorism.

#### A Brief Summary of Boko Haram

The West African state of Nigeria, now considered the largest economy in Africa, has suffered prolonged attacks in the north-east of the country by an armed Islamist movement of Boko Haram. Boko Haram members prefer to be known by their Arabic name - Jama'atu Ahlis Sunnah Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad - which means "people engaged or committed to spreading the teachings and jihad of the prophet". The group was reportedly formed in the northeastern city of Maiduguri, where its inhabitants call its members "Boko Haram", a combination of the Hausa word "Boko", which literally means "western education" and "Arabic". Haram "which means "sin" or literally could imply "forbidden". Boko Haram's birth and growth has been and still characterized by a combination of secret interference, poor governance, corruption, and lack of infrastructure, extreme poverty and the rapid onset of a fundamentalist Wahhabi theological system that opposes a generally tolerant Islam practicing traditional northern Nigeria- establishment.

One factor that has contributed to the flourishing of the terrorist outfit that has vowed to cause of change in the status quo in so far as western education and the general lifestyle of Nigeria is concerned could partly be attributed to capitalizing on the general bad socio-economic situation in its coverage areas and the abject loss of hope to influence and scale up its powers. With a spirit and vision to extend the tentacles of its international relations outside Nigeria, the group tied itself to another a Middle East terrorist organization known as the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), which was until recently later renamed the Islamic State of West Africa (ISWAP) for most West Africans. In asserting its might and pushing

hard to ensuring the realization of its prime objective of ensuring Islamization and imposing Islamic laws, popularly known as Sharia, the group has employed a mixture of modus operandi ranging from subtle subterfuge to use of social media and other unconventional mediums in carrying out their hatched plans. Through the carrying out of cross-border raids, the groups have unleashed cruelty on its victims.

Even though the group is currently being pursued by a combined team of international force drawn from Nigeria, Benin, Cameroon, Chad and Niger- allegedly under the able aegis of the United States, the United Kingdom and France, this has not been deterrent enough to discourage the sect from carrying out arbitrary acts of suicide bombing, mass abductions and massacres against the local people of northeastern Nigeria and her neighbours. In the dying embers of the tenure of office of former president Goodluck Jonathan, the group became a huge lump in the throat of the administration. It became a torn in the flesh of his government as even the Nigerian forces were constrained in matching, containing and launching reprisal attacks against the group. The effect of the onslaughts from the group was too overwhelming that it exerted a deadweight on not only national morale but also cast a dent on the institutional integrity of the national armed forces of Nigeria who were reported to have retreated in the face of persistent terror and killing. The amalgamated effect of these, coupled with the internal and external pressure on the Nigerian government placed cascaded into a thawed diplomatic relationship between the government of Nigeria and the United States of America. This was obvious in the Jonathan-instructed force exit directive to the US military coach to leave the shores of Nigeria (Onuoha, 2012).

#### **Boko Haram International affiliation**

The years of belligerence purveyed by the group has corroborated the group as not a domestic terrorist organization, but more of a jihadist organization with

international connections and affiliations to similar bodies offshore. Reports confirm Boko Haram's main objective of becoming pivotal in the larger worldwide web of international terrorist groups such as the Islamic Maghreb's Al Qaeda and its affiliate in Mali and the entire Sahel, and the Somali-based Al-Shabaab. (Agbiboa, 2014).

Ideologically, the Boko Haram sect runs within a common precinct with other similar movements like the Al Qaeda. The admission by Boko Haram's members to this is captured in; Our [Boko Haram] relationship with Al Qaeda is very strong. In fact, our leader Shekau and his team were in Mecca for the lesser Hajj to consolidate on that relationship. And we carried out the attack on the UN building when he was about to go into a meeting with Al Qaeda leadership in order to strengthen our negotiation position. (Onuoha, 2012) Explicitly, it may be fair to assert that Boko Haram is an extension of Al-Qaeda, unto whom the former attribute a kind of respect and loyalty.

As future events would attest it, it came as no surprise in 2015, when Boko Haram pledged an allegiance to Islamic State (IS) and rebranded itself to Islamic State of West Province (ISWAP) which witnessed an increase and acceleration in pace in virtual exchanges between Boko Haram's helmsman, Abubakar Shekau and the affiliate groups. The sheer symbolism as reflected in the group's instant adoption of the IS's black jihadist banner and de facto anthem, "My Umma, Dawn has Arrived" in its video releases was a gesture that signalled a somewhat institutional companionship cast in stone. (Antwi-Boateng, 2017). As part of the external affiliation benefits, the group enjoys technical exchanges. In addition to the Al-Qaeda and IS, the Algerian Salafist Group has also been a mother lode intelligence and technical assistance to the group by way of assisting in the making and using of the IEDs and dirty bombs meant for combat.

#### **Activities of Boko Haram**

Boko Haram is considered the most extremist terrorist groups in Africa and the world as a whole through whose diabolic activities the innocent blood has been shed, and properties running into millions of dollars destroyed. The strings of attacks carried out through suicide bombings against civilians and the Nigerian army include; (Salifu, 2017)

- December 24, 2003: Boko Haram attacked the Geiam and Kanamma police stations in Yobe state and hang the flag of the Afghan Taliban on the building for several days (unknown death, unknown damage)
- July 27, 2009: Boko Haram launched a series of attacks in Maiduguri, Borno, Nigeria, and put several churches, police stations and a prison on fire (75+ killed, unknown wounded
- In August 2011, the main building of the UN Headquarters in Abuja, where a Boko Haram suicide bomber detonated a car full of explosives, killing 23 people and injuring 87.
- On December 25, 2011, at least 43 people were reported killed in an attack that resulted in the injury of an estimated 70 injured. This was carried out by a suicide bomber who drove into worshipers at St. Theresa's church in Madalla, Niger State. Several houses, cars and church roofs were damaged.
- Whiles other 187 innocent persons were killed, an estimated 50 people were wounded on 20 January 2012, when Boko Haram organized a series of bomb attacks and shootings in the city of Kano, mainly targeting police stations.
- September 17, 2013, recorded the murder of about 142 people and many other injuries when Boko

Haram plundered the city of Benisheik. Masked members in a uniform set up checkpoints outside the town and shot all those who tried to escape.

• On 14 April 2014, a double bombing took place, leaving about 80 dead and 200 wounded at Nyanya Park in Nyanya, Nasarawa State.

#### How Boko Haram is being Financed?

Like many terrorist and insurgent groups alike, the Boko Haram resorts to illicit conduits to support its other undertakings. Whiles some of these illicit mediums have been transnational and cross-border in character, others are staged within the jurisdiction of Nigeria. This segment of the paper seeks to discuss the funding mediums of the terrorist group. Literature has it that, Boko Haram is presumed to be active in illicit trafficking markets, a review of the literature indicates that the group does other means to financially and materially, sustain itself. More specifically, such means include; extortion and protection rackets, bank robbery, looting, and kidnapping for ransom. Boko Haram is financed through the following activities(Weber, 2014).

#### Kidnapping

Kidnap ransoms has become a major source of funding for the group. The kidnapping of westerners and other expatriates/foreign nationals, local elders and business people have captured media headlines. This activity has raked in huge sums for the group. Most often, it has been a way of securing concessions from the Nigerian state and other governments. It has been a lucrative source of cash, as well.

#### **Robbery and Looting**

In addition to kidnappings, Boko Haram has been running a campaign of bank robberies as a sustainable means to secure finance to support its activities. The group has robbed hundreds of banks in its native province of Borno and two other northern regions in Nigeria and nabbed convoys and successful businesses (Weber, 2014).

#### Taxes and protection money

Boko Haram has persistently demanded and received protection fees from governors in northern Nigeria since 2004. Some are even of the conviction that, they have control over various local authorities in the northeast and collect taxes and run the show at these places."

#### Foreign terrorist organizations

It is generally believed that Boko Haram has received funding from regional and international Islamic terrorist organizations, but how many and which groups are controversial. It is reported that the group received the first initial money from Osama bin Laden in 2002 through a disciple named Mohammed Ali, who bin Laden sent to Africa with \$ 3 million for like-minded military organizations. The group is also said to have received money from the Algerian al-Qaeda branch in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and the Somali group al-Shabab

#### Foreign civic groups

There are a handful of non-militant groups accused of distributing money to Boko Haram, including the British Al-Muntada Trust Fund and Saudi Arabian's Islamic World Society. "Monetary policy practices anchored in Muslim culture, such as donations to charities and informal money transfer centers, have made it difficult to understand terrorist financial links. (Weber, 2014)

# Social-economic implications of Boko Haram's activities

The activities of this uprising group have exerted many

negative consequences on the socioeconomic life and activities in Nigeria and the affected states. The effect of terrorism has been demonstrated in food shortages and starvation forced relocation and dislocation of people and related setbacks in domestic and foreign investments in the affected areas. (Ogbonna & Jiménez, 2017). Thematically discussed below are the socio-economic consequences of Boko haram's onslaughts;

#### Education

At the fulcrum of the insurgent group's target operation lies institutions, precisely schools. The larger part of the insurgent group's hit has mostly schools in their target strongholds in the northeast (The Economist (2014). This was in sync with the group's overall grand mission to defeat Western education, totally obliterate all vestiges of westernization which they consider an anathema and preposterous, and finally, sink it into oblivion. In the face of all these open threats, the government seems immobilized to respond. The violence of this extremist group has caused a whole generation of children to miss education. The harrowing effect of the activities of Boko Haram has over the years known no boundaries. It has spread across the Chad Lake basin which bestrides Nigeria Cameroon, Niger, and Chad where hundreds of thousands of children have been denied the right to education since 2009, because schools were burned, bombed and, in some cases in the cause of the conflagration. Under this life-threatening circumstances, teachers and other supporting human resource service providers in the educational institutions and others fled. Because this was the situation, academic activities have been truncated. and arguably compromised. (International plan, 2017).

#### Food insecurity and starvation

The unfolding events of insurgency took a toll on all aspects of socioeconomic activities including farming.

Hordes of people farming on large swathes of land in the predominantly farmers populated north have been forced by dreadful circumstances to abandon their farms and homes due to insecurity posed by Boko Haram extremist group. Invariably, this exerted a deleterious deadweight effect on food and cash crop production in this region. As such many of the internally displaced people in the northeastern part of Nigeria face enormous difficulties in meeting their food and non-food needs. A situation assessment in late 2014 alone, following interviews with key informants in Gombe, Yobe and Adamawa states, revealed that vast areas of southern Yobe and Borno and northern Adamawa were under-cultivated and/or not harvested during the May to December main farming season as a result of attacks and conflict-related fears orchestrated by the Boko Haram insurgency in the area. The insurgency has drastically reduced food production in the northern states with a multiplier effect resulting in an acute reduction in the number of trucks conveying food from the north to the southern markets and beyond. As a result, there has been food insecurity not only in the northern states of Nigeria but also in the southern states and other parts of Africa, such as parts of Chad that have traditionally, for over a couple of decades relied on food from northern Nigeria for survival. This aptly confirms that the shroud of food insecurity precipitated by the ill activities of Boko Haram was not only peculiar to Abuja but also, other polities who for years have had to rely on Nigeria to meet their food supplies (Kam Kah, 2017)

#### Deterrence to local and foreign investment

Developed, developing and less developed countries alike need rapid national and economic development. Indubitably, the prevalence of a germane enabling environment that is a sine qua non to undergirding all forms of developments so desired. At the same time, it could be a pull factor to place a country on a cusp to help attract foreign direct investment (FDI) which is also critical and a central plank to national progress. Any

situation that repels and by extension sets a country apart and sinks it into the abyss of instability is therefore likely to stagnate the progress and entrench the affected country in the path of retrogression where acts of instability like bombings, kidnappings, killings and destruction of properties overwhelmingly abound.

(Isakpa 2011) noted that "under such circumstances, there can be no real progress made in any economy that is hostage to insecurity". As exemplified and evidenced in the case of Nigeria, owing to High rate of insurgency, major investors have abandoned Nigeria for other countries with a peaceful and stable environment, and the Nigerian economy is left grasping for breath and survival which has led to the low level of foreign direct investment (FDI) attraction. The negative international image that the implosion of the Boko-Haram activities has smeared on Nigeria has negatively effected its economy, operation, and general performance. business (Onyebuchi, 2018)

#### Forced Immigration and Dislocation of People

Large-scale migration occurred in northern Nigeria due to insecurity for life and property caused by the activities of Boko Haram (Nkwede et al., 2015). While Southerners engaged in business in the North moved back home, the majority of the affected people who found themselves in the north of the country sought refuge in internally displaced persons (IDP) camps. According to a 2015 report by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), there were approximately 1,188,018 people in the northeastern part of Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Tarab, and Yobe have who had been internally displaced. Another 47.276 persons involving 5.910 from the northern plateau, Nasarawa, Abuja, Kano, and Kaduna were equally displaced. As of February 2015, the total number of internally displaced persons in northern Nigeria was 1.235.294 (IOM, 2015). In June 2016, more than 1,200 people died of hunger and disease at the Yola Aid camp. The camp is located in a hospital complex in

northeastern Nigeria, which houses people fleeing Boko Haram, according to the medical charity Médecins Sans Frontières. When the humanitarian organization visited Bama in May 2016, it found 24,000 people, including 15,000 children, taking refuge in camps. It was MSF's first trip there since the city was wrested from the insurgent's control in March 2015 (Reuters, 2016). The IOM report continues that 91.98% of internally displaced persons from the Northeast are caused by Boko Haram activities, while 7.96% were caused by the community and tribal conflicts, with natural disasters accounting for the only 0.06percent. According to Alao et al., most immigrants from the North are young people who are usually farmers who abandoned their livelihoods for security reasons (Oladimeji, Olusegun and Oluwafisayo 2012). In any case, the insurrection is a factor that has led to forced migration in northern Nigeria, as well as an increase in poverty and despair.

# Targeted or Smart Sanctions imposed on Boko Haram by the International community

Owing to the outcry of the majority of countries around the world after the abduction of 200 Chiko schoolgirls by Boko Haram extremist group, the pressure was mounted on the international community to act swiftly which resulted in initiating sanctions against Boko Haram. At the Paris Summit on Security in Nigeria, Nigeria's neighbors, the UK, US, and EU all agreed to pursue targeted sanctions against Boko Haram at the UN. This demonstrates the international community's unflinching support for Nigeria to arrest terrorism. Boko Haram's aggression incurred the wrath of the UN, EU, and the US to declare them a terrorist group linked to al- Qaeda.

However, the UN Security Council committee on al Qaeda blacklisted and imposed sanctions on the Islamist militant group Boko Haram in 2014 after the kidnapping of the Chibok schoolgirls. The designation, which came into effect after no objections were raised by the 15-member Security Council subjected Boko Haram to UN

sanctions, including an arms embargo, financial, asset freeze and travel ban. Under the terms of the sanctions list, it constituted an offense for any individual or entity to provide financial or material support to Boko Haram, including the provision of arms or recruits.

In furtherance of this, the EU imposed sanctions on Boko Haram as an al-Qaeda linked terrorist group. EU sanctions on Boko Haram terrorist group included an arms embargo, asset freeze, financial operations, and travel ban. The militant Boko Haram group was added to EU list along Syria's jihadist Al- Al-Nusra Front. The move subjects Boko Haram and Al-Nusra, as well as people or entities supporting them financially or materially, to sanctions including an arms embargo, asset freeze and travel ban (Benar, 2014). Also, Shekau Mohammed Abubakar, the official leader of the Nigerian Islamic militant group Boko Haram and Ansarul Muslimina Fi Biladis Sudan, a splinter group of Boko Haram, has now been made subject to restrictive measures. (O'Kane, 2014).

In June 2012, the State Department designated Boko Haram's top commanders as specially designated global terrorists under section 1(b) of Executive Order 13224. In June 2013, the State Department added Abubakar Shekau, Boko Haram's official leader, to our Rewards for Justice Program and offered up to \$7 million for information leading to his capture. In November 2013, the State Department designated Boko Haram and Ansaru, a splinter faction, as Foreign Terrorist Organizations under Section 219 of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended, and as Specially Designated Global Terrorists under section 1(b) of Executive Order 13224. This designation empowers U.S. law enforcement and the treasury department to pursue these violent extremist organizations such as Boko Haram, al-Shabaab, ISIS, al Qaeda, and many other violent extremist groups.

The United States worked closely with Nigeria to pursue terrorist designations at the UN Security Council for Boko Haram, which was approved and took effect on May 22, 2014. These designations prohibit arms sales,

freeze assets, restrict movement, and encourage regional cooperation. (The White House-Office, 2014)

# What is the practical impact of sanctions imposed on Boko Haram?

When dealing with any terrorist organization including Boko Haram, one of the first steps needed to take is to identify and freeze their assets as well as their sympathizers through sanctions. The purpose of sanctions imposed by the United Union (UN), European Union (EU) and United States (US) are in response to what it considers to be reprehensible behavior, breaches of human rights and democratic principles, bombing, killings, abduction or potential security threats to Nigeria and Africa as a whole. The targeted sanctions against Boko Haram are intended to address these terrorist threats against innocent people. In spite of all the sanctions, imposed on the militant group deadly activities it is quite difficult to pinpoint the practical impact of sanctions on Boko Haram terrorist undertakings. Nevertheless, this was emphasized according to Australian UN Ambassador Gary Quinlan, chairman of the Al Qaeda Sanctions Committees who reaffirmed that it was difficult to identify the practical impact on the terrorist activities of Boko Haram. Yet minced no words in stating that it is an important step to draw support for the group ("Nichols, 2014).

The United Nations initial sanctions against Boko Haram, in the wake of the reported abductions of the chibok school girls, were seen by many as a step in the right direction. One voice that supported this was the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations Samantha Power who also emphasized the essence of the UN sanctions against Boko Haram as an "important step" in support of efforts to "defeat and hold its murderous leadership accountable. (Nichols ,2014).

What's more, the inclusion of the Boko Haram group in the sanction list of United Nations, European Union, and the United States will help to seal funding, travel, and weapons transportation mediums to Boko Haram. The action demonstrates a collective global resolve to unite against brutal acts. According to the terms of the sanctions list, it is currently a crime for any natural or legal person to provide financial or material assistance to Boko Haram, including the supply of weapons or recruits. Conversely, any individual who disobeys this is eligible to be added to the Al-Qaida Sanctions list and liable for sanctions.

The leaders of Boko Haram and their fellows do not travel on passports, but travel on the ground in commandeered cars," Omoyele Sowore of Nigeria's Citizen journalism website Sahara Reporters told the BBC website. They have no formal property that anyone could point to and it's not a formal organization. Comparing Boko Haram with Al Qaeda, an interesting thing about Al Qaeda is that Osama bin Laden and his colleagues were multimillionaires; they have rogue states like Afghanistan behind them. The assets can be traced and frozen, but Boko Haram is involved in bank robberies, take money for ransom and they do not have the kind of assets that can be pursued. The targeted sanctions against Boko Haram seem to be irrelevant in dealing with Boko Haram. According to Reuter's journalists, Phil Stewart and Lesley Wrought on interviewed US officials to understand why the US had been struggling to tackle Boko Haram's funding flows. US officials admitted that Boko Haram's financial operations make it difficult to track and identify funding flows. Financial sanctions and counter-financing measures introduced after 9/11 are insufficient to affect Boko Haram's funding. In November 2013, the US Department of State designated the Boko Haram Group as a foreign terrorist organization (FTO) under Section 219 of the Immigration and Nationality Act and as specially designated Global Terrorists (SDGTs) under Executive Order 13224.

Prior to designating Boko Haram as a terrorist organization, the State Department referred to Abubakar Shekau, Khalid al-Barnawi, and Abubakar Adam Kambar

as SDGT in June 2012. The terms FTO and SDGT allows the confiscation of any assets that Boko Haram may own in US financial institutions and criminalize financial transactions with Boko Haram members. As highlighted in the Congressional research report, Boko Haram is marked as an FTO and has no impact on its financing. There are laws in place to ensure that if Boko Haram or its sympathizers openly operate in financial institutions, their funds will become frozen and unusable for it as an organization. Never before has a criminal complaint been filed in US courts in relation to individuals supporting Boko Haram. Freezing Boko Haram's financial assets appear to be the least effective measure against its financial support.

Lastly, the targeted sanctions instigated by the international community and US against the terrorist organizations of Boko have not been any effective. Even though it's has been designed precisely to punish the terrorist group without affecting the economy, it is also meant to prevent any significant humanitarian consequences. impoverishing the population and crippling society. Despite the various types of targeted sanctions imposed on Boko Haram, they still continue to commit deadliest atrocities against in citizens.

#### CONCLUSION

From the analyses of the study, Boko Haram has been one of the major problems facing the country Nigeria and neighboring countries around them. Their activities have wreaked havoc which has caused a lot of socioeconomic consequences and general ignominy to the international reputation of Nigeria. At the initial outbreak of the crises, though the international community ignored Boko haramperhaps because of its unclear architecture and relatively unknown status, the kidnapping of the Chibok school girls shot them into infamous prominence. This marked a shift in focus of the international community to interrogate the underlying motivation factors of the group after which the UN was impelled to impose various types of targeted

sanction on this violent extremist group Boko Haram. It also incited the EU and the U. S to impose diverse stripes of sanction against the groups and other individuals who, through their association and/or support of the group have caused atrocious crimes against humanity.

Despite, all these sanctions imposed on Boko Haram, it is actually difficult to recognize whether the sanctions have had any meaningful impact on the militant group's activities. Essentially, Boko Haram has formally not organized a group like al-Qaeda whose assets can be identified and duly be subjected to sanctions. Furthermore, given how Boko Haram militants travel by road without a passport, makes it fairly appreciable, the difficult to monitor their activities. According to the writer perspective, it really difficult to conclude whether sanctions have had any impact on Boko Haram. Despite the fact, it is a step in the right direction but has not yielded any fruit yet. However, they still continue to cause terrorist activities among Nigeria citizens and the neighboring countries. Significantly targets sanctions imposed on Boko Haram have not been realized as at presently

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