Scholars reflect on Nigeria’s Boko Haram crisis

By Rebecca Shereikis, interim ISITA director

A February workshop organized by the Institute for the Study of Islamic Thought in Africa (ISITA) at Northwestern offered nuanced, multifaceted perspectives on the origins of the Boko Haram insurgency and its implications for Nigerian democracy. Held approximately six weeks before the March 28 national elections, the workshop examined northeast Nigeria’s socioeconomic, political, and religious contexts and how the country’s federal system contributed to Boko Haram’s rise. Panelists also addressed the country’s need to confront the growing tensions between Islamism and democracy.

Ibrahim Hassan (University of Jos and ISITA visiting scholar) noted that northern Nigerian Muslims have grappled with the contradictions between Islam and boko ever since Europeans arrived. Commonly translated as “Western education” rather than its Hausa meaning of “fraud” or “deception,” boko has been cultivated by northern Nigerian Muslims, who send their children to state schools, attend universities abroad, and participate in all aspects of the capitalist economy and the government. Hassan recounted that while dressing him in his school uniform as a child, his mother sang a Hausa song describing how children attending boko school were prevented from performing salat (prayer), the most important aspect of Islam. Although the message of the song was that boko is sinful, remarked Hassan, “we cultivated this boko education happily, with ‘boko is haram’ in the back of our minds.”

Given this context, how has Boko Haram’s ideology of rejecting the Western and the secular gained traction in the northeast and propelled its adherents to commit violence? Hassan’s research indicates that Boko Haram’s religious ideology holds little intrinsic appeal among the population. Instead, larger processes—such as the collapse of public education, the diminishing authority of traditional Islamic leadership, and the failure of the state to provide basic services and infrastructure to vitalize the economy—have created dire conditions in the northeast. Hassan’s interviewees repeatedly told him variations of “You have nothing doing, so you must find something else.” Also important, Hassan said, is situating the emergence of Boko Haram within the history and geography of Borno State, the heartland of the historic Kanem-Bornu empire (9–19th centuries). It has long, porous, and unpoliced borders with other nations, and its largest ethnic group, the Kanuri (which also dominates Boko Haram), historically maintained separateness.

ISITA’s workshop on the Boko Haram crisis featured (from left) panelists Richard Joseph, Brandon Kendhammer, Rotimi Suberu, Ibrahim Hassan, and moderator Rachel Riedl.

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from the Nigerian state. Also worthy of closer examination, Hassan said, are religious practices specific to Borno, especially a strong tradition of syncretism and occultism, that might shed light on the appeal of Boko Haram.

Richard Joseph (Northwestern) traced the emergence of the Boko Haram movement to a global transformation of Islamist ideology—from seeking to have the Islamic faith and sharia upheld by all public institutions; to jihadism that advocates expansion of Islam by warfare; to the cultist and pathological version of Islam evident in Boko Haram and the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant. In the dire economic and political circumstances in northeastern Nigeria, cultist leaders like Boko Haram’s Abubakar Shekau succeed in enticing or forcing people to embrace violence. As military and intelligence agencies fight cultist jihadism, the underlying current of Islamism and Salafism in Nigeria, well entrenched after decades of proselytizing supported by Saudi Arabia, cannot be ignored, Joseph emphasized. Proponents of Islamism, he stated, are steadily winning the conversation about the relationship of Islam to the state, at the expense of moderate and establishment Muslims. “The Islam/democracy debate must be confronted,” said Joseph. “It will not go away.”

Although “Nigeria has been one of the leading countries in the world seeking to harmonize religion, including Islam, with democracy,” Joseph said that its accomplishments as a multiethnic, multireligious, multicultural, and multilingual nation are often overshadowed by issues of corruption, infrastructure deficiencies, communal violence, and, now a brutal jihadist insurgency. The relation of Islam to the state is not a question for the north alone; roughly half of Yoruba Nigerians are Muslim. Nigeria’s elections and the challenge of preserving and extending democratic aspirations in a nation wracked by Islamist terrorism concern the entire world. Joseph ended by expressing hope that the resources of Northwestern and ISITA, which has cultivated a network of expertise on Islam in Africa, can play a role in helping Nigerians “find their way out of this intellectual, theological, and political quagmire.”

Brandon Kendhammer (Ohio University) offered an analysis of the implications of the Independent National Electoral Commission’s decision to postpone the presidential, gubernatorial, and legislative elections, originally scheduled for February, until March 28. One view of the six-week postponement was that it was a nonpartisan bid for more time for regional forces to defeat Boko Haram. The view of human rights proponents was that the military was not likely to significantly alter the situation in six weeks, and postponement was an attempt to benefit the ruling People’s Democratic Party. Kendhammer said that the decline of the military’s morale and conditions beginning in winter 2014 provided the impetus for Boko Haram to take territory for the first time. The movement’s claim in August 2014 to have established a caliphate was widely misread by Western media as an expression of allegiance or affiliation with ISIS. Kendhammer reads it as a declaration of the absence of Nigerian state power in the area. Moreover, it is unclear what exactly “governing” has meant for Boko Haram in recent months; there is little evidence of setting up of structures or institutions and much evidence of mass departures.

Kendhammer noted three recent developments that were certain to affect the preelection situation. First, the split between the United States and Nigeria on security issues, but also the evidence that the Nigerian army is retooling and receiving new infusions of equipment and arms from abroad. Second, the mounting regional intervention, including the

“Proponents of Islamism in Nigeria are steadily winning the conversation about the relationship of Islam to the state at the expense of moderate and establishment Muslims. The Islam/democracy debate must be confronted. It will not go away.” —Richard Joseph
7,500 troops promised by the African Union and, more important, the joint Chadian, Cameroonian, and Nigerien operations already under way. Third, what appears to be a growing split within Boko Haram, suggested by the recent emergence of media imagery that does not prominently feature Abubakar Shekau. Kendhammer concluded by expressing skepticism that the postponement of elections portends well for Nigerian democracy. He tempered his pessimism, however, with hopefulness about the resilience of Nigerian civil society and its capacity to resist efforts to subvert the democratic process.

Shifting the focus to institutions, Rotimi Suberu (Bennington College) explored the links between the country’s grave situation on the eve of elections and certain practices of Nigerian federalism. He identified three flaws of the federal system that have driven the tensions surrounding the 2015 elections and some dimensions of the Boko Haram insurgency. First is the crisis of overcentralization, particularly of the police force. Regional police forces were abrogated under military rule because politicians had abused them, but the current centralized police force is ill equipped to handle security challenges in a large, diverse country and sometimes exacerbates violence. There is consensus that the tipping point in Boko Haram’s turn toward violent confrontation occurred in a July 2009 clash with police in Maiduguri, where the movement’s leader at the time, Mohammed Yusuf, was captured and later killed. The second flaw is the revenue allocation system in Nigeria’s oil-dependent economy. The central government distributes oil revenues to state and local governments unconditionally; no mechanisms exist to ensure that states use allocations to provide infrastructure, schools, and clinics. Borno State, for example, receives about $600 million in oil revenues a year, the 10th largest allocation in the country, but dire poverty persists due to the lack of accountability to the central government or the local population. The third flaw Suberu termed the “imperial presidency”—overconcentration of power in the executive branch. After the Nigerian Civil War (1967–70), a strong presidency was desired to symbolize national unity and counter secessionist tendencies, but now the presidency has become subject to disruptive and destabilizing interethnic, interregional, and sometimes interreligious competition. Northern protests following Goodluck Jonathan’s election as president in 2011—viewed as a violation of the unwritten power-sharing agreement between north and south— Influenced Jonathan’s lackluster response to the Boko Haram crisis.

Although Suberu argued that Nigeria must address these three issues, he also noted that the tendency to emphasize the pathology of Nigerian institutions has overshadowed the real work that is taking place to enact institutional reforms in Nigeria since 1999. These include constitutional amendments aimed at addressing the systemic flaws he identified.

“Boko Haram’s religious ideology may hold little intrinsic appeal among the population. Instead, larger processes—including the collapse of public education, the diminishing authority of traditional Islamic leadership, and the failure of the state to provide basic services and infrastructure to vitalize the economy—have created dire conditions in the northeast, where the thinking goes, ‘You have nothing doing, so you must find something else.’” —Ibrahim Hassan
Filmmaker James Ault presents documentary on African Christianity

By Teddy Nekate, graduate student in religious studies

Noting that “Christianity is no longer a religion of the West but increasingly of Africa,” filmmaker James Ault told PAS that he wanted “to focus on the positive” in his documentary *African Christianity Rising: Stories from Zimbabwe* because “Africa gets enough negative abuses.” Ault presented the film at PAS in February.

Ault’s film questions two common Western assumptions about African Christianity. The first is that as an integral part of the colonial enterprise, Christianity is an ideological burden to be shaken off. The second is that the current growth of African Christianity is in churches that promise health and wealth—escapism for poverty- and disease-stricken African countries.

Certainly a major component of modern African Christianity is largely, though not exclusively, a product of colonization. Ault’s documentary shows that the marginalized, the hopeless, and the abandoned find hospitality in the church. For example, interviewee Dorcas Wawa, a mother of six who suffered from depression after her husband’s death, believes that she was cured by the healing prayers of the women’s prayer group of the Methodist church that she joined. But in Ault’s documentary, Christianity in Africa thrives not just among the disenfranchised and marginalized; it is important among the elite. The African Academy of Sciences is shown beginning its annual meetings with charismatic worship, and many African teachers, nurses, and academics have taken on responsibilities for leadership, evangelization, and communal prayer. “I am wholly African,” the late theologian Kwame Dakwa Bediako declared when he renounced atheism and converted to Christianity. He joined other African theologians in delineating the intersection between indigenous African and Christian ideas and community institutions.

Ault’s work demonstrates the Africanization of Christianity through charismatic forms of worship. What Ault portrays in Zimbabwe also occurs in other African churches. In Uganda, worship in mission-founded, Pentecostal, and traditional African churches now employs practices that colonial missionaries had prohibited: traditional African dances, drums, clapping, shouting, and casting out of demons. The current African Christian belief in spirit and demon possession reflects a long-standing reality in Africa, as Ault notes. Praying while casting out demons and spirits is a Christian way of returning stability to a community that they are believed to have harmed.

Ault shows that Africans perceive the rise and growth of African Christianity as a means of liberation from colonial forms of worship that had limited African spirituality. The new forms of African Christianity intertwined the faith with all the existing dimensions of African life.

*African Christianity Rising* and a companion documentary by Ault, *Stories from Ghana*, form part of a wider project on African Christianity that includes excerpts from interviews and filming of Christian leaders, churches, and other institutions.
Online library guides, materials relocation facilitate access to Africana holdings

The new LibGuide “Nollywood and Beyond” (http://libguides.northwestern.edu/nollywood), created by University Library coordinator Ivan Albertson, is an extensive reference tool for research on the prolific Nigerian film and video industry. It compiles key readings that examine the themes, trends, and reception of Nollywood while delving into its influence across Africa and the diaspora. The guide features embedded movies and trailers, highlights streaming-video sites and local and national DVD vendors, and facilitates access to rare 1990s Nollywood VHS tapes in the Herskovits Library.

Another new LibGuide, “HIV and AIDS in Africa: Steps Forward and Continued Challenges” (http://libguides.northwestern.edu/HIVAIDSinAfrica), provides a current overview of the disease in various parts of the continent. Created by African studies research and resource specialist Rita Wilkenfeld, it draws on many Herskovits Library resources.

Selected less-used materials in the Africana collection have been relocated to the Oak Grove Library, eliminating congestion in the stacks and improving access to in-demand resources. To request an item located at Oak Grove Library, users simply click on a link in NUCAT or NUsearch, and in about 24 hours the item will be available for pickup at the University Library circulation desk (for students) or delivered to a faculty member’s office.

OPASA holds symposium on “Beauty and the Black Diaspora”

The Oral History and Performance as Social Action (OPASA) working group, supported by PAS and the Buffet Institute for Global Studies, held a two-day symposium in March to examine the ways in which African-descended peoples (the Black Diaspora) appropriate beauty as a philosophy, as an embodied reality, and as a tactic in the pursuit of equity and justice.

The symposium was organized around four main themes: popular media and postcolonial myth; local rights and global activism; political economy and urban strife; and sexuality and spectacular performatives.


OPASA is a resource for scholars, teachers, artists, and community members who engage oral history for research, teaching, civic engagement, human rights, and peace initiatives. OPASA seeks to foster development of the ethical, methodological, and analytical skills required to engage oral histories; to assist in the transcription, adaptation, and scripting of oral histories for performance; and to assist in comparative and multidisciplinary collaborations that will culminate in performance.

“Angels Will Sing for You,” a work by collage quilt and portrait artist Bisa Butler, was highlighted in campus publicity for the OPASA symposium.
Mellon grant concludes with publication of two monographs

The portion of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation’s Global Encounters grant that was shared by PAS and Northwestern University Press culminated at the end of 2014 with publication of two scholarly monographs. Authors Hassan J. Ndzovu, currently a lecturer at Kenya’s Moi University, and Fantahun Ayele, an assistant professor of history at Bahir Dar University in Ethiopia, had completed postdoctoral residences at Northwestern under the auspices of the grant.

Ndzovu’s monograph, Muslims in Kenyan Politics: Political Involvement, Marginalization, and Minority Status, explores the changing relationship between Muslims and the state in Kenya from precolonial times to the present, culminating in the radicalization of a section of the Muslim population in recent decades. The politicization of Islam in Kenya is deeply connected with the sense of marginalization that shapes Muslims’ understanding of Kenyan politics and government policies. Kenya’s Muslim population comprises ethnic Arabs, Indians, and black Africans, and its status has varied historically. Under British rule, an imposed racial hierarchy affected Muslims particularly, thwarting the development of a united political voice. Drawing on a broad range of interviews and historical research, Ndzovu presents a nuanced picture of political associations during the postcolonial period and explores the role of Kenyan Muslims as political actors.

Ayele’s monograph, The Ethiopian Army: From Victory to Collapse, 1977–1991, draws upon the author’s access to Ethiopian Ministry of Defense archives to study the institution that was able to repel the Somali invasion of 1977 and suppress internal uprisings, but collapsed in 1991 under the combined onslaught of armed insurgencies in Eritrea and Tigray. Besides military operations, The Ethiopian Army discusses tactical areas such as training, equipment, intelligence, and logistics, as well as grand strategic choices such as ending the 1953 Ethio-American Mutual Defense agreement and signing a treaty of military assistance with the Soviet Union. The result sheds considerable light on the military developments that have shaped Ethiopia and the Horn in the 20th century.

According to NU Press acquisitions editor Gianna Mosser, both monographs have been “performing very well” in the months since their release. Ordering information may be found at www.nupress.northwestern.edu.

Over its multiyear lifetime (2008–14), the Global Encounters grant also enabled NU Press to produce five volumes of Islamic Africa, an interdisciplinary journal—NU Press’s first electronic-only publication—edited in conjunction with the Institute for the Study of Islamic Thought in Africa. Since its first volume year in 2010, Islamic Africa’s content has been included in prestigious online platforms such as JSTOR and Project Muse.

Now that the grant is concluded, NU Press will continue to consider new projects in African studies—as well as critical ethnic studies—and future opportunities to collaborate with PAS.
P ublic health professionals use tried and true methods to combat the spread of a disease in an outbreak situation: surveillance, rapid testing and treatment, quarantine, infection prevention and control, and health communication and education. To be successful, each requires different human resources and health systems capacities.

The importance of health communication in slowing the transmission of Ebola in Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Guinea was evident to me when I was on a short-term assignment with the Ebola health communication team of the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

Health promotion and awareness messages can be hard to get right—consider the ineffectiveness (among US audiences) of the “This Is Your Brain on Drugs” campaign of the 1990s and the HPV vaccine commercials and ads. Health communicators struggle to create messages that overcome the personal, social, and historical reasons for the ways people feel and act. The task requires knowledge not just of audiences but also of site-specific cultural nuances, history, and political economy, among other things. Engaging local and academic cultural experts who know the audiences well is crucial.

As widely reported, much of the initial trouble in containing Ebola in West Africa came from citizens’ pervasive distrust of their governments due to wholesale corruption and lack of transparency. Healthcare professionals, therefore, turned to local religious and community leaders and well-regarded celebrities to abate the spread of rumors and mistrust, to debunk conspiracy theories, and to disseminate accurate information about Ebola’s causes, treatment, and prevention.

Knowing what to say is one thing, but how to say it is another, especially in low-literacy communities. Billboards, posters, pamphlets, flyers, and other printed materials need to use easy-to-understand language and pictures showing people who look and act like the people in the community.

During the Ebola crisis, observational research informed health communicators about public fears that could be countered with visual messages. For example, people with suspected infections at first were encouraged to go to stand-alone structures called Ebola Treatment Units; but healthcare workers quickly learned that people were afraid to enter the ETUs for fear that they might not be allowed to leave. Visuals were used to clarify exactly what happened in the ETU and what the patient’s family needed to know. Other fear-countering messaging focused on recommended burial procedures, some of which clashed with cultural norms. People needed to be reassured that bodies were handled respectfully and that burials included as many ceremonial traditions as possible.

Other health messages were easier to digest when presented via familiar modes of communication. Incorporating messages into popular radio serial dramas proved effective, as did radio ads featuring well-known members of the community. The topics of safe burial, calling the emergency phone number, infection prevention, and combating survivor stigma started to come up in pop song lyrics. Liberian Hip Co (rap) stars F.A., Soul Fresh, and DenG, for example, collaborated in writing the hit song “Ebola Is Real.”

Strategic partnerships and coordination also play a huge role in health communication. In the affected countries, ministries of health, in conjunction with the CDC, USAID, UNICEF, and many NGO partners, led health communication campaigns about safe burials, staying safe while waiting for treatment, getting early treatment, and celebrating survivors.

The Social Mobilisation Action Consortium in Sierra Leone—formed by Restless Development, Goal, Focus 1000, and BBC Media Action with assistance from the CDC—brought together young social mobilizers from the most affected communities who knew what worked, what required more attention, and how to mobilize other community members.

While there is a long way to go in the fight against Ebola in West Africa, the lessons learned so far about cultural appropriateness, community engagement, and key partnerships will shape the future of prevention efforts.
Ibrahim Haruna Hassan (visiting scholar, ISITA) gave talks on his research on northern Nigerian insurgency at the American Islamic College in Chicago, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign’s Center for African Studies, and at Arizona State University during February and March.


Robert Launay (anthropology) was elected an associate member of the Institut des mondes africains (IMAF), an interdisciplinary joint research unit created in January 2014 that merges the work of three France-based research centers—Centre d’études des mondes africains (CEMAf), Centre d’études africaines (CEAf), and Centre d’histoire sociale de l’islam méditerranéen (CHSIM).

Will Reno (political science, PAS director) gave two invited talks in the fall quarter. He presented “The International Factor in Contemporary Warlord and Militia Mobilization” at an October conference in Bonn, Germany; and “Contemporary Armed Group Cohesion: What Role for Ideology?” at George Washington University in December. He also presented a paper, “The International Relations of State Building in Somalia,” at the International Studies Association meeting in New Orleans last February.

Rachel Riedl (political science) wrote “Vibrant Democracies Emerging from Power Vacuum: Give Hope for Burkina Faso” and “Are Efforts to Limit Presidential Power in Africa Working?”—two blog posts that were published in November and February, respectively, on the *Washington Post* blog Monkey Cage.

Galga Ruffer (political science, international studies) participated in a February 27 roundtable discussion on “Family Immigration: Visa Channels and Management Challenges,” hosted by Georgetown University’s Institute for the Study of International Migration.

Juliet Sorensen (law, Center for International Human Rights) received a grant from the Equality Development and Globalization Studies Program of the Buffett Institute for Global Studies to organize a November 2015 conference on “Public Health Then and Now: At the Axes of Equality, Development, and Globalization.” The conference themes will include global health governance in the age of epidemics; the role of innovation and social entrepreneurship in health and development; public-private partnerships in global health coordination; corporate social responsibility and health; the impact of epidemics on human capital; and maximizing the impact of quantitative and qualitative research on global health. Participants will reflect a broad range of disciplines and approaches to global health and development. PAS is a cosponsor of the event.

Alumnus Alex Thurston published the article “Muslim Politics and Shari’a in Kano State, Northern Nigeria” in *African Affairs* (vol. 114, no. 454) and “Background to Nigeria’s 2015 Elections” on http://csis.org/publication/background-nigerias-2015-elections.

Kenneth Vaux (emeritus professor of theological ethics, Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary) is coeditor of *Nation and World, Church and God: The Legacy of Garry Wills*, published by Northwestern University Press.

Alumnus Zachary Valentine Wright is the author of *Living Knowledge in West African Islam: The Sufi Community of Ibrahim Niasse* (Brill Academic Publishers, 2015). The book investigates one of the 20th century’s most successful Islamic revivals—namely, that led by Niasse and his followers, the Tijāniyya Sufis of Senegal, who focused on the widespread transmission of experiential knowledge of God and articulated a global Islamic identity in the crucible of African decolonization.
Unless otherwise noted, all events take place at the Program of African Studies, 620 Library Place, Evanston.

APRIL

1 noon–1:15 p.m.

9 noon–1:15 p.m.
“Same-Sex Intimacies in an Early Modern African Text about an Ethiopian Female Saint,” Wendy Belcher (comparative literature and African American studies, Princeton University).

10–11 Afrisem graduate student conference
“Africa Misperceived: Beyond Africa as a Laboratory.”

15 5:30–6:30 p.m.
Writer-in-residence Maaza Mengiste (Center for the Writing Arts) reads from Beneath the Lion’s Gaze.

ARTIST KADER ATTIA TO BE IN RESIDENCE
The Mary and Leigh Block Museum of Art, Northwestern University Library, and the Kaplan Institute for the Humanities will cohost French-Algerian artist Kader Attia for three two-week residencies during the 2015–16 academic year. The Herskovits Library will be a focal point for Attia, as he immerses himself in its vast holdings of historic objects, newspapers, posters, photographs, and other materials. His research will result in a new artwork that will be presented at the Block Museum in winter 2017. For more information about the artist, see www.saatchigallery.com/artists/kader_attia.

MAY

4 4–6 p.m.
“Africa’s Resurgence: Domestic, Global, and Diaspora Transformations,” Paul Zeleza (history and vice president of academic affairs, Quinnipiac University).

11 4–6 p.m.
“Towards a New Study of the So-Called Tarikh al-Fattas,” Mauro Nobili (history, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign).

13 6–8 p.m.
Red Lion Lecture
“Crossing Afro-Religious Borders: Jewish Cape Verdeancy,” Alma Gottlieb (African studies, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign). Arts and Letters Hall, Room 408, DePaul University, 2315 North Kenmore Avenue, Chicago.

JUNE

1 4–6 p.m.
“Paths to Political Reconciliation in Nigeria,” Richard Downie (Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, DC).

3 noon–1:15 p.m.
“Global Norms, Narratives, and Difficult Civil War Endings,” Will Reno (political science and PAS director).

6 3–5 p.m.
Annual PAS end-of-the-year picnic

Symposium
“The Continuum of Sexual Violence.”
NUsearch to replace NUCAT

In July the Northwestern University Library will debut a new search interface that will conveniently bring together all the resources of the Herskovits Library (databases, the vertical file, conference papers, etc.) in one search box.

The most efficient way to use NUsearch is to sign in with your credentials, type in your search terms, then use the options to refine your search. If you can’t find what you’re looking for, other reliable resources—ILL, UBorrow, and Google Scholar, to name a few—are just a click away.

A NUsearch site dedicated to resources related to African studies is already available. Give it a test drive the next time you use the Library: http://nwu-primo.hostedexlibrisgroup.com/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?vid=AFR.