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# TERRORISM, A HINDRANCE TO HUMAN RIGHTS?
## BOKO HARAM

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Abstract: Boko Haram is a terrorist organization in Nigeria, dedicated to establish a new state solely based on Sharia law. Boko Haram triggered the most effective international indignation through the abduction of 276 school girls in 2014. Even though, the Nigerian government succeeded to combat Boko Haram at least to a certain extent, the situation remains a threat to human security, as both the Nigerian government and Boko Haram still continue to violate the fundamental human rights and the international humanitarian law. In this respect, the research aims to understand what led to the establishment of Boko Haram and its sustained influence. Thus, it will focus on three aspects: (a) the role of social inequality for the notions of terrorism, violence and revolution, (b) the psychological factors that help to explain why individuals become terrorists, (c) the actual influence of religion on terrorism as a system of justification; in order to provide possible solutions for the long-term elimination of Boko Haram as Nigerian government's counter terrorism strategies merely based on military solutions have not been sufficient. The research manifests that these three aspects play a crucial role in order to understand terrorism. Psychological factors provide the most extensive explanatory approach for terrorism as such. However, for the case of Boko Haram the social structure in Nigeria, in form of structural violence, is the most determinant factor for the emergence and the sustained influence of Boko Haram. As a matter of fact, considering the multi-ethnical, cultural, and plural characteristics of the Nigerian society; Galtung's development theory provides a possibility for a human centered security approach; in order to prevent the violation of fundamental human rights and the international humanitarian law, and subsequently to establish positive peace by peaceful means in Nigeria.

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# 1. Introduction

"We want to reiterate that we are warriors who are carrying out Jihad (religious war) in Nigeria and our struggle is based on the traditions of the holy prophet. We will never accept any system of government apart from the one stipulated by Islam because that is the only way that the Muslims can be liberated. We do not believe in any system of government, be it traditional or orthodox, except the Islamic system which is why we will keep on fighting against democracy, capitalism, socialism and whatever. We will not allow the Nigerian Constitution to replace the laws that have been enshrined in the Holy Qur'an, we will not allow adulterated conventional education (Boko) to replace Islamic teachings. We will not respect the Nigerian government because it is illegal. We will continue to fight its military and the police because they are not protecting Islam. We do not believe in the Nigerian judicial system and we will fight anyone who assists the government in perpetrating illegalities."[1], the terrorist organization Jama'atu Ahlus-Sunnah Lidda'Awati Wal Jihad (People Committed to Prophet's Teachings for Propagation and Jihad)[2], commonly referred and known as Boko Haram (western education is forbidden) stated in 2011. Despite of its former insurgences, Boko Haram triggered the most effective international indignation due to the abduction of 276 school girls in 2014.[3] There have been many other incidences, resulting in extreme human rights violations. On the one hand, the Nigerian government succeeded to combat Boko Haram to a certain extent, as there is no longer a government locally controlled by Boko Haram. On the other hand, attacks do still take place,[4] e.g. two suicide attacks in Mubi town in 2018, claimed to be conducted by Boko Haram.[5] As a matter of fact, the Nigerian government's strategy with Joint Task Force, to eliminate Boko Haram not only resulted in violations of the human rights and the international humanitarian law,[6] (e.g. survivors of Boko

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[1] D. Agbiboa, 'The Ongoing Campaign of Terror in Nigeria: Boko Haram versus the State', *Stability: International Journal of Security & Development,* Vol. 2, No. 3, 2013, p. 4.

[2] M. Smith, *Boko Haram: Der Vormarsch des Terror-Kalifats,* München, Verlag C.H. Beck oHG, 2015, p. 11.

[3] Ibid. p, 257.

[4] L. Mohammed, 'Nigeria's difficult path to long lasting peace with Boko Haram, *Al Jazeera Media Network,* 10 May2018, https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/nigeria-difficult-path-long-lasting-peace-boko-haram-180510122233687.html, (accessed 15 June 2018).

[5] Al Jazeera Media Network, 'Blast kills at least 24 in northeast Nigeria: Police', *Al Jazeera Media Network,* 1 May 2018, https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/05/blast-kills-24-northeast-nigeria-police-180501144949165.html, (accessed 15 June 2018).

[6] K. Sanchi, 'The Place of Boko-Haram Insurgency Under International Humanitarian Law', paper, University of Abuja, Nigeria, 2016, p. 11.

Haram experiencing sexual violence and exploitation carried out by the Nigerian military.[7]), but also did not achieve the aim of complete elimination of Boko Haram and its incidences. Thus, the Nigerian case demonstrates the significance of understanding terrorism and its causes in order to enable long-term prevention of terrorism in the framework of fundamental human rights and international humanitarian law, rather than solely focusing on military solutions.

Considering the situation in Nigeria, terrorism has been a continuance of our social coexistence for over two hundred years, preventing people from enjoying their rights. Hence, human rights and security are two interdependent concepts, conditioning the presence of both of each other to exist together. Despite the long term existence of terrorism, which is considered to be an obstacle to security, terrorism has only been considered part of political violence since the 1960s. For academia however, the 11 September 2001 attacks were the crucial point, due to enlarging interest of scholars as an increasing number of researchers positioned terrorism studies to the center of their analysis. The international community has agreed upon the necessity of combating terrorism and establishing a human security approach in order to prioritize the security and the well-being of people, enabling them a life, free from want and fear, and emphasizing the international responsibility to protect. It is additionally important to specify that for this human centered approach, the multisectoral development is essential and that the notion: "the right of people to live in freedom and dignity, free from poverty and despair"[8], and "the responsibility of the state and the international community to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity" are fundamental.[9] However, the ability to provide a consensual definition to terrorism remains limited. For instance, neither the United Nations nor the academia have been able to provide a universal definition for terrorism. The difficulty of providing a universal definition for terrorism is a philosophical question, rather than a limitation of scientific facts. The subjectivity of peoples' and institutions' perceptions of right and wrong brings about the common expression "one person's terrorist is another person's

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[7] L. Aarons, 'Boko Haram survivors starved and raped by Nigeria's military', *Al Jazeera Media Network,* 24 May 2018, https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/boko-haram-survivors-starved-raped-nigeria-military-180523144207062.html, (accessed 15 June 2018).

[8] C. C. Muguruza, 'Human Security as a Policy Framework: Critics and Challenges', *Year Book of Humanitarian Action and Human Rights,* No. 4, 2007, p. 16.

[9] Ibid.

freedom fighter"[10]. As a matter of fact, for social sciences it is a prerequisite to consider the ontological limits of terrorism as it depends on the indicated subjectivity constructed trough historical, social, and political aspects of the social coexistence. However, a consensus over the essence of terrorism is essential in order to enable an understanding of its key characteristics and to prevent absolute moral judgments about diverse belief systems, and to establish cooperation mechanisms to prevent its existence. In light of this understanding, the prevention of terrorism is conditional to human security, as it constructs a form of direct violence limiting individual's somatic and mental capacities.[11] In spite of the limitation on terrorism's definition, there are three crucial aspects provided by the existing literature on terrorism studies, conceptualizing the essence of terrorism : (a) "Terrorist violence is always politically motivated, undertaken for a diverse range of political goals and reasons.", (b) "Terrorism is a form of political communication or symbolic action; it is an effort to transmit a message to an audience other than its direct victims, (c) "Terrorism is usefully thought of as a form of instrumental violence; it is means to an end, rather than an end itself."[12] Hence, it cannot be neglected that political theory as a discipline of social science plays a significant role in order to eliminate the philosophical limitations to define and to understand terrorism. Political theory being anchored with diverse disciplines e.g. philosophy, sociology and psychology, enables a reflective and critical understanding of diverse concepts of social existence based on the historical, social, and political dimensions of life. Therefore, studying terrorism in the framework of political theory provides the the most significant step for preventing terrorism. The long term prevention of terrorism, as well as the establishment of peace necessitate the understanding of terrorism and violence, and the relevant causes of their emergence.

As a matter of fact, considering the numerous causes of terrorism, the aim of this research is to analyze the role of the three dimensions of terrorism: (a) social structure, (b) psychology, (c) religion and the relevance of each theoretical framework for Nigeria, in order to answer the question of how Boko Haram, as a terrorist organization, could entirely be eliminated? Consideration of this research question plays a significant role in order to provide distinct explanatory approaches to terrorism, subsequently to understand the possible causes of emergence-, and functioning of Boko Haram in Nigeria, finally to contribute to establishing national- and international policies for complete

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[10] R. Jackson et al., Terrorism: A Critical Introduction, London and New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, p. 103.

[11] This understanding is based on Johan Galtung's conceptualizations of violence, which will be analyzed and elaborated in the theoretical sections of this research.

[12] Ibid., p. 119.

elimination of Boko Haram from Nigeria and all other affected countries. In addition, it is very significant to indicate that, although the key subject matter of this research is terrorism, violence likewise is a central element of the research. There is a terminological and a methodological complexity for conducting a study of violence.[13] Hence, derived from Galtung's notion of violence, this research is based on the presumption that terrorism is a form of direct violence, meaning personal violence, which causes somatic limitation through actions of human beings, rather than violence conducted by a certain system. However, it cannot be neglected that social structures established by terrorist organizations and their actions of direct violence, e.g. former territories, which are controlled through Boko Haram, may also construct a form of indirect violence (without an actor/subject conducted violence e.g. social injustice.)

In this regard, the research consists of three sections. In the first part, the relationship between the social structure and terrorism regarding the conceptualizations of Galtung, Marx and Tocqueville will be examined in the theoretical part. Then, the social structure in Nigeria, a macro level analysis, grounded on two dimensions: (a) power relations, regarding recent Nigerian political history and polity; and (b) distribution of resources in terms of income distribution, access to health and education, will be examined in order to understand the relation between social structure and terrorism in Nigeria based on the indicated theoretical frameworks. In the second section, the relationship between psychology and terrorism will be considered in light of three aspects: (a) cognitive theory, (b) motives and vulnerabilities of individuals for becoming terrorist, (c) role of leaders of terrorist organizations; in order to examine the role of psychology as a cause for terrorism in micro level. Consideration of these three aspects of the psychological dimension of terrorism for Boko Haram, will be provided through the study of members and the founder of Boko Haram. Finally, in the third section the relationship between religion and terrorism will be analyzed based on Cecelia Lynch's Neo-Weberian Approach and René Girard's Mimetic Theory in the theoretical part. Then, two dimensions: (a) the general role of religion in Nigeria in terms of the ethno-religious-regional structures regarding religious identities and organizational structures, and (b) Salafism will be studied in order to understand the role of religion for Boko Haram in light of the theoretical conceptualizations of the third part.

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[13] M. Christ and C. Gudehus, 'Gewalt – Begriffe und Forschungsprogramme', in C. Gudehus and M. Christ (ed.), *Gewalt: Ein Interdisziplinäres Handbuch,* Stuttgart, J. B. Metzler'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung und Carl Ernst Poeschel Verlag GmbH, 2013, p. 1.

As a matter of fact, Nigeria being Africa's most populous nation-state and one of the leading economic power, with its oil industry and the rich sources, it plays regionally (e.g. especially West Africa) and globally a significant role. Despite the context dependence of combating terrorism, consideration of Nigeria is not only significant for the continent Africa, but also at the intercontinental level, as its case provides inference mechanisms in order to combat terrorism at the international level.

## 2. The Relation Between the Social Structure and Terrorism Regarding the Possibilities for Positive Peace

### 2.1. Galtung, Marx, and Tocqueville

The social structure determines one's position, rights and the power relations in a society. There are several studies and theoreticians, who examined the relation between social structure and violence and determined positive correlation between inequality and armed conflict.[14] For example, a research called "Why is Violence More Common Where Inequality is Greater?" concluded, inequality as socially corrosive.[15] Hence, liberty in terms of the prevention of differences in social status and quality of social relations, is for Wilkinson a condition for equality. Because the social environment affects the existence of peace and violence. As further example, Anna Cornelia Beyer analyzed violence at individual-, state-, and international levels and deduced: "inequality furthers the occurrence of violence in form of violent crime."[16] In order to examine social structure's role as a cause for terrorism, it is significant first, to define the notions of peace and violence. In addition, it is essential to indicate that the aim of this research is not to measure the correlation between social structure and violence, instead to understand and to analyze the role of social structure on terrorism within the framework of political theory and sociology. As matter of fact, in this section, Johan Galtung's notion of peace, and Marx's and Tocqueville's understandings of revolution will be considered, in order to examine the problem of inequality as a cause to violence, then possible solution approaches for avoiding this problematic.

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[14] B. Lia, and K. H.-W. Skjølberg, 'Warum es zu Terrorismus kommt: Ein Überblick über Theorien und Hypothesen zu den Ursachen des Terrorismus', *Journal of Conflict and Violence Research,* Vol. 6, No. 1, 2004, pg. 138.

[15] R. Wilkinson, 'Why is Violence More Common Where Inequality is Greater?', *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences,* Vol. 1036, No. 1, 2004, p. 1.

[16] A. C. Beyer, 'On Inequality and Violence', in J. M. Ramirez and C. Morrison, A. J. Kendall (ed.), *Conflict, Violence, Terrorism, and Their Prevention,* Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014, p. 61.

Being one of the most fundamental social scientists in peace studies, and initiating the extended concepts of peace, Johan Galtung's understanding of peace is an essential point of departure in order to examine the role of social structure as a motive to terrorism, which in this research referred as an act of violence. According to Galtung, peace studies being embedded in diverse and interrelated disciplines, the establishment of peace requires an understanding of its causes and conditions. Therefore, consideration of epistemological basis of peace and its different concepts are a prerequisite for this examination. Galtung defines peace as: "the absence/reduction of violence of all kinds" and "nonviolent and creative conflict transformation". Moreover, "Peace work is work to reduce violence by peaceful means."[17]. These statements entail the comprehension of different forms of violence. Thus, their understanding is crucial in order to prevent terrorism and its possible causes. As a matter of fact, before understanding the notion of peace by reference to Galtung, his violence conceptualization will be explicated. Galtung elucidates: "Violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realizations."[18] Therefore, when there is a possible potential in a social coexistence to prevent an actual violence, and this violence is not avoided, then violence is still present. Galtung provides an example about the access to medical services. For instance, if tuberculosis causes the death of a person in the present, there is violence as the potential to prevent the death with existing medical resources was hindered. However, the lack of medical resources to prevent tuberculosis and one's death in that matter in the eighteenth century would not be considered violence, as there were no potentials available for prevention.[19] This understanding is the core argumentation for the structural violence entailing the extended definition of peace, and the actual and physical dimension of violence. Peace according to Galtung's extended definition has two forms: positive and negative peace. Negative peace requiring the absence of personal violence (direct violence in terms of actions reducing somatic capability), positive peace necessitates the absence of structural violence.[20]

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[17] J. Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization*, Oslo, International Peace Institute, 1996, p. 9.

[18] J. Galtung, 'Violence, Peace and Peace Research', *Journal of Peace Research,* Vol. 6, No. 3, 1969, p. 168, http://www.jstor.org/stable/422690, (accessed 16 April 2018).

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid., p. 183.

Structural violence being one of the six dimensions[21] of Galtung's violence concept, for this research this dimension is the most essential for examining the inducements of terror. Structural violence is about the subject of violence, and according to this concept violence can be applied through an entity such as social order. There are two major aspects of structural violence, which are repression and exploitation. Regardless of their intention, these aspects refer to physical and mental violence. In addition, the presence of structural violence is dependent on the resources and power relations. The uneven distribution of resources (e.g. income distribution, and ability to access to education, health and other social services) and the power differences between individuals concerning the determination of the distribution of these resources are the elements generating structural violence. Therefore, the position of power in a social coexistence determines one's position in a society, and what level one is subjected to structural violence.

Power is one of the most significant concepts of political philosophy and its understanding establishes a ground for the comprehension of societies' social structure. According to Galtung there are four types of power: cultural, economic, military and political.[22] Construction of the positions of these powers in a certain society determines the possibilities for Galtung's notion of peace by peaceful means. Cultural power is engaged with individual's motives for killing, considering the role of religion and ideology for violent actions. Economic power in terms of exploitation, is about structural violence for instance as Galtung indicates, practiced by trade between rich and poor countries.[23] Galtung offers adjustments on the military power in order to achieve peace. Despite the abolishment of the military, achievement of peace here can be followed by: "further developments along nonviolent lines, delegitimizing arms, nonviolent skills, reducing the conventional and para-military components."[24]. Finally, the political power is power over decisions and power to decide on distribution of resources. For Galtung, democracy plays a crucial role in order to establish peace. However, the democratic principles should apply not only in domestic affairs of nation states but also to the international relations. In light of these argumentations, prevention of structural violence is a prerequisite for the

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[21] In depth explanation of each dimension of violence is provided in: Ibid., pp. 167-191.

[22] J. Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization*, Oslo, International Peace Institute, 1996, p. 2.

[23] Ibid., p. 6.

[24] Ibid., p. 5.

establishment of positive peace. If social injustice as structural violence in terms of position of powers is a motivation behind terrorist acts, the objective of nation states and international cooperation should be based on eliminating structural violence.

As the relation between the definitions of peace, social structure and violence has been conceptualized, it is essential first to examine the problem of inequality as a cause to violence, then possible solution approaches. Considering the distribution of resources and power relations, Karl Marx's understanding of class structure and subsequent economic and power relations between the individuals in relations to revolution and violence is very significant in order to understand violent actions desiring system deconstruction and -reconstruction. Marx's revolutionary theory and his perception of structural violence have been the ground for understanding the social dynamics of diverse regimes and social structures of the past and the present. In addition, Tocqueville being a new kind of liberal[25] of his time and the existing importance of his political understanding on revolution and democracy, he determined revolution as a possible instrument both to enhance and to eliminate social inequality.[26] Revolution in this context, similar to violence, is related to terrorism as all these conceptualizations ascertain mental and physical harm and limitation of human beings. Therefore, for this essay Marx's and Tocqueville's understanding of revolution cannot be neglected as they enable foundations for two diverse perspectives: communism and liberalism whilst analyzing the relation between the social structure and terrorism.

Marx has a significant impact on modern political thinking and theory. Understanding Marx establishes the basis of understanding and interpreting the social coherences for past and future both for acceptance and for rejection of his political ideology. Interpreting Marx's determination, philosophy's purpose should be to manifest rationality in social coexistence, rather than conceptualizing the rationalities of the social context. Hence, revolution in terms of Marx provides both a gestation for the relation between social structure regarding economic developments, and violence in terms of revolution. Moreover, according to Marx, the revolution is a solution in order to manifest social equality, which can be defined as positive peace in terms of Galtung.

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[25] H. C. Mansfield, *Tocqueville: A Very Short Introduction,* New York, Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 3.

[26] B. Lia and K. H.-W. Skjølberg, 'Warum es zu Terrorismus kommt: Ein Überblick über Theorien und Hypothesen zu den Ursachen des Terrorismus', *Journal of Conflict and Violence Research,* Vol. 6, No. 1, 2004, pg. 138.

Marx's understanding of individuals, their self determination, and differences from world of animals are related to production process, as the distinction between a human being and an animal was constructed through human's production of their own provisions. As a matter of fact, according to Marx all notions such as desires, expectations, and moral of individuals are results of the material production.[27] Hence, whilst examining Marx regarding social structure and violence, it is crucial to consider Marx's explanation of the material relations of production in a system of capitalism. Characterizing societies according to their system of material production process, and subsequent capitalistic social functioning, Marx determines two classes of a social coexistence: (a) bourgeoisie being the owner of product and of labor force, and (b) proletariat being the working class, in which one's own capability as the work itself, is independent from one's own self. On the hand, the class of proletariat has the labor force and is the actual producer; on the other hand, individuals of the proletariat are alienated from their own production as it is owned by the class of bourgeoisie. Hence, self-being of an individual in a capitalistic social coexistence is not determined by one's own self, but through one's social, political, and intellectual position in the capitalistic system. This interpretation of position can be comprehended as one's power and access to resources in reference to Galtung. According to Marx's understanding of social coexistence, individuals' position in the social order is determined by their capabilities regarding the economic relations. The acquirement of work within the framework of the social factors of the capitalistic order, results in the alienation of proletariat. This is the fundamental phenomenon of capitalistic society, which can be antagonized by means of emancipation of the working class.[28] Marx illuminates four processes for this alienation. Initially, the alienation occurs through the objectification of work. Work which belongs to and depends on an individual transforming to an object with an exterior existence, apart from the individual. Then, the process of alienation is constructed through compulsory mechanisms of social reality. In this case, work becomes a means of obligation for individuals, rather than self-fulfillment. Subsequently two other developments are transpired: self alienation and alienation from fellow individuals. At this point it is significant to indicate that for Marx, alienation as a result of the production processes is anchored in private ownership and his notion of structural violence can be interpreted as the prevention of proletariat's power and of their access to resources by means of material production. Through the massive production process, the capital, referring Galtung resources; are accumulated by a decreasing

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[27] C. Schwaabe, *Politische Theorie 2: von Rousseau bis Rawls,* Paderborn, Wilhelm Fink, 2007, p. 73.

[28] Ibid., p. 76.

number of individuals, who belong to bourgeoisie. Thus, middle class is eliminated and a greater number of individuals are subordinated. Consequently, it is not possible for the capitalistic society to function, and the violent revolution conducted by the proletariat is essential.

In reference to Galtung, it can be argued that Marx's notion of structural violence is generated by the material production process of a capitalistic society and the subsequent class structure. Deconstruction of the class structure is essential in order to eliminate the exploitation and the alienation of the individuals of proletariat from their own capabilities, theretofore to establish a society without a class structure. For Marx, private ownership being the cause for the exploitation of the proletariat, he ascertains violent revolution, which necessitates expropriation of exploiter[29] by means of the abolition of the private ownership in order to eliminate the structural violence. Nonetheless, this research accepting the universal validity of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights from the year 1948 with the article 17(1): "Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others."[30], generates an unavoidable conflict for the implementation of Marx's solution to the elimination of the structural violence. Hence, in order to enable universal human rights system's transformation to Marx's revolutionary theory the deconstruction of the current understanding is essential. Despite the problems of the realization of Marx's positive peace, objective of this essay is neither to accept nor to reject Marx's notion, but to provide a perspective for a possible causality between social inequality and violence through Marx's revolutionary theory. As reflections on Marx's notion of violence have been provided, it is essential at this point to refer to Tocqueville's understanding of revolution.

Analyzing the developments during the American and French democratic revolutions, Tocqueville examined two diverse tendencies in the United States of America and in Europe. United States of America having predilections towards democratic developments and Europe towards revolutionary, cause of these predilections is for him the property relations and social order such as class system.[31] Therefore, equality requires democracy and is anchored in revolution.

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[29] H. Hansen, 'Verbände als Speerspitze des Klassenkampfs: Karl Marx', in M. Sebaldt and A. Straßner (ed.), *Klassiker der Verbände-forschung*, Wiesbaden, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften GWV Fachverlage GmbH, 2006, p. 154.

[30] General Assembly, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, [General Assembly Resolution 217 A], Paris.

[31] A. C. D. Tocqueville, *Die Demokratie in Amerika,* trans. Friedrich August and Freiherr von der Heydte Regensburg, Verlag Josef Habbel Regensburg, 1955, p. 208.

In his book *Democracy in America* Tocqueville attempts to answer the question: "Does the equality of social conditions habitually and permanently lead men to revolution?" and indicates: "Almost all the revolutions which have changed the aspect of nations have been made to consolidate or to destroy social inequality."[32] Therefore, it can be argued that for Tocqueville revolutionary side of destroying social inequality in order to eliminate structural violence in terms of Galtung, can be achieved through the establishment of a society in which everyone has something to loose and has less to gain from other individuals, in other words through the establishment of a middle class, where majority of individuals belong to.[33] According to Tocqueville there is no possibility for the complete elimination of poverty. However, through democracy the number of individuals affected by poverty can be reduced. As a result of a democratically functioning system, collective groups such as rich and poor, and power through ownership of property can be minimalized. As a matter of fact, reflecting on property as from Galtung referred resource, according to Tocqueville more equal distribution of property, in other words of resources, decreases the probability for revolution for destroying social inequality. Because the motivation of revolutionary behavior is the will of an individual to increase the existing power and gain more property, or the will to reduce ownership of others, such as the French Revolution.

In reference to Galtung, if democracy is determined as power over decisions and power to decide on distribution of resources in terms of political power[34], it can be argued that Tocqueville's equality understanding is inherited in democracy as it enables individuals to have equal access to decision making process. In addition, democracy in terms of Tocqueville cannot be considered as majority rule, as his notion of democracy requires persuasiveness during law and decision making and not social constraints. However, it cannot be neglected that there are various types of democratic state structures, and having access to decision making process is not equal to having equal access to resources as social services e.g. health care. For instance, a research report from the year 2016 by *Max-Planck-Institut für demografische Forschung* investigating the relation between social differences and life expectancy, indicates predominantly the life expectancy in welfare states within all social classes

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[32] A.D. Tocqueville, *Democracy in America,* trans. H. Reeve, (ed.) F. Bowen, New York, Dover Publications, 2017, p. 309.

[33] A. C. D. Tocqueville, *Die Demokratie in Amerika,* trans. Friedrich August and Freiherr von der Heydte Regensburg, Verlag Josef Habbel Regensburg, 1955, p. 209.

[34] J. Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization*, Oslo, International Peace Institute, 1996, p. 2.

has increased. However, the increment is not equal for all the classes. Hence, the social stratification extends as socio economic benefits enables individuals a better access to social and medical enhancements of the present.[35] Therefore, in addition to a functioning democracy, enabling from Tocqueville referred middle class to have access to resources and property could be a possibility to reduce the probability of violence. However, only democracy cannot be sufficient. As a further example, Esping-Andersen succeeded to classify three types of welfare systems: liberal, conservative and social democratic[36], which can be considered as democratic countries.[37] They all differ regarding their social stratification, capacity for de-commodification, and redistribution. Regarding the social stratification, the social democratic states provide equality at most standards, instead of equality of the minimum needs, which declines differences between classes. De-commodification being the social rights qualifying people to make their living standards independent of labor market,[38] capacity for de-commodification and redistribution of resources are maximum in a social democratic welfare state in comparison to other types of welfare states. In addition, it is important to indicate that despite the significant recognition, the typology of Esping-Andersen is highly criticized as it consists limited validity as a result of its negligence of other existing states and systems.[39] At this point it is important refer to welfare system and Esping-Andersen's typology regardless of the Nigerian government in order to signify, even when the democratic conditions are approached and the system has enough resources to be classified as welfare state, there is an necessity to guarantee the social security of individuals in order to prevent structural violence and subsequent possibility for revolution.

In brief, both Marx and Tocqueville illuminate social inequality in terms of a reason to revolution and revolution as means to acquire social equality, in this matter to achieve positive peace in reference to Galtung. Marx's and Tocqueville's notions of revolutions as forms of violence perused and

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[35] K. P. Willführ and K. van Hedel and M. Myrskylä, 'Eine Langzeitperspektive auf die Entwicklung sozialer Unterschiede bei der Lebenserwartung', *Max-Planck-Institut für demografische Forschung, Rostock*, 2016, https://www.mpg.de/9857051, (accessed 24 April 2018).

[36] F. Oschmiansky and J. Kühl, *Wohlfahrtsstaatliche Grundmodelle*, [bpb.de], 2010, http://www.bpb.de/politik/innenpolitik/arbeitsmarktpolitik/55072/wohlfahrtsstaatliche-grundmodelle?p=all, (accessed 24 April 2018).

[37] Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, *Verbreitung demokratischer Staaten,* [bpb.de], 2013, http://www.bpb.de/internationales/weltweit/menschenrechte/38794/demokratische-staaten, (accessed 24 April 2018).

[38] G. Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism'*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1990, p. 3.

[39] A. Tiemann, 'Stability of Gøsta Esping-Andersen's The three worlds of welfare capitalism' *LIS Working Paper Series,* No. 449, 2006, p. 9.

critically reflected, at this point it is crucial to consider Galtung's development theory as a possible approach to overcome structural violence.

Being one of the peaceful means, as solution approach to peace, development theory enables Johan Galtung to scrutinize the profound definition of development and the diverse economic systems in order to prevent structural violence. Galtung provides three definitions of development for the theoretical framework and the implementation of his approach to positive peace: "(1) the unfolding of a culture, realizing the code or cosmology of that culture. (2) the progressive satisfaction of the needs of human and non-human nature, starting with those most in need. (3) economic growth, but at nobody's expense."[40] The first definition emphasizes the significance of accepting distinct forms of development. Galtung's understanding of development is embedded in the German term *Entwicklung* and cosmology in the civilization. The cosmology enables actors' realization for development through the structure of the civilization, meaning the social structure determines the possibilities for development. The second definition provides certain classification of basic human needs. These needs having material/somatic and non-material/spiritual natures, their continuous and increasing satisfaction is essential for development. According to the classification these needs are: (a) integrity of the human body; (b) input of (clean) air, water, and nutrition; (c) input of (pleasant) stimuli, visual, auditive, olfactory; (d) output of waste products, excretion; (e) temperature, humidity, wind control; (f) sleep, rest; (g) movement; (h) sex; (i) reproduction. [41] The third definition points out the economic activities for development. In this respect, Galtung analyzes six economic schools and their activities considering local, national, and transnational markets. [42] Reflecting on the advantages and the disadvantages of each economic school, Galtung suggests a balance between all systems in order to secure an alternative for the system, in case of a failure of one school. Hence, development theory avoids the complete acceptance of a certain economic system such as Smithian capitalist structure based on market and capital, or socialist structure based on state and power, or green school based on civil society and dialogue, which is mostly practiced by third world countries. As this conceptualizing constructs the point of departure to achieve positive peace, there are two significant conditions in order to over come structural violence by

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[40] J. Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization*, Oslo, International Peace Institute, 1996, pp. 127-129.

[41] Ibid., p. 128. In addition, the means of achievements for the basic human needs are indicated by the development thesis number two.

[42] In depth explanation of the sox economic schools can be found in: Ibid., pp. 139-153.

means of development. The first condition is pluralism, as it is indicated above. Galtung implies: "In the same vein, peace has to be dynamic."[43]. The heterogeneity of developments, and their acceptance prevent cultural violence. As relations of individuals are interdependent in a social coexistence, peaceful interaction between actors are provided through democracy, which consist of pluralism. In addition, the recognition of the differences between individuals and cultures empowers the holistic approach of the development theory, enabling inclusion. At this point, it is important to emphasize, Galtung's inclusion and equality understandings are grounded in the system structure, but not solely on the distribution of resources. Therefore, the holistic approach is conducted by the second condition, which is the environment's and humans' fulfilment and development in the six spaces of development theory. The six spaces indicated by Galtung are: (1) nature, (2) human, (3) social, (4) world, (5) time, (6) culture.[44] The name of each space being self-explanatory, nature space is about the environment, its protection throughout its usage by the human beings. Human space is relevant to improvement of lives of human beings and the satisfaction of their needs. Social space is engaged with reduction of structural violence in order to establish social justice in terms of equality. World space is about the development of the world system in respect of international relations. Developments in world space require horizontality and solidarity in international structure. Time space refers to sustainability of development. Finally, culture space is about the adaption of systems for development and diversity. Galtung qualifies the Stockholm Conference from the year 1972, and Copenhagen Conference from the year 1995 [45] as significant developments in essence to overcome structural violence. For instance, goals of the 1995 Summit being full employment and social integration,[46] according to United Nations, objectives determined were integrated in all parts of the United Nations' system e.g. through "implementation of the right to development by examining: the role and responsibility of states in implementing the right to development; the role of civil society; the role of women in development; concerted action relevant to an international environment conducive to development; and, measures to

[43] Ibid., p. 195.

[44] Ibid., p. 155.

[45] Ibid., p. 195.

[46] United Nations, *World Summit for Social Development 1995,* [un.org], https://www.un.org/development/desa/dspd/world-summit-for-social-development-1995.html, (accessed 02 May 2018).

improve international cooperation for development." [47] in cooperation with international -governmental and -non-governmental organizations. The mentioned implementation of development indicated by follow-up report of the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) provides the inclusion of holistic approach of Galtung's development theory as the diversity and the inclusion of diverse segments of the society are involved. As all indicated theoretical frameworks and UN mechanisms for development continue to be relevant for the present and provide key instruments for the prevention of structural violence, consideration of an existing UN policy from the present is essential in order to provide a current example of global development goal. The seventeen sustainable development goals from the year 2015[48] is a very significant step of humanity in order to establish positive peace in terms of Galtung. Especially the goal sixteen being the promotion of peace, justice and strong institution; is an essential step to prevent violence in form of terrorism. This goal concentrates on eliminating corruption, and strengthening rule of law and transparency. These considerations play a crucial role for the awareness of structural violence and its prevention. However, the ways and the possibilities of the conduction of these goals at micro-, meso-, and macro levels regarding the existing international system and the power relations between nations require further research and expertise.

## 2.2.  The Social Structure in Nigeria

As the scope of structural violence is wide-ranging; and further research and expertise are essential in order to measure the extend of structural violence in Nigeria, the two dimensions of Nigerian state and society will be analyzed in order to understand the role of Nigeria's social structure on terrorism. The two dimensions are: (1) power relations, regarding recent Nigerian political history and polity; (2) distribution of resources in terms of income distribution, access to health and education. It is essential to indicate that this research will examine the Nigerian history solely after the independence from the British colonial power.

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[47] OHCHR, 'World Summit for Social Development and Beyond', 2000, https://www.un.org/development/desa/dspd/world-summit-for-social-development-1995/follow-up-to-the-social-summit-5/follow-up-activities-by-the-un-system.html, (accessed 02 May 2018).

[48] United Nations, *Sustainable Development Goals: 17 Goals to Transform Our World*, [un.org], 2015, https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/, (accessed 02 May 2018).

Nigeria has a crucial role in Africa as it is the most populous state of the continent, with 193,392,517[49] individuals according to 2016 data of the National Population Commission; and the fourth biggest producer of petroleum within the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).[50] Based on the facts provided by OPEC: "Apart from petroleum, Nigeria's other natural resources include natural gas, tin, iron ore, coal, limestone, niobium, lead, zinc and arable land. The oil and gas sector accounts for about 35 percent of gross domestic product, and petroleum exports revenue represents over 90 percent of total exports revenue."[51]. Hence, oil production has a significant impact on the economic and political relations of Nigeria. Haussa und Fulani being the largest, there are 250 diverse ethnic groups. In the present, the political system is presidential democracy. However, the tensions for power and for influence in this heterogeneous plural society have been violent between religious, ethnic, social, and political segments, particularly between the the religious division of dominantly Muslim north, and dominantly Christian south.[52] Concerning the recent political history, two major characteristics have been relevant for polity in Nigeria: changing power relations between military rule and democratic governance, and ethnic conflicts. After the British administration and the subsequent independence in 1960, the first president of Nigeria being Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe between 1960 to 1966, his tenure was concluded by a military coup as a result of the declining revenues and power struggles. On going policies based on ethnic segregation, and so called Igbo agenda[53] resulted in a further coup and subsequently to Biafran separation and to a civil war, which ended in 1970. In 1979 the thirteen-year military rule was terminated by General Olusegun Obasanjo and the political power was transformed to the civil government of Shehu Shagari through presidential elections. Nonetheless, political construction remained dependent to elites, who consisted uttermost 3000 individuals. In addition, Shagari's regime was confronted with diverse economic problems such as decline in export revenues, increase in import, reduction of oil –prices and –production, followed by another coup

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[49] National Population Commission and National Bureau of Statistics, *National Population Estimates,* Nigeria, National Population Commission, 2016, http://nigerianstat.gov.ng/elibrary?queries[search]=population, (accessed 03 May 2018).

[50] M. Brunner, 'Staat in Nigeria: Elitenspiele und Herrschaft', in G. Baechler and A. Truger (ed.), *Afrikanische Perspektiven: Friedensbericht 1998,* Chur/Zürich, Verlag Rüegger, 1998, p. 157.

[51] Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries, *Nigeria facts and figures,* [opec.org], 2018, http://www.opec.org/opec_web/en/about_us/167.htm, (accessed 04 May 2018).

[52] Bundeszentrale für politsche Bildung, *Präsidentschaftswahl: Machtwechsel in Nigeria,* [bpb.de], 2015, http://www.bpb.de/politik/hintergrund-aktuell/203437/machtwechsel-in-nigeria, (accessed 04 May 2018).

[53] J. O. Odeyemi, 'A Political History of Nigeria and the Crisis of Ethnicity in Nation-Building', *International Journal of Developing Societies*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 2014, p. 87.

conducted by General Major Muhammadu Buhari in 1983. His military rule was present until 1985, in 1999 the civil government was build. In 2015 Muhammadu Buhari was elected as president. Despite the civil governance, there are extensive evidences of human rights violations. Further on, there are corruption and arbitrary arrestments and executions e.g. based on political opinion and sexual orientation. For instance, direct and structural violence through detention of Ibrahim El-Zakzaky, who is the leader of Islamic Movement in Nigeria, without litigation; and killing of more than 350 members of this organization by police force. Moreover there have been arbitrary arrestments of individuals who fled from Boko Haram.[54] Further examples of human rights violations provided by Amnesty International evince that social and political and powers depend on the government, its security forces, and elites. In light of these argumentations, the changing power relations between military rule and democratic governance being one of the major characteristic of polity in Nigeria, and concerning the authoritarian regime in Nigeria, the emphasized problematic by Kalu N. Kalu: "Can military culture be genuinely subsumed under a participatory democratic governance? Can they abandon the military emphasis on hierarchy and chain of command for the more gradualist and consensual politics of civilian life?"[55] is very relevant for this research. At this point, it is significant to consider democracy as a condition for from Galtung mentioned development because democracy enables participation and inclusion in a plural society such as Nigeria. In addition to Kalu's argumentations;[56] instances from the recent political history, and the human rights violations manifest Nigerian military has been the domain of civil society and democratic deliberations. Moreover, the civil governance of the transnational state of Nigeria remained authoritarian as the transition to democratic principles require time and legal adjustments in political structure. State functioning of Nigeria proves that democratic regime legitimacy has not been assured e.g. as Kalu points out the present 1999 Constitution is constrained by non democratic mechanisms[57], and power maintains concentrated on certain segments of the society. In sum, human rights violations as structural violence generated by the governance, are embedded in

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[54] Amnesty International, 'Nigeria 2017', 2017, https://www.amnesty.de/jahresbericht/2017/nigeria, (accessed 05 May 2018).

[55] K. N. Kalu, *State Power, Autarchy, and Political Conquest in Nigerian Federalism,* Plymouth, Lexington Books, 2008, p. 147.

[56] In depth answers to Kalu's questions can be found in the book *State Power, Autarchy, and Political Conquest in Nigerian Federalism.*

[57] K. N. Kalu, *State Power, Autarchy, and Political Conquest in Nigerian Federalism,* Plymouth, Lexington Books, 2008, p. 153.

limited role of human development, democracy, rule of law, civil society and governmental effectiveness, which construct a cumulative effect[58] clarifying the integral problems in the political and developmental nature of Nigeria.

The second dimension regarding structural violence, necessities the examination of income distribution, and access to health and education in Nigeria. Moreover, indicated power relation has a consequential impact on distribution of resources, as they determine the economic dimension of the social structure. A statement by a influential human rights activist Clement Nwankwo[59] during his discussion with Mike Smith who has been researching about Boko Haram and its role in social context is significant to consider, he indicated: "So if there is money available and these people would ordinarily live a street life, where they don't know what they get for the day, but here somebody's paying their bills, somebody is feeding them, clothing them and giving them some little profit […] And then there is really very little consequence fir their actions. They can get away with it. The military has been able respond in a way that proves a disincentive for them to continue this path."[60]. This indication provides a reflection on the unequal distribution of resources and the absence or limited fulfillment of basic human needs in reference Galtung, as a motivation for membership to Boko Haram, in other words for violence.

Poverty being an international obstacle to achieve positive peace, according to Oxfam report from the year 2017, since the turn of the century the poorest half of the world's population had access only to one percent of the total expansion in universal prosperity, and in Nigeria more than 112 million people were confronted with poverty in 2010. On the contrary, the richest Nigerian needs 42 years to exhaust existing personal wealth at 1 million per day.[61] Furthermore, inequality in Nigeria has a regional dimension. Northwest illuminates the highest rate of poverty in Nigeria e.g. 81% poverty in Sokoto State.[62] Hence, when the total population of Nigeria is considered, the majority of individuals are classified as living in poverty. Oil sector being the most significant governmental revenue,

[58] Ibid.

[59] Martin Ennals Awards, *Clement Nwankwo,* [martinennalsaward.org], 2016, http://www.martinennalsaward.org/hrd/clement-nwankwo/, (accessed 05 May 2018).

[60] M. Smith, *Boko Haram: Inside Nigeria's Unholy War,* London, I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2015, p.16.

[61] Oxfam International, 'Inequality in Nigeria: Exploring the Drivers', 2017, p. 5.

[62] Ibid.

especially in Niger Delta region with its oil richness, exemplifies the role of political elite and economic imbalance subsequently the exploitation of resources. Therefore, the unequal distribution of resources hinders the establishment of a strong middle class. In sum, the indicated Oxfam 2017 report provides a summary of the present situation as the problem of poverty is illuminated: "poverty and inequality in Nigeria are not due to lack of resources, but to the ill-use, misallocation and misappropriation of such resources. At the root there is a culture of corruption and rent-seeking combined with a political elite out of touch with the daily struggles of average Nigerians."[63] Examining a further research as an example, a study from the year 2015 provided by Annals of the University of Petroşani, measures the impact of education and production on inequality in Nigeria. The study provides the outcome that the increase in production and subsequently in education, as production is determined by education, results in possible reduction of inequality. In addition, according to the study the the government social spending have a restricted impact in order to tackle inequality and private sector may contribute for leverage for income inequality reduction in Nigeria.[64] However, as the above mentioned power relations and existing position of elite in private sector elucidated, supported by the Galtung's development theory, government's role to eliminate poverty and to enable equal access to resources cannot be neglected. As the poverty in Nigeria illuminates a distinct characteristic as it has been increasing in the context of growing economy, and this growth led by corruption was beneficial solely to certain segment of the society. For instance, from 2004 to 2010 the number of individuals living below the national poverty line has increased and the income inequality grew from 40% in 2003 to 43% in 2009, [65] regardless of the economic growth; contradictorily about $20 trillion from the treasury was stolen by public servants.[66] The government necessities legal adjustments, inclusion policy with increased public resources provided regarding public goods and services in the areas of health, education, social protection, energy, and safe water.[67] Considering the access to health care and

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[63] Ibid., p. 6.

[64] A. Sharimakin, M. S. Oseni, and A. C. Adegboye, 'Education, Labour Productivity and Income Inequality in Nigeria', *Annals Annals of the University of Petroşani,* Vol. 15, No. 1, 2015, p. 304. Available from: Directory of Open Access Journals, (accessed 06 May 2018).

[65] Oxfam International, 'Inequality in Nigeria: Exploring the Drivers', 2017, p. 5.

[66] Ibid., p. 6.

[67] Ibid., p. 8.

education, Nigeria is positioned as one of the lowest performing countries in terms of health care.[68] The 2017 report from the Economist determines this position in respect of the inconsistency of health care across measured countries and regions; and poor evidence of sustainability of the existing health care systems. In terms of education, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in a 2016 country review classifies the entire generation in Nigeria targeted to risk of losing their right to education in Northeast.[69] This fact formulates the interrelated dependency between education and structural violence. Limited access to education due to social structure and inequality results in violence e.g. terrorism. Terrorism on the other hand, e.g. Boko Haram, constrains the right to education.

As Galtung indicated the importance of dynamism, in terms of respecting distinguished social identities, whilst establishing peace, the plurality of Nigerian society is neglected by the power relations and existing social structure. Moreover, liberty in terms of human rights is until severe extent limited that individuals cannot comply with the six spaces of the development theory. In addition, absence of strong middle class, which needs to be established regarding Tocqueville and Galtung, the concentration of power at the certain segment of the society, corruption, limited access to public resources, and inequality are the main variables of Nigerian society in terms of structural violence.

# 3. The Relation Between the Psychology of Individuals and Terrorism

## 3.1. Cognitive Theory, Motives and Vulnerabilities, Leaders

The role of social structure on terrorism as an explanatory approach at the macro level has been provided mainly based on Galtung's understanding of structural violence. Considering the individuals of a certain society as a constructive part of the collective, it is significant at this point to examine the terrorist motives at the individual level. Whilst examining the micro level, role of psychology is crucial because it enables a comprehension of human beings in terms of their behavior, experiences, and consciousness.[70] It cannot be neglected that terrorism has various definitions and its conceptualizing is complex, depending on the theory and empirical data within the framework of psychology. As the book

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[68] The Economist Intelligent Unit Limited, 'Global Access to Healthcare: Building Sustainable Health Systems', 2017, p. 12.

[69] UNICEF, 'North East Nigeria: Education Sector Year in Review, 2016' *Unicef,* 2016, https://reliefweb.int/report/nigeria/north-east-nigeria-education-sector-year-review-2016, (accessed 06 May 2018).

[70] C. Gudehus and R. Weierstall, 'Psychologie', in C. Gudehus and M. Christ (ed.), *Gewalt: Ein Interdisziplinäres Handbuch,* Stuttgart, J. B. Metzler'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung und Carl Ernst Poeschel Verlag GmbH, 2013, p. 354.

*Psychology of Terrorism* by Randy Borum provides an extensive explanatory approach of terrorism regarding the existing and diverse theories and the empirical outcomes in this matter, the definition of terrorism accepted by Borum will be taken into account by this section. Terrorism referred as: "acts of violence (as opposed to threats or more general coercion) intentionally perpetrated on civilian non-combatants with the goal of furthering some ideological, religious or political objective."[71] Moreover, in relevance to terrorism as a form of violence, it is significant to elucidate that for psychology studies, the center of interest is aggression instead of violence. In this respect, the examination will be conducted through an understanding of certain perspectives of the psychology of terrorism. As there are diverse theories and leading questions on this subject (e.g. instinct theory, drive theory, and biological explanations), in order to narrow down the extent of psychology as such, this research first will analyze the cognitive theory based on the perception of social environment through individuals. Then, the motives and vulnerabilities of individuals whilst becoming a terrorist will be considered in order to illuminate on the question, which is part of Borum's analysis: "How and why do people, enter, stay in, and leave terrorist organizations?" [72]. Finally, the significance and the relevance of leadership within terrorist organizations will be considered as each organization entails implicit power relations and certain essential characteristic of a leading individual.

As most of the theorization regarding psychological perspective of terrorism lack empirical grounding, cognitive theory enables one of the most considerable empirical support. However, this endorsement is not directly related to terrorism. Despite this fact, its consideration is significant as it consists the social aspect of cognition. Cognition is anchored in subject matter of psychology. The definition of cognition provided by Oxford: "the mental action or process of acquiring knowledge or understanding through thought, experiences and the senses." [73] clarifies the significance of considering social cognition for this section of the research. Considering homo sapiens and their distinctive capabilities from other species, Cicourel illustrates Tomasellos's conceptualizing of human cognition by providing the three specific qualities of human cognition: (a) phylogenetic, (b) historic, and (c)

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[71] R. Borum, *Psychology of Terrorism,* Tampa, University of South Florida, 2004, p. 4.

[72] Ibid., p. 23.

[73] Oxford University Press, *cognition,* [en.oxforddictionaries.com], 2018, https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/cognition, (accessed 11 May 2018).

ontogenetic.[74] Phylogenetic aspect refers to individual's mental ability to identify self. Historical quality is the establishment and the modification of diverse forms of cultural learning and the belief systems throughout the history. Finally, the ontogenetic aspect describes the children's growing up process and gaining knowledge by the social and the historical factors of the society they live in. As it has been indicated above, understanding human behavior is crucial to the psychology of terrorism. Therefore, cognitive theory is essential to scrutinize because its notion provides the understanding of human behavior based on interactions and culture in a social coexistence determined by the perceptions and the interpretations of individuals. Hence, an individual's subjective social and political understanding of the world determines one's actions and possibility for violent behavior. Provided by Borum, there are two relevant cognitive aspects to aggression found in individuals acquiring high level of aggression: "(1) an inability to generate non-aggressive solutions to conflicts (and lack of confidence in their ability to use them successfully), and (2) a perceptual hypersensitivity to hostile/aggressive cues in the environment, particularly interpersonal cues." [75]. Determining individual actors as a part of collective and their indicated lack of capability to engage with non-violent actions to eliminate conflicts are embedded in the social aspect of their cognition. Hence, understanding individual behavior cannot be solely provided by examining the micro level. Durkheim's conceptualization of the collective consciousness[76] in essence is explanatory because it emphasizes an interdependence between the individual and the collective. On the one hand, each individual actor constructs a social reality. Therefore, their perceptions are decisive for the collective facts of the social coexistence. On the other hand, existing social facts determine individuals' understanding of the world and their social positioning. This interdependence is entrenched in symbolic boundaries, which enables reasoning for the course of group making. Cognitive process being biologically based and evolved throughout evolution and historical occurrences, the development of the brain is a result of its interaction with itself and environment regarding the physical conditions and culture. As the cognition process shapes the existing belief systems, it is essential to examine in order to understand the individual's violent behavior in a social coexistence. Hence, whilst conceptualizing social cognition, the frame of reference

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[74] A.V. Cicourel, 'Cognitive/affective processes, social interaction, and social structure as representational re-descriptions: their contrastive bandwidths and spatio-temporal foci', *Mind & Society,* Vol. 5, 2015, p. 43.

[75] Borum K. Dodge and D. Schwartz, *Social Information Processing Mechanisms in Aggressive Behaviour,* New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1997, cited in R. Borum, *Psychology of Terrorism,* Tampa, University of South Florida, 2004, p. 13.

[76] E. Hartmann, 'Symbolic Boundaries and Collective Violence. A New Theoretical Argument for an Explanatory Sociology of Collective Violent Action',*Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, Vol. 46, No. 2, 2015, pp. 169-170.

is not the individual brain, but the social group itself, as the condition of a group is reoccurred through individual behavior. Hence, social boundaries determining the group making process, they represent the social reality of the collective. Being distinct from Galtung's notion of structural violence e.g. poverty, it explains the role of cognitive, affective, and cultural resources and their relational dimension in relevance to individuals' engagement with violence in a collective framework. Constructed by representational re-descriptions, social boundaries form the identity and intention of the collective. Collective cultural dimension yields this formation and representational re-descriptions embodied in the linguistic, they create and describe the social reality. Several empirical examples explaining representational re-description are provided by Cicourel and one of those empirical methods enables the illustration of the essential link between the individual and the collective level, whilst examining the human social cognition. Sari's activities as a patient coordinator in a medical clinic[77] emphasizes the interdependence between the individual cognitive process, and the institutional setting regarding social interactions and hierarchies. Sari's cognitive process and cultural knowledge followed by her ability to re-describe her environment and her memory enabled her to continue her tasks regardless of the external interruptions e.g. phone calls. Hence, Sari was able to manipulate her environment through the cognitive process. In light of this example, it is significant to indicate the role of cultural knowledge as representational re-description enables an explanation for the cultural dimension of the social identity and the intention of a group. Constructed through cultural patterns individuals' capability to synthesize, summarize, transform (to other generations), and to develop knowledge e.g. by means of speech narratives and electronic mediums is the indicated re-descriptive aspect of the social cognition. Re-description is crucial for differentiation and integration of diverse types of knowledge. According to this understanding, social cognition is determined by the symbolic boundaries in order to understand the verbal construction of necessity to act violent, and the formation of violence as an action. As representational re-descriptions are anchored in symbolic boundaries Hartmann explains: " […] symbolic boundaries are collectively shared representational re- descriptions that create social and institutional facts by representing them as existing and by getting other people within these boundaries to recognize or accept them; hence, they constitute the boundary of what is recognized or accepted as social or institutional facts by other members of a particular social group. To put it differently,

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[77] Detailed explanation of the empirical study can be found in A.V. Cicourel, 'Cognitive/affective processes, social interaction, and social structure as representational re-descriptions: their contrastive bandwidths and spatio-temporal foci', *Mind & Society,* Vol. 5, 2015.

symbolic boundaries represent the social reality of a particular group as existing." [78]. The essential recognition of a social group and the acceptance of its shared representational re-descriptions e.g. of a terrorist organization as a social group, through individual actors as referred by Hartmann therefore, require a moral legitimacy of the group in order to construct validity for the members of the collective. In light of Hartmann's apprehension, it can be argued that the moral legitimacy hence, succeed through from George Simmel indicated German word, *Vergesellschaftung*[79] (secrecy) of terrorist organizations as a result of their radical break with moral imperatives. Their self separation from the values of the rest of the society, and the creation of a closed, secret community in order to achieve their own ends through violent means is the last stage for group to act. As a matter of fact, linking micro and macro levels of social group construction, in this case the forming of a terrorist group and individual's participation in this group, are determined by the symbolic boundaries entailing representational re-descriptions and objectives of a terror organization. This determination results in secrecy as an individual and collective detachment from the existing social relations (creation of two separate pole: terrorist organization being us, and the rest of the society being them) followed by violent action.

Social cognition being anchored in the individuals' perception of the social environment, and their own reality construction, parallel to the notion of cognition, it is essential to analyze the role of motives and vulnerabilities for violent action at the micro level. The motivation and the vulnerabilities of individuals to act violently, and to join terrorist organizations have been explained differently by diverse researchers working on terrorism. Motives defining the emotion and need for violent action, vulnerabilities are the willingness and the temptation to terrorist actions. Accumulating and examining these researches and theoretical works as Borum identified, there are three core motivations to terrorism in the existing literature: injustice, identity, and belonging.[80] In relevance to the each of these categories, Marta Crenshaw provides four classifications in order to demonstrate individuals' participation to terrorist organizational structures. The chance to act, the need and desire for belonging to a collective, for having a social status, and for obtaining a material award are the reasonings[81] Crenshaw provides. These classifications explicitly providing a possible explanation for actors'

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[78] E. Hartmann, 'Symbolic Boundaries and Collective Violence. A New Theoretical Argument for an Explanatory Sociology of Collective Violent Action',*Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, Vol. 46, No. 2, 2015, p. 172

[79] Ibid., p. 177.

[80] R. Borum, *Psychology of Terrorism,* Tampa, University of South Florida, 2004, p. 24.

[81] Ibid.

violence in a social coexistence, it is essential to examine the three indicated categories. For the perceived injustice by individuals e.g. regarding ethnic, political, religious, and social matters, the vengeance as a motivation is crucial for violent actions. The belief for possible change, and the subsequent obsessive drive for action causes in participation to terror. It can be argued that this category has a significant relevance to what has been described by social cognition, namely individuals' perception of the world and decision to respond violently. The second category, identity and its construction are considered to be depended to growing up process of children. The ways that develop the personality of an individual, the search for an identity, and incapability to reflect critically on the possible outcomes of terrorist action to conflicts can result in one's participation to terrorist organizational structures. The construction of an identity is a multidimensional process determined by the hierarchical interdependence between identity (question of who I am), and esteem (question of am I worthy). Hence, the personal identity building being a prerequisite for self-esteem as it defines the uniqueness of an individual and one's difference from other social actors. There is a possibility for joining a terrorist group for individuals (especially for youth in personality development phase) belonging to disadvantaged groups lacking of a clear collective identity path and possible instruments to establish self-esteem. Because terrorist organizations are often the minority of the society they exist, and their existence must be highly salient for individuals in order to provide them a clear path for the identity building. The article "Terrorism and the Quest for Identity" explains this clarity of objective and norms of terrorist organizations as a motivation for individuals during their establishment of both individual and collective identity, indicating: "Such clarity satisfies an important psychological need for individual members of terrorist groups and offers insights into why a terrorist organization may be so attractive for certain members of disadvantaged groups." [82]. At this point it is significant to indicate that this explanation prevails a resemblance with structural violence as a motivation for violent actions. However, as this notion is embedded in individuals' personality development process, it is not solely based on external factors, but also on individuals' psychology. Finally, the fourth category being the belonging, it provides a sense of meaning to individuals, especially for the alienated actors from their social sphere. Belonging in this essence refers to individual's desire to belong to a collective, rather than the will to achieve an objective or to be part of an ideology. Baumeister and Learly determining

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[82] D. Taylor and W. Louis, 'Terrorism and the Quest for Identity', in F.M. Moghaddam and A. J. Marsella (ed.), *Understanding terrorism: Psychosocial roots, consequences, and interventions,* Washington D.C., American Psychological Association, 2004, p. 181.

the need to belong as a fundamental motivation[83], emphasize the necessity for individuals to belong to frequent, pleasant and stable interactions in order to fulfill their psychological needs. Empirical evidences[84] proving the impact of belongingness on both positive and negative emotions, it can be argued that belongingness as a fundamental human motivation plays a significant role for individuals' actions and perceptions in a social coexistence. Arguing the converse to cultural materialism, which determines the cause of social developments e.g. historical and anthropological as a result of economic necessities; the need to belong is a psychological need that is not merely based on interactions with materialistic objectives. Frequent and solid social bonds provide individuals a feeling of security and affinity. Hence, as suggested above it can be a significant motivation for socially deprived people to act violently. In addition, these elements clarify the importance of psychology as a discipline in order to understand the participation to terrorist organizations at the micro level. It accentuates a distinct dimension than from Galtung referred structural violence, which can be categorized highly dependent to materialistic structures, as a cause to terrorism. In order to provide a critical reflection to the analysis of role of motives and vulnerabilities on terrorism, first it is significant to indicate that understanding each terrorist organization as Post suggests requires the examination of an organization in relevance to its own context, and generalizations at the micro level should be avoided.[85] Despite the indicated motivations and psychological necessities e.g. belonging; from Post mentioned studies indicate that terrorists show common features e.g. being action oriented and seeking excitement. However, there is no particular personality constellation for terrorism. He adds the argument: "the individuals become terrorists in order to join terrorist groups and commit acts of terrorism." [86] Thus, it can be concluded that as Borum's key findings on terrorism refer: "There is no terrorist personality" [87]. One the one

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[83] Nine criteria are significant for a human motivation to be fundamental: "(a) produce effects readily under all but adverse conditions, (b) have affective consequences, (c) direct cognitive processing, (d) lead to ill effects (such as on health or adjustment) when thwarted, (e) elicit goal-oriented behavior designed to satisfy it (subject to motivational patterns such as object substitutability and satiation), (f) be universal in the sense of applying to all people, (g) not be derivative of other motives, (h) affect a broad variety of behaviors, and (i) have implications that go beyond immediate psychological functioning." Detailed explanation of each condition can be found in R. F. Baumeister and M. R. Leary, 'The Need to Belong: Desire for Interpersonal Attachments as a Fundamental Human Motivation', *Psychological Bulletin,* Vol. 117, No. 3, 1995, pp. 498-499.

[84] A considerable number of empirical evidences regarding individuals' need to belong is provided in Ibid., pp. 497-529.

[85] J. M. Post, 'Terrorist Psycho-logic: Terrorist Behavior as a Product of psychological Forces', in W. Reich (ed.), *Origins of Terrorism: psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind,* Washington D.C., Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1998, p. 29.

[86] Ibid., p. 35.

[87] R. Borum, *Psychology of Terrorism,* Tampa, University of South Florida, 2004, p. 3.

hand, motives and vulnerabilities are significant explanatory approaches for involvement to terrorist organizations at the micro level, but as there is no particular terrorist personality, generalizations of these psychological explanations provide a limited reasoning.

Understanding the significance and the relevance of leadership within terrorist organizations is a further perspective in order to analyze the attractiveness of an organization for individuals due to the leading person, and to contemplate the maintenance of a terrorist establishments. As indicated in Borum's *Psychology of Terrorism*, leaders play a crucial role for the organizational structures and the conduction of the actions. Despite of the majority of literature indicating no certain personality for the members of terrorist organizations, Strentz constructs a distinct perspective for understanding their personality, for this regard, the features of a leader of a terrorist structure. Especially referring to the democratic societies, Strentz describes the actors of a terrorist organization with a psychological need to act violent as there are other means of change and participation than terrorist actions in a democratic society. In addition, he constructs three types for the personality of the members of an terrorist organization: the leader, the opportunist, the idealist.[88] As a result of the constant feeling of insecurity to tolerate mistakes, and the attempt to be perfectionist, Strentz classifies terrorist leaders as having paranoia. Instead of establishing healthy social interactions with other social actors, they are in a constant struggle with their environment. In addition to Strentz categorization, Crenshaw provides the six essential and common key characteristics of a leader from a terrorist organization.[89] The first one is preserving the collective belief system in order to articulate the certain mission of the group and to establish stable objective. The second is maintaining organizational standards for enabling easy conduction and planning of violence. This is followed by the control of communication by the leader. The leader whilst controlling the communication should be the only authority, and prevent manipulations and critical reflections from other members. The fourth is monitoring and transforming the needs of members, especially adjustments for the young recruits. The fifth characteristic emphasizes the significance to prevent internal conflicts and leaders' tasks to maintain group's

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[88] T. Strentz, 'A Terrorist Operational Profile: A Psycho-Social Paradigm and Plan for Their Destruction', in O. Nikbay and S. Hancerli (ed.), *Understanding and Responding to the Terrorism Phenomenon: A Multi-Dimensional Perspective,* Amsterdam, IOS Press, 2017, p. 22.

[89] M. Crenshaw, *Decisions to use terrorism: Psychological Constraints on Instrumental Reasoning,* International Social Movements Research, 1992, cited in R. Borum, *Psychology of Terrorism,* Tampa, University of South Florida, 2004, pp. 61-62.

attention to external factors and the collective objective of the organization. Finally, a leader should assure not only the conduction of the actions, but the very existence of the organization. All these tasks are significant to understand the role of leaders for establishment of the collective identity of a terrorist group and to reflect on the possible means to combat these organizations. It cannot be neglected that a terrorist organization may have a considerable amount of members and combating terror requires the consideration of the each segments of membership. However, as the leaders in general, play a crucial role for the maintenance of order, action, and membership, it is significant to consider their role for the continuation of the terrorist organization in order to counter terrorism. Existing literature on counter terrorism studies suggest different ways to eliminate terrorist leaders and the possible consequences of these elimination. Hence, for targeting terrorist leaders in order to overcome and to destruct a terrorist organization, it is essential to understand their position and role for the organization. In this respect, Crenshaw's indicated six categorization play an important role for the possible counter terrorism policies. It can be argued that leaders, who fulfill from Crenshaw given dimension, play a key role for a organization. Therefore, their elimination can have an affective impact to prevent further actions of a terrorist organization. However, if the objectives and the existence of a terrorist organization guaranteed through other members, policy maker's focus on the role of leaders would not provide the most effective outcome. In this regard, empirical evidence provides an considerable example. For instance, the arrestments of three key leaders: José Luis Álvarez, Francisco Mudiga and José Arregui, of the Basque terrorist group Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) had significant limitations on the operational capabilities of the group, as the younger leaders of the organization were not able continue the same success at operational level.[90] Therefore, this arrestments played an important role for combating ETA. As a matter of fact, the elimination of the significant leaders of the terrorist organizations can lead to successful outcomes for reducing and combating the negative impact of the organization on the society, if the leaders have unique and displaceable features. This approach requires a profound knowledge on the organizational structures and on the members of an terrorist organizations in order to analyze the possible effectiveness of leaders' elimination. As indicated above, each terrorist organization has its distinct objective and structural functioning. In this regard, the outcomes of previous operations in order to eliminate leaders and their affects can be a helpful point of departure, but relevant policy makers should consider the organization they aim to combat in its own social and

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[90] T. Van Dongen, 'Terrorist Leadership Elimination: When to Do It', *Polish Quarterly of International Affairs,* Vol. 22, No. 1, 2013, pp. 112-113.

political context. In addition, the possible positive impact to eliminate terrorist leaders has been indicated. However, the most effective ways to eliminate the leaders remains a further problem, which requires a further expertise.

## 3.2.    The Members of Boko Haram

The theoretical part of this section has been dedicated to the psychological explanations of individuals' participation to terrorist organizations, regarding cognitive theory, motives and vulnerabilities for individuals, and the role of leaders for the maintenance of the organization. In order to examine all these dimensions for Boko Haram, especially for each individual member, as this section's aim is to analyze the psychological aspects for participating a terrorist organization at the micro level, necessities further expertise and empirical psychological study. This options remain restricted for this research. Therefore, the analysis will be based on the information found in the existing literature on Boko Haram and its members. Special focus on the role of the leader, Mohammed Yusuf will be given as the significance of leaders for a terrorist organization has been mentioned. It is important to indicated that regardless of the diverse theoretical findings on motives and vulnerabilities for individuals to participate in terrorist organizations, which has been discussed above; a considerable amount of the the existing literature emphasizes on the role of religion, especially Jihadism and Salafism for the case of Boko Haram as a motive for group's action. Hence, the examination of the role of religion for Boko Haram will be provided in a subsequent separate section. However, it cannot be neglected in addition, existing empirical research on Boko Haram, especially considering the participation of the young members, refers to the conditions in Nigeria e.g. the economic situation and the limited chances for youth to flourish and develop themselves as reason for members' participation to this terrorist organization. Thus, relative deprivation remains a significant aspect, making Boko Haram attractive for its members. In opposition to argument made on the role of religion, which will be discussed in depth later, as an outcome of analysis of Boko Haram, a study indicates : "Most of the foot soldiers of Boko Haram aren't Muslim fanatics; they're poor kids who were turned against their corrupt country by a charismatic leader." [91]. In light of these considerations, the analysis of Boko Haram in respect of indicated dimension will be discussed in order to understand the psychological perspective of individuals' for joining Boko Haram.

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[91] C. C. Ogbon and J. A. Ruiz Jiménez, 'The Inordinate Activities of Boko Haram: a Critical Review of Facts and Challenges', *Revista de Investigaciones Políticas y Sociologicas (RIPS),* Vol. 16, No. 2, 2017, p. 17.

Boko Haram's members include university lecturers, bankers, political elites, unemployed graduates,[92] mostly consisting of young persons and they play a significant role for the violent attacks of the organization. For example, the first suicide attack in Nigeria, which was targeted to Abuja's police headquarters in 2011 was carried out by thirty-five-year old member, Mohammad Manga.[93] Moreover, the local weapons are one of the main weapons that used by the participants for the actions conducted by Boko Haram. Each member having a different motivation for joining to Boko Haram, and a distinct role for this terror organization, a study conducted among the 144 arrested members determined the median age of members as thirty-year old. Considering the high number of young members, a study conducted by CLEEN Foundation in six states of northern Nigeria, is very significant to indicate in order to understand the young members' motivation for participating to Boko Haram. As this thesis cannot conduct a study on Boko Haram's members' psychological condition, the field study of CLEEN Foundation will be the core reference point for the empirical support and arguments of this section. The study was conducted in Borno, Gombe, Kaduna, Kano, Sokoto, and Yobe between June and November 2013. The method of this field research being interviews with traditional-, political-, women-, and religious leaders of all religious groups and security officials, as well as focus group discussions with youth, women, and faith groups, additionally, semi-structured questionnaires to teachers, community leaders, religious leaders, youth, civil society organizations, the research had six outcomes considering members' participation to Boko Haram. The six outcomes of the field research as indicated by the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) can be summarized in following dimensions: "(a) Unemployment and poverty make youth vulnerable to radicalization, (b) Ignorance of religious teaching opposed to violence makes youth more vulnerable and susceptible to recruitment, (c) Children with difficult upbringings are more vulnerable to extremist views, (d) High levels of illiteracy lined to youth radicalization and extremism, (e) Responses regarding excesses of the security forces were mixed, (f) widespread corruption conducive to recruitment and radicalization." [94]. As a result of the pervasiveness of diverse religious sectors e.g. both in Islam and Christianity and teachings from independent preachers, different from the nature of holy books, according to the surveys, cause lack of the profound apprehension of the relevant religions, subsequently increases the tendency of youth to be

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[92] D. Agbiboa, 'The Ongoing Campaign of Terror in Nigeria: Boko Haram versus the State', *Stability: International Journal of Security & Development,* Vol. 2, No. 3, 2013, p. 4.

[93] F. C. Onuoha, *Special Report,* Washington D.C., The United States Institute of Peace, 2014, p. 4.

[94] Ibid., pp. 5-7.

more vulnerable to extremism. This extremism is developed especially in the training camps. For example, the governor of Borno state emphasizes the importance of understanding the true meaning of Islam. This meaning being peace, encourages diverse religious groups to live together.[95] Hence, understanding the peaceful meanings and the teachings of religions are essential to prevent the radicalization of the youth. A further factor for this radicalization is the socioeconomic challenges of the Nigerian society. In addition to examples discussed in the first section of this thesis, the field research indicates the facts of the year 2011: "100 million Nigerians lived in absolute poverty and 12.6 million more were moderately poor." [96]. Poverty being located predominantly in northern Nigeria, for these studies, it is determined as a relevant, but not a direct factor for youth's commitment to violence, and their tendency to radicalization. Concerning the third dimension of the field research, and northern Nigeria being the main concern with higher numbers of children without education, and with illiteracy, likelihood for these children to radicalize is higher. One of the reasons given is their incapability to question Boko Haram's teachings as a result of the illiteracy. In addition, difficulties in their period of upbringing make them more exposed to exploitation. For instance, children, who were between nine to fifteen years old were paid to observe soldiers, and to provide reports for Boko Haram. Moreover, they helped Boko Haram to carry, traffic, and hide their weapons. This dimension is very significant for this thesis, as it underlines the psychological dimension of violence. As USIP considers this point: "The children's alienation from home and society provides the cognitive opening that extremist ideologues exploit in the process of recruitment and radicalization." [97]. In light of this outcome, it can be argued that children's alienation from the Nigerian society is a result of the lacking education, and parental- and social protection (e.g. the field research also refers to participation of abandoned and orphaned children to the organization) causes a transformation in children's social cognition, in other words a change in their perceptions and realizations of their place in the society. This transformation in the perceptions increases their tendency to be exploited and to be part of radical groups, in this case to be part of Boko Haram. This dimension is on the one hand, determined by the social factors e.g. from Galtung referred structural violence. On the other hand, despite the social factors, it is young peoples' perception itself motivating them to carry out activities for Boko Haram. The fifth dimension is concerned with the responses of the Nigerian state to tackle Boko Haram. According to civil society,

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[95] Ibid., p. 5.

[96] Ibid., p. 6.

[97] Ibid.

the operations and policies operated by the state were unlawful and arbitrary, victimizing civilians. Human rights violations by the state including unlawfully killings are classified as relevant factors for youth's radicalization but not as one of the most influential factors. The last dimension of the study emphasizes the negative impact of corruption on the Nigerian society. This factor is based on the perceptions of the two leaders: Mohammed Yusuf and Abubakar Shekau, claiming the elite, the secular governing, and the western education in the country and the existing power relations and the subsequent corruption as reasons for alienated and unemployed Muslim youth. This dimension is an important point of departure for the role of leaders for encouraging individual to be member for Boko Haram. Before Mohammed Yusuf's role as a leader will be analyzed, the summary of the referred field trip will be provided to construct an outcome for this thesis, regarding the psychological factors for violence at the micro level.

Results from the studies of CLEEN Foundation based on surveys, interviews, and focus groups show a causal mechanism between the vulnerability of young men in Nigeria, due to poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, and family relations; and radicalization.[98] This indication is a significant support for the explanatory approach, structural violence as a cause for direct (physical) violence, which in the first section analyzed in relation to perspectives conceptualized by Galtung, Marx, and Tocqueville. For instance, reducing and completely eliminating the number of illiterate people depend on the access to education. It can be argued that, if the social structure in Nigeria offers limited access to education, as indicated in the section: the Social Structure in Nigeria; it is a form of violence (indirect violence) shaped by distribution of resources that are determined by the state structure. This structural violence, in other words the state functioning in Nigeria, as the study of the report by USIP explains, then is a cause for both direct and indirect violence. For this research, especially the social structure a cause for individual's participation to Boko Haram. Therefore, indicated factors also at individual level, e.g. poverty, are hindrances for both negative and positive peace. However, as indicated by the arguments about the social cognition of socially disadvantaged children, despite the external factors, cognition of youth about their role in the society is a motivation for their participation to Boko Haram. Their perceptions, and world views influenced by their social environment (e.g. as indicated in previous examples: teachings of independent religious preachers, training camps of Boko Haram, and declarations of Boko Haram's leaders) are psychological drives for them to be a member to terrorist organizations. This explanation regarding the psychological aspects for violence can be

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[98] Ibid., p. 1.

supported by the empirical evidence. Examining the number of young people conducting activities for Boko Haram, their number being high, not every disadvantaged young person in Nigeria is a member of Boko Haram. Hence, psychology regarding social cognition can be a strong explanation for individuals' decisions and motivations to be a part of Boko Haram and to carry out direct violence in form of terrorism. However, this approach shall not disregard the impact of structural violence as it examined in depth in respect of the indicated study. Policy makers should not neglect the impact of both structural and individual mechanisms as factors to terrorism in Nigeria. Moreover, it is important to indicate that examining the case of Nigeria according to one single study constraints the research. However, as indicated above, due to limitations of this research to conduct a field study about the psychology of Boko Haram's members; in spite of the limitations, the referred study provides considerable outcome.

After the aspects of social cognitions and motivations of members have been discussed, it is essential now to examine the role of indicated leader. Mohammed Yusuf was born in 1970, in Yobe State of northern Nigeria. He grew up being exposed to religious tensions between Christians and Muslims. e.g. Maitatsine movement in 1970s and 1980s, and validity of Sharia law in northern Nigeria, and further attempts for its implementation. Aiming a Sharia government in Borno State under then-Senator Ali Modu Sheriff, Yusuf established Boko Haram in 2002. He was influenced by Ibn Taymiyyah and the school of thought he was dedicated to was Salafi radicalism. As Yusuf organized a religious complex, which consisted of a mosque and a school, it became the center of Boko Haram members' recruitment. The individuals, who were enrolled to school were from Nigeria, Niger, and Chad and spoke only Arabic. He was a charismatic leader, and clearly his beliefs and school of thought played a significant role to construct a common motivational desire for members the join Boko Haram. It can be justified, Yusuf's ability to convenience people to join Boko Haram consolidated through the fact that he had a profound knowledge on the Koran. Moreover, his personal contacts strengthened his scope of action e.g. his return to Nigeria from Saudi Arabia regardless of being accused about the violent acts of Nigerian Taliban[99] or his network with other influential religious actors. On the one hand, for this thesis it remains limited to indicate, to what extent Mohammed Yusuf fulfilled six essential characteristic of a leader indicated by Crenshaw. On the other hand, it can be argued that as his extrajudicial killing along with other members of Boko Haram by Nigerian security forces in 2009

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[99] M. Smith, *Boko Haram: Der Vormarsch des Terror-Kalifats,* München, Verlag C.H. Beck oHG, 2015, p. 101.

had a decisive impact on the organization. His killing without a trial developed a feeling of revenge for its members, subsequently, transformed Boko Haram from a radical to an ultra violent organization.[100] This aim being confirmed by members' public statements, and actions, Mohammed Yusuf as a leader was a significant figure for Boko Haram regarding the religious motivations- and the justification of violence, and the influence on young members to participate Boko Haram. Abubakar Shekau becoming the new leader of Boko Haram, group's feeling of revenge continued with terrorist attacks. Boko Haram assured to be allegiance to ISIL, and to construct a new system in Nigeria based on Islamic Sharia law.[101] However, once again the social structure as an explanatory approach emerges whilst examining the role of a leader for an organization. For instance, despite of the facts such as Yusuf's charismatic character and ability to convenience, it cannot be neglected that the existing literature strongly places emphasis on individuals' struggle to survive (in light of the first section, it can be argued that the struggle to survive emerged from social injustice, thus from structural violence) as a reason for the membership to Boko Haram.[102] Although for this research, special emphasis is placed on Mohammed Yusuf due to his position regarding the hierarchical structure of Boko Haram as a founder, it is important to indicate the role of three further members: Abubakar Shekau (as a new leader he played a significant role for the new violent emergence of Boko Haram), Khalid al-Barnewi, and Mamman Nur (Nur is the organizer of the first suicide bombing attack in Nigeria, which was targeted to Abuja UN Headquarters in 2011) play a crucial role for Boko Haram's international associations with other terrorist organizations e.g. al- Shabab and al-Qa'ida in the Islamic Maghreb.[103] Examining their role as leaders could provide an advantageous analysis for policy makers to understand the role of leaders, subsequently to construct strategies to combat Boko Haram. Nonetheless, their consideration is left out from this thesis in order to narrow down the scope of this research.

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[100] D. Agbiboa, 'The Ongoing Campaign of Terror in Nigeria: Boko Haram versus the State', *Stability: International Journal of Security & Development,* Vol. 2, No. 3, 2013, p. 10.

[101] Ibid., p. 12.

[102] For instance, research of Kyari Mohammed as head of Center for Peace and Security Studies of Modibbo Adama University, as indicated in: M., Smith, *Boko Haram: Der Vormarsch des Terror-Kalifats,* München, Verlag C.H. Beck oHG, 2015, p. 107.

[103] J. Zenn, 'Leadership Analysis of Boko Haram', *CTC Sentinel,* Vol. 7, No. 2, 2014, p. 23.

# 4. The Relation Between Religion and Terrorism

## 4.1. Lynch and Girard

In order to examine the causal relationship between religion and terrorism as a form of physical violence, it is essential to provide a definition for religion. However, as Jodok Troy in light of the analysis of existing theories of political sciences suggests, it is not plausible to conceptualize religion on the basis of a monosemous definition as the definition of religion is an interpretation, which depends on the life-world practices of diverse cultures and belief systems.[104] For instance, Samuel Huntington declared the religion of Islam itself, as a cause for violence. However, in light of the multi-dimensionality of religion, regarding its dependency on economic, ethnic, political, and legal mechanisms of diverse national and international forms of functioning; the support for direct linkage of religion and violence such as Huntington's statement, in social sciences has been declining.[105]

In reference to the first section of this research, studies on the relationship between religion and violence suggest that the certain types of political and religious institutions have validity and legitimacy. Emphasizing the significance of politics, comprehension of power relations in a society, for this research, power of religious entities in political sphere enables the understanding of the distinction between the legitimate- and illegitimate forms of power e.g. a religious institution recognized by state or a terrorist organization. Hence, the consideration of power (the German term: *Macht*), which can be related to a legitimate form of by Galtung referred structural violence is essential as William indicates: "without reducing politics to an undifferentiated sphere of violence, to distinguish legitimate forms of political power, to insulate the political sphere from physical violence, and to discern the social structures that such a strategy requires to be successful." [106]. In light of Galtung, declaring social injustice constructed by state functioning and social order, as a structural violence, also for the studies on religion, violence, and power (*Macht*); is essential for the distinction between the legitimate structural power and direct violence. It can be argued that this distinction enables the clarification of which institutions are recognized to be legitimate. However, for this research, this clarification does not

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[104] J. Troy, 'Mehr Hydra als Janus: Religion und Gewalt in Politikwissenschaft und Internationalen Beziehungen', *Austrian Journal of Political Science,* Vol. 44, No. 4, 2016, p. 8.

[105] H. G. Kippenberg, 'Religion', in C. Gudehus and M. Christ (ed.), *Gewalt: Ein Interdisziplinäres Handbuch,* Stuttgart, J. B. Metzler'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung und Carl Ernst Poeschel Verlag GmbH, 2013, p. 67.

[106] Ibid.

intend to justify the possible indirect violence conducted by state functioning. In light of Kippenberg, this argumentation and the importance of the structural adjustments within states' social structures in order to combat terrorism can be verified by the statement: the decline of states' effectiveness in public matters, results in the increment in participation to religious communities.[107] On the one hand, increasing participation of individuals to religious communities do not verify a direct causality with higher number of people becoming terrorists. However, for instance, referring back to Yusuf's establishment of Boko Haram and the religious teaching in his own schools, brings the question of: could limited access to education and decreasing state involvement in public matters increase people tendencies to receive these social essentialities from other institutions? In Boko Haram's case Yusuf's school was available to provide religious thoughts based on terror. Moreover, his influential character played a significant role for young persons' participation to Boko Haram. In this regard, understanding religious violence as human action e.g. in form of terrorism necessitates, for Kippenberg, the distinction between the motives of terrorist, and the meaning of their violent action. Motives for violence being derived form e.g. killings of family members of the terrorists, or imprisonment; the acts derived from these motives have to ascribe a religious meaning or initiative, in order to conceptualize a violent act as a religious violence. This initiative is constructed by religious role models, and socially shaped collective belief systems.[108] Yet, linguistic sciences play a crucial role in order to identify the religious tendencies of religious school of thoughts, and their influence on society. However, The specific examination of religious text e.g. doctrines and holy books is from this research elided in order to narrow down the scope of the research and to provide the general understanding of the relationship between religion and terrorism.[109] In light of Kippenberg's argumentation, these aspects of religion and terror have been examined in the section about psychological dimensions. Hence, as handled in the second section, psychological aspects: (a) cognitive theory, based on individuals' social perception of the world, (b) motives of terrorists (for Kippenberg ascribing religious meaning to violent acts), and (c) impact of religious leaders for the conduction of organizational structure of a terrorist organization play a crucial role also for understanding the role of religion on terrorism.

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[107] Ibid., p. 74.

[108] Ibid., pp. 73-74.

[109] At this point, it is significant to indicate that specific forms of violence based on religious doctrines can be found in Ibid., pp. 68-69.

As a matter of fact, considering the multi-dimensional character of religion, and the social construction of individuals' perception (cognitive theory), it is essential to provide two theoretical concepts: Cecelia Lynch's Neo-Weberian Approach and René Girard's Mimetic Theory as they play a significant role constructing the framework for analyzing the relationship between religion and violence. Their importance is also due to their prevention to ground their theories to absolute causality between religion and violence.

Indicated possibilities for distinct interpretations of religious doctrines enabling a multi-dimensional character to the causal relationship between religion and violence, Cecelia Lynch's Neo-Weberian Approach provides a multi-dimensionality in the contextual analysis of religion. Neo-Weberian Approach being derived from Max Weber's *Sociology of Religion*, it examines religion regarding the difference between religious doctrine and practice, determined by cultural, political, and social factors. Thus, these factors establishing the difference between religious doctrine and practice, they construct the multi-dimensional character of religion. For instance, as cultural contexts of a societies differ and societies' cultural interpretation of religion transform and change overtime, religion being depended on cultural context cannot be a one-dimensional and a constant entity. In addition, the distinctive and significant characteristic of Lynch's understanding of religion regarding violence is the prevention of pre-assumptions on the causality between religion and violence. She indicates: "[…] neo-Weberian approach to religion provides a way to avoid problematic assumptions that *a priori* connect religion to violence, but still allows us to understand the bases of religion/violence connections where they exist." [110]. Understanding Lynch's argumentation requires a consideration of Weber's approach to religion, and of the transformations regarding the relationship between religion and violence within the disciplines of social science due to the post Cold War Era, and after 9/11. Without providing an in depth consideration of Weber's understanding of religion, it can be summarized that Weber, examined the various religions and the relevant societies e.g. Confucian, Christian, and Islamist religions[111]; in order to the determine the impact of religious perceptions on the economic matters of the social coexistence. Weber's significant indication is: "No economic ethic has ever been determined solely by religion. […] The religious determination of life-conduct, however, is also one- note this- only one, of

[110] C. Lynch, 'A Neo-Weberian Approach to Studying Religion and Violence', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies,* Vol. 43, No. 1, 2014, p. 273.

[111] M. Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology,* trans. and ed. H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills, New York, Oxford University Press, 1946, p. 267.

the determinants of the economic ethic. Of course, the religiously determined way of life is itself profoundly influenced by economic and political factors operating within given geographical, political, social, and national boundaries." [112]. This indication focuses on the role of religion on the the social matters such as economic activities, and once again, as Lynch's approach ground its theory, places emphasis on the importance of multiple factors constructing the religious doctrine in a society. The significant distinction between Weber's study and Lynch's approach is however, is Neo-Weberian approach focuses on the actions of negotiating ethical conflicts.[113] Hence, for Lynch's approach understanding the difference between religious principles and their practices through the examination of these ethical conflicts is decisive. Common good and tradition being crucial for this approach, the examination of the interpretations of religious actors on ethical struggles and their understanding of right and wrong are provided. As a matter of fact, if religion is embedded in historical context, and in all above indicated factors, for Lynch, religion's role on violence has to be analyzed in relevance to practice. For Lynch, referring to MacIntyre, religion being a form of tradition, the practice of religion enables the development and the reproduction of a tradition.[114] And as the social context is in a constant development or transformation, religious practices are adjusted to the existing circumstances of a certain social context. In addition, Lynch also relates this conceptualizing to Foucault's notion of discourse, which is shaped through hermeneutical essentialities e.g. construction of language as a result of interpretations of religious traditions.[115] In light of Lynch, it can be argued that presuming all actions (in this case to act violent) are a result of interpretation, groups and individuals decision to act violently. In other words, religious actors' decision to act violently to achieve their own religious ends and to establish a life-conduct in terms of their ethical hermeneutic of religious practice bring about the violent actions. It is as a group, Boko Haram's interpretation perceiving an essentiality to conduct terrorist actions, regarding their religious ends. In order to indicate Lynch's approach's significance an additional aspect regarding the transformations of the understanding the relationship between religion and violence within the disciplines of social science due to the post Cold War Era, and after 9/11 is essential to provide a further distinction of the Neo-Weberian approach from other theories. As a result

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[112] Ibid., p. 268.

[113] C. Lynch, 'A Neo-Weberian Approach to Studying Religion and Violence', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies,* Vol. 43, No. 1, 2014, p. 273.

[114] Ibid., p. 281.

[115] Ibid.

of the incenses of post Cold War Era and 9/11, Islam became the center to link religion and violence. For instance, Huntington's empirical analysis determining the ethical struggles as a clash between diverse social contexts, he connected non-Western religions to violence, which results in a problematic oversimplification and racism, according to Lynch.[116] On the contrary, considering the diverse social contexts (e.g. stand of the United States and France during the Haitian Revolution regarding the human rights violations and the limitations they have created for the establishment of democratic states.[117]), together with the securitization theory[118], the Neo-Weberian approach provides the elimination of reducing violence to a certain religious group. It can be argued that this understanding is very essential for the plural societies of the contemporary globalized nation states. As the current nation states consist of multi-cultural dynamics generating variety of religious interpretations, and their practices, (not only considering diverse religions, but also the different sectors and belief systems within one religion e.g. Salafism and Zaidism within Islam) preventing terrorism, requires the establishment of a social atmosphere with mutual respect and the understanding of the diverse interpretations and hermeneutic needs of violent social actors, instead of reducing certain religions to violence.

Based on Lynch's notion of religion and violence, the significance of the distinction between the religious doctrine and its practice in light of multidimensional understanding of religion has been provided. Grounded on this understanding, it is also significant to consider René Girard's contribution to understand the relationship between violence and theory. Girard being a French cultural anthropologist, and literary critic provides a fundamental theory to examine, especially for this research, because in contrary to the psychological explanations for violence based on aggression, he grounds his theory to the rivalry of desires in order to explain the causality between religion and possible violence. Girard's Mimetic Theory, parallel to Lynch's approach to religion, provides a holistic approach whilst analyzing the role of religion for societies. The mimetic theory being constructed through studies of literature (e.g. Girard's examination of Dostoevsky's the Brothers

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[116] Ibid., p. 275.

[117] Ibid., p. 278.

[118] Lynch describes the securitization theory: "Finally, securitization theory focuses on how perceptions of threat become "referent objects" that need to be securitized, resulting in defensive and offensive moves to protect against threats or act against those perceived to be the threatening. Here again, there is no *a priori* assumption that "religion" as such produces threats or violence. Instead, the theory analyzes what happens when actors extend the perception of threat to new areas." In: Ibid., p. 289.

Karamazov in light of mimetic rivalry)[119], includes diverse aspect of life such as history, culture, desires of individuals, etc. both at the micro- and macro level. It is important to indicate that the concepts of mimetic have been provided by several other theoreticians e.g. Freud and Derrida. However, Girard's uniqueness is his provision of broader conceptualization of religion, whilst establishing a theory of religion. As Thomas indicates the Mimetic Theory: "It examines the religious - or sacred, more broadly – dimension of social relations that links violence to the origins of culture, religion and the sacred, and to the origins of legal and political institutions. Crucially, he argues that these concepts separately, in and of themselves, cannot account for the traces of founding violence, nor the way violence is transformed into peace and social order in the rituals, myths and literature of cultures around the world." [120]. Hence, according to mimetic theory, there is a no direct causality between religion and violence or peace, instead, the ambivalence of the sacred provides the explanatory approach of the link between religion and violence.

As the importance of the Mimetic Theory and its distinction from other relevant theories have been considered, before Girard's Mimetic Theory will be examined, it is essential to provide the epistemological meaning of the word mimesis. Mimesis being a Greek word, ensues the notions of imitation and representation.[121] Imitation being the center of the Mimetic Theory, individuals' possible rivalry on mimetic desire, in other words individuals' possible opposing regarding their desire to imitate is the fundamental cause of conflict. Hence, if the will of an individual opposes to other individual, a conflict occurs. Central to this argumentation is that the will of an individual is based on the will of others actors in the society. One's desires or will is an imitation of desires of others. Hence, the mimetic desire is socially constructed. External factors play a crucial role for the construction of one's identity and desires e.g. the role of education and culture constructing one's national identity. In addition, mimetic desires are not biological needs or appetite, one's mimetic desire come into existence subsequent to the fulfillment of one's basic human needs.[122] Thus, the possible rivalry of desires can either result in violence or in peace. Regarding this aspect, mimetic desire is the central dimension of a

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[119] A. Astell, 'Violence, Mysticism, and René Girard, *Theological Studies Inc.,* Vol. 78, No. 2, 2017, p. 394.

[120] S. M. Thomas, 'Culture, Religion and Violence: René Girard's Mimetic Theory, *Millennium: Journal of International Studies,* Vol. 43, No. 1, 2014, p. 310.

[121] Ibid., p. 309.

[122] W. Palaver, *René Girards Mimetische Theorie: Im Kontext kulturtheoretischer und gesellschaftspolitischer Fragen,* Berlin, LIT Verlag, 3., erweiterte Auflage, Band 6, 2008, p. 57.

social coexistence of individuals and it provides an explanatory force about conflicts in social life, which also provides an explanation for violence. However, it is important to indicate, not all social activities and the relationship of human beings are determined by a competing mimetic desires tending towards violence. For instance, one's sexual desire could oppose to someone else's want e.g. in form of rape, causing a conflict and increasing the possibility of application of direct violence. For Girard, sexuality of human beings in contrary to animals (as animals' sexuality function based on instincts), has higher rivalry tendencies in comparison to other areas of life.[123] Instead, an entity which can be shared e.g. common usage of public goods can result in peaceful imitation.[124]

As a matter of fact, Mimetic Theory and its concept of mimetic rivalry can be summarized based on three core argumentation points. First, mimetic desires are socially constructed, shaped by the existing social dynamics of a certain society. Hence, in opposition to liberal theories in this theoretical framework, individuals are not in absolute freedom whilst constructing their desires, but their freedom and will are established through the social and historical context. Hence, the desires of individuals are not independent from the social as liberal theory argue, and not spontaneously chosen. Regarding this perspective, Hobbes' Leviathan and individuals' natural condition, the concept of all against all provide a significant basis to understand Girard's scapegoat mechanism. The scapegoat mechanism being crucial for understanding the notion of violence and religion in light of Mimetic Theory, its profound illumination will be provided subsequent to further two core argumentation points of the Mimetic Theory. Second important point of Girard's conceptualizing is based on the objects of the mimetic desire and what it intends to achieve. As the example of the rivalry tendencies of humans' sexuality has been given, the orientation of desire either toward non-exclusive goods or exclusive goods bring about the possible emergence of violence or peace.[125] Considering international relations, these goods can be either material and non-material. A further example is the conflict of desires between Palestinians and Israelis e.g. after Trump's recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital[126] and subsequent protests of

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[123] Ibid., p. 62.

[124] S. M. Thomas, 'Culture, Religion and Violence: René Girard's Mimetic Theory, *Millennium: Journal of International Studies,* Vol. 43, No. 1, 2014, p. 312.

[125] Ibid.

[126] Zeit Online, 'USA: Trump erkennt Jerusalem als Hauptstadt Israels an', *Zeit Online,* 6 December 2017, https://www.zeit.de/politik/ausland/2017-12/us-praesident-trump-erkennt-jerusalem-als-hauptstadt-von-israel-an, (accessed 6 June 2018).

Palestinians on 14 May 2018 (the establishment date of the state Israel) which resulted in death of highest number of people since the Gaza War in 2014.[127] Palestine-Israel case exemplifies the conditions which, a exclusive good cannot be shared by individuals, therefore the rivalry of desires result in violence. In light of these argumentations, the third point of argumentation is the self and the subject, and the model or mediator of desire. This point is crucial for this research as the social distance between the indicated entities is decisive for the emergence of possible violence. Moreover, the triangular structure of desire is an essential mean in order to explain the referred social distance. The triangular structure of desire consists of three main elements: Self or Subject (individuals of a social coexistence), the object of desire, and the Mediator or the Model of desire.[128] As desires are socially constructed, the Self learns what to desire, in other words learns which Object of desire should be imitated. The learning process of Self and the subsequent imitation are constructed by the Model of desire. The Model of desire can be a person, having an impact on shaping one's desires. The Model of desire emphasizes the social aspect of the establishment of desires. Thus, if there is less social distance between the Self and Mediator, there is higher possibility for mimetic rivalry, e.g. a higher potential for the mimetic rivalry within a family, than between two individuals, who do not have to share any goods. As a matter of fact, this little social distance being called internal mediation, it brings about higher possibilities for violence.

As the three key points of Mimetic Theory have been considered, it is essential to indicate the scapegoat mechanism. Being one of the core aspects of the Mimetic Theory, the notion of scapegoat mechanism is significant for this research, not only because it provides an understanding how individuals brought about the collective mechanisms of violence in archaic social coexistence, which provides an explanation for the existence of current power relations and the establishment of contemporary legal and political institutions; but also it enables the emergence of an relevant perspective to structural violence regarding Galtung, Marx, and Tocqueville. Hence, Girard provides a distinct explanation for the emergence of violence in a social coexistence. For instance, for Marx, violence is the result of the economic structure of a society, regarding the means and the conditions of the production process. However, it can be argued for Girard, the notion of structural violence

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[127] Zeit Online, 'Gazastreifen: Oberster Gerichtshof erklärt Schüsse auf Palästinenser für zulässig', *Zeit Online,* 25 May 2018, https://www.zeit.de/politik/ausland/2018-05/gazastreifen-proteste-israel-oberster-gerichtshof-bombardierung-palaestinenser, (accessed 6 June 2018).

[128] S. M. Thomas, 'Culture, Religion and Violence: René Girard's Mimetic Theory, *Millennium: Journal of International Studies,* Vol. 43, No. 1, 2014, p. 311.

regarding Galtung, emerge as a result of the scapegoat mechanism. As indicate above, reference to Hobbes' understanding of human's natural condition is essential to understand Girard's scapegoat mechanism. Hobbes' point of departure being the conflicts that were developed as a result of the individual desire for civil liberties in England during the 17th century[129], he arises the question: how is it possible to establish a legitimate and a peaceful rule/governance that is recognized by individuals, standing all against all in humans' natural condition.[130] This peaceful governance (absence of direct violence) establishing an absolute power is concentrated in the legitimate sacred and worldly power of Leviathan.[131] Hobbes' understanding of sovereignty, regarding the Leviathan as absolute power holder, is the explanation for the prevention of violence between individuals. In terms of Girard, it can be argued that for Hobbes, the rivalry of individuals' desires is eliminated through a social contract. This contract on the one hand, ensures a peaceful social coexistence with the absence of direct violence, on the other hand, the absolute freedom of individuals are restricted until a certain extent. At this point it is significant to indicate that in addition to Hobbes, there are further social contract theoreticians e.g. Jean-Jacques Rousseau[132]. However, in order to reduce the extent of obliquity and to place emphasis on Girard's Mimetic Theory's distinction from the liberal theories, the consideration of Hobbes provides an adequate explanation. Hence, Mimetic Theory likewise analyses the archaic conditions and the emergence of legitimate power. However, as individuals' desires are socially constructed, on contrary to Hobbes, humans do not have absolute freedom to establish their mimetic desires. Moreover, in respect of the scapegoat mechanism the problem of violence is eliminated through every individual (forming a collective) being against one.[133] This one, in the archaic cultures being the scapegoat in other words, the victim, is sacrificed. The epistemological meaning of sacrifice deriving from producing a sacred, subsequent to victimization of the scapegoat e.g. as a result of displacement or killing, the victim becomes sacred. This mechanism transforming the scapegoat from bad to good, from victim to sacred, is for Girard the explanation of the emergence of legitimate power e.g. sacred

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[129] T. Bevc, *Politische Theorie,* Konstanz, UVK Verlagsgesellschaft mbH, 2007, p. 61.

[130] S. M. Thomas, 'Culture, Religion and Violence: René Girard's Mimetic Theory, *Millennium: Journal of International Studies,* Vol. 43, No. 1, 2014, p. 313.

[131] T. Bevc, *Politische Theorie,* Konstanz, UVK Verlagsgesellschaft mbH, 2007, p. 62.

[132] Explanation of Rousseau's social contract theory can be found in: T. Bevc, *Politische Theorie,* Konstanz, UVK Verlagsgesellschaft mbH, 2007, pp. 37-41.

[133] S. M. Thomas, 'Culture, Religion and Violence: René Girard's Mimetic Theory, *Millennium: Journal of International Studies,* Vol. 43, No. 1, 2014, p. 313.

monarchy or any political entity (the emergence of Leviathan in terms of Hobbes). As Thomas indicates, regarding Girard and the scapegoat mechanism: "in archaic cultures before the rise of legal institutions the purpose of religion is found in the rituals of sacrifice." [134]. As a matter of fact, Girard's refusal to accept the autonomy of individual should not be interpret as unconditional. Girard is not concerned to provide an explanation solely based on violence, especially religious violence, instead he provides the understanding of conflicts and the crises of a social coexistence, whilst positioning mimetic desire central to human life.[135] A final consideration is significant in light of the mimetic theory in order to answer the question of why the mimetic theory is important for the the contemporary societies? It not only provides an explanation for the emergence of the existing legal institutions, and from them practiced structural violence (as it has been indicated by Galtung), but also provides the understanding of the role of religion in a social coexistence in terms of history and culture. It cannot be neglected that religious institutions have a significant impact on politics, economics and social interrelationship between the civil society and the state. Not only the religion itself plays a considerable role for shaping one's mimetic desires, but also it is a part of the social contract possessing political, economic and social power (especially the German term: *Macht*). Despite the existing developments regarding democratization and secularization in our globalized world, the power (*Macht*) of religion as an institution in societies cannot be neglected. This perspective for instance, could be confirmed by the current political systems still ruled by religious law, or the rising political power of the right-wing and the nationalist parties in certain multi cultural societies e.g. in Europe.

## 4.2. The Role of Religion and Salafism in Nigeria

The theoretical part of this section has provided two frameworks: Cecelia Lynch's Neo-Weberian Approach and René Girard's Mimetic Theory in order to conceptualize the role of religion as a cause for direct violence. Hence, before the consideration of these conceptualizations for Boko Haram, it is essential to examine two dimensions, as they provide the understanding of the role of religion in Nigeria, grounded by the multi-dimensionality of studying religion, which's importance has been justified in the theoretical section. Thus, the first dimension, the general role of religion in Nigeria in terms of the ethno-religious-regional structures regarding religious identities and organizational

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[134] Ibid.

[135] W. Palaver, *René Girards Mimetische Theorie: Im Kontext kulturtheoretischer und gesellschaftspolitischer Fragen*, Berlin, LIT Verlag, 3., erweiterte Auflage, Band 6, 2008, p. 61.

structures will be examined. Then, the second dimension, Salafism will be briefly analyzed as the belief system of Boko Haram is grounded on Salafism.

The religion in Nigeria has a high level of interdependency to the ethno-regional structure of the country. The population of the country consisting of 180 Million peoples, 90 Million people are Muslim, living dominantly in the northern part of the country, and the other half are Christian mostly being concentrated in the southern part of Nigeria. In addition, the Middle Belt consists of mix religious identities. Hence, this even division determines the regional and the political characteristics of Nigeria. The regionality of religious dominance plays a crucial role for the social and political structure, and the legal system of Nigeria. For instance, as the results of 2011 presidential elections indicate, the majority of the votes were for the Muslim candidate Muhammadu Buhari in northern Nigeria, and in the south for the Christian candidate Goodluck Jonathan.[136] The ethnicity is a significant determinant aspect on one's religion. However, one's religious identity cannot be solely based on the ethnicity. As the report from the United States Institute of Peace indicates the ethnic diversity in Nigeria: "[...]between three hundred and four hundred ethno-linguistic groups, it is as well one of the most complex, though three ethnic identities make up two-thirds of the population: Hausa-Fulani at 30 percent, Yoruba at 20 percent, and Igbo at 17 percent." [137]. Hence, Hausa-Fulani people have a higher probability of being a Muslim, and the Igbos of being a Christian. Yoruba people consist of both Muslims and Christians. In light of this division, it is essential now to analyze both Christian and Muslim identities in Nigeria, in order to understand the social and the political aspects of religion in Nigeria.

The Christian identity in Nigeria is structured through Roman Catholic, mainline Protestant, evangelical, Pentecostal, and syncretistic groups. Some dominations being spread trough out the country, some demonstrate regionality e.g. syncretists in the southwest.[138] For instance, the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) is a significant institution for the Christian identity, objectifying a unity among the Christians and the churches throughout Nigeria. In addition, this association plays an active role for the political decision building process of the society. The constitution of CAN declares its identity and objective by article 2: "Christian Association of Nigeria is an *Association* of Christian

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[136] J. Paden, *Religion and Conflict in Nigeria,* Washington D.C., United States Institute of Peace, 2015, p. 2.

[137] Ibid., p. 5.

[138] Ibid., p. 7.

Churches with distinct identities, recognizable Church structures and a system of worship of one God in the Trinity of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. This Association makes Christ the Centre of all its works and shall promote the glory of God, by encouraging the growth and unity of the Churches and by helping them to lead the nation and her people to partake of Christ's salvation and all its fruits." [139]. Despite of the objected unification by CAN, there are internal tension between the related organizations and the Muslims.[140] The functioning of these Christian organizations manifest similar tendencies with the Muslim authorities, which will be indicated whilst considering the Muslim identity.

The Muslim identity of Nigerian people is embedded in Sufi brotherhoods. Two belief systems were most dominant for this identity. Tijaniyya being located in Kano, was practiced by merchant class in West Africa and Northern Africa. The other predominant belief system was Qadiriyya, mostly practiced by upper class of Hausa-Fulani establishment in Sokoto, but recently also in Kano.[141] These belief systems being linked to the Sokoto caliphate legacy, the tensions between the Sufi versions of Islam have been increasing, and resulted in the emergence of the neo-Salafist groups. The economic structure of Nigeria based on oil, played a significant role for the construction of these tensions, especially due to the increment of people joining to the trips to Mecca, and the impact of Wahhabi belief system promoted by the Saudi government. Hence, the pilgrims and the petro-state era resulted in the emergence of a mild form of Zala (Jama'atul Izatul Bid'ah Wa'ikhamatul Sunnah, or JIBWIS). Increased number of students were engaged with this form, as it did not require an extensive time and prayers.[142] All the Muslim establishments of the past and the current e.g. the Sokoto caliphate and the precolonial Borno caliphate (in Borno and Yobe states), are included by the National Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs, which is led by the Sultan of Sokoto as president, the shehu of Borno as vice president, and a distinguished legal scholar from the southwest as secretary general.[143] Considering the social and the legal aspects of religion in Nigeria, Sufism being a part of Sunni Islam, Emir of Kano

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[139] Constitution of Christian Association of Nigeria (Abuja), p. 1.

[140] Although it cannot be empirically proven due to changing data depending on the regions, according to United States Institute of Peace, the pastor Ayo Oritsejafor spent millions of in cash to buy weapons in his trip to South Africa. National security advisor declaring these weapons for the federal government, people in the north tend to believe that he was arming a private militia in order to oppose Muslims. this believe in the north is supported by Oritsejafor's closer relationship with the former president Johathan.

[141] Ibid., p. 6.

[142] Ibid.

[143] Ibid.

and Sultan of Sokoto have a significant impact on the majority of Sunni Muslims, and their administrative bodies are constitutionally guaranteed.[144] Article 3 (2) of the Constitution of the Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs: "Promote the continued application of Shari'ah in Nigeria and the observance of Islamic morality. The Council shall therefore, ensure that the ideals of Islam as laid down in the Glorious Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (P.B.O.H) are adhered to by all Muslims in Nigeria." [145] clearly emphasizes the legality of Islamic law based on Sunni Islam as an objective. Before the impact of Sharia law on the role of religion in Nigeria will be looked at, it is important to indicate that despite the regional tensions, there are also considerable organizational structures bringing e.g. youth, religious leaders, government officials, and academics from both Christian and Muslim communities together. For instance, the quasi-governmental National Interfaith Religious Council.[146] Apart from the indicated historical, social and political aspects, Islam as a religion for Nigeria, has been a mechanism for the state functioning. Sharia law has been legal in the political system regarding the personal status and the civil law. However, its legality was transformed to a more extensive outreach, as a result of the introduction of the Sharia law to the criminal law in 2000, in twelve states in northern Nigeria.[147] Nonetheless, the Sharia law is not applied to other states. According to the Human Rights Watch, not only the Sharia law, but also the legal system of Nigeria as a whole, reveal several human rights violations e.g. "systematic torture by the police, prolonged detention without trial, corruption in the judiciary, political interference in the course of justice, and impunity for those responsible for abuses occur not only in the context of Sharia cases, but are at least as widespread in cases handled by the parallel common law system." [148]. However, for this section, especially the human rights violations under a religious legal system Sharia play a crucial role to understand the role and the influence of religion on the society. Therefore, the analysis of other mechanisms of Nigeria's legal functioning will be neglected by this research, in order to narrow down the scope of the research. As a result of the introduction of the Sharia law to the criminal law, there

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[144] T. Scheen, 'Nigerias Zweispalt: Wo die Scharia Optional ist', *Frankfurt Allgemeine Zeitung,* 21 May 2016, p. 2, http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/ausland/afrika/nigerias-konflikt-der-religionen-und-ethnien-14237992-p2.html, (accessed 11 June 2018).

[145] Constitution of the Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (Abuja), p. 3.

[146] J. Paden, *Religion and Conflict in Nigeria,* Washington D.C., United States Institute of Peace, 2015, p. 8.

[147] Human Rights Watch, 'Political Shari'a" ?: Human Rights and Islamic Law in Northern Nigeria', Human Rights Watch, 2004, pp. 1-2.

[148] Ibid. p. 3.

have been increasing politicization of religion and manipulation of Sharia for the favor of certain politicians. This has been enabling corruption in the judiciary system, and has been allowing limited to no judicial assistance for vulnerable mean and women e.g. people with limited financial means.[149] The legality of Sharia law in Nigeria therefore, is the implementation of a legal system solely based on a religious mechanism and a belief system. Its effect is considerable for this multi-ethnical Nigerian society, because the Islamic rule is justified by the legal mechanisms of the state, and brings about the question: to what extent it is possible to prevent human rights violations in a multi-ethnical plural society with two different religions, and to avoid violations of human rights under the Sharia law, and to establish a democratic state functioning? The aim of this research is not to question any religious legal system or to justify a particular political system. However, an examination of the conduction of Sharia in Nigeria manifests various human rights violations. As it was indicated above, whilst providing information on the religious identities, there are several types of sectors within both Christian and Muslim communities. Hence, there are diverse types of interpretations and belief systems in Nigeria. Therefore, it can be argued that the implementation of any kind of religious mechanism can be a hindrance for the individual and the collective rights of a multi-ethnical-religious society. Hence, the Nigerian state necessitates legal adjustments,[150] in order to enable individuals to enjoy their human rights and to fulfill its international obligations e.g. treaties of United Nations[151] and African Union[152].

The role of religion based on diverse areas of the social coexistence e.g. the religious identity and the legal system, has been considered, it is now essential to examine Salafism as it constructs the religious ideology of Boko Haram. The epistemological meaning of Salafism is derived from the Arabic word *as-salaf as-salih,* which means righteous ancestor. It represents the first three generations of Islam from the year 610 to 850, following the doctrines of the prophet Muhammad. According to the contemporary understanding, a Salafist is a person, who only recognizes the Koran, the prophet, and

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[149] Ibid.

[150] For instance, several suggestions for Nigerian state and the international community for the compliance with human rights is provided by the 2004 report of Human Rights Watch in: Ibid., pp. 6-8.

[151] United Nations, *United Nations Treaty Collection: Multilateral Treaties Deposited with the Secretary General,* [treaties.un.org], https://treaties.un.org/Pages/ParticipationStatus.aspx?clang=_en, (accessed 12 June 2018).

[152] The African Union Commission, *OAU/AU Treaties, Conventions, Protocols & Charters,* [au.int], https://au.int/ar/treaties, (accessed 12 June 2018).

his traditions.[153] Thurston enables a description of Salafism and an understanding of its features under five aspects. He indicates: "Sunni Islam and not Shiism; literalism in contrast to speculative theology (ilm al-kalam) or philosophy (falsafa); direct consultation of foundational texts rather than allegiance to established legal schools; an impulse to "purify" others and a rejection of Sufism, especially organized, "ecstatic" Sufism; and finally an insistence on producing "evidence."[154]. Hence, the belief system of Salafism refuses the distinct interpretations of Islamic doctrines, but grounds the practice of Islam on textual evidences both in social and political spheres of life (e.g. social, political, cultural). Despite of the indicated definition of Salafism and the argumentation that it is merely grounded on the Koran, which leaves then no room for interpretation, based on the scientific categorization of Salafism (purists, political Salafists, jihadists);[155] it can be argued that Salafism as a belief system and its implementation in diverse spheres of life, also depend on an interpretation. Hence, the religious doctrine of Salafism providing similarity within the three categories, they differ in practice. In addition, Boko Haram can be classified as a part of the category of the jihadists due to their objective to de-structure the existing system by means of direct violence (in form of terrorism) and to establish a state functioning solely based on the Sharia.

The different course of actions practicing Salafism can be grounded on Lynch's Neo-Weberian approach, distinguishing the religious doctrines and practices. Religion being a motivation for Boko Haram, it does not provide a quintessential explanatory approach to terrorism conducted by Boko Haram. Not only the understanding of religion between the diverse belief systems differ, but also within the belief system of Salafism, there are distinct interpretations for practicing Islam in the political and the social aspects of life. Hence, it can be argued that it is Boko Haram's cognitive perception declaring a necessity to destruct the state of Nigeria by means of terrorism. In addition, considering Girard's Mimetic Theory, it can be argued that the theory reveals similarities with the psychological dimensions of explaining terrorism, as one's desire is socially constructed and influential leaders play a significant role for shaping one's mimetic desires. Another significant aspect of the Mimetic Theory is the scapegoat mechanism, which is observable in the case of Boko Haram. It can be argued that the killing of the leader Yusuf, who was the founder of Boko Haram by the Nigerian state

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[153] B. R. Bauknecht, *Infoaktuell Informationen zur Politischen Bildung: Salafismus – Ideologie der Moderne,* Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 2015, p. 4.

[154] A. Thurston, *Salafism in Nigeria: Islam, Preaching and Politics,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2016, p. 5.

[155] B. R. Bauknecht, *Infoaktuell Informationen zur Politischen Bildung: Salafismus – Ideologie der Moderne,* Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 2015, p. 4.

forces, in terms of Girard, provided a sacred dimension to Yusuf. He was victimized, which transformed him to a more important figure for the organization. This transformation resulted in increasing violent incidents of Boko Haram under the leadership of Abubakar Shekau. However, relating Yusuf's case to the scapegoat mechanism remains limited, as the initial condition of everyone against one cannot be observed in Nigerian society. It is significant to indicate that this limitation is not unique to Nigeria. The contemporary societies of the world functioning by the impacts globalization are plural and multi-cultural coexistences, which consist of various values and norms. Hence, the conceptualization of a society within the framework of two poles (good and bad), all being against one, remains limited. Finally, Boko Haram's case clearly reveals a mimetic rivalry, as the objective of Boko Haram and the means to achieve their end, remain opponent to the will of others in the society (e.g. the state or the Christian community) and constructs a conflict between the mimetic desires.

## 5. Conclusion

Galtungs's notions of peace and violence constructing the definitional framework of this research, peace is according to Galtung is the absence of violence of all kinds and the non-violent conflict transformation. Considering the role of social structure for terrorism, several studies and the existing literature determined a relevance between the social structure and violence. In order to examine this relevance in light political theory and sociology, Galtung, Marx and Tocqueville have been studied respectively, as they provide the crucial conceptualizations and the possible solutions approaches for establishing peace. For Galtung, violence entailing different forms, it has two key dimensions: direct violence e.g. in form of terrorism, and indirect violence (structural violence) e.g. social injustice. For the research's theoretical section about Galtung, the structural violence is the central conceptualization for understanding the role of social order for terrorism. According to Galtung, the existence of structural violence depends on the power relations and the resources. In this respect, he categorizes four types of power: cultural, economic, military, and political, and determines the elimination of structural violence, democratization at the national and international levels, and the reduction of the military solutions to the conflicts are the essential points of his approach for achieving the positive peace. Considering the further solutions to eliminate social inequality, Marx's and Tocqueville's notions of revolution have been studied, as they provide a distinct understandings based on the two separate political orientations: communism (Marx), and liberalism (Tocqueville). Both requires revolution, in form of direct violence for the establishment of a society without a structural violence. Marx's central argumentation point is the material production. According to Marx, a capitalistic society consists of

two classes: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The class of bourgeoisie is the owner of the product and the labor force, and proletariat is the working class. Their social coexistence is constructed by the production process of a capitalistic society. Hence, the material production process causes the alienation of proletariat from his/her own work and class, and subsequently the establishment of from Galtung referred structural violence. Hence, Marx suggests the elimination of private ownership and the establishment of a classes society for the prevention of structural violence. Tocqueville relates all revolutions either to consolidation or to destruction of social inequality. Hence, examining the American and the French revolutions, in contrary to Marx, Tocqueville's solution for the elimination of structural violence is an establishment of a democratically functioning society, enabling equal participation to decision making process, with a strong middle class, in which majority of the society belong to. Instead of the abolishment of the private ownership, for Tocqueville the more equal distribution of resources is essential to prevent the social injustice. Reflections of Marx and Tocqueville based on the notion of human rights, and the existing studies on distribution of resources, it has been argued that the abolishment of the private ownership indicates a problematic with the article 17 (1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Hence, the implementation of Marx's solution to the structural violence necessities a further study and a justification based on a distinct conceptualization of human rights. Moreover, as the studies about the social stratification and the de-commodification manifest, Tocqueville's society and democracy understandings necessitate further constitutional adjustments for the elimination of the structural violence e.g. an equal access to resources. In light of these argumentations, Galtung's development theory is an holistic approach, and consisting the essentialities of environment's and humans' fulfilment, and takes into account that the contemporary societies of our global social coexistence are multicultural. Thus, the development theory, for this research constructs the fundamental solution for the elimination of structural and direct violence, subsequently for the prevention of terrorism in the framework of human rights.

In light of the theoretical considerations, the analysis of the social structure in Nigeria has been conducted, based on two dimensions: power relations, regarding the recent Nigerian political history and polity; and the distribution of resources in terms of the income distribution, access to health and education. The analysis makes evident that the changing power relations between the military rule and the democratic governance, and the ethnic conflicts, subsequently the economic power relations, and the corruption hinder both a democratic functioning with equal participation to the social existence, and an equal distribution of the resources in Nigeria. Despite of its strong economy (e.g. oil industry),

poverty based on two examined dimensions of social structure, remains as an obstacle for the establishment of positive peace in Nigeria.

The second explanatory approach examining the relationship between the psychology of individuals and the terrorism, for this section, aggression is the central point of the study, rather than violence. This micro level explanatory approach is provided based on the cognitive theory, the motives and vulnerabilities, and the role of leaders for the terrorist organizations. The cognitive theory explains, how individuals perceive the social environment they live in. Moreover, it conceptualizes the human cognition as socially determined. The representational re-descriptions establish this social determination of human's cognition, and determine the social or the institutional facts and their recognition (e.g. recognizing a group as a terrorist organization). Hence, individual's subjective social and political understanding of the world determines one's actions and the possibility for violent behavior. Motives defining the emotion and the need for a violent action, vulnerabilities are the willingness and the temptation to terrorist actions. The existing literature on this respect, determines the three core motivations for terrorism: injustice, identity, and belonging. These motivations are considerable explanations for terrorism. However, as each individual, who is confronted with the indicated motivations and vulnerabilities, do not commit a terrorist action; the psychological explanations for terrorism based on existing literature determined that there is no terrorist psychology. Nonetheless, the examination of the case of Boko Haram provides a distinct outcome than the theoretical framework. On the one hand, it has been argued that the social cognition of Boko Haram members explains, why each individual confronted with injustice, need for identity and belonging do not participate to Boko Haram. It is members' own perception justifying for them to be violent. On the other hand, the conducted field studies about the case of Boko Haram members show that there is a causal mechanism between the vulnerability of young men in Nigeria, due to poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, and family relations; and the radicalization. Hence, this outcome is a significant support for both cognitive explanations of terrorist behaviors and structural violence as a reason for terrorism. In addition, considering the leaders' role is important for understanding the organizational structure of a terrorist organizations and subsequently to combat their existence. Examining Mohammed Yusuf, as a founder, he played a crucial role for the construction of a common motivational desire for the members to join Boko Haram. Thus, his profound knowledge on the Koran, the charismatic leadership, and his killing were central regarding the religious motivations- and justification of violence, and the influence on young members to participate Boko Haram. The examination of the first two explanatory approaches showed that as individuals construct a collective, and the psychological dimensions consist

of social dimensions (e.g. social construction of cognition), the analysis cannot be solely based on micro level. As a matter of fact, macro and micro levels entail interdependence.

The examination of the third approach: the relationship between religion and terrorism has been conducted through the two theoretical frameworks: Cecelia Lynch's Neo-Weberian Approach and René Girard's Mimetic Theory. They provide a holistic approach to religion, considering its interdependence on life-world practices regarding diverse cultures and belief systems, and on existing interpretations of religion. It has been found out that religion as an objective or end, has legitimate and illegitimate forms according to the context its framed. Considering the illegitimate forms of the religious interactions and objectives; peoples' motives to act (e.g. arbitrary killings of their family members through government) play a crucial role for the construction of a drive with a religious objective to act violent or to act within a terrorist organization. Hence, the legitimacy of a religious objective depends on the historical, social, and political recognition of a belief system. For this understanding, Cecelia Lynch's Neo-Weberian Approach plays a important role as it provides a distinction between the religious doctrine and practice. As a matter of fact, considering each religious objective or act depending on its own context enables the prevention of *a priori* connection of religion to violence. Weber's examination of the diverse societies and religions, in order to determine the impact of religious perceptions on the economic matters of the social coexistence is the basis of Neo-Weberian approach. For Lynch's argumentation the ethical struggles are central. Her analysis about the interpretations of the religious actors on the ethical struggles provides an understanding of the essential distinction between the religious doctrine and practice. Hence, the religious interpretations being determined by the historical context and by the traditions, their practice is in a constant transformation. As a matter of fact, it has been argued that the violent actions are a result of the interpretations, hence, groups' and individuals' decisions to act violently, in other words religious actors' decisions to act violently, to achieve their own religious ends, and to establish a life-conduct in terms of their ethical hermeneutic of the religious practice. Thus, for the counter terrorism studies, understanding the terrorist organizations' interpretations of religion remains essential.

Girard's Mimetic Theory provides likewise a multi-dimensional approach to religion and avoids the *a priori* connection of religion to violence. The Mimetic theory grounds its argumentation on the rivalry of the mimetic desires. Girard argues that individual's desires and actions are determined by the society they live in. Hence, people's desires and ends are solely an imitation of others. These desires being distinct from the biological needs; the external social factors e.g. national identity, play a crucial

role for the formation of the mimetic desires. Hence, the conflicts of a social coexistence are results of the disagreements on mimetic desires e.g. opposing desires on a resource that cannot be shared. In addition, the significance of the Mimetic Theory is that it provides an explanation about the establishment of the legitimate and the illegitimate forms of power, and the religious institutions and their recognition. In this respect, the scapegoat mechanism provides an understanding for how individuals brought about the collective mechanisms of violence in archaic social coexistence therefore, provides an explanation for the existence of current power relations and the establishment of the contemporary legal and political institutions. Thus, the scapegoat mechanism also provides an explanation for the emergence of the structural violence. This mechanism being grounded on the religious rituals and the historical interpretations of the transformation of the scapegoat from bad to good (from victim to sacred), Girard provides an understanding of the conflicts and the crises of a social coexistence, whilst positioning the mimetic desire central to human life, rather than determining a causal link between religion and violence. As a matter of fact, the analysis of the role of religion in Nigeria manifests there are several religious identities, doctrines and practices. Each being different depending on their ethnical, and social context; Salafism is the basis of the religious doctrine of Boko Haram. It has several sects, and diverse forms of interpretations about how it should be practiced. It cannot be neglected that religion being highly dependent on ethnicity in Nigeria, it manifests regionality, and plays a significant role for the identity construction and the group building. The two main religions in Nigeria are Christianity and Islam. Despite the legal religious institutions aiming to establish a cooperation and a mutual understanding between these two religions, the religious identity remains a divisive notion, being a determinant on Nigerian's political orientation and life practices. Moreover, the Sharia law has been constitutionally practiced in certain states in Nigeria, regarding the personal status, the civil law, and the criminal law. Examples such as corruption in the judiciary system, and the manipulation of the Islamic law reveal certain human rights violations. Hence, the constitutional recognition of the Sharia law, providing a legality for the conduction of a type of Islamic belief system, based on Neo-Weberian Approach; shows how an interpretation of a doctrine can cause both direct- and structural violence. Moreover, the ethnic-religious rivalry between the various religious identities can be explained through the differences of mimetic desires in form of a religion and the differences on its interpretation, resulting in conflict, for the case of Boko Haram in religious violence. As a matter of fact, the research concludes, for the multi-ethnical and -cultural society of Nigeria, the Sharia law is not functional to let individuals enjoy their human rights, and to fulfil the

international obligations determined by the international bodies such as the United Nations and the African Union.

As a matter of fact, religion as an explanatory approach for the violent actions of Boko Haram remains limited. On the one hand, 2011 statement of Boko Haram declaring the fundamental objective: to establish a state, solely based on the Koran, and to eliminate the western belief systems, conceptualize group's aim merely to a religious end, in light of Salafism. On the other hand, not only the understanding of religion between diverse belief systems differ, but also within a belief system of Salafism there are distinct interpretations for practicing Islam in the political and the social spheres of life. Hence, based on the considerations about the Nigerian case regarding, the social structure, the members of Boko Haram, and the role of religion and Salafism; religion remains constraint as an explanatory approach for Boko Haram's emergence and for its actions. Religion manifests only a component from the various possible motives of Boko Haram members. In addition, the psychological explanations on terrorism provides an extensive reasoning for individuals becoming a part of Boko Haram, as not each individual practicing a religious belief system, and struggling with the structural violence become a member of a terrorist organization. Corresponding with the Neo-Weberian and the Mimetic Theory, its Boko Haram members' desires, and their interpretation hence, their cognition, and their ascription of religious drives to motives, are the causes of their violent actions based on political goals, enabling their classification as a terrorist organization.

In conclusion, each of the three explanatory approaches play an essential role. They construct a holistic understanding for explaining the establishment and the conduction of Boko Haram violent actions. However, despite the extensive reasoning provided by the psychological approach, it cannot be neglected that the examination of Nigeria's case in each section manifests the role of social structure. Hence, the structural violence in Nigeria, which is determined by the power relations benefiting only the certain segments of the society, and by the unequal distribution of resources; is the cause for membership to Boko Haram, and emergence of its terrorist actions. Moreover, the successful prevention of terrorism demands a holistic approach and requires a contextual understanding. Therefore, the essential legal, political, and social adjustments, in order to eliminate structural violence necessitate not only the consideration of the three indicated explanatory approaches, but also of the additional explanatory approaches of terrorism, which have not been handled by this researched. As this research has analyzed different dimensions of Nigerian society, it can be concluded that for the Nigerian case, the prevention of the structural violence should be the initial aspect in order to provide

the long-term elimination of Boko Haram by peaceful means. In this respect, the reduction of military solutions to Boko Haram, the implementation of United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals, and the establishment of the international co-operations in light of Galtung's developmental theory could be significant approaches to establish positive peace by peaceful means in Nigeria in order to combat terrorism, to construct a human centered security, free from want and fear; and subsequently to avoid the violations of the international humanitarian law and the human rights.

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