

Name: Boko Haram

Type of Organization: non-state actor; terrorist; violent

Ideologies and Affiliations: Islamist; Sunni

Place of Origin: Maiduguri, Nigeria

Year of Origin: 2002

Founder(s): Mohammed Yusuf

Place(s) of Operation: Primarily Nigeria—particularly in the states of Borno, Yobe, and Adamawa—as well as Cameroon, Niger, Chad, and Benin.

Key Leaders:

- **Abubakar Shekau** (current leader and public face of Boko Haram)
- **Mamman Nur** (Cameroonian and Boko Haram leader with significant contacts to international terrorist organizations such as al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), al-Shabaab, the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO), Mokhtar Belmokhtar’s factions, al-Qaeda Central, and other militant groups in Africa; may also operate under the name of Muhammad Marwana, who claimed to be second in command in interview in 2013¹)
- **Khalid Al-Barnawi** (also has significant links to AQIM; now allegedly leading the Boko Haram splinter group Ansaru, although links to Boko Haram appear to remain)
- **Kabiru Umar** (alias “Kabiru Sokoto,” former governor of Sokoto State in the hierarchy of the Boko Haram group; currently serving life imprisonment)²

[Allegedly] Deceased:

- **Abubakar Adam Kamar** (allegedly was in contact with Osama bin Laden; connections to AQIM; allegedly killed in 2012 by Nigerian military but these claims could not be verified and Kamar remains present on governmental lists of active terrorists)³
- **Momodu Bam** (also known as “Abu Saad”; specialist in manning anti-aircraft guns; described as second-in command of Boko Haram; Nigerian military has claimed that Bam was killed in August 2013 but there has been no independent verification of this claim)⁴

¹ Jacob Zenn, “Leadership Analysis of Boko Haram and Ansaru in Nigeria,” Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, February 24, 2014, <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/leadership-analysis-of-boko-haram-and-ansaru-in-nigeria>.

² “Kabiru Sokoto bags life imprisonment for terrorism,” *Punch*, December 20, 2013, <http://www.punchng.com/news/boko-haram-kingpin-kabiru-sokoto-jailed-for-life>.

³ “JTF claims ‘global terrorist’ Kamar killed,” *Vanguard*, June 7, 2013, <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2013/06/jtf-claims-global-terrorist-kamar-killed>.

⁴ “Nigerian troops ‘kill Boko Haram commander Momodu Bama,’” BBC News, August 14, 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-23704048>.

- **Habibu Bama** (cell leader who masterminded 2011 Christmas Day attack on Christian churches. Killed in June 2012 by Nigerian military)⁵
- **Abu Muhammed** (trainee of Khalid al-Barnawi; masterminded Northern Nigeria's first terrorism-related kidnapping of foreigners; part of shura together with Kabiru Sokoto and Habibu Bama; killed in March 2012 by Nigerian security forces, who reportedly had been tipped off Boko Haram)⁶

Doctrine:

Boko Haram is a radical Sunni Islamic sect, originally calling itself *Jama'atu Ahlis Sunnar Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad*, which broadly translates to "people committed to the propagation of the Prophet's teachings and jihad."⁷ The group's more widely known name is Boko Haram, which means "Western education is sin," and was a nickname given by locals based on the group's strong rejection of Western education as corrupt.

The founder of the group, Mohammed Yusuf, was a trained Salafist and follower of Ibn Taymiyya, a 14th century scholar who preached Islamic fundamentalism.⁸ Boko Haram aims to establish an Islamic state in Nigeria, including the establishment of Sharia courts. However, the group is highly decentralised and not all fighters of the group necessarily follow Salafi doctrine, with many soldiers being poor, uneducated youth. Some claim to be part of a Shiite Muslim group and to have trained in Iran, while others were allegedly involved in other conflicts in Nigeria and the Sahel.⁹

While originally non-violent and preaching a doctrine of withdrawal from what they perceived as a corrupt Nigerian state, Boko Haram increasingly engaged in confrontations with security forces over local disputes and became more radical and violent. Since 2009, the group has carried out increasingly deadly attacks on a wide range of targets.

However, despite apparent links to international terrorist organizations, particularly al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM),¹⁰ many of the group's grievances are motivated by failures of local governance, sectarian tensions between Christian and Muslims, and large economic disparity in Nigeria.

Some analysts have suggested that in recent years, the group has increasingly fragmented, with some factions seeking to build stronger links with international terrorist organizations such as Al Qaeda franchises in order to build a more regional

⁵ "Boko Haram Cell Leader, Habib Bama, Dies From Gunshot Wounds," Sahara Reporters, June 22, 2012, <http://saharareporters.com/2012/06/22/boko-haram-cell-leader-habib-bama-dies-gunshot-wounds>.

⁶ Jacob Zenn, "Leadership Analysis of Boko Haram and Ansaru in Nigeria," Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, February 24, 2014, <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/leadership-analysis-of-boko-haram-and-ansaru-in-nigeria>.

⁷ Mohammed Aly Sergie and Toni Johnson, "Backgrounders: Boko Haram," Council on Foreign Relations, May 5, 2014, <http://www.cfr.org/nigeria/boko-haram/p25739>.

⁸ Mohammed Aly Sergie and Toni Johnson, "Backgrounders: Boko Haram," Council on Foreign Relations, May 5, 2014, <http://www.cfr.org/nigeria/boko-haram/p25739>.

⁹ Mohammed Aly Sergie and Toni Johnson, "Backgrounders: Boko Haram," Council on Foreign Relations, May 5, 2014, <http://www.cfr.org/nigeria/boko-haram/p25739>.

¹⁰ Lauren Ploch, "Nigeria: Current issues and U.S. policy," Congressional Research Service, November 15, 2013, http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc272109/m1/1/high_res_d/RL33964_2013Nov15.pdf, 13.

influence while other sections want to maintain the group's exclusively domestic focus with the aim of establishing a Islamic state in Nigeria.¹¹

Organizational Structure:

Since the 2009 violent police purge of the group, Boko Haram has remained underground, and little is known about its leadership or organizational structure. Statements by the group have emerged from two spokespersons using the pseudonyms "Abu Zaid" and "Abu Qaqa." Their identities are unknown but they have participated in phone interviews and communicated statements to journalists. Since 2010, Abubakar Shekau emerged as the new leader of the group and has appeared in several videos linking Boko Haram to attacks.¹² Although the exact leadership structure of the group is unclear, Khalid al-Barnawi and Mamman Nur also appear to take leading roles within the organization.¹³ Allegedly, cell leaders communicate Shekau's orders to Boko Haram soldiers, but often even those cell leaders have no direct contact with Shekau.¹⁴

Boko Haram is not a monolithic organization and has a highly decentralized leadership structure, unified by a common ideology and the experience of local grievances. Its core militant group allegedly comprises several hundred soldiers but it apparently also draws on a broader supporting group of several thousand young men mainly motivated by lack of jobs, the heavy-handed response of security services, and other local grievances.¹⁵

In early 2012, a splinter group of Boko Haram emerged, calling itself *Ansarul Muslimina Fi Biladis Sudan* ("Vanguards for the Protection of Muslims in Black Africa") or simply Ansaru. The group, which is allegedly led by Khalid Al-Barnawi, criticised Boko Haram's treatment of Muslims.¹⁶ Some analysts suggest that Ansaru now functions as an "external operations unit" of Boko Haram outside Nigeria, separating Ansaru and Boko Haram in order to avoid conflict between them.¹⁷

Direct and Indirect Sources of Financial Support:

¹¹ Lauren Ploch, "Nigeria: Current issues and U.S. policy," Congressional Research Service, November 15, 2013,

http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc272109/m1/1/high_res_d/RL33964_2013Nov15.pdf, 13.

¹² "Spiralling violence: Boko Haram attacks and security forces abuses in Nigeria," Human Rights Watch, October 2012, http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/nigeria1012webwcover_0.pdf, 37.

¹³ Jacob Zenn, "Leadership Analysis of Boko Haram and Ansaru in Nigeria," Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, February 24, 2014, <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/leadership-analysis-of-boko-haram-and-ansaru-in-nigeria>.

¹⁴ "Nigeria's Boko Haram leader Abubakar Shekau in profile," BBC News, May 9, 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-18020349>.

¹⁵ Lauren Ploch, "Nigeria: Current issues and U.S. policy," Congressional Research Service, November 15, 2013, http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc272109/m1/1/high_res_d/RL33964_2013Nov15.pdf, 13.

¹⁶ "Boko Haram: Splinter group, Ansaru emerges," *Vanguard*, February 1, 2012, <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2012/02/boko-haram-splinter-group-ansaru-emerges>.

¹⁷ Jacob Zenn, "Leadership Analysis of Boko Haram and Ansaru in Nigeria," Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, February 24, 2014, <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/leadership-analysis-of-boko-haram-and-ansaru-in-nigeria>.

Boko Haram's exact funding streams remain unclear as the group largely operates outside the banking system. It appears that Boko Haram relies on a combination of local funding sources and lucrative criminal activity, particularly kidnapping for ransom, which apparently is the group's main source of funding, to the tune of millions of dollars annually. U.S. officials estimate that Boko Haram receives approximately \$1 million for the kidnapping and release of each wealthy Nigerian.¹⁸ Additionally, Boko Haram finances itself by bank robberies, protection money from local governors, and alleged foreign donations (such as Britain's Al-Muntada Trust Fund and Saudi Arabia's Islamic World Society).¹⁹ It is suspected that Boko Haram receives funding from local religious sympathisers and individuals opposing the Nigerian government, but hard evidence for this suspicion is lacking thus far. The group receives limited funding from al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, but that support has little impact on Boko Haram's overall funding. Boko Haram's financial relationship with other extremist groups appears limited.²⁰

Some security analysts have noted that Boko Haram is less reliant on large funding streams because it generally does not purchase sophisticated weapons and runs very low-cost operations. Many of the weapons at its disposal were stolen from the Nigerian military.²¹

According to U.S. officials, the tools at the disposal of the U.S. government, which worked very effectively in targeting the financing of other terrorist organizations, have not been effective in curbing Boko Haram's funding streams.²²

History:

Early 2000: Emergence of radical Muslim group, known as *Ahl as-Sunnah wa al-Jama'a ala Minhaj as-Salaf* (People of the way of the Prophet and the community according to the approach of the Salaf) with the goal of creating a Islamic state in Northern Nigeria and propagating strict adherence to Quran and Sharia law. The sect was founded and led by Mohammed Yusuf in Maiduguri.²³

¹⁸ Phil Stewart & Lesley Wroughton, "How Boko Haram is beating U.S. efforts to choke its financing," Reuters, July 1, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/07/01/us-usa-nigeria-bokoharam-insight-idUSKBN0F636920140701>.

¹⁹ Peter Weber, "Who's financing Boko Haram?" *The Week*, May 12, 2014, <http://theweek.com/article/index/261388/whos-financing-boko-haram>.

²⁰ Phil Stewart & Lesley Wroughton, "How Boko Haram is beating U.S. efforts to choke its financing," Reuters, July 1, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/07/01/us-usa-nigeria-bokoharam-insight-idUSKBN0F636920140701>.

²¹ Phil Stewart & Lesley Wroughton, "How Boko Haram is beating U.S. efforts to choke its financing," Reuters, July 1, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/07/01/us-usa-nigeria-bokoharam-insight-idUSKBN0F636920140701>.

²² Phil Stewart & Lesley Wroughton, "How Boko Haram is beating U.S. efforts to choke its financing," Reuters, July 1, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/07/01/us-usa-nigeria-bokoharam-insight-idUSKBN0F636920140701>.

²³ "Curbing violence in Nigeria (II): The Boko Haram insurgency," International Crisis Group, Africa Report No 216, April 3, 2014, <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/africa/west-africa/nigeria/216-curbing-violence-in-nigeria-ii-the-boko-haram-insurgency.pdf>.

2002: Osama bin Laden sends aide to Nigeria to distribute \$3 million among Salafi groups. It is assumed that Boko Haram was a major recipient of that money.²⁴

2002: Radical faction of approximately 200 men split from the original group around Yusuf, seeking to build a separate community based on hard-line Islamic principles. They moved to Kanamma in the Yobe state to live an ascetic life but fishing disputes with the local population soon arise.²⁵ Several times, members of the group are arrested and questioned by the police.²⁶

2003: In Maiduguri, Yusuf allegedly builds close links with Ali Modu Sheriff, a politician and wealthy businessman from a prominent Maiduguri family. In return for political support from Boko Haram's following, Sheriff promises to implement Sharia law once in office and to direct state money to support Yusuf's organization (through appointment of Yusuf disciple's as religious affairs commissioner). However the alliance falls apart when Sheriff does not fully implement Sharia law after becoming governor.²⁷

December 2003–early 2004: Following a dispute over fishing rights, the splinter group, then referred to as the Nigerian Taliban, comes into conflict with the police. They loot the Kanamma police arsenal and burn down the police station and government buildings. The confrontation leads to a siege by Nigerian security forces that lasts until the New Year and ends in a shootout during which most members of the group are killed.²⁸

Early 2004: The surviving members of the splinter group resettle in Maiduguri, building a mosque in the town and expanding to other states. At this time, locals begin referring to the group as Boko Haram.²⁹

December 2008: The Borno state government charges Yusuf with terrorism before the Federal High Court. He is later released on bail.³⁰

2009: Boko Haram launches a military campaign to establish an Islamist state in Nigeria.³¹

²⁴ "Curbing violence in Nigeria (II): The Boko Haram insurgency," International Crisis Group, Africa Report No 216, April 3, 2014, <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/africa/west-africa/nigeria/216-curbing-violence-in-nigeria-ii-the-boko-haram-insurgency.pdf>.

²⁵ Andrew Walker, "What is Boko Haram?" United States Institute of Peace, Special Report 308, June 2012, <http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/SR308.pdf>, 3.

²⁶ Andrew Walker, "What is Boko Haram?" United States Institute of Peace, Special Report 308, June 2012, <http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/SR308.pdf>, 3.

²⁷ "Curbing violence in Nigeria (II): The Boko Haram insurgency," International Crisis Group, Africa Report No 216, April 3, 2014, <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/africa/west-africa/nigeria/216-curbing-violence-in-nigeria-ii-the-boko-haram-insurgency.pdf>, 12.

²⁸ Andrew Walker, "What is Boko Haram?" United States Institute of Peace, Special Report 308, June 2012, <http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/SR308.pdf>, 3.

²⁹ Andrew Walker, "What is Boko Haram?" United States Institute of Peace, Special Report 308, June 2012, <http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/SR308.pdf>, 3.

³⁰ "Curbing violence in Nigeria (II): The Boko Haram insurgency," International Crisis Group, Africa Report No 216, April 3, 2014, <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/africa/west-africa/nigeria/216-curbing-violence-in-nigeria-ii-the-boko-haram-insurgency.pdf>, 13.

³¹ "Boko Haram attacks – timeline," *Guardian*, September 25, 2012, accessed August 21, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/sep/25/boko-haram-timeline-nigeria>.

July 2009: Boko Haram members set churches, a police station, and a prison on fire in Maiduguri, killing hundreds.³² The government responds by arresting 700 Boko Haram members and laying siege to the mosque in Maiduguri. In response, Boko Haram members begin to indiscriminately kill police officers and civilians. After regaining control of the town, the police and military crack down on the group, allegedly killing hundreds of Boko Haram members, including Yusuf (who dies in police custody).³³

2009-2010: Boko Haram members that survive the police/military purge go underground, reportedly hiding in neighbouring Cameroon. Some of them allegedly join insurgent training camps in Mali and Algeria.

2010: Boko Haram members return to Maiduguri, instigating attacks against police stations and military barracks to avenge the killing of Yusuf. The group also attacks a local jail, freeing prisoners, and begins attacks against Christians, critical Muslim clerics, suspected collaborators, UN agencies, bars, and schools. Initial attacks mainly constitute of shootings. Abubakar Shekau emerges as the new leader of the group.³⁴

2010–2011: Boko Haram attacks become increasingly violent.³⁵

December 24-28, 2010: Boko Haram claims responsibility for a twin bombing in Jos, a city in central Nigeria, killing at least 38 people on Christmas Eve. On the same day, two bombs also go off in two churches in Maiduguri.³⁶

December 31, 2010: The group sets off a bomb near barracks in Abuja on New Year's Eve, killing at least 4 people.³⁷

June 16, 2011: In the first suicide bombing in Nigerian history and the first such attack by Boko Haram, a suicide bomber detonates a car bomb at the Nigerian police's headquarters in Abuja, killing between six and eight people. The attack marks a new degree of sophistication in the way it is carried out.³⁸

August 17, 2011: General Carter Ham, commander of United States Africa Command (AFRICOM), stated to the Associated Press that according to “multiple

³² “Boko Haram attacks – timeline,” *Guardian*, September 25, 2012, accessed August 21, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/sep/25/boko-haram-timeline-nigeria>.

³³ “Spiralling violence: Boko Haram attacks and security forces abuses in Nigeria,” Human Rights Watch, October 2012, http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/nigeria1012webwcover_0.pdf, 35.

³⁴ “Curbing violence in Nigeria (II): The Boko Haram insurgency,” International Crisis Group, Africa Report No 216, April 3, 2014, <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/africa/west-africa/nigeria/216-curbing-violence-in-nigeria-ii-the-boko-haram-insurgency.pdf>, 14.

³⁵ “Radical Islamist sect says it carried out Nigeria church attacks,” *Guardian*, December 28, 2010, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/dec/28/islamist-sect-responsibility-nigeria-attacks>.

³⁶ “Radical Islamist sect says it carried out Nigeria church attacks,” *Guardian*, December 28, 2010, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/dec/28/islamist-sect-responsibility-nigeria-attacks>.

³⁷ “Nigeria capital hit b barracks bomb,” BBC News, January 1, 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-12099176>.

³⁸ “Boko Haram attacks – timeline,” *Guardian*, September 25, 2012, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/sep/25/boko-haram-timeline-nigeria>; “Boko Haram timeline: From preachers to slave raiders,” BBC News, May 15, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-22538888>.

sources,” Boko Haram made contacts with AQIM and with al-Shabab. Ham noted that this news “would be the most dangerous thing to happen not only to the Africans, but to us [the U.S.] as well.” He added, “What is most worrying at present is, at least in my view, a clearly stated intent by Boko Haram and by al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb to coordinate and synchronize their efforts. I’m not so sure they’re able to do that just yet, but it’s clear to me they have the desire and intent to do that.”³⁹

August 26, 2011: A suicide car bombing of the UN building in Abuja kills at least 21 people and injures dozens.⁴⁰ Boko Haram claims responsibility for the attack, the group’s first strike on a foreign target.⁴¹ Some security analysts claim that the sophisticated execution of the attacks hints to support from transnational terrorist organizations such as Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM).⁴² Boko Haram releases a video calling the UN a “forum of all the global evil” and praising the late al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden, who was killed by U.S. special forces almost four months beforehand.⁴³

September 14, 2011: U.S. Representative Patrick Meehan and U.S. Representative Jackie Speier, chairman and ranking minority member, respectfully, of the Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence of the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Homeland Security, call for U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton to begin an investigation to determine whether the State Department should designate Boko Haram as a Foreign Terrorist Organization. In a letter to Secretary Clinton, Meehan and Speier write that “[They] are deeply concerned about Boko Haram and its growing involvement in terror attacks against innocent civilians and international organizations in Nigeria and its growing operational connections to al-Qaeda and its worldwide affiliates.” Meehan and Speier state that “the FBI, and all other agencies in the United States Intelligence Community, must have all the available tools necessary to address this emerging terror group in its nascent stage before it metastasizes into a group capable of threatening the United States... [and d]esignating Boko Haram a Foreign Terrorist Organization will help ensure that happens.”⁴⁴

November 2011: The arrest of a Boko Haram spokesman who claimed he was employed by Ali Ndume, then a senator from Borno state aligned with the People’s Democratic Party, fuels popular suspicions that the political establishment played a part in the circle of violence caused by Boko Haram’s violent attacks. Further similar scandals support this impression and even lead to the storming of an All-Nigeria

³⁹ Jon Gambrell, “AFRICOM commander sees Nigeria terror link,” Associated Press, August 17, 2011, <http://www.armytimes.com/article/20110817/NEWS/108170303/AFRICOM-commander-sees-Nigeria-terror-link>.

⁴⁰ Adam Nossiter, “Islamic Group Says It Was Behind Fatal Nigeria Attack,” *New York Times*, August 28, 2011, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/08/29/world/africa/29nigeria.html?_r=0.

⁴¹ “Boko Haram attacks – timeline,” *Guardian*, September 25, 2012, accessed August 21, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/sep/25/boko-haram-timeline-nigeria>.

⁴² Andrew Walker, “What is Boko Haram?” United States Institute of Peace, Special Report 308, June 2012, <http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/SR308.pdf>, 6.

⁴³ “Boko Haram timeline: From preachers to slave raiders,” BBC News, May 15, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-22538888>.

⁴⁴ “U.S. Reps. Meehan, Speier Call for State Department Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) Designation of Nigerian Islamist Sect Boko Haram,” Congressman Patrick Meehan, September 14, 2011, <http://meehan.house.gov/latest-news/us-reps-meehan-speier-call-for-state-department-foreign-terrorist-organization-fto-designation-of-nigerian-islamist-sect-boko-haram>.

Peoples Party chairman's house by members of the "Civilian Joint Task Force" (CJTF), comprised of youths helping the security forces to combat Boko Haram.⁴⁵

November 4, 2011: Boko Haram attacks a number of targets in Yobo, Damaturu and Borno states, targeting security forces and their offices, markets and 11 churches. At least 100 people are killed.⁴⁶

November 15, 2011: A police vehicle within the motorcade of the Borno state governor, Kashim Shettima, is attacked with a bomb in Maiduguri.⁴⁷

December 2011: Boko Haram instigates a number of bomb attacks across Nigeria on Christmas Day including at St Theresa's church in Madalla, a church in the city of Jos, three attacks in northern Yobe state and two attacks in town of Damaturu and Gadaka.⁴⁸

February 19, 2013: High profile kidnapping of a French family including four children in northern Cameroon by Boko Haram. The family was later released allegedly after a \$3 million ransom was paid.⁴⁹

November 30, 2011: The first congressional hearing on Boko Haram is held, and the first congressional report on Boko Haram is released, by the Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence of the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Homeland Security. In its report, titled "Boko Haram: Emerging Threat to the U.S. Homeland," the subcommittee finds that "Boko Haram has quickly evolved and poses an emerging threat to U.S. interests and the U.S. homeland" and recommended that the U.S. intelligence community "[n]ot [u]nderestimate Boko Haram's [i]ntent and [c]apability to [a]ttack the U.S. [h]omeland."⁵⁰ The subcommittee also claims "Boko Haram may meet the legal criteria" for designation by the U.S. Department of State as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO),⁵¹ and recommends that the Secretary of State investigate whether Boko Haram should be designated as an FTO, noting that "FTO designation may be required to provide our intelligence and law enforcement communities the tools necessary to ensure Boko Haram does not attack U.S. interests and the U.S. homeland."⁵²

⁴⁵ Andrew Walker, "What is Boko Haram?" United States Institute of Peace, Special Report 308, June 2012, <http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/SR308.pdf>, 6.

⁴⁶ "Boko Haram Fast Facts," CNN, June 30, 2014, <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/06/09/world/boko-haram-fast-facts>.

⁴⁷ "Bomb Targets Nigeria Governor's Motorcade In Maiduguri-AFP," Sahara Reporters, November 15, 2011, <http://saharareporters.com/2011/11/15/bomb-targets-nigeria-governors-motorcade-maiduguri-afp>.

⁴⁸ "Boko Haram attacks- timeline," *Guardian*, September 25, 2012, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/sep/25/boko-haram-timeline-nigeria>.

⁴⁹ "Nigeria's Boko Haram 'got \$3m ransom' to free hostages," BBC News, April 27, 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-22320077>.

⁵⁰ Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence, House Homeland Security Committee, *Boko Haram: Emerging Threat to the U.S. Homeland*, 112th Congress, House Committee Print 112-B (2011), 3.

⁵¹ Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence, House Homeland Security Committee, *Boko Haram: Emerging Threat to the U.S. Homeland*, 112th Congress, House Committee Print 112-B (2011), 24.

⁵² Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence, House Homeland Security Committee, *Boko Haram: Emerging Threat to the U.S. Homeland*, 112th Congress, House Committee Print 112-B (2011), 3.

January 2012: Abubakar Shekau appears in a video posted on YouTube stating Boko Haram is “at war” with Christians.⁵³

January 2012: A U.S. Department of Justice official requests that the State Department designate Boko Haram as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO). In a letter to State Department Coordinator for Counterterrorism Daniel Benjamin, Assistant Attorney General for National Security Lisa Monaco states that Boko Haram meets the standards for designation as an FTO, particularly having the capability or intent to engage in terrorism that threatens the U.S. Monaco writes that Boko Haram has created ties to “transnational terrorist groups,” including AQIM, and has “openly espoused violence against the West.”⁵⁴

January 20, 2012: Boko Haram executes its deadliest attack in a single day, killing over 180 people in bombings and shootings across the city of Kano in northern Nigeria.⁵⁵

March 30, 2012: Two leading Members of Congress write a joint letter to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, urging that Boko Haram be designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization. The letter’s authors are U.S. Representative Peter King, chairman of the House of Representatives Committee on Homeland Security, and U.S. Representative Patrick Meehan, chairman of the Committee’s Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence.⁵⁶

April 26, 2012: Boko Haram bombs the offices of the newspaper *ThisDay*.⁵⁷

May 18, 2012: U.S. Representatives Peter King and Patrick Meehan write a second joint letter to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, urging the designation of Boko Haram as a Foreign Terrorist Organization.⁵⁸

May 2012: 25 American scholars of African politics urge U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton not to designate Boko Haram as a Foreign Terrorist Organization

⁵³ Monica Mark, “Nigerian Islamist group’s leader claims to be at war with Christians,” *Guardian*, January 11, 2012, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jan/11/nigeria-islamists-claims-war-christians>.

⁵⁴ Mark Hosenball and John Shiffman, “U.S. Justice Dept urges terror label for Nigerian militants,” Reuters, May 17, 2012, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2012-05-17/news/sns-rt-us-usa-security-bokohambre84h01i-20120517_1_haqqani-network-militant-group-terrorist-group.

⁵⁵ “Boko Haram attacks – timeline,” *Guardian*, September 25, 2012, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/sep/25/boko-haram-timeline-nigeria>; “Boko Haram timeline: From preachers to slave raiders,” BBC News, May 15, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-22538888>.

⁵⁶ “King, Meehan Urge Secretary Clinton to Designate Boko Haram as Foreign Terrorist Organization,” U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Homeland Security, April 2, 2012, <http://homeland.house.gov/press-release/king-meehan-urge-secretary-clinton-designate-boko-haram-foreign-terrorist-organization>.

⁵⁷ “John Kerry urges Nigeria army ‘restraint.’” BBC News, May 18, 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-22580707>.

⁵⁸ “King, Meehan Urgently Request that Secretary Clinton Designate Boko Haram as Foreign Terrorist Organization,” U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Homeland Security, May 20, 2012, <http://homeland.house.gov/press-release/king-meehan-urgently-request-secretary-clinton-designate-boko-haram-foreign-terrorist>.

(FTO), claiming “an FTO designation would internationalize Boko Haram, legitimize abuses by Nigeria’s security services, limit the State Department’s latitude in shaping a long term strategy, and undermine the U.S. Government’s ability to receive effective independent analysis from the region.”⁵⁹

Spring 2012: The U.S. State Department decides to hold off on designating Boko Haram as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO).⁶⁰ Notwithstanding growing Congressional pressure in support of designation, as well as the support of the Justice Department and State’s Counterterrorism bureau, State’s African Affairs bureau opposed designation, as did the Nigerian government, which worried that FTO designation would help Boko Haram by elevating the group’s stature and thereby aiding fundraising and recruitment.⁶¹ State Department officials also believed that they could leverage the threat of designating Boko Haram to push the Nigerian government to treat the threat more seriously and stop Nigeria’s military from continuing to commit atrocities in the course of operations against Boko Haram.⁶²

June 17, 2012: Boko Haram kills at least 50 people in suicide bombings of three churches in the northern state of Kaduna.⁶³

June 21, 2012: While the State Department continues to refrain from designating Boko Haram in its entirety, State does designate group leaders Abubakar Shekau, Khalid al-Barnawi and Abubakar Adam Kamar as Specially Designated Global Terrorists, freezing any assets those persons have in the U.S. and prohibiting U.S. nationals from engaging any transactions with the designated persons.⁶⁴

February 19, 2013: Boko Haram carries out its first cross-border operation and first kidnapping,⁶⁵ taking hostage a French family of seven in Cameroon.⁶⁶ The family is later released, reportedly in exchange for ransom, though the French and Cameroonian governments deny paying one.

May 7, 2013: About 200 armed Boko Haram fighters storm a police station, military barracks, and government buildings in Bama, killing 55 and freeing 105 prisoners.

⁵⁹ “Letter to Hilary Clinton,” May 21, 2012, <http://carllewan.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/Boko-Haram-FTO-letter-to-Clinton2.pdf>.

⁶⁰ Glenn Kessler, “Boko Haram: Inside the State Department debate over the ‘terrorist’ label,” *Washington Post*, May 19, 2014, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/fact-checker/wp/2014/05/19/boko-haram-inside-the-state-department-debate-over-the-terrorist-label>.

⁶¹ Glenn Kessler, “Boko Haram: Inside the State Department debate over the ‘terrorist’ label,” *Washington Post*, May 19, 2014, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/fact-checker/wp/2014/05/19/boko-haram-inside-the-state-department-debate-over-the-terrorist-label>.

⁶² Glenn Kessler, “Boko Haram: Inside the State Department debate over the ‘terrorist’ label,” *Washington Post*, May 19, 2014, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/fact-checker/wp/2014/05/19/boko-haram-inside-the-state-department-debate-over-the-terrorist-label>.

⁶³ “Nigeria’s Boko Haram ‘bombed Kaduna churches,’” BBC News, June 18, 2012, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-18496285>.

⁶⁴ “Terrorist Designations of Boko Haram Commander Abubakar Shekau, Khalid al-Barnawi and Abubakar Adam Kamar,” U.S. Department of State, June 21, 2012, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2012/06/193574.htm>.

⁶⁵ “Boko Haram timeline: From preachers to slave raiders,” BBC News, May 15, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-22538888>.

⁶⁶ “A year of attacks linked to Nigeria’s Boko Haram,” CNN, February 27, 2014, <http://www.cnn.com/2014/02/27/world/africa/nigeria-year-of-attacks>.

The BBC reports that “The fighters reportedly launched the attack in armored vehicles mounted with machine guns... [suggesting] that they are becoming better-resourced and they can adapt to the changing terrain.”⁶⁷

May 13, 2013: Boko Haram’s leader, Abubakar Shekau, releases a video saying the group has taken hostage women and children and claiming that the hostages would be treated as “slaves”—possibly meaning that they could be exploited for sex. The incident is believed to be Boko Haram’s first taking of “slaves.”⁶⁸

May 14, 2013: Following repeated clashes between security forces and Boko Haram fighters, Nigerian President Goodluck Jonathan declares state of emergency.⁶⁹

September 19, 2013: Boko Haram militants attacked city of Benisheik in Borno state, killing at least 87 people.⁷⁰

September 29, 2013: Boko Haram gunmen attack agricultural school in Yobe, killing 50 male students.⁷¹

November 13, 2013: Boko Haram and its splinter faction Ansaru are designated by the U.S. State Department as Foreign Terrorist Organizations and as Specially Designated Global Terrorists.⁷²

April 14, 2014: Twin bomb attack claimed by Boko Haram at Abuja bus station kills more than 70 people.⁷³

April 14, 2014: Boko Haram kidnaps more than 200 girls from a school in the northern town of Chibok in Borno state, triggering international condemnation and viral social media demands to “Bring Back Our Girls.”⁷⁴

June 2, 2014: Boko Haram is listed by the European Union as a terrorist organization.⁷⁵

May 2, 2014: A car bomb explodes on a busy road in Abuja, killing at least 19. The attack happened days before Nigeria was due to host the World Economic Forum on

⁶⁷ “Boko Haram timeline: From preachers to slave raiders,” BBC News, May 15, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-22538888>.

⁶⁸ “Boko Haram timeline: From preachers to slave raiders,” BBC News, May 15, 2013, accessed August 21, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-22538888>.

⁶⁹ Greg Botelho, “Nigerian president declares emergency in 3 states during ‘rebellion,’” CNN, May 14, 2013, <http://www.cnn.com/2013/05/14/world/africa/nigeria-violence>.

⁷⁰ “Nigeria’s Boko Haram unrest: Scores dead in Benisheik raid,” BBC News, September 19, 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-24169992>.

⁷¹ “Nigeria attack: Students shot dead as they slept,” BBC News, September 29, 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-24322683>.

⁷² “Terrorist Designations of Boko Haram and Ansaru,” U.S. Department of State, November 13, 2013, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2013/11/217509.htm>.

⁷³ “Nigeria violence: More than 70 killed in Abuja bus blast,” BBC News, April 14, 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-27018751>.

⁷⁴ Aminu Abubakar & Josh Levs, “‘I will sell them,’ Boko Haram leader says of kidnapped Nigerian girls,” CNN, May 6, 2014, <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/05/05/world/africa/nigeria-abducted-girls>.

⁷⁵ “The EU lists Boko Haram as a terrorist organization,” European Union External Action Service, June 2, 2014, http://www.eeas.europa.eu/statements/docs/2014/140605_01_en.pdf.

Africa.⁷⁶

May 5, 2014: Boko Haram militants kill more than 300 residents in the town of Gamboru Ngala.⁷⁷

May 20, 2014: Twin bomb attacks in Jos kills at least 118 people.⁷⁸

May 21, 2014: Boko Haram gunmen kill at least 27 people in towns Sharwa and Alagano.⁷⁹

May 22, 2014: The United Nations Security Council's Al-Qaida Sanctions Committee adds Boko Haram to its list of those subject to financial sanctions and an arms embargo pursuant to UN Security Council Resolution 2083.⁸⁰

June 25, 2014: Twin bomb attacks in Abuja and Lagos kill at least 22 people. Boko Haram has claimed responsibility for the attack in both cities. If true, this would be the first attack by Islamist militants in Lagos.⁸¹

July 19, 2014: Members of Boko Haram attack the village of Abbas Gava in northeastern Nigeria.⁸²

July 23, 2014: Two suicide attacks in Kaduna kill 82 people. One of the attacks was aimed at opposition leader and ex-president Muhammadu Buhari. It is widely suspected that Boko Haram is responsible for the attacks.⁸³ There was widespread speculation in the Nigerian media that the attack was an indication of Boko Haram's strategy to further destabilize Nigeria.

July 28, 2014: Boko Haram members kidnap the wife of Amadou Ali, Cameroon's vice prime minister and one of the country's most visible political figures.⁸⁴

⁷⁶ "Death toll rises from car bomb in Nigerian capital Abuja," *Guardian*, May 2, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/may/02/car-bomb-nigerian-capital-abuja>.

⁷⁷ "Boko Haram attack kills hundreds in Nigeria," Al Jazeera, May 8, 2014, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2014/05/boko-haram-attack-kills-hundreds-nigeria-201457181134779575.html>.

⁷⁸ "At least 118 dead after twin car bombs explode in Nigerian city of Jos," *New York Daily News*, May 20, 2014, <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/world/46-dead-twin-car-bombs-explode-nigerian-city-jos-article-1.1799476>.

⁷⁹ "Nigeria violence: 'Boko Haram' kill 27 in village attacks," BBC News, May 21, 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-27498598>.

⁸⁰ "Security Council Al-Qaida Sanctions Committee Adds Boko Haram To Its Sanctions List," United Nations Security Council, May 22, 2014, <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2014/sc11410.doc.htm>.

⁸¹ "Boko Haram claims responsibility for Lagos, Abuja blast," *Guardian Nigeria*, July 13, 2014, <http://ngrguardiannews.com/news/national-news/170652-boko-haram-claims-responsibility-for-lagos-abuja-blast>.

⁸² "Boko Haram insurgents kill 100 people as they take control of Nigerian town," *Guardian*, July 19, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jul/19/boko-haram-kill-100-people-take-control-nigerian-town>.

⁸³ Gabra Muhammed, "Suicide bombs in Nigeria's Kaduna kill 82, ex-leader Buhari targeted," *Reuters*, July 23, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/07/23/us-nigeria-violence-idUSKBN0FS19L20140723>.

⁸⁴ Adam Nossiter, "Boko Haram Targets Political Figures in String of Attacks," *New York Times*, July 28, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/29/world/africa/boko-haram-targets-political-figures-in-string-of-attacks.html?_r=4.

July 30, 2014: A female suicide bomber blows herself up in the city of Kano killing 6. This is the third suicide attack carried out by a female suicide bomber. According to security analysts, it is not clear whether the group is recruiting female bombers or forcing kidnapped girls to carry out suicide missions.⁸⁵

August 6, 2014: Boko Haram seizes the town of Gwoza in Borno state, killing 100.⁸⁶

August 11, 2014: Boko Haram kidnaps at least 97 men and boys and kills 28 people, and injures 27 others, in a raid on villages in Borno state.⁸⁷

August 12, 2014: Hundreds of thousands of Nigerians flee attacks from Boko Haram in the north east of Nigeria. Multinational agencies have said they are now sheltering more than 40,000 people.⁸⁸

August 21, 2014: Boko Haram seizes a riot police training academy in northern Nigeria, driving out recruits.⁸⁹

August 21, 2014: Boko Haram seizes another town, Buni Yadi in Yobe state, reflecting an apparent strategic shift toward taking and holding territory in order to achieve its goal of establishing an Islamist state.⁹⁰

August 25, 2014: Boko Haram seizes the northeastern Nigerian city of Gwoza. Boko Haram leader Abubakar Shekau says that his fighters are now ruling the city by “Islamic Law.”⁹¹

September 2, 2014: Boko Haram attacks and attempts to seize the town of Bama in northeast Nigeria. Nigerian Military officials are able to repel the attack and kill 70 Boko Haram fighters, but the group returns the next day and succeed in seizing the town.⁹²

⁸⁵ “Nigeria Kano blast: Boko Haram blamed for six deaths,” BBC News, July 30, 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-28571037>.

⁸⁶ “Boko Haram Insurgents Kill 100, Seize Another Major Northeast Town,” Sahara Reporters, August 6, 2014, <http://saharareporters.com/2014/08/06/boko-haram-insurgents-kill-100-seize-another-major-northeast-town>.

⁸⁷ Aminu Abubakar, “Boko Haram kidnaps at least 97, kills 28 in raid,” CNN, August 15, 2014, <http://www.cnn.com/2014/08/15/world/africa/boko-haram-kidnapping/index.html>.

⁸⁸ Patrick McGroarty & Gbenga Akingbule, “Hundreds of Thousands of Nigerians Flee Boko Haram, Seek Sanctuary,” *Wall Street Journal*, August 12, 2014, <http://online.wsj.com/articles/hundreds-of-thousands-of-nigerians-flee-boko-haram-seek-sanctuary-1407855499>.

⁸⁹ “Boko Haram crisis: Nigeria militants ‘seize police academy,’” BBC News, August 21, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-28884665>.

⁹⁰ Aminu Abubakar, “Boko Haram takes over another Nigeria town,” Agence France-Presse, August 21, 2012, accessed August 22, 2012, <https://news.yahoo.com/boko-haram-takes-over-another-nigeria-town-witnesses-142352168.html>.

⁹¹ “Boko Haram Leader Says Ruling Nigerian Town by Islamic Law,” *New York Times*, August 25, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/reuters/2014/08/25/world/middleeast/25reuters-nigeria-bokoharam.html>.

⁹² “Nigeria's Boko Haram 'seize' Bama town in Borno,” BBC News, September 2, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-29021037>.

September 6, 2014: Boko Haram militants attack the town of Gulak near the Cameroon border. Eyewitnesses state that the fighters “went from house to house shooting people.”⁹³

September 18, 2014: Boko Haram suicide bombers kill 15 people at a Nigerian teachers’ college. The bombers open fire at students and then detonate explosives in a crowded lecture hall.⁹⁴

September 20, 2014: Boko Haram kills four civilians in Cameroon. Over 40,000 Nigerians have fled to Cameroon in order to escape Boko Haram.⁹⁵

September 25, 2014: Boko Haram kills 18 people in an attack in Shaffa, Nigeria.⁹⁶

October 2, 2014: Shekau appears in a video, contradicting Nigerian military reports that he was killed.⁹⁷

October 11, 2014: Boko Haram releases 27 hostages, including 10 Chinese workers and the wife of Cameroon’s vice-prime minister.⁹⁸

October 17, 2014: Nigeria says it has agreed on a ceasefire with Boko Haram and reached a deal for the release of more than 200 schoolgirls.⁹⁹ Boko Haram ransacks homes and kills at least one.¹⁰⁰

October 18, 2014: Boko Haram attacks the village of Dzur, killing at least eight.¹⁰¹ Gunmen also abduct around 60 Nigerians from a village bordering Cameroon.¹⁰²

⁹³ “Boko Haram Militants Attack Northeast Town Near Cameroon Border,” *New York Times*, September 6, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/reuters/2014/09/06/world/africa/06reuters-nigeria-violence.html>.

⁹⁴ “Deaths in Attack on Nigeria Teachers’ College,” Al Jazeera, September 18, 2014, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2014/09/deaths-attack-nigeria-teachers-college-2014917194449334646.html>.

⁹⁵ “Four Killed in Cross-Border Boko Haram Attack in Northern Cameroon,” *New York Times*, September 20, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/reuters/2014/09/20/world/africa/20reuters-cameroon-boko-haram.html>.

⁹⁶ “Boko Haram fighters kill 18 in northeast Nigeria: Witnesses,” *New York Times*, September 25, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/09/25/us-nigeria-violence-idUSKCN0HK25H20140925>.

⁹⁷ “Nigeria’s Boko Haram ‘Leader’ Appears in New Video: AFP,” Reuters, October 2, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/10/02/us-nigeria-violence-idUSKCN0HR1AF20141002>.

⁹⁸ Anne Mireille Nzouankeu, “Ten Chinese Workers Among 27 Hostages Freed in Cameroon,” Reuters, October 11, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/10/11/us-cameroon-hostages-idUSKCN0I006J20141011>.

⁹⁹ Felix Onuah and Camillus Eboh, “Nigeria Says Reaches Deal with Boko Haram to Free Abducted Girls,” Reuters, October 17, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/10/17/us-nigeria-boko-haram-idUSKCN0I61N720141017>.

¹⁰⁰ “Suspected Boko Haram Militants Mount Two Deadly Attacks After Nigeria ‘Ceasefire,’” Reuters, October 18, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/10/18/us-nigeria-violence-idUSKCN0I70H020141018>.

¹⁰¹ “Suspected Boko Haram Militants Mount Two Deadly Attacks After Nigeria ‘Ceasefire,’” Reuters, October 18, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/10/18/us-nigeria-violence-idUSKCN0I70H020141018>.

¹⁰² Adam Nossiter, “Boko Haram Said to Abduct More Women in Nigeria,” *New York Times*, October 23, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/24/world/africa/boko-harm-abducts-more-women-despite-claims-of-nigeria-cease-fire.html>.

October 22, 2014: Boko Haram is suspected to be behind a bomb that exploded at a bus station in northern Nigeria, killing at least five and wounding 12.¹⁰³

October 23, 2014: Suspected Boko Haram militants kidnap at least 25 girls from a town in northeastern Nigeria.¹⁰⁴

October 31, 2014: A car bomb kills at least 10 at a bus stop in northeastern Nigeria.¹⁰⁵

November 1, 2014: Boko Haram releases a video in which a man claiming to be Abubakar Shekau declares that the girls kidnapped over six months prior have been “married off” to the group’s fighters. In the video, the purported leader says, “the over 200 Chibok girls have converted to Islam, which they confess is the best religion. Either their parents accept this and convert too or they can die.” He also denies the existence of dialogue with the Nigerian government, asking: “who says we are dialoguing or discussing with anybody? Are you talking to yourselves? All we are doing is slaughtering people with machetes and shooting people with guns... War is what we want.”¹⁰⁶

November 2, 2014: Boko Haram is suspected in an attack in which militants armed with guns and explosives attack Koton Karfe prison in central Kogi state, freeing 144 inmates.¹⁰⁷

November 3, 2014: A suicide attack in the northeast Nigerian town of Potiskum kills 29 at a Shiite ceremony. Authorities hold Boko Haram accountable.¹⁰⁸

November 6, 2014: Boko Haram militants raid Ashaka cement factory and steal dynamite from its quarry.¹⁰⁹

November 7, 2014: A suicide bomber suspected to belong to Boko Haram kills at least 7 people outside of a bank in northeast Nigeria.¹¹⁰

¹⁰³ “Bomb Blast Kills Five at Bus Station in North Nigeria: Police,” Reuters, October 23, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/10/23/us-nigeria-violence-idUSKCN0IC0KV20141023>.

¹⁰⁴ Imma Ande and Isaac Abrak, “Suspected Boko Haram Fighters Kidnap 25 Girls in Northeast Nigeria,” Reuters, October 23, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/10/23/us-nigeria-violence-girls-idUSKCN0IC1XN20141023>.

¹⁰⁵ Isaac Abrak, “Car Bomb Kills at Least 10 at Bus Stop in Northeast Nigeria,” Reuters, October 31, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/10/31/us-nigeria-violence-idUSKBN0IK10L20141031>.

¹⁰⁶ Reuters, “Nigeria’s Purported Boko Haram Leader Says Had ‘Married Off’ Girls,” *New York Times*, November 1, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/reuters/2014/11/01/world/africa/01reuters-nigeria-violence.html>.

¹⁰⁷ “Jailbreak in Kogi; gunmen free 144 inmates,” Premium Times, November 3, 2014, <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/170512-jailbreak-in-kogi-gunmen-free-144-inmates.html>; Reuters, “Suicide Blast Kills 29 in Nigeria, Prison Attack Frees 144,” *New York Times*, November 3, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/reuters/2014/11/03/world/africa/03reuters-nigeria-bomb.html>.

¹⁰⁸ “Nigerian Shias in Potiskum Hit by ‘Suicide Attack,’” BBC, November 3, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-29882218>; Reuters, “Suicide Blast Kills 29 in Nigeria, Prison Attack Frees 144,” *New York Times*, November 3, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/reuters/2014/11/03/world/africa/03reuters-nigeria-bomb.html>.

¹⁰⁹ “Boko Haram steals dynamite in a raid on Lafarge Nigeria plant: sources,” Reuters, November 6, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/06/us-nigeria-violence-idUSKBN0IQ10F20141106>

November 10, 2014: A Boko Haram suicide bomber disguised in a school uniform sets off explosives at a high school in northern Nigeria, killing 48 students and wounding 79.¹¹⁰

November 14, 2014: Boko Haram insurgents seize the town of Chibok in northeastern Nigeria, where nearly 300 girls were abducted seven months prior. The militants enter the town “shooting from pickup trucks and motorcycles,” forcing thousands to flee.¹¹¹

November 16, 2014: The Nigerian army recaptures the town of Chibok nearly 48 hours after having been seized by Boko Haram militants.¹¹²

November 21, 2014: At least 45 people are “slaughtered” by Boko Haram militants in an attack. The attack is believed to be in retaliation to an incident two days prior in which soldiers shot four of the group’s members. According to an eyewitness, the militants “tied peoples' hands behind their backs and slit their throats like animals.”¹¹³

November 23, 2014: Boko Haram militants murder 48 fish vendors in northeastern Nigeria. Some victims’ throats are slit, while others are tied up and drowned in Lake Chad. News regarding the attack was slow to surface because Boko Haram militants had destroyed cell towers in the area in previous attacks.¹¹⁴

November 24, 2014: Boko Haram insurgents flood the town of Damasak in northeast Nigeria, killing an unknown number of people. An eyewitness says that the militants “fired shots into the houses to force people out... many people have died.”¹¹⁵

November 25, 2014: Two female suicide bombers belonging to Boko Haram kill 44 people in an attack in the northeastern city of Maiuguri. The first attacker detonates her bomb, killing three women. When rescuers arrive at the scene, the second girl sets off her explosives, killing dozens more.¹¹⁶

November 26, 2014: Boko Haram insurgents attack two villages bordering the town of Chibok, where nearly 300 schoolgirls were kidnapped in April 2014. The attack

¹¹⁰ Joe Hemba, “Suicide bomber kills at least 7 at bank in northeast Nigeria,” Reuters, November 7, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/07/us-nigeria-violence-idUSKBN0IR19X20141107>.

¹¹¹ “Suicide Bomber Kills 48 Students in Nigeria,” Associated Press, November 10, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2014/11/10/world/africa/ap-af-nigeria-violence.html>.

¹¹² “Boko Hama insurgents seize Nigerian community of Chibok,” *Washington Post*, November 14, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/boko-haram-insurgents-seize-nigerian-community-of-chibok/2014/11/14/43719424-6c36-11e4-9fb4-a622dae742a2_story.html.

¹¹³ “Nigerian Army Says It Has Regained Town of Chibok,” Associated Press, November 14, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2014/11/16/world/africa/ap-af-nigeria-kidnapped-girls.html>.

¹¹⁴ “Nigerian village buries 45 after Boko Haram ‘slaughter,’” Reuters, November 21, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/21/us-nigeria-violence-idUSKCN0J511R20141121>.

¹¹⁵ “Nigeria: Fish Vendors Attacked,” Agence France-Presse, November 23, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/24/world/africa/nigeria-fish-vendors-attacked.html>.

¹¹⁶ “Suspected Boko Haram Militants Attack Nigerian Border Town,” Reuters, November 24, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/24/us-nigeria-violence-boko-haram-idUSKCN0J81UD20141124>.

¹¹⁷ Lanre Ola, “Female Suicide Bombers Kill At Least 44 in Nigeria’s Northeast,” Reuters, November 25, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/25/us-nigeria-violence-idUSKCN0J913C20141125>.

leaves more than 20 dead and nearly all the houses in the villages are “burnt to ash.”¹¹⁸

November 27, 2014: An attack at a northeast Nigerian bus station – purportedly carried out by Boko Haram militants – kills 40 people, including five soldiers.¹¹⁹

November 28, 2014: Gunmen purportedly belonging to Boko Haram set off three bombs and open fire on worshippers at a mosque in northern Nigeria’s biggest city, Kano. The attack kills more than 100 people and wounds more than 150.¹²⁰

November 30, 2014: Boko Haram militants raid a mostly Christian town in northeast Nigeria after nightfall, killing “scores” of people. Eyewitness accounts tell of 30 men riding into the town on motorcycles throwing bombs into houses and shooting the people who flee.¹²¹

December 1, 2014: Boko Haram militants launch an attack on government, police and military buildings in Damaturu. The attack involves two female suicide bombers detonating bombs at the central Maiduguri market.¹²²

December 10, 2014: Boko Haram dispatch two female suicide bombers at a textile market in the city of Kano, killing 6.¹²³

December 11, 2014: Boko Haram claim responsibility for twin bombs that explode in the city of Jos, in central Nigeria, killing 31.¹²⁴

December 13, 2014: Boko Haram fighters kill 35 people and kidnap about 185 others in a remote farming village in northeastern Nigeria called Gumsuri.¹²⁵

¹¹⁸ “Nigeria: Boko Haram Kills 20 Villagers Near Chibok,” Associated Press, November 26, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2014/11/26/world/africa/ap-af-nigeria-violence.html>.

¹¹⁹ “Northeast Nigeria bus station blast kills 40 people: sources,” Reuters, November 27, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/27/us-nigeria-violence-idUSKCN0JB23220141127>.

¹²⁰ “Nigeria: Kano Mosque Blasts Death Toll Above 102,” Associated Press, November 29, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2014/11/29/world/africa/ap-af-nigeria-violence.html>; “Explosions Hit Worshipers in Northern Nigeria,” *Reuters*, November 28, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/reuters/2014/11/28/world/africa/28reuters-nigeria-violence.html>.

¹²¹ “Suspected Boko Haram militants raid northern Christian town in Nigeria,” Reuters, November 30, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/30/us-nigeria-violence-boko-haram-idUSKCN0JE0H520141130>.

¹²² Jeremy Ashkenas, Derek Watkins, and Archie Tse, “Boko Haram: The Other Islamic State,” *New York Times*, December 11, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/12/11/world/africa/boko-haram-nigeria-maps.html>.

¹²³ Mustapha Muhammad, “Nigerian Female Suicide Bombers Kill Six in Northern City,” Bloomberg News, December 10, 2014, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2014-12-10/explosion-hits-textile-market-in-northern-nigerian-city-of-kano.html>.

¹²⁴ Robyn Dixon, “Twin Blasts in Nigeria Market Kill 31,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 11, 2014, <http://www.latimes.com/world/africa/la-fg-twin-blasts-nigeria-market-20141211-story.html>.

¹²⁵ “Islamist Militants in Nigeria Kidnap 185 in a Deadly Attack on a Village,” *New York Times*, December 18, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/19/world/africa/islamist-militants-in-nigeria-kidnap-185-in-a-deadly-attack-on-a-village.html>.

December 18, 2014: A suspected Boko Haram militant kills 32 and kidnaps 172 women and children during a raid in Northeastern Nigeria.¹²⁶

December 21, 2014: Boko Haram releases a video of its militants killing civilians. They explain that the individuals are being killed because “they are infidels.” In the video, the leader states, “from now, killing, slaughtering, destructions and bombing will be our religious duty anywhere we invade.”¹²⁷

December 22, 2014: Boko Haram is responsible for a bomb that goes off in a bus station near Gombe city, Nigeria. At least 20 people were killed.¹²⁸

December 30, 2014: 15 people are killed after Boko Haram militants open fire in Kautikari, a town near the Cameroonian border.¹²⁹

December 31, 2014: Gunmen suspected of belonging to Boko Haram kidnap 40 young men and boys, mostly between the ages of 15 and 23, from the village of Malari in northeastern Nigeria.¹³⁰

January 1, 2015: Boko Haram militants attack a bus in northern Cameroon, killing at least 15 people.¹³¹

January 2, 2015: The parents of 200 Nigerian schoolgirls kidnapped by Boko Haram in April 2014 say they will appeal to the United Nations for help bringing their children home because of the ineffectiveness of the Nigerian government. They had contacted U.N. Women, the U.N. representation in Nigeria, the U.N. Office for West Africa, and UNICEF.¹³²

January 3, 2015: Boko Haram fighters take control of the northeast Nigerian town of Baga and a nearby military base. Hundreds of civilians are killed in the ensuing days.¹³³ Baga hosts the headquarters of a multinational force from Niger, Nigeria, Chad, and Cameroon.¹³⁴

¹²⁶ “Suspected Boko Haram Gunmen Kidnap 172 Women, Children in Nigeria,” Reuters, December 18, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/reuters/2014/12/18/world/africa/18reuters-nigeria-violence.html>.

¹²⁷ “Boko Haram releases video of extremists killing civilians,” *Washington Post*, December 21, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/boko-haram-releases-video-of-extremists-killing-civilians/2014/12/21/8549fcd4-8954-11e4-a085-34e9b9f09a58_story.html.

¹²⁸ “Nigeria bombing kills 20 as Boko Haram storms another town,” *Daily Mail*, December 22, 2014, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/afp/article-2883619/Bomb-blast-NE-Nigeria-bus-station-kills-20.html>.

¹²⁹ “Boko Haram Kills 15 in Northeast Nigerian Town-Witnesses,” *New York Times*, December 30, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/reuters/2014/12/30/world/africa/30reuters-nigeria-violence.html>.

¹³⁰ “Suspected Islamists Abduct 40 People in Northeast Nigeria,” Reuters, January 2, 2015, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2015/01/02/uk-nigeria-violence-idUKKBN0KB19Q20150102>.

¹³¹ “At Least 15 Killed in ‘Boko Haram’ Attack on Cameroon Bus - Sources,” *Reuters*, January 3, 2015, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2015/01/03/uk-cameroon-boko-haram-attack-idUKKBN0KCOGS20150103>.

¹³² “Desperate Parents of Abducted Nigerian Girls Say Have Turned to U.N.,” Reuters, January 2, 2015, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2015/01/02/nigeria-girls-idUKL6N0UG0IF20150102>.

¹³³ Haruna Umar, “Nigerian President Visits Conflict Zone,” Associated Press, January 15, 2015, http://hosted.ap.org/dynamic/stories/A/AF_NIGERIA_VIOLENCE?SITE=AP&SECTION=HOME&TEMPLATE=DEFAULT.

¹³⁴ “Boko Haram Killed Dozens Seizing Nigerian Town and Army Base,” Reuters, January 5, 2015, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2015/01/05/uk-nigeria-violence-idUKKBN0KE1CK20150105>.

January 4, 2015: Boko Haram announces it has captured the northeastern Nigerian town of Baga. During its weekend raid, Boko Haram destroyed about 620 building in Baga and more than 3,100 in neighboring Doron Baga, according to Amnesty International.¹³⁵

January 5, 2015: Boko Haram uploads a video to YouTube of its leader, Abubakar Shekau, threatening to overrun Cameroon unless it throws out its constitution and embraces Islam.¹³⁶

January 8, 2015: Reports surface that Boko Haram killed 2,000 people during its capture of Baga. The Nigerian government later says only 150 people, including militants, actually died. Amnesty International says the death toll is much higher than the official numbers.¹³⁷

January 2015: Approximately 20,000 Nigerians leave the country for Chad, Niger, and Cameroon following Boko Haram attacks on their towns.¹³⁸

January 6-7, 2015: Boko Haram raids in Baga leave dozens dead after militants burn homes and buildings while indiscriminately shooting people.¹³⁹

January 10, 2015: The Nigerian military repels Boko Haram fighters trying to capture Damaturu, a major northeastern town.¹⁴⁰

January 10, 2015: A girl of around 10 years old with a bomb strapped to her blows herself up in a market in the city of Maiduguri. At least 16 people are killed and more than 20 are injured.¹⁴¹

January 10, 2015: The Nigerian government says the army is regrouping in order to recapture the town of Baga, captured a week earlier by Boko Haram.¹⁴²

January 11, 2015: A pair of child suicide bombers, both around 10 years old, blow themselves up in an open-air market in Potiskum in Yobe state, killing at least three

¹³⁵ "Images 'Show Boko Haram Destruction,'" BBC News, January 15, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-30826582>.

¹³⁶ "Boko Haram Leader Threatens Cameroon in YouTube Video," Agence France-Presse, January 7, 2015, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/afp/article-2900424/Boko-Haram-leader-threatens-Cameroon-YouTube-video.html>.

¹³⁷ "Images 'Show Boko Haram Destruction,'" BBC News, January 15, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-30826582>.

¹³⁸ Misha Hussain and Abdoulaye Massalaki, "Thousands Flee Nigeria after Boko Haram Attack, Niger, Chad Struggle," Reuters, January 13, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/01/13/us-nigeria-violence-refugees-idUSKBNOKM1H620150113>.

¹³⁹ Ardo Abdullah, "Boko Haram Kills Dozens in Fresh Raids in Nigerian Town," Reuters, January 9, 2015, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2015/01/09/us-nigeria-violence-idUKKBN0KH1VV20150109>.

¹⁴⁰ "Boko Haram Crisis: Nigerian Archbishop Accuses West," BBC News, January 12, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-30777066>.

¹⁴¹ Joe Hemba, "Two Suspected Child Suicide Bombers Hit North Nigeria Town," Reuters, January 11, 2015, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2015/01/11/uk-nigeria-violence-idUKKBN0KK0LS20150111>.

¹⁴² Joe Hemba, "Two Suspected Child Suicide Bombers Hit North Nigeria Town," Reuters, January 11, 2015, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2015/01/11/uk-nigeria-violence-idUKKBN0KK0LS20150111>.

people.¹⁴³ The children are suspected to be part of the group of 200 schoolgirls kidnapped by Boko Haram in April 2014.¹⁴⁴

January 12, 2015: The Catholic archbishop of Jos in central Nigeria, Ignatius Kaigama, accuses the West of ignoring the threat of Boko Haram. U.N. Secretary General Ban-Ki Moon condemns “the depraved acts of Boko Haram terrorists.”¹⁴⁵

January 12, 2015: Boko Haram forces cross over from Nigeria into neighboring Cameroon and attack a military camp in Kolofata. The Cameroonian military repels the attack, killing 143 militants, according to the government. At least one Cameroonian soldier dies in the fight.¹⁴⁶

January 13, 2015: At least two people are killed and 14 wounded in a suicide attack outside of a mosque in the state of Gombe. Boko Haram does not immediately claim responsibility, although Gombe is just outside its main area of operations.¹⁴⁷

January 14, 2015: The Nigerian army pushes back a Boko Haram attack in the town of Biu in the state of Borno.¹⁴⁸

January 14, 2015: Boko Haram uploads a video of leader Abubakar Shekau to YouTube, praising deadly attacks in Paris against satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo and a kosher supermarket.¹⁴⁹

January 14, 2015: Chad offers Cameroon assistance in fighting Boko Haram and calls on other countries in the region to take action against the Islamist group.¹⁵⁰

January 15, 2015: Nigerian President Goodluck Jonathan makes a surprise visit to Maiduguri, capital of Borno state, to visit troops fighting against Boko Haram. He

¹⁴³ Joe Hembra, “Two Suspected Child Suicide Bombers Hit North Nigeria Town,” Reuters, January 11, 2015, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2015/01/11/uk-nigeria-violence-idUKKBNOKKOLS20150111>.

¹⁴⁴ Alexander Smith, “Boko Haram Appears to Be Using Abducted Girls as Suicide Bombers: Experts,” NBC News, January 15, 2015, <http://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/missing-nigeria-schoolgirls/boko-haram-appears-be-using-abducted-girls-suicide-bombers-experts-n284456>.

¹⁴⁵ “Boko Haram Crisis: Nigerian Archbishop Accuses West,” BBC News, January 12, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-30777066>.

¹⁴⁶ Divine Ntaryike, “Cameroon Govt Says 143 Boko Haram Militants Killed,” Associated Press, January 13, 2015, http://hosted.ap.org/dynamic/stories/A/AF_CAMEROON_BOKO_HARAM_BATTLE?SITE=AP&SECTION=HOME&TEMPLATE=DEFAULT.

¹⁴⁷ “Suicide Bomber Kills Two, Wounds 14 at Mosque in Northeastern Nigeria,” Reuters, January 13, 2015, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2015/01/13/uk-nigeria-violence-idUKKBNOKM29E20150113>.

¹⁴⁸ “Nigeria Boko Haram: Army Repels Attack in Borno State,” BBC News, January 14, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-30817540>.

¹⁴⁹ “SITE: Nigerian Militant Leader Praises Paris Violence,” Associated Press, January 14, 2015, http://hosted.ap.org/dynamic/stories/A/AF_FRANCE_ATTACKS_BOKO_HARAM?SITE=AP&SECTION=HOME&TEMPLATE=DEFAULT.

¹⁵⁰ Madjiasra Nako, “Chad Offers Cameroon Support in Fight against Boko Haram,” Reuters, January 14, 2015, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2015/01/14/uk-nigeria-violence-cameroon-chad-idUKKBNOKN2J320150114>.

also visits hundreds of civilians staying in a Maiduguri camp after escaping a Boko Haram onslaught in Baga earlier in the month.¹⁵¹

Designations by U.S. Government:

- **June 21, 2012:** The State Department designates Boko Haram leaders Abubakar Shekau, Khalid al-Barnawi, and Abubakar Adam Kamar as Specially Designated Global Terrorists.¹⁵²
- **November 13, 2013:** The State Department designates Boko Haram and Ansaru as Foreign Terrorist Organizations and Specially Designated Global Terrorists.¹⁵³

Designations by foreign governments and international organizations:

- **Australia**—listed Boko Haram as a terrorist organization on June 26, 2014.¹⁵⁴
- **Canada**—listed Boko Haram as a terrorist entity on December 24, 2013.¹⁵⁵
- **United Nations**—the UN Security Council’s al Qaeda Sanctions Committee added Boko Haram to its list of designated entities on May 22, 2014.¹⁵⁶
- **EU**—designated Boko Haram as a terrorist organization on May 28, 2014.¹⁵⁷

Ties to entities designated by the U.S. or foreign governments:

- **Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM)**
Boko Haram receives limited funding from AQIM. However the support is said to have only a limited impact on Boko Haram’s overall funding.¹⁵⁸ Boko Haram members have also allegedly attended AQIM training camps.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵¹ Haruna Umar, “Nigerian President Visits Conflict Zone,” Associated Press, January 15, 2015, http://hosted.ap.org/dynamic/stories/A/AF_NIGERIA_VIOLENCE?SITE=AP&SECTION=HOME&TEMPLATE=DEFAULT.

¹⁵² “Terrorist Designations of Boko Haram Commander Abubakar Shekau, Khalid al-Barnawi and Abubakar Adam Kamar,” U.S. Department of State, June 21, 2012, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2012/06/193574.htm>.

¹⁵³ “Terrorist Designations of Boko Haram and Ansaru,” U.S. Department of State, November 13, 2013, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2013/11/217509.htm>.

¹⁵⁴ “Australian National Security,” Australian Government, accessed August 22, 2014, <http://www.nationalsecurity.gov.au/Listedterroristorganisations/Pages/Boko-Haram.aspx>.

¹⁵⁵ “Currently listed entities,” Public Safety Canada, accessed August 22, 2014, [http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/ntnl-scrtr/cntr-trrrsm/lstd-ntts/crrnt-lstd-ntts-eng.aspx#2051](http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/ntnl-scrtr/cntr-trrrsm/lstd-ntts/crrnt-lstd-ntts-eng.aspx#http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/ntnl-scrtr/cntr-trrrsm/lstd-ntts/crrnt-lstd-ntts-eng.aspx#2051).

¹⁵⁶ “Security Council Al-Qaida Sanctions Committee Adds Boko Haram To Its Sanctions List,” United Nations Security Council, May 22, 2014, <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2014/sc11410.doc.htm>.

¹⁵⁷ *Official Journal of the European Union*, Volume 57, May 29, 2014, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=OJ:L:2014:160:FULL&from=EN>.

¹⁵⁸ “How Boko Haram is beating U.S. efforts to choke its financing,” Reuters, July 1, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/07/01/us-usa-nigeria-bokoharam-insight-idUSKBN0F636920140701>.

- **Al Shabaab**
According to the U.S. military, there are indications that Al Shabaab and Boko Haram are allegedly sharing money and explosive material.¹⁶⁰
- **Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO).**
The two organizations appear to support each other's operations.¹⁶¹

Ties to other entities:

- **Saudi Arabia**
Boko Haram appears to have some connections to Saudi Arabia. The group has allegedly received funding from Saudi organizations and Boko Haram founder Mohammed Yusuf allegedly sought refuge there from Nigerian security forces in 2004.¹⁶²

Media Coverage/Analysis of Group:

Western media

Until the kidnapping of 200 schoolgirls in Chibok in April 2014 leading to a global outcry and large-scale media coverage of Boko Haram, Western coverage of the group has been limited and restricted to sporadic attention following the violent attacks of the group in recent years. While its aspiration as an Al Qaeda-like organization and its links to transnational terrorist organizations have been noted in the media, the group has been mainly viewed as a domestic terrorist organization fuelled by local grievances and sectarian tension, which reflects the assessment of most Western governments of the group.

Boko Haram first rose to international attention following violent clashes with Nigerian police forces in July 2009. While one of the nicknames of the group, "Nigerian Taliban," was picked up by the Western press, *The Guardian's* David Smith emphasised the domestic focus of the group around local grievances and sectarian tensions, arguing the Boko Haram "models itself on the Taliban but has no known link."¹⁶³

With the frequency, scale and violence of attacks by Boko Haram increasing since 2010, media coverage of the group became more frequent. Yet the exact nature of the group remained elusive to many commentators. In *The New York Times*, Jean Herskovits argued "[T]here is no proof that a well-organized, ideologically coherent

¹⁵⁹ Robin Simcox, "Boko Haram and defining the 'al Qaeda network,'" Al Jazeera, June 6, 2014, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2014/06/boko-haram-al-qaeda-201463115816142554.html>.

¹⁶⁰ David Smith, "Africa's Islamist militants 'co-ordinate efforts in threat to continent's security,'" *Guardian*, June 26, 2012, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jun/26/africa-islamist-militants-coordinating-threat>.

¹⁶¹ Jacob Zenn, "Boko Haram's international connections," Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, January 14, 2014, <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/boko-harams-international-connections>.

¹⁶² Jacob Zenn, "Boko Haram's international connections," Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, January 14, 2014, <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/boko-harams-international-connections>.

¹⁶³ David Smith, "Nigerian 'Taliban' offensive leaves 150 dead," *Guardian*, July 27, 2009, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/nov/08/nigerian-taliban-us-boko-haram>.

terrorist group called Boko Haram even exists today. Evidence suggests instead that, while the original core of the group remains active, criminal gangs have adopted the name Boko Haram to claim responsibility for attacks when it suits them.”¹⁶⁴ Similarly Reuters’ Joe Brook asked, “Is Boko Haram just the latest in a long list of violent spasms in Nigeria, or is it the next battalion of global jihadists, capable of thrusting Africa’s most populous nation into civil war?” He went on to argue that “Boko Haram remains firmly focused on domestic Nigerian issues.” However a “small, increasingly ambitious and sophisticated group of extremists controls the very top of the group. A handful of those members have received training outside Nigeria, including from AQIM.”¹⁶⁵

When Boko Haram bombed a UN building in Nigeria’s capital Abuja in August 2011, links of the group to international terrorist organizations such as al-Qaeda were widely mentioned in the press based on both the type of target and sophistication of the attack. Nigeria’s Minister of State for Foreign Affairs was cited by the BBC saying “This is not an attack on Nigeria but on the global community,” she said. “An attack on the world.”¹⁶⁶ Following a proliferation of further attacks, the U.S. army starts to provide counter-insurgency training to Nigerian troops to combat what was described in the Guardian as an “armed Islamic insurgency.”

Following a statement by Abubakar Shekau posted on YouTube in January 2012, stating that Boko Haram was “at war with Christians,” media reports begin to highlight Boko Haram’s global ambition, arguing that “the group’s leadership would like to be seen as part of a global jihad.”¹⁶⁷

As Boko Haram began to professionalize its attacks, the group also began to manage its relationship with Western media outlets in a different way. Rather than allowing individual members of the group to talk to a range of journalists, a spokesperson with the name of “Abu Qaqa” begins to appear and contact journalists to link attacks to Boko Haram. At the same time, the leader of the Abubakar Shekau begins to frequently post videos of the group on YouTube.

In January 2012, Abu Qaqa agreed to an exclusive interview with the Guardian attempting to justify the group’s violent attacks with the failure of the Nigerian government and portraying Boko Haram as a popular movement. “It’s the secular state that is responsible for the woes we are seeing today. People should understand that we are not saying we have to rule Nigeria, but we have been motivated by the stark injustice in the land. People underrate us but we have our sights set on [bringing sharia to] the whole world, not just Nigeria... People were singing songs in [northern cities] Kano and Kaduna saying: ‘We want Boko Haram.’”¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ Jean Herskovits “In Nigeria, Boko Haram Is Not the Problem,” *New York Times*, January 2, 2012, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/02/opinion/in-nigeria-boko-haram-is-not-the-problem.html?pagewanted=all>.

¹⁶⁵ Joe Brook, “Special Report: Boko Haram - between rebellion and jihad,” Reuters, January 31, 2012, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2012/01/31/us-nigeria-bokoharam-idUSTRE80U0LR20120131>.

¹⁶⁶ “Abuja attack: Car bomb hits Nigeria UN building,” BBC News, August 27, 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-14677957>.

¹⁶⁷ Joe Brook, “Special Report: Boko Haram - between rebellion and jihad,” Reuters, January 31, 2012, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2012/01/31/us-nigeria-bokoharam-idUSTRE80U0LR20120131>.

¹⁶⁸ Monica Mark, “Boko Haram vows to fight until Nigeria establishes sharia law,” *Guardian*, January 27, 2012, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jan/27/boko-haram-nigeria-sharia-law>.

As Boko Haram's attacks particularly against Christians continued and escalated, the U.S. Department of State came under increasing pressure by Congress and the Justice Department to designate the group as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO). With a group of prominent academics urging then-Secretary of State Hillary Clinton to refrain from a designation, a public debate ensues in the U.S. over the question. Picking up on this point, the *International Business Times* emphasises the limited usefulness of a designation concluding that "the U.S. needs to stop treating this as a security issue and start treating it for what it is—a political issue."¹⁶⁹

It was the kidnapping of 200 girls in April 2014 in the state of Chibok that led to large-scale Western media coverage of Boko Haram, prompting a global social media campaign in response. But despite global attention, the response of Western governments remained limited. Commenting in the *Washington Post*, Sarah Chayes argued that "amid the pressure to respond to the anguish, the United States is right not to overdo its counterterrorism assistance to Abuja," stating that "much of the responsibility for the rise of the Boko Haram extremist group may lie with the Nigerian government itself."¹⁷⁰ In the midst of the widespread public outrage over the kidnapping of the girls, media attention returns to the question of why Boko Haram had not been targeted by the U.S. administration earlier and designated as an FTO.¹⁷¹

While Western media interest in Boko Haram has increased over the last years, most commentators continue to view the activities of the group predominately through a prism of domestic grievances rather than a regional or global jihadist agenda. However, commentators increasingly compare Boko Haram to other regional terrorist groups and point to an agenda that is more regionally rather domestically focused. Thus, Colin Freeman argued in *The Telegraph* that "like al-Shabaab in Somalia and Isis in Syria and Iraq, a group that was unheard just a few years ago is now a major threat to the stability of the region."¹⁷² Similarly Robin Simcox stated on Al Jazeera English that "ignoring the long-standing connections Boko Haram has to al-Qaeda, or betting that Boko Haram's focus will remain local is not a policy. It is wilful blindness."¹⁷³

Violent Activities:

Given the fluid security situation in northern Nigeria, assessing and attributing the violent attacks carried out by Boko Haram has been challenging. Not only do media

¹⁶⁹ Ryan Villarreal, U.S., "Nigeria at odds over designation of Boko Haram as Terrorist Organisation," *International Business Times*, May 29, 2012, <http://www.ibtimes.com/us-nigeria-odds-over-designation-boko-haram-terrorist-organization-700515>.

¹⁷⁰ Sarah Chayes "Nigeria's Boko Haram isn't just about Western education," *Washington Post*, May 16, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/nigerias-boko-haram-isnt-just-about-western-education/2014/05/16/d9bb5824-d9de-11e3-bda1-9b46b2066796_story.html.

¹⁷¹ Tom Cohen, "Clinton's handling of Boko Haram questioned," CNN, May 9, 2014, <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/05/08/politics/clinton-boko-haram>.

¹⁷² Colin Freeman, "Missing Nigerian girls: whatever happened to #Bringbackourgirls?" *Telegraph*, July 14, 2014, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/nigeria/10947211/Missing-Nigerian-girls-whatever-happened-to-Bringbackourgirls.html>.

¹⁷³ Robin Simcox, "Boko Haram and defining the 'al Qaeda network,'" Al Jazeera, June 6, 2014, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2014/06/boko-haram-al-qaeda-201463115816142554.html>.

reports differ over number of casualties but analysts have also pointed out that some of the attacks attributed to Boko Haram may also have been carried out by criminal gangs using the cover of Boko Haram. The following timeline of violent activity should be read against this background.

December 2003: Attack on a number of police stations in Kanamma, Yobe state by a group then referred to as the Nigerian Taliban. Some of its members later went on to become members of Boko Haram.¹⁷⁴

April 2007: Assassination of Sheikh Ja'afar Mahmoud Adam, a prominent, popular cleric and regular preacher at the Ndimi mosque in Maiduguri shortly before the 2007 presidential election.¹⁷⁵

July 2009: Boko Haram members set churches, a police station, and a prison on fire in Maiduguri, killing hundreds.¹⁷⁶ The government responds by arresting 700 Boko Haram members and laying siege to the mosque in Maiduguri. In response, Boko Haram members begin to indiscriminately kill police officers and civilians. After regaining control of the town, the police and military crack down on the group, allegedly killing hundreds of Boko Haram members, including Yusuf (who dies in police custody).¹⁷⁷

2010: Boko Haram members return to Maiduguri, instigating attacks against police stations and military barracks to avenge the killing of Yusuf. The group also attacks a local jail, freeing prisoners, and begins attacks against Christians, critical Muslim clerics, suspected collaborators, UN agencies, bars, and schools. Initial attacks mainly constitute of shootings.¹⁷⁸

December 24-28, 2010: Boko Haram claims responsibility for a twin bombing in Jos, a city in central Nigeria, killing at least 38 people on Christmas Eve. On the same day, two bombs also go off in two churches in Maiduguri.¹⁷⁹

December 31, 2010: The group sets off a bomb near barracks in Abuja on New Year's Eve, killing at least 4 people.¹⁸⁰

June 16, 2011: In the first suicide bombing in Nigerian history and the first such attack by Boko Haram, a suicide bomber detonates a car bomb at the Nigerian

¹⁷⁴ "Curbing violence in Nigeria (II): The Boko Haram insurgency," International Crisis Group, Africa Report No 216, April 3, 2014, <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/africa/west-africa/nigeria/216-curbing-violence-in-nigeria-ii-the-boko-haram-insurgency.pdf>, 10.

¹⁷⁵ Andrew Walker, "What is Boko Haram?" United States Institute of Peace, Special Report 308, June 2012, <http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/SR308.pdf>, 4.

¹⁷⁶ Andrew Walker, "What is Boko Haram?" United States Institute of Peace, Special Report 308, June 2012, <http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/SR308.pdf>, 4.

¹⁷⁷ "Spiralling violence: Boko Haram attacks and security forces abuses in Nigeria," Human Rights Watch, October 2012, http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/nigeria1012webwcover_0.pdf, 35.

¹⁷⁸ "Curbing violence in Nigeria (II): The Boko Haram insurgency," International Crisis Group, Africa Report No 216, April 3, 2014, <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/africa/west-africa/nigeria/216-curbing-violence-in-nigeria-ii-the-boko-haram-insurgency.pdf>, 14.

¹⁷⁹ "Radical Islamist sect says it carried out Nigeria church attacks," *Guardian*, December 28, 2010, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/dec/28/islamist-sect-responsibility-nigeria-attacks>.

¹⁸⁰ "Nigeria capital hit by barracks bomb," BBC News, January 1, 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-12099176>.

police's headquarters in Abuja, killing between six and eight people. The attack marks a new degree of sophistication in the way it is carried out.¹⁸¹

August 26, 2011: A suicide car bombing of the UN building in Abuja kills at least 21 people and injures dozens.¹⁸² Boko Haram claims responsibility for the attack, the group's first strike on a foreign target.¹⁸³ Some security analysts claim that the sophisticated execution of the attacks hints to support from transnational terrorist organizations such as Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM).¹⁸⁴

November 4, 2011: Boko Haram attacks a number of targets in Yobe, Damaturu and Borno states, targeting security forces and their offices, markets and 11 churches. At least 100 people are killed.¹⁸⁵

November 15, 2011: A police vehicle within the motorcade of the Borno state governor, Kashim Shettima, is attacked with a bomb in Maiduguri.¹⁸⁶

December 2011: Boko Haram instigates a number of bomb attacks across Nigeria on Christmas Day including at St Theresa's church in Madalla, a church in the city of Jos, three attacks in northern Yobe state and two attacks in town of Damaturu and Gadaka.¹⁸⁷

April 26, 2012: Boko Haram bombs the offices of the newspaper *ThisDay*.¹⁸⁸

February 19, 2013: Boko Haram carries out its first cross-border operation and first kidnapping,¹⁸⁹ taking hostage a French family of seven in Cameroon.¹⁹⁰ The family is later released, reportedly in exchange for ransom, though the French and Cameroonian governments deny paying one.

May 7, 2013: About 200 armed Boko Haram fighters storm a police station, military barracks, and government buildings in Bama, killing 55 and freeing 105 prisoners. The BBC reports that "The fighters reportedly launched the attack in armored

¹⁸¹ "Boko Haram attacks – timeline," *Guardian*, September 25, 2012, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/sep/25/boko-haram-timeline-nigeria>; "Boko Haram timeline: From preachers to slave raiders," BBC News, May 15, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-22538888>.

¹⁸² Adam Nossiter, "Islamic Group Says It Was Behind Fatal Nigeria Attack," *New York Times*, August 28, 2011, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/08/29/world/africa/29nigeria.html?_r=0.

¹⁸³ "Boko Haram attacks – timeline," *Guardian*, September 25, 2012, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/sep/25/boko-haram-timeline-nigeria>.

¹⁸⁴ Andrew Walker, "What is Boko Haram?" United States Institute of Peace, Special Report 308, June 2012, <http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/SR308.pdf>, 6.

¹⁸⁵ "Boko Haram Fast Facts," CNN, June 30, 2014, <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/06/09/world/boko-haram-fast-facts>.

¹⁸⁶ "Bomb Targets Nigeria Governor's Motorcade In Maiduguri-AFP," Sahara Reporters, November 15, 2011, <http://saharareporters.com/2011/11/15/bomb-targets-nigeria-governors-motorcade-maiduguri-afp>.

¹⁸⁷ "Boko Haram attacks- timeline," *Guardian*, September 25, 2012, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/sep/25/boko-haram-timeline-nigeria>.

¹⁸⁸ "John Kerry urges Nigeria army 'restraint'," BBC News, May 18, 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-22580707>.

¹⁸⁹ "Boko Haram timeline: From preachers to slave raiders," BBC News, May 15, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-22538888>.

¹⁹⁰ "A year of attacks linked to Nigeria's Boko Haram," CNN, February 27, 2014, <http://www.cnn.com/2014/02/27/world/africa/nigeria-year-of-attacks>.

vehicles mounted with machine guns... [suggesting] that they are becoming better-resourced and they can adapt to the changing terrain.”¹⁹¹

September 19, 2013: Boko Haram militants attacked city of Benisheik in Borno state, killing at least 87 people.¹⁹²

September 29, 2013: Boko Haram gunmen attack agricultural school in Yobe, killing 50 male students.¹⁹³

April 14, 2014: Twin bomb attack claimed by Boko Haram at Abuja bus station kills more than 70 people.¹⁹⁴

April 14, 2014: Boko Haram kidnaps more than 200 girls from a school in the northern town of Chibok in Borno state, triggering international condemnation and viral social media demands to “Bring Back Our Girls.”¹⁹⁵

May 2, 2014: A car bomb explodes on a busy road in Abuja, killing at least 19. The attack happened days before Nigeria was due to host the World Economic Forum on Africa.¹⁹⁶

May 5, 2014: Boko Haram militants kill more than 300 residents in the town of Gamboru Ngala.¹⁹⁷

May 20, 2014: Twin bomb attacks in Jos kills at least 118 people.¹⁹⁸

May 21, 2014: Boko Haram gunmen kill at least 27 people in towns Sharwa and Alagano.¹⁹⁹

June 25, 2014: Twin bomb attacks in Abuja and Lagos kill at least 22 people. Boko Haram has claimed responsibility for the attack in both cities. If true, this would be the first attack by Islamist militants in Lagos.²⁰⁰

¹⁹¹ “Boko Haram timeline: From preachers to slave raiders,” BBC News, May 15, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-22538888>.

¹⁹² “Nigeria's Boko Haram unrest: Scores dead in Benisheik raid,” BBC News, September 19, 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-24169992>.

¹⁹³ “Nigeria attack: Students shot dead as they slept,” BBC News, September 29, 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-24322683>.

¹⁹⁴ “Nigeria violence: More than 70 killed in Abuja bus blast,” BBC News, April 14, 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-27018751>.

¹⁹⁵ Aminu Abubakar & Josh Levs, “‘I will sell them,’ Boko Haram leader says of kidnapped Nigerian girls,” CNN, May 6, 2014, <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/05/05/world/africa/nigeria-abducted-girls>.

¹⁹⁶ “Death toll rises from car bomb in Nigerian capital Abuja,” *Guardian*, May 2, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/may/02/car-bomb-nigerian-capital-abuja>.

¹⁹⁷ “Boko Haram attack kills hundreds in Nigeria,” Al Jazeera, May 8, 2014, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2014/05/boko-haram-attack-kills-hundreds-nigeria-201457181134779575.html>.

¹⁹⁸ “At least 118 dead after twin car bombs explode in Nigerian city of Jos,” *New York Daily News*, May 20, 2014, <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/world/46-dead-twin-car-bombs-explode-nigerian-city-jos-article-1.1799476>.

¹⁹⁹ “Nigeria violence: ‘Boko Haram’ kill 27 in village attacks,” BBC News, May 21, 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-27498598>.

²⁰⁰ “Boko Haram claims responsibility for Lagos, Abuja blast,” *Guardian Nigeria*, July 13, 2014, <http://nguardiannews.com/news/national-news/170652-boko-haram-claims-responsibility-for-lagos->

July 19, 2014: Members of Boko Haram attack the village of Abbas Gava in northeastern Nigeria.²⁰¹

July 23, 2014: Two suicide attacks in Kaduna kill 82 people. One of the attacks was aimed at opposition leader and ex-president Muhammadu Buhari. It is widely suspected that Boko Haram is responsible for the attacks.²⁰² There was widespread speculation in the Nigerian media that the attack was an indication of Boko Haram's strategy to further destabilize Nigeria.

July 28, 2014: Boko Haram members kidnap the wife of Amadou Ali, Cameroon's vice prime minister and one of the country's most visible political figures.²⁰³

July 30, 2014: A female suicide bomber blows herself up in the city of Kano killing 6. This is the third suicide attack carried out by a female suicide bomber. According to security analysts, it is not clear whether the group is recruiting female bombers or forcing kidnapped girls to carry out suicide missions.²⁰⁴

August 6, 2014: Boko Haram seizes the town of Gwoza in Borno state, killing 100.²⁰⁵

August 11, 2014: Boko Haram kidnaps at least 97 men and boys and kills 28 people, and injures 27 others, in a raid on villages in Borno state.²⁰⁶

August 12, 2014: Hundreds of thousands of Nigerians flee attacks from Boko Haram in the north east of Nigeria. Multinational agencies have said they are now sheltering more than 40,000 people.²⁰⁷

August 21, 2014: Boko Haram seizes a riot police training academy in northern Nigeria, driving out recruits.²⁰⁸

August 21, 2014: Boko Haram seizes another town, Buni Yadi in Yobe state,

[abuja-blast.](#)

²⁰¹ "Boko Haram insurgents kill 100 people as they take control of Nigerian town," *Guardian*, July 19, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jul/19/boko-haram-kill-100-people-take-control-nigerian-town>.

²⁰² Gabra Muhammed, "Suicide bombs in Nigeria's Kaduna kill 82, ex-leader Buhari targeted," Reuters, July 23, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/07/23/us-nigeria-violence-idUSKBN0FS19L20140723>.

²⁰³ Adam Nossiter, "Boko Haram Targets Political Figures in String of Attacks," *New York Times*, July 28, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/29/world/africa/boko-haram-targets-political-figures-in-string-of-attacks.html?_r=4.

²⁰⁴ "Nigeria Kano blast: Boko Haram blamed for six deaths," BBC News, July 30, 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-28571037>.

²⁰⁵ "Boko Haram Insurgents Kill 100, Seize Another Major Northeast Town," Sahara Reporters, August 6, 2014, <http://saharareporters.com/2014/08/06/boko-haram-insurgents-kill-100-seize-another-major-northeast-town>.

²⁰⁶ Aminu Abubakar, "Boko Haram kidnaps at least 97, kills 28 in raid," CNN, August 15, 2014, <http://www.cnn.com/2014/08/15/world/africa/boko-haram-kidnapping/index.html>.

²⁰⁷ Patrick McGroarty & Gbenga Akingbule, "Hundreds of Thousands of Nigerians Flee Boko Haram, Seek Sanctuary," *Wall Street Journal*, August 12, 2014, <http://online.wsj.com/articles/hundreds-of-thousands-of-nigerians-flee-boko-haram-seek-sanctuary-1407855499>.

²⁰⁸ "Boko Haram crisis: Nigeria militants 'seize police academy,'" BBC News, August 21, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-28884665>.

reflecting an apparent strategic shift toward taking and holding territory in order to achieve its goal of establishing an Islamist state.²⁰⁹

September 2, 2014: Boko Haram attacks and attempts to seize the town of Bama in northeast Nigeria. Nigerian Military officials are able to repel the attack and kill 70 Boko Haram fighters, but the group returns the next day and succeeds in seizing the town.²¹⁰

September 6, 2014: Boko Haram militants attack the town of Gulak near the Cameroon border. Eyewitnesses state that the fighters “went from house to house shooting people.”²¹¹

September 18, 2014: Boko Haram suicide bombers kill 15 people at a Nigerian teachers’ college. The bombers open fire at students and then detonate explosives in a crowded lecture hall.²¹²

September 20, 2014: Boko Haram kills four civilians in Cameroon. Over 40,000 Nigerians have fled to Cameroon in order to escape Boko Haram.²¹³

September 25, 2014: Boko Haram kills 18 people in an attack in Shaffa, Nigeria.²¹⁴

October 18, 2014: Boko Haram attacks the village of Dzur, killing at least eight.²¹⁵ Gunmen also abduct around 60 Nigerians from a village bordering Cameroon.²¹⁶

October 22, 2014: Boko Haram is suspected to be behind a bomb that exploded at a bus station in northern Nigeria, killing at least five and wounding 12.²¹⁷

October 23, 2014: Suspected Boko Haram militants kidnap at least 25 girls from a town in northeastern Nigeria.²¹⁸

²⁰⁹ Aminu Abubakar, “Boko Haram takes over another Nigeria town,” AFP, August 21, 2012, accessed August 22, 2012, <https://news.yahoo.com/boko-haram-takes-over-another-nigeria-town-witnesses-142352168.html>.

²¹⁰ “Nigeria's Boko Haram 'seize' Bama town in Borno,” BBC News, September 2, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-29021037>.

²¹¹ “Boko Haram Militants Attack Northeast Town Near Cameroon Border,” *New York Times*, September 6, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/reuters/2014/09/06/world/africa/06reuters-nigeria-violence.html>.

²¹² “Deaths in Attack on Nigeria Teachers' College,” Al Jazeera, September 18, 2014, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2014/09/deaths-attack-nigeria-teachers-college-2014917194449334646.html>.

²¹³ “Four Killed in Cross-Border Boko Haram Attack in Northern Cameroon,” *New York Times*, September 20, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/reuters/2014/09/20/world/africa/20reuters-cameroon-boko-haram.html>.

²¹⁴ “Boko Haram fighters kill 18 in northeast Nigeria: Witnesses,” *Reuters*, September 25, 2014 <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/09/25/us-nigeria-violence-idUSKCN0HK25H20140925>.

²¹⁵ “Suspected Boko Haram Militants Mount Two Deadly Attacks After Nigeria ‘Ceasefire,’” *Reuters*, October 18, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/10/18/us-nigeria-violence-idUSKCN0I70H020141018>.

²¹⁶ Adam Nossiter, “Boko Haram Said to Abduct More Women in Nigeria,” *New York Times*, October 23, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/24/world/africa/boko-haram-abducts-more-women-despite-claims-of-nigeria-cease-fire.html>.

²¹⁷ “Bomb Blast Kills Five at Bus Station in North Nigeria: Police,” *Reuters*, October 23, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/10/23/us-nigeria-violence-idUSKCN0IC0KV20141023>.

October 31, 2014: A car bomb kills at least 10 at a bus stop in northeastern Nigeria.²¹⁹

November 2, 2014: Militants armed with guns and explosives attack Koton Karfe prison in central Kogi state, freeing 144 inmates. Boko Haram is linked to the attack.²²⁰

November 3, 2014: A suicide attack in the northeast Nigerian town of Potiskum kills 29 at a Shiite ceremony. Authorities hold Boko Haram accountable.²²¹

November 6, 2014: Boko Haram militants raid Ashaka cement factory and steal dynamite from its quarry.²²²

November 7, 2014: A suicide bomber suspected of belonging to Boko Haram kills at least 7 people outside of a bank in northeast Nigeria.²²³

November 10, 2014: A Boko Haram suicide bomber disguised in a school uniform sets off explosives at a high school in northern Nigeria, killing 48 students and wounding 79.²²⁴

November 14, 2014: Boko Haram insurgents recapture the town of Chibok in northeastern Nigeria, where nearly 300 girls were abducted seven months prior. The militants entered the town “shooting from pickup trucks and motorcycles,” forcing thousands to flee.²²⁵

November 21, 2014: At least 45 people are “slaughtered” by Boko Haram militants in an attack. The attack is believed to be in retaliation to an incident two days prior in

²¹⁸ Imma Ande and Isaac Abrak, “Suspected Boko Haram Fighters Kidnap 25 Girls in Northeast Nigeria,” Reuters, October 23, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/10/23/us-nigeria-violence-girls-idUSKCN0IC1XN20141023>.

²¹⁹ Isaac Abrak, “Car Bomb Kills at Least 10 at Bus Stop in Northeast Nigeria,” Reuters, October 31, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/10/31/us-nigeria-violence-idUSKBN0IK10L20141031>.

²²⁰ “Jailbreak in Kogi; gunmen free 144 inmates,” Premium Times, November 3, 2014, <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/170512-jailbreak-in-kogi-gunmen-free-144-inmates.html>; Reuters, “Suicide Blast Kills 29 in Nigeria, Prison Attack Frees 144,” *New York Times*, November 3, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/reuters/2014/11/03/world/africa/03reuters-nigeria-bomb.html>.

²²¹ “Nigerian Shias in Potiskum Hit by ‘Suicide Attack,’” BBC, November 3, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-29882218>; “Suicide Blast Kills 29 in Nigeria, Prison Attack Frees 144,” Reuters, November 3, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/reuters/2014/11/03/world/africa/03reuters-nigeria-bomb.html>.

²²² “Boko Haram steals dynamite in a raid on Lafarge Nigeria plant: sources,” Reuters, November 6, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/06/us-nigeria-violence-idUSKBN0IQ10F20141106>

²²³ Joe Hemba, “Suicide bomber kills at least 7 at bank in northeast Nigeria,” Reuters, November 7, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/07/us-nigeria-violence-idUSKBN0IR19X20141107>.

²²⁴ “Suicide Bomber Kills 48 Students in Nigeria,” Associated Press, November 10, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2014/11/10/world/africa/ap-af-nigeria-violence.html>.

²²⁵ “Boko Hama insurgents seize Nigerian community of Chibok,” *Washington Post*, November 14, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/boko-haram-insurgents-seize-nigerian-community-of-chibok/2014/11/14/43719424-6c36-11e4-9fb4-a622dae742a2_story.html.

which soldiers shot four of the group's members. According to an eyewitness, the militants "tied peoples' hands behind their backs and slit their throats like animals."²²⁶

November 23, 2014: Boko Haram militants murder 48 fish vendors in northeastern Nigeria. Some victims' throats are slit, while others are tied up and drowned in Lake Chad. News regarding the attack was slow to surface because Boko Haram militants had destroyed cell towers in the area in previous attacks.²²⁷

November 24, 2014: At 09:00 Nigerian time, Boko Haram insurgents flood the town of Damasak in northeast Nigeria, killing an unknown number of people. An eyewitness says that the militants "fired shots into the houses to force people out... many people have died."²²⁸

November 25, 2014: Two female suicide bombers belonging to Boko Haram kill 44 people in an attack in the northeastern city of Maiuguri. The first attacker detonated her bomb, killing three women. When rescuers rushed to the scene, the second girl set off her explosives, killing dozens more.²²⁹

November 26, 2014: Boko Haram insurgents attack two villages bordering the town of Chibok, where nearly 300 schoolgirls were kidnapped in April 2014. The attack leaves more than 20 dead, and left nearly all the houses in the villages "burnt to ash."²³⁰

November 27, 2014: An attack at a northeast Nigerian bus station—purportedly carried out by Boko Haram militants—kills 40 people including five soldiers.²³¹

November 28, 2014: Gunmen purportedly belonging to Boko Haram set off three bombs and open fire on worshippers at a mosque in northern Nigeria's biggest city, Kano. The attack kills at least 81 people.²³²

November 30, 2014: Boko Haram militants raid a mostly Christian town in northeast Nigeria after nightfall, killing "scores" of people. Eyewitness accounts tell of 30 men riding into the town on motorcycles throwing bombs into houses and shooting the people who flee.²³³

²²⁶ "Nigerian village buries 45 after Boko Haram 'slaughter,'" Reuters, November 21, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/21/us-nigeria-violence-idUSKCN0J511R20141121>.

²²⁷ "Nigeria: Fish Vendors Attacked," Agence France-Presse, November 23, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/24/world/africa/nigeria-fish-vendors-attacked.html>.

²²⁸ "Suspected Boko Haram Militants Attack Nigerian Border Town," Reuters, November 24, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/24/us-nigeria-violence-boko-haram-idUSKCN0J81UD20141124>.

²²⁹ Lanre Ola, "Female Suicide Bombers Kill At Least 44 in Nigeria's Northeast," Reuters, November 25, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/25/us-nigeria-violence-idUSKCN0J913C20141125>.

²³⁰ "Nigeria: Boko Haram Kills 20 Villagers Near Chibok," Associated Press, November 26, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2014/11/26/world/africa/ap-af-nigeria-violence.html>.

²³¹ "Northeast Nigeria bus station blast kills 40 people: sources," Reuters, November 27, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/27/us-nigeria-violence-idUSKCN0JB23220141127>.

²³² "Explosions Hit Worshipers in Northern Nigeria," Reuters, November 28, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/reuters/2014/11/28/world/africa/28reuters-nigeria-violence.html>.

²³³ "Suspected Boko Haram militants raid northern Christian town in Nigeria," Reuters, November 30, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/30/us-nigeria-violence-boko-haram-idUSKCN0JE0H520141130>.

December 1, 2014: Boko Haram militants launch an attack on government, police and military buildings in Damaturu. The attack involves two female suicide bombers detonating bombs at the central Maiduguri market.²³⁴

December 10, 2014: Boko Haram dispatch two female suicide bombers at a textile market in the city of Kano, killing 6.²³⁵

December 11, 2014: Boko Haram claim responsibility for twin bombs that explode in the city of Jos, in central Nigeria, killing 31.²³⁶

December 13, 2014: Boko Haram fighters kill 35 people and kidnap about 185 others in a remote farming village in northeastern Nigeria called Gumsuri.²³⁷

December 18, 2014: A suspected Boko Haram militant kills 32 and kidnaps 172 women and children during a raid in Northeastern Nigeria.²³⁸

December 21, 2014: Boko Haram releases a video of its militants killing civilians. They explain that the individuals are being killed because “they are infidels.” In the video, the leader states, “from now, killing, slaughtering, destructions and bombing will be our religious duty anywhere we invade.”²³⁹

December 22, 2014: Boko Haram is responsible for a bomb that goes off in a bus station near Gombe city, Nigeria. At least 20 people were killed.²⁴⁰

December 30, 2014: 15 people are killed after Boko Haram militants open fire in Kautikari, a town near the Cameroonian border.²⁴¹

December 31, 2014: Gunmen suspected of belonging to Boko Haram kidnap 40 young men and boys, mostly between the ages of 15 and 23, from the village of Malari in northeastern Nigeria.²⁴²

²³⁴ Jeremy Ashkenas, Derek Watkins, and Archie Tse, "Boko Haram: The Other Islamic State," *New York Times*, December 11, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/12/11/world/africa/boko-haram-nigeria-maps.html>.

²³⁵ Mustapha Muhammad, "Nigerian Female Suicide Bombers Kill Six in Northern City," Bloomberg News, December 10, 2014, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2014-12-10/explosion-hits-textile-market-in-northern-nigerian-city-of-kano.html>.

²³⁶ Robyn Dixon, "Twin Blasts in Nigeria Market Kill 31," *Los Angeles Times*, December 11, 2014, <http://www.latimes.com/world/africa/la-fg-twin-blasts-nigeria-market-20141211-story.html>.

²³⁷ "Islamist Militants in Nigeria Kidnap 185 in a Deadly Attack on a Village," *New York Times*, December 18, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/19/world/africa/islamist-militants-in-nigeria-kidnap-185-in-a-deadly-attack-on-a-village-.html>.

²³⁸ "Suspected Boko Haram Gunmen Kidnap 172 Women, Children in Nigeria," *New York Times*, December 18, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/reuters/2014/12/18/world/africa/18reuters-nigeria-violence.html>.

²³⁹ "Boko Haram releases video of extremists killing civilians," *Washington Post*, December 21, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/boko-haram-releases-video-of-extremists-killing-civilians/2014/12/21/8549fcd4-8954-11e4-a085-34e9b9f09a58_story.html.

²⁴⁰ "Nigeria bombing kills 20 as Boko Haram storms another town," *Daily Mail*, December 22, 2014, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/afp/article-2883619/Bomb-blast-NE-Nigeria-bus-station-kills-20.html>.

²⁴¹ "Boko Haram Kills 15 in Northeast Nigerian Town-Witnesses," *New York Times*, December 30, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/reuters/2014/12/30/world/africa/30reuters-nigeria-violence.html>.

January 1, 2015: Boko Haram militants attack a bus in northern Cameroon, killing at least 15 people.²⁴³

January 3, 2015: Boko Haram fighters take control of the northeast Nigerian town of Baga and a nearby military base. Hundreds of civilians are killed in the ensuing days.²⁴⁴ Baga hosts the headquarters of a multinational force from Niger, Nigeria, Chad, and Cameroon.²⁴⁵

January 4, 2015: Boko Haram announces it has captured the northeastern Nigerian town of Baga. During its weekend raid Boko Haram destroys about 620 buildings in Baga and more than 3,100 in neighboring Doron Baga, according to Amnesty International.²⁴⁶ Reports later surface that Boko Haram killed 2,000 people during its capture of Baga.²⁴⁷ The Nigerian government later says only 150 people, including militants, actually died, but Amnesty International says the death toll is much higher than the official numbers.²⁴⁸

January 5, 2015: Boko Haram uploads a video to YouTube of its leader, Abubakar Shekau, threatening to overrun Cameroon unless it throws out its constitution and embraces Islam.²⁴⁹

January 6-7, 2015: Boko Haram raids in Baga leave dozens dead after militants burn homes and buildings while indiscriminately shooting people.²⁵⁰

January 10, 2015: The Nigerian military repels Boko Haram fighters trying to capture Damaturu, a major northeastern town.²⁵¹

January 10, 2015: A girl of around 10 years of age with a bomb strapped to her blows herself up in a market in the city of Maiduguri. At least 16 people are killed and more than 20 are injured.²⁵²

²⁴² “Suspected Islamists Abduct 40 People in Northeast Nigeria,” Reuters, January 2, 2015, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2015/01/02/uk-nigeria-violence-idUKKBN0KB19Q20150102>.

²⁴³ “At Least 15 Killed in ‘Boko Haram’ Attack on Cameroon Bus - Sources,” Reuters, January 3, 2015, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2015/01/03/uk-cameroon-boko-haram-attack-idUKKBN0KCOGS20150103>.

²⁴⁴ Haruna Umar, “Nigerian President Visits Conflict Zone,” Associated Press, January 15, 2015, http://hosted.ap.org/dynamic/stories/A/AF_NIGERIA_VIOLENCE?SITE=AP&SECTION=HOME&TEMPLATE=DEFAULT.

²⁴⁵ “Boko Haram Killed Dozens Seizing Nigerian Town and Army Base,” Reuters, January 5, 2015, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2015/01/05/uk-nigeria-violence-idUKKBN0KE1CK20150105>.

²⁴⁶ “Images ‘Show Boko Haram Destruction,’” BBC News, January 15, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-30826582>.

²⁴⁷ “Images ‘Show Boko Haram Destruction,’” BBC News, January 15, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-30826582>.

²⁴⁸ “Images ‘Show Boko Haram Destruction,’” BBC News, January 15, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-30826582>.

²⁴⁹ Agence France-Presse, “Boko Haram Leader Threatens Cameroon in YouTube Video,” *Daily Mail*, January 7, 2015, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/afp/article-2900424/Boko-Haram-leader-threatens-Cameroon-YouTube-video.html>.

²⁵⁰ Ardo Abdullah, “Boko Haram Kills Dozens in Fresh Raids in Nigerian Town,” Reuters, January 9, 2015, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2015/01/09/us-nigeria-violence-idUKKBN0KH1VV20150109>.

²⁵¹ “Boko Haram Crisis: Nigerian Archbishop Accuses West,” BBC News, January 12, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-30777066>.

January 11, 2015: A pair of child suicide bombers, both around 10 years old, blow up in an open-air market in Potiskum in Yobe state, killing at least three people.²⁵³ The children are suspected to be part of the group of 200 schoolgirls kidnapped by Boko Haram in April 2014.²⁵⁴

January 12, 2015: Boko Haram forces cross over from Nigeria into neighboring Cameroon and attack a military camp in Kolofata. The Cameroonian military repels the attack, killing 143 militants, according to the government. At least one Cameroonian soldier dies in the fight.²⁵⁵

January 13, 2015: At least two people are killed and 14 wounded in a suicide attack outside of a mosque in the state of Gombe. Boko Haram does not immediately claim responsibility, although Gombe is just outside its main area of operations.²⁵⁶

January 14, 2015: The Nigerian army pushes back a Boko Haram attack in the town of Biu in the state of Borno.²⁵⁷

Rhetoric

Anti-Christian

Abubakar Shekau, January 11, 2012²⁵⁸

“This religion of Christianity you are practicing is not a religion of God—it is paganism. God frowns at it. What you are practicing is not religion. Aside that, you Christians cheated and killed us to the extent of eating our flesh like cannibals! You did all you wanted to us. We are trying to coerce you to embrace Islam, because that is what God instructed us to do. Even at that, without provocation, you slaughtered us and took our wives and humiliated us!... We are at war with Christians.”

Abul Qaqa, June 2012²⁵⁹

²⁵² Joe Hemba, “Two Suspected Child Suicide Bombers Hit North Nigeria Town,” Reuters, January 11, 2015, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2015/01/11/uk-nigeria-violence-idUKKBN0KK0LS20150111>.

²⁵³ Joe Hemba, “Two Suspected Child Suicide Bombers Hit North Nigeria Town,” Reuters, January 11, 2015, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2015/01/11/uk-nigeria-violence-idUKKBN0KK0LS20150111>.

²⁵⁴ Alexander Smith, “Boko Haram Appears to Be Using Abducted Girls as Suicide Bombers: Experts,” NBC News, January 15, 2015, <http://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/missing-nigeria-schoolgirls/boko-haram-appears-be-using-abducted-girls-suicide-bombers-experts-n284456>.

²⁵⁵ Divine Ntaryike, “Cameroon Govt Says 143 Boko Haram Militants Killed,” Associated Press, January 13, 2015, http://hosted.ap.org/dynamic/stories/A/AF_CAMEROON_BOKO_HARAM_BATTLE?SITE=AP&SECTION=HOME&TEMPLATE=DEFAULT.

²⁵⁶ “Suicide Bomber Kills Two, Wounds 14 at Mosque in Northeastern Nigeria,” Reuters, January 13, 2015, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2015/01/13/uk-nigeria-violence-idUKKBN0KM29E20150113>.

²⁵⁷ “Nigeria Boko Haram: Army Repels Attack in Borno State,” BBC News, January 14, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-30817540>.

²⁵⁸ “VIDEO: Boko Haram leader ‘Imam Abubakar Shekau’ Message to President Jonathan,” Sahara Reporters, January 12, 2012, <http://saharareporters.com/2012/01/12/video-boko-haram-leader-imam-abubakar-shekau-message-president-jonathan>.

“The Nigerian state and Christians are our enemies and we will be launching attacks on the Nigerian state and its security apparatus as well as churches until we achieve our goal of establishing an Islamic state in place of the secular state.”

Anti-Muslims

Abubakar Shekau, March 24, 2014²⁶⁰

“I promise that we will kill all your (Muslim) clerics. Just like I killed Albani and it was splashed all over the newspapers. I’ll kill them all. Who was Albani, he was nothing. I’ll kill all of them. I’ll spare none but who follow Allah and the Prophet. Whoever follows Jews and the [W]est is my enemy.”

Anti-Semitic

Abubakar Shekau, March 24, 2014²⁶¹

“I promise that we will kill all your (Muslim) clerics. Just like I killed Albani and it was splashed all over the newspapers. I’ll kill them all. Who was Albani, he was nothing. I’ll kill all of them. I’ll spare none but who follow Allah and the Prophet. Whoever follows Jews and the [W]est is my enemy.”

Anti-West

Abubakar Shekau, March 24, 2014²⁶²

“Let me make it crystal clear to you save you from unnecessary distorted newspapers and the radio analysis on issues you don’t understand. We are not fighting the north, we are fighting the world. And you will see us fighting the world. This is our job.”

“I promise that we will kill all your (Muslim) clerics. Just like I killed Albani and it was splashed all over the newspapers. I’ll kill them all. Who was Albani, he was nothing. I’ll kill all of them. I’ll spare none but who follow Allah and the Prophet. Whoever follows Jews and the [W]est is my enemy.”

Abubakar Shekau, March 24, 2014²⁶³

²⁵⁹ “‘Why we attacked the churches’ –Boko Haram,” *Osun Defender*, June 11, 2012, <http://www.osundefender.org/?p=32210>.

²⁶⁰ “This is the full text of the latest message from the Boko Haram leader, ABUBAKAR SHEKAU,” *New Issues*, March 24, 2014, <http://www.newissuesmagazine.com/full-text-latest-message-boko-haram-leader-abubakar-shekau>.

²⁶¹ “This is the full text of the latest message from the Boko Haram leader, ABUBAKAR SHEKAU,” *New Issues*, March 24, 2014, <http://www.newissuesmagazine.com/full-text-latest-message-boko-haram-leader-abubakar-shekau>.

²⁶² “This is the full text of the latest message from the Boko Haram leader, ABUBAKAR SHEKAU,” *New Issues*, March 24, 2014, <http://www.newissuesmagazine.com/full-text-latest-message-boko-haram-leader-abubakar-shekau>.

²⁶³ “This is the full text of the latest message from the Boko Haram leader, ABUBAKAR SHEKAU,” *New Issues*, March 24, 2014, <http://www.newissuesmagazine.com/full-text-latest-message-boko-haram-leader-abubakar-shekau>.

“Western education is totally forbidden. Girls, you should return to your homes. In Islam, it is allowed to take infidel women as slaves and in due course we will start taking women away and sell in the market.”

Anti-Women

Abubakar Shekau, March 24, 2014²⁶⁴

“Western education is totally forbidden. Girls, you should return to your homes. In Islam, it is allowed to take infidel women as slaves and in due course we will start taking women away and sell in the market.”

Abubakar Shekau, May 2014²⁶⁵

“Women are slaves. I want to reassure my Muslim brothers that Allah says slaves are permitted in Islam.”

Pro-Violence

Abubakar Shekau, praising the Paris shootings in a YouTube video, January 14, 2015

“We have felt joy for what befell the people of France in terms of torment, as their blood was spilled inside their country.”²⁶⁶

Abubakar Shekau, addressing Cameroonian President Paul Biya in a YouTube video, January 5, 2015

“Oh Paul Biya, if you don't stop this, your evil plot, you will taste what has befallen Nigeria... Your troops cannot do anything to us.”²⁶⁷

Boko Haram Militant Leader, December 21, 2014

“We have made sure the floor of this hall is turned red with blood, and this is how it is going to be in all future attacks and arrests of infidels,” the group leader says in a message. “From now, killing, slaughtering, destructions and bombing will be our religious duty anywhere we invade.”²⁶⁸

²⁶⁴ “This is the full text of the latest message from the Boko Haram leader, ABUBAKAR SHEKAU,” *New Issues*, March 24, 2014, <http://www.newissuesmagazine.com/full-text-latest-message-boko-haram-leader-abubakar-shekau>.

²⁶⁵ Monica Mark, “Missing Nigerian schoolgirls: Boko Haram claims responsibility for kidnapping,” *Guardian*, May 6, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/may/05/boko-haram-claims-responsibility-kidnapping-nigeria-schoolgirls>.

²⁶⁶ “SITE: Nigerian Militant Leader Praises Paris Violence,” Associated Press, January 14, 2015, http://hosted.ap.org/dynamic/stories/A/AF_FRANCE_ATTACKS_BOKO_HARAM?SITE=AP&SECTION=HOME&TEMPLATE=DEFAULT.

²⁶⁷ Agence France-Presse, “Boko Haram Leader Threatens Cameroon in YouTube Video,” *Daily Mail*, January 7, 2015, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/afp/article-2900424/Boko-Haram-leader-threatens-Cameroon-YouTube-video.html>.

²⁶⁸ “Boko Haram releases video of extremists killing civilians,” *Washington Post*, December 21, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/boko-haram-releases-video-of-extremists-killing-civilians/2014/12/21/8549fcd4-8954-11e4-a085-34e9b9f09a58_story.html.

Abubakar Shekau, November 1, 2014

“The over 200 Chibok girls have converted to Islam, which they confess is the best religion. Either their parents accept this and convert too or they can die... who says we are dialoguing or discussing with anybody? Are you talking to yourselves? All we are doing is slaughtering people with machetes and shooting people with guns ... War is what we want.”²⁶⁹

Abubakar Shekau, October 2014

“Anybody that said plans are underway for the release of the [nearly 300 kidnapped] girls is just daydreaming. They would not be returned.”²⁷⁰

Abubakar Shekau, January 2012

“I enjoy killing anyone that God commands me to kill - the way I enjoy killing chickens and rams.”²⁷¹

Abubakar Shekau, 24 March 2014:

“In this world, there are two kinds of people; there are those who are with us or those who are against us, and the latter group are those I’ll kill once I spot them.”²⁷²

²⁶⁹ “Nigeria’s Purported Boko Haram Leader Says Had ‘Married Off’ Girls,” Reuters, November 1, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/reuters/2014/11/01/world/africa/01reuters-nigeria-violence.html>.

²⁷⁰ Adam Nossiter, “In Nigeria, Fragile Hopes of Boko Haram Freeing Schoolgirls Are Dashed,” *New York Times*, October 31, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/01/world/africa/in-nigeria-fragile-hopes-of-boko-haram-freeing-schoolgirls-are-dashed-.html>.

²⁷¹ “Nigeria’s Boko Haram leader Abubakar Shekau in profile,” BBC News, May 9, 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-18020349>.

²⁷² “This is the full text of the latest message from the Boko Haram leader, ABUBAKAR SHEKAU,” *New Issues*, March 24, 2014, <http://www.newissuesmagazine.com/full-text-latest-message-boko-haram-leader-abubakar-shekau>.