

the penultimate crime for these militant groups, the multipurpose nature of female human capital serves to fuel their terror-infused politically motivated crimes. This chapter will review Boko Haram's tactical evolution to include human trafficking and will examine a multitude of ways

Some of the main objectives of Boko Haram are to eradicate secular Westernisation, i.e., co-educational institutions in addition to girls' schools, democracy, and creating an Islamic state in Nigeria. The violent attacks by Boko Haram have led to over one million internally displaced persons and hundreds of thousands of refugees in neighbouring countries – Niger, Chad, and Cameroon. The Nigerian government, along with other regional governments, has attempted to repress the Boko Haram insurgency with specially designed task force operations. Benin, Chad, Niger, Cameroon, and Nigeria often rely on military and financial support from other countries and international organisations. Formed in 2014, the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) was created by the Lake Chad Basin states – Benin, Chad, Niger, Cameroon, and Nigeria. Despite their efforts, the Council on Foreign Relations (Campbell, 2020) and the

any person or entity in or outside Nigeria that solicits, acquires, provides, collects, receives, possesses or makes available funds, property or other services by any means to a terrorist organization or even individual terrorists with an intent to comm

evC /P Lang (en-US)

Boko Haram to gain territorial control and exploit human beings into financial capital with impunity. Institutionalised corruption coupled with a depressed economy creates legislative quandaries for policymakers.

2014 Chibok Schoolgirls' Abduction

On the night of 14 April 2014, approximately 276 schoolgirls were abducted from the Government Secondary School in the town of Chibok in the Borno state of Nigeria. Boko Haram soldiers broke into the school, pretending to be guards (Committee on Foreign Affairs, 2014; Malik, 2017; Matfess, 2017; Khalaf & Ho mann, 2017; Bauer, 2017). As part of their captivity, Boko Haram forced the Chibok schoolgirls to convert to a radicalised form of Islam and adhere to Sharia law. As part of this “conversion,” they were forced to refrain from wearing colourful clothes and adopt new names. Simultaneously, the *#BringBackOurGirls* social media campaign engrossed people around the world (Holpuch, 2018). This heightened awareness played an important role in bringing pressure on the government to secure the safety of the captives and began to shed international light on the violent tactics of Boko Haram. While women are often targeted and victimised using sexual violence in conflict-ridden regions, global attention is haplessly short-lived. On 12 May 2014, Boko Haram released a video displaying over 100 of the Chibok girls demanding the release of their imprisoned members in exchange for the girls' release. After extensive negotiations, the group's leaders specifically identified 16 senior commanders to be released; however, the Nigerian government called off the planned exchange after receiving significant pressure from the British, American, French, and Israeli governments (Matfess, 2017, pp. 72, 73). Without this 11th-hour interjection, the prisoner exchange would have likely succeeded.

In the following years, some of the kidnapped girls managed to escape the clutches of Boko Haram, while others were either freed in exchange for ransom or found “half-dead” tied to trees (Jones, 2014). Yet, 112 Chibok captives remain missing, presumably under Boko Haram's control (Human Rights Watch, 2019). As time passed, other governmental priorities took precedent over the rescue of these young women. Attention to these 112 girls and the *#BringBackOurGirls* campaign has declined precipitously in light of newer, more disconcerting acts of Boko Haram. Boko Haram significantly benefits from this waxing and waning pattern of attention. Leadership dedicates these periods of passivity to troop recuperation, bolstering their resources and capabilities and planning future attacks.

Evolution of Human Trafficking as a Terrorist Operational Finance and Funding Tactic and the Not Penultimate Criminal Event

Expanding our understanding of trafficking not only requires examinations of business sector exposure to forced labour in their supply chains but also requires us to understand how criminal terrorist organisations employ trafficking as a strategic tool to effectuate their terroristic n6 ()11.8(e)1.1 (r)1(a)

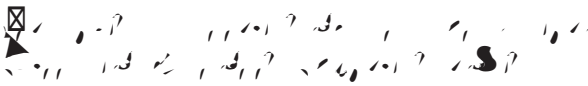
keenly aware of the importance of the Lake Chad Basin as an economic backbone for Nigeria supporting fishing, farming, and access to water. Controlling these cross-border trade routes can serve as significant negotiation leverage with the associated governments. The Nigerian government has recurrently criticised the Chadian, Cameroonian, and Niger(ian) governments for softening policies towards the extremist activities enacted by Boko Haram in the region (Omenma, 2020).

Human Trafficking Operations Support the Evolution of Boko Haram Terrorist Tactics

The reconceptualising of human trafficking includes the recognition of it as a “weapon of terror” (The United Nations, Security Council, 2017; Omenma, 2020). We have not yet fully understood the multifaceted aspects and benefits extracted from human trafficking and its advantage to terrorist organisations. Nonetheless, the United Nations has condemned human trafficking, elucidating its part in “supporting terrorism, including through the financing of or recruitment for the commission of terrorist acts.” Carefully examining each unique and beneficial process derived from human trafficking, this section will provide strategic knowledge upon which governments and policymakers can build effective countermeasures. The following subsections describe the tactical and strategic methods employed by Boko Haram using human trafficking to support and finance its terrorist operations. The following list is randomised and not ordered.

Forced Insemination

Of the Chibok girls released, at least eight of them had children while captive (Cohen & Nord, 2015). This is understood to be a deliberate tactic and well-organised plan by Boko Haram to expand its ideology and insurgency into the next generation (Matfess, 2017, p. 75). Capturing, controlling, and exploiting women can be highly symbolic in terms of influencing successive generations. As Angela Dalton and Victor Asal (2011) stated, “the fact of being a female is proven to relish several tactical advantages. Symbolically, the death of women suicide bombers tends to evoke much more desperation and sympathy.” Similarly, power over women to procreate can demonstrate the group’s direct ability to affect the next generation, amplifying the group’s strength and (man)power. A new generation of children who adopt Boko Haram’s core concepts “can be raised through the cyclical constellation of mass rape of women, impregnation, and kidnapping offspring of such rapes” (Oriola, 2017).



At its core, Boko Haram’s prime directive is their adoption of a radical form of Salaṣt ideology and Sharia by rejecting the Western ideals of social and gender equality. Even though the “West” is still attempting to navigate its way through society and gender, terrorist organisations, especially Islamic Jihadist groups like Boko Haram, find the existing norms to be problematic.

This chapter has attempted to reconceptualise Boko Haram's violence against women as a tactical utilisation to gain a financial advantage supporting their larger political and terroristic goals. Forced marriages and sexual slavery allow insurgents to gain control over "human, sexual, and reproductive power, that ensures the victims' loyalty and social power," particularly flourishing in patriarchal societies (Asal & Nagel, Forthcoming). Such societies also allow organisations like Boko Haram to perceive women with objectification. We have articulated the comprehensive value of women as human and reproductive capital that is beyond monetary gain, but also that induces socio-political control. Researchers have previously highlighted territorial control being an important factor in influencing the violence against civilians and this chapter adds a distinctive argument to the existing body of literature.

Simultaneously, these socio-political and financial mechanisms do not apply equally to all terrorist groups as terrorist ideologies are unique and nuanced. Their logic and reason may differ from societal norms; however, they often begin with the recognition of a specific "need" or "desire" followed by a method to achieve a favourable outcome. Boko Haram has not fully reconciled or integrated its aspirational caliphate goals with its historical or regional operational capabilities. The creation of ISWAP clearly exhibits the division between Islamic State and Boko Haram's ideologies (Onuoha, 2016). By continuously examining how and why trafficking occurs, we can evaluate our domestic and international justice system response structure. It is through understanding and connecting these two analytical points in which we ask, "Is our justice system *really* designed to address all methods of terrorist criminality?"

References

- Amaliya, M., & Nwankpa, M. (2014). Assessing Boko Haram: A conversation. *Contemporary Voices: St Andrews Journal of International Relations*, 5(1), 81–87.
- Anyadike, O. (2019, April 16). Coerced or committed? Boko Haram's female suicide bombers. https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/analysis/2016/04/19/coerced-or-committed-bokoharam-s-female-suicide-bombers?utm_source=IRIN+the+inside+story+on+emergent+terrorism+in+the+gulf+region&utm_medium=referral&utm_campaign=IRIN+the+inside+story+on+emergent+terrorism+in+the+gulf+region

Committee on Foreign Affairs. (2014, May 21). Hearing: Boko haram: The growing threat to schoolgirls,

- Oriola, T. B. (2017). "Unwilling Cocoons": Boko Haram's war against women. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 40*(2), 99–121.
- Parkinson, J., & Hinshaw, D. (2017, December 24). Freedom for the world's most famous hostages came at a heavy price. https://www.wsj.com/articles/two-bags-of-cash-for-boko-haram-the-untold-story-of-how-nigeria-freed-its-kidnapped-girls-1513957354?mod=article_inline
- Ployhart, M. (2011). Emergence of the human capital resource: A multilevel model. *The Academy of Management Review, 36* (1), 127–128, 127–150.
- Salem, E. (2015). Attitudes towards female suicide bombers in Palestine and Tamil Sri Lanka. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression, 7*(3), 200–209.
- Seddighzadeh, H. (2020) The onset of global violent extremism and its nexus with human trafficking. In J. Winterdyk & J. Jones (eds.), *The Palgrave International Handbook of Human Trafficking* Cham: