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# La legislazione anti-terrorismo in Nigeria e il caso Boko Haram

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# Introduzione

Questo lavoro ha lo scopo di analizzare il fenomeno del terrorismo in Nigeria, in particolare facendo riferimento alle attività svolte da Boko Haram, alla legislazione emanata dal Governo Federale nigeriano in tale ambito e a come un atto di violenza compiuto dal principale gruppo terroristico del paese sia stato trattato dai media locali e da quelli internazionali.

Per la stesura di questo elaborato sono stati consultati documenti ufficiali quali atti giuridici, risoluzioni, convenzioni e mozioni parlamentari, ma anche volumi, articoli di giornale e lavori di ricerca riguardanti i temi sopracitati. Tutte le fonti consultate, con tanto di riferimenti specifici, sono riportate nelle pagine terminali nella sezione *Bibliografia*.

# Aspetti Giuridici

## a. Definizione di terrorismo

Per quanto possa sembrare strano, non esiste una definizione univoca di terrorismo ma ne sono state emesse oltre duecentosessanta. Il 17 marzo 2005 l'Organizzazione delle Nazioni Unite (ONU) ha descritto il terrorismo come qualsiasi atto "destinato a causare la morte o gravi lesioni personali a civili o non combattenti allo scopo di intimidire una popolazione o costringere un governo o un'organizzazione internazionale a fare o astenersi dal fare qualsiasi atto", ma ogni paese è libero di attribuire una valenza diversa al concetto di terrorismo e determinare quali categorie di violenza possano essere considerate terroristiche o meno. Ciò rende problematici sia gli studi teorici che quelli empirici. Le definizioni elaborate in tale ambito sono molteplici, ma condividono la pecca di avere una valenza ampia e di essere aperte a diverse interpretazioni.

I media e i Paesi Occidentali sono soliti considerare la minaccia terroristica come un qualcosa di esterno ai loro confini, e il terrorista come uno "straniero".

In Nigeria il *Terrorism (Prevention) Act*<sup>1</sup> emanato nel 2011 definisce un atto terroristico come gesto commesso con cattiveria e premeditazione. Tuttavia questa definizione risulta generica poichè lascia vasto spazio interpretativo all'autorità giudiziaria nel decidere quale azione può essere considerata commessa con cattiveria e quale invece no.

E' bene precisare che il terrorismo non è esclusivamente legato ad atti violenti, esiste ad esempio il *cyberterrorism* (o terrorismo informatico) che prevede l'utilizzo di tecnologie informatiche al fine di sviluppare azioni o strategie terroristiche. La Nigeria ha incluso il cyber terrorism nel *Cybercrimes (Prohibition, Prevention, ETC) Act*<sup>2</sup> del 2015 ed è stato inserito nella lista dei reati a scopo terroristico.

## b. Legislazione anti-terrorismo in Nigeria

In Nigeria la prima legge contro il terrorismo è stata introdotta il 3 giugno 2011 sotto la spinta degli Stati Uniti. Prima di allora atti generici quali l'*Official Secrets Acts*<sup>3</sup> (1962), l'*Extradition Act*<sup>4</sup> (1967), il *Banks and other Financial Institutions Acts*<sup>5</sup> (1991) e l'*Economic and Financial*

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<sup>1</sup> Terrorism (Prevention) ACT (TPA) 2011, 2 giugno 2011

[https://ngfrepository.org.ng:8443/bitstream/123456789/3126/2/Terrorism\\_Prevention\\_Act\\_2011.pdf](https://ngfrepository.org.ng:8443/bitstream/123456789/3126/2/Terrorism_Prevention_Act_2011.pdf)

<sup>2</sup> Cybercrimes (Prohibition, Prevention, ETC) Act 2015, 15 maggio 2015

[https://www.cert.gov.ng/ngcert/resources/CyberCrime\\_Prohibition\\_Prevention\\_etc\\_Act\\_2015.pdf](https://www.cert.gov.ng/ngcert/resources/CyberCrime_Prohibition_Prevention_etc_Act_2015.pdf)

<sup>3</sup>Esso controlla la pubblicazione di informazioni o documenti altamente riservati che potessero indebolire o limitare l'integrità di qualsiasi governo e, per estensione, minacciare la sicurezza dello Stato.

<sup>4</sup> Questo atto disciplina le questioni di estradizione in Nigeria e prevede che il presidente possa estendere l'applicazione della legge a qualsiasi paese con cui la Nigeria abbia firmato un trattato relativo alla consegna delle persone ricercate per un'azione penale.

<sup>5</sup> Esso disciplina le questioni di estradizione in Nigeria e prevede che il presidente possa estendere l'applicazione della legge a qualsiasi paese con cui la Nigeria abbia firmato un trattato relativo alla consegna delle persone ricercate per un'azione penale.

*Crimes (Establishment) Act*<sup>6</sup> (2004), si estendevano alla questione del terrorismo, ma non esisteva una legislazione specifica. Nel 2011 sotto la presidenza di Goodluck Ebele Jonathan (presidente nigeriano dal 2010 al 2015) e a seguito all'acuirsi delle violenze prodotte da Boko Haram<sup>7</sup> è stato emanato il *Terrorism (Prevention) Act*. Esso è stato ampliato nel 2013 originando il *Terrorism (Prevention) (Amendment) Act*<sup>8</sup> che in tempi recenti è stato posto sotto esame per un'eventuale nuova integrazione.

#### i. Terrorism (Prevention) Act - 2011 e atti precedenti

Il Terrorism (Prevention) Act (TPA) 2011 è rafforzamento di due convenzioni precedenti: *The Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism*<sup>9</sup> (emanata nel 1999 dall'Organizzazione dell'Unità Africana - OUA) e *The Convention on the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism*<sup>10</sup> (emanata nel 1999 dall'Organizzazione delle Nazioni Unite - ONU). La prima legge ufficiale contro il terrorismo in Nigeria è nata sotto la spinta della comunità internazionale che si è mobilitata in tale ambito a seguito dell'attacco alle Torri Gemelle l'undici settembre 2001. L'escalation violenta del gruppo terroristico Boko Haram, cominciata a partire dall'estate 2009 a seguito della morte del suo leader, nonché fondatore, Ustaz Mohammed Yusuf, è stato un altro motivo che ha portato all'emanazione del TPA.

Se si va ad analizzare il preambolo del *Terrorism (Prevention) Act 2011* leggiamo che:

*"This act provides for measures of the prevention, prohibition and combating of acts of terrorism. The financing of terrorism in Nigeria and for the effective implementation of the Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism and the Convention on the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism".*

L'articolo 2 della *Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism* (OUA - 1999) troviamo scritto:

*"State Parties undertake to:*

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<sup>6</sup> Questa legge prevede l'istituzione della Commissione per i crimini economici e finanziari incaricata di far applicare tutte le leggi sui crimini economici e finanziari.

<sup>7</sup> Boko Haram (da una locuzione hausa che significa «l'istruzione occidentale è proibita») è un'organizzazione terroristica jihadista nata nel nord della Nigeria nel 2002 e successivamente si è diffusa in altri paesi limitrofi.

<sup>8</sup> Terrorism (Prevention) (Amendment) Act 2013, 22 Aprile 2013

[http://placng.org/laws/nigeria/laws/terrorism\\_bill.pdf](http://placng.org/laws/nigeria/laws/terrorism_bill.pdf)

<sup>9</sup> Questa convenzione mira ad aumentare l'efficacia dei testi internazionali esistenti sulla lotta al terrorismo, a rafforzare gli sforzi degli Stati membri per prevenire il terrorismo e contiene una disposizione sulla protezione e il risarcimento delle vittime del terrorismo.

OUA Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism, 1 luglio 1999

[https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/37289-treaty-0020\\_-\\_oau\\_convention\\_on\\_the\\_prevention\\_and\\_combating\\_of\\_terrorism\\_e.pdf](https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/37289-treaty-0020_-_oau_convention_on_the_prevention_and_combating_of_terrorism_e.pdf)

<sup>10</sup> Il suo obiettivo è rafforzare la cooperazione internazionale tra gli Stati nell'elaborazione e nell'adozione di misure efficaci per la prevenzione del finanziamento del terrorismo, nonché per la sua repressione attraverso il perseguimento e la punizione dei suoi autori.

International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, 9 dicembre 1999

<https://treaties.un.org/doc/db/terrorism/english-18-11.pdf>

*(a) review their national laws and establish criminal offences for terrorist acts as defined in this Convention; and make such acts punishable by appropriate penalties that take into account the grave nature of such offences”.*

In maniera analoga l'articolo 4 della *Convention on the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism* (ONU - 1999) dice:

*Each State Party shall adopt such measures as may be necessary:*

*(a) To establish as criminal offenses under its domestic law the offenses set forth in article 2;*

*(b) To make those offenses punishable by appropriate penalties which take into account the grave nature of the offenses.*

La legge anti terrorismo del 2011 (TPA) è suddivisa in otto sezioni:

- attacchi terroristici e offese simili;
- fondi e proprietà del terrorismo;
- assistenza ed estradizione reciproca;
- condivisione di informazioni, estradizione e assistenza reciproca in questioni sul crimine;
- investigazione;
- persecuzione;
- enti di beneficenza;
- poteri misti;

Nella prima sezione del *Terrorism (Prevention) Act 2011* viene data una definizione di terrorista (a) e di atto terroristico (b).

- (a) terrorista

*“A person who knowingly -*

*(a) does, attempts or threatens to do an act preparatory to or in furtherance of an act of terrorism;*

*(b) commits to do anything that is reasonably necessary to promote an act of terrorism; or*

*(c) assists or facilitates the activities of persons engaged in an act of terrorism. commits an offense under this Act”.*

Con il termine terrorista si intende non solo colui che adotta un comportamento violento, volto alla lesione di altri, ma anche chi minaccia di fare un attacco, si impegna a fare qualsiasi cosa sia necessaria a promuovere un attacco, assiste o facilita l'attacco stesso.

- (b) atto terroristico

*“Act of terrorism” means an act which is deliberately done with malice, aforethought and which:*

*(a) may seriously harm or damage a country or an international organization;*

*(b) is intended or can reasonably be regarded as having been intended to -*

- (i) unduly compel a government or international organization to perform or abstain of performing any act,
- (ii) seriously intimidate a population,
- (iii) seriously destabilize or destroy the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organization, or
- (iv) otherwise influence such government or international organization by intimidation or coercion.

L'attentato alle Torri Gemelle (11 settembre 2001), nonostante si sia verificato negli Stati Uniti, ha avuto dei risvolti anche sul continente africano. Nel 2004 l'OUA<sup>11</sup> ha introdotto un protocollo per assicurarsi l'effettiva applicazione della Convenzione del 1999 da lei emanata e l'ONU ha emanato numerose risoluzioni contro il terrorismo, le più importanti sono la *Resolution 1368*<sup>12</sup> (emanata il 12 settembre 2001 durante il 4370° incontro del Consiglio di Sicurezza dell'ONU) e la *Resolution 1373*<sup>13</sup> (emanata il 28 settembre 2001 durante il 4385° incontro del Consiglio di Sicurezza dell'ONU).

Nel 2011 il presidente nigeriano G. E. Jonathan oltre al TPA teso a prevenire, vietare e contrastare gli atti di terrorismo, ha emanato anche il *Money Laundering (Prohibition) Act*<sup>14</sup> contro il riciclaggio di denaro e teso a prevenire il finanziamento del terrorismo.

## ii. Conseguenze del TPA all'interno della Nigeria

A seguito del TPA (3 giugno 2011), il governo della Repubblica Federale di Nigeria ha firmato diversi trattati regionali contro il terrorismo, oltre ad accordi bilaterali e multilaterali volti a rafforzare la cooperazione nelle indagini, nell'azione penale e nell'estradizione di sospetti terroristi.

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<sup>11</sup> L'Organizzazione dell'Unità Africana nacque il 25 maggio 1963 ad Addis Abeba (Etiopia) sotto la spinta di 31 paesi fondatori. Si sciolse il 9 luglio 2002.

<sup>12</sup> La risoluzione in questione invita tutti i paesi a cooperare per assicurare alla giustizia gli autori, gli organizzatori e gli sponsor degli attacchi terroristici, in caso contrario sarebbero stati considerati diretti responsabili.

Resolution 1368, 12 settembre 2001

<https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N01/533/82/PDF/N0153382.pdf?OpenElement>

<sup>13</sup> La risoluzione mirava ad ostacolare in vari modi i gruppi terroristici richiamando le disposizioni delle risoluzioni 1189 (1998), 1269 (1999) e 1368 (2001) in materia di terrorismo. Gli Stati membri delle Nazioni Unite sono stati incoraggiati a condividere le loro informazioni sui gruppi terroristici per aiutare a combattere il terrorismo internazionale. La risoluzione invitava inoltre tutti gli stati ad adeguare le proprie leggi nazionali in modo che potessero ratificare tutte le convenzioni internazionali esistenti sul terrorismo.

Resolution 1373, 28 settembre 2001, [https://www.unodc.org/pdf/crime/terrorism/res\\_1373\\_english.pdf](https://www.unodc.org/pdf/crime/terrorism/res_1373_english.pdf)

<sup>14</sup> Prevede l'abrogazione del *Money Laundering Act 2004* e l'aggiunta della legge sul riciclaggio di denaro.

Money Laundering (Prohibition) Act 2011 (as Amended), 2 giugno 2011

<https://www.nfiu.gov.ng/images/Downloads/downloads/mlpaamend.pdf>

Al fine di rafforzare le capacità antiterrorismo della Nigeria, il governo, attraverso la legge del 2011, ha anche introdotto diverse agenzie e unità per elaborare strategie e per affrontare le minacce terroristiche emergenti. Alcuni esempi sono:

- una commissione per coordinare gli sforzi delle Unità antiterrorismo;
- una Inter-Agency Task Force, nota come National Focal Point (NFP) sul terrorismo in collaborazione con il Regno Unito e gli Stati Uniti; un Fusion Center per coordinare le attività antiterrorismo e fungere da contatto per i servizi di intelligence stranieri;
- ristrutturazione del settore bancario e rafforzamento delle pertinenti misure antiriciclaggio e finanziamento del terrorismo da parte della Banca centrale della Nigeria (CBN).

L'otto ottobre 2012 in occasione dell'Assemblea Generale delle Nazioni Unite<sup>15</sup> (UNGA) Dr. Fatima Akilu (Director of the Office of the National Security adviser Federal Republic of Nigeria) ha esposto le misure adottate dal suo paese per contrastare il terrorismo fino a quel momento, riconoscendo che il lavoro da svolgere era ancora tanto.

### iii. Terrorism (Prevention) (Amendment) 2013 e risvolti successivi

La revisione del *Terrorism (Prevention) Act 2011* per ampliare la definizione di reato di terrorismo e rafforzare il regime sanzionatorio ha portato all'emanazione del *Terrorism (Prevention) (Amendment) Act* nel 2013, sempre sotto la presidenza di Jonathan.

In altre parole il *Terrorism (Prevention) (Amendment) Act 2013* prevede l'applicazione extraterritoriale della TPA 2011 e l'inasprimento dei reati connessi al finanziamento di atti terroristici.

E' attualmente in corso una revisione del *Terrorism (Prevention) (Amendment) Act 2013* che potrebbe portare ad un nuovo emendamento per rafforzare ulteriormente la legislazione anti terrorismo in Nigeria.

Nonostante siano passati quasi dieci anni è ancora molto attuale il messaggio pronunciato da Dr. Fatima Akilu in occasione dell'Assemblea Generale delle Nazioni Unite (8 ottobre 2012), precedentemente citata:

*"There is no doubt that in the past two years, Nigeria has made great strides to confront terrorism. However, despite the progress attained in this respect, the danger from terrorism remains present and visible. The overarching challenge in the next few years will be to find ways to sustain the international cooperation in the fight against terrorism".*

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<sup>15</sup> Statement by Dr. Fatima Akilu (Director, of the Office of the National Security adviser Federal Republic of Nigeria) at the Sixty-Seventh Session of the UNGA on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism (Agenda ITEM 105), 8 ottobre 2012  
[https://www.un.org/en/ga/sixth/67/pdfs/statements/int\\_terrorism/nigeria.pdf](https://www.un.org/en/ga/sixth/67/pdfs/statements/int_terrorism/nigeria.pdf)



### c. Legislazione anti cyber terrorism in Nigeria

Come anticipato nel paragrafo *Definizione di Terrorismo*, il cyber terrorism è una forma alternativa di terrorismo. Un lavoro di ricerca condotto da M. A. Araromi<sup>16</sup> riguardo il cyber terrorism in Nigeria evidenzia come Internet semplifichi il business del terrorismo e consenta alle attività dei terroristi di avere una portata molto più ampia. Il cyberspazio viene utilizzato da Boko Haram, il maggiore gruppo terroristico del paese, anche come strumento per il reclutamento, la radicalizzazione, la propaganda, l'organizzazione, la raccolta di fondi, eccetera ...

Nel 2015 la Nigeria ha emanato il Cybercrimes (Prohibition, Prevention, ETC) Act che contiene delle disposizioni (sezione 18: 1; 2) contro il terrorismo. Prima di questa legge specifica, nell'ambito della lotta al terrorismo esisteva il *Terrorism (Prevention) Act* del 2011 che è stato modificato nel 2013.

Una grande lacuna nelle leggi contro il cyberterrorismo in Nigeria è la mancanza di una definizione specifica, ma questa problematica riguarda il terrorismo in generale.

A riguardo del cyber terrorism, il Cyber Crimes (Prohibition, Prevention, ETC) Act 2015 dice:

(1) Any person that accesses or causes to be accessed any computer or computer system or network for purposes of terrorism, commits an offence and is liable on conviction to life imprisonment.

(2) For the purpose of this section, "terrorism" shall have the same meaning under the Terrorism (Prevention) Act, 2011, as amended.

Secondo la ricerca condotta da I. Mantzikos ed intitolata *Boko Haram - Anatomy of a Crisis*<sup>17</sup>, nell'agosto 2012 Boko Haram avrebbe violato i database dei registri del personale dei servizi segreti nigeriani. L'attacco di ritorsione ha rivelato i nomi, gli indirizzi, le informazioni bancarie e i familiari di attuali ed ex membri dell'agenzia di spionaggio del paese. L'attacco ha rappresentato un cambiamento sostanziale nelle tattiche per il gruppo che a seguito dell'associazione con Al Qaeda ha dimostrato un approccio diverso nell'esecuzione dei suoi attacchi. Il progresso tattico di Boko Haram dimostra chiaramente che la Nigeria e i suoi vicini della regione del Sahel sono maturi per essere sfruttati come hub di guerra informatica.

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<sup>16</sup> Araromi M.A.; "Cyber-Terrorism under the Nigerian Law: a new form of threat or an old threat in a new skin?"; PhD, <https://www.readcube.com/articles/10.2139%2Fssrn.3286617>

<sup>17</sup> Mantzikos I.; "Boko Haram: Anatomy of a Crisis"; E-International Relations, Bristol UK, October 2013  
<https://www.e-ir.info/publication/boko-haram-anatomy-of-a-crisis/>

# Boko Haram

Boko Haram è considerato il principale gruppo terroristico della Nigeria e ha cominciato la sua attività terroristica nel 2009, motivo che indusse due anni più tardi, come spiegato nella sezione precedente, il governo del paese a creare una legislazione anti-terroristica.

Il nome del gruppo è cambiato ripetutamente dal 2002, anno della sua fondazione, ad oggi; è passato da *Jama'atu Ahlus-Sunnah Lidda'Awati Wal Jihad*<sup>18</sup> a *Stato Islamico dell'Africa Occidentale* (ISWA) o *Provincia dell'Africa Occidentale dello Stato Islamico* (ISWAP). Boko Haram non è il nome con il quale il gruppo si identifica, ma è la dicitura che le popolazioni del nord della Nigeria gli hanno attribuito e nella lingua *hausa* significa "L'educazione Occidentale è proibita".

Boko Haram è quindi un movimento fondamentalista islamico, nato ufficialmente nel 2002 ma esistente in maniera ufficiosa da qualche anno prima. In una prima fase esso si poneva l'obiettivo di combattere la corruzione e l'ingiustizia, ritenuti il prodotto del contatto con l'Occidente.

Stando ad alcune ricerche, Boko Haram in quanto piccolo gruppo di studio religioso era già attivo a metà degli anni '90 del Novecento sotto la guida di Ustaz Mohammed Yusuf<sup>19</sup>. Esso si ispirava ad una organizzazione attiva tra gli anni '70 e '80, nota con il nome di *Maitatsine*, la cui dottrina era basata su una forte critica all'influenza corruttrice dell'istruzione Occidentale, e anche nei confronti dei leader nigeriani accusati di adottare pratiche corrotte ed immorali. *Maitatsine* era un gruppo non violento che si limitava a predicazioni e critiche ai fallimenti del governo. Il leader Abubakar Lawn divulgava i suoi principi nell'Università di Maiduguri nell'omonima città, capitale dello stato del Borno. Proprio a Maiduguri avvenne l'incontro tra Abubakar Lawn e Ustaz Mohammed Yusuf, futuro fondatore nonché futuro leader di Boko Haram.

Alla morte di Lawn avvenuta in circostanze tutt'oggi ignote, Yusuf prese il suo posto creando una correlazione tra assenza dei principi islamici nella vita quotidiana e il dilagare della povertà, disoccupazione, attività criminali e pratiche di corruzione commesse dai leader politici nigeriani.

E' comune l'opinione che la versione dell'islam praticata dai membri di Boko Haram è stata "importata" dal Medio Oriente e quindi incompatibile con il panorama socio-culturale e religioso della Nigeria Settentrionale, in particolare nello Stato del Borno, la roccaforte di Boko Haram. Dal 2002 al 2009 il gruppo fondato da Yusuf cercò di dare continuità alla linea di non violenza perseguita dal movimento *Maitatsine*, mirando a risolvere la piaga della povertà attraverso donazioni di cibo e attirando un elevato numero di seguaci. La morte del leader carismatico avvenuta alla fine di luglio 2009 aprì una fase delicata durante la quale Boko Haram assunse connotati aggressivi e violenti. Sono stati e sono tutt'ora numerosi gli attacchi compiuti da questo gruppo terroristico ai danni di sedi governative, chiese e scuole, causando la morte di migliaia di civili. Nel 2011 con la vittoria di Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, candidato del Partito Democratico Popolare di fede cristiana, alle elezioni presidenziali, si è assistito ad una nuova ondata di atti terroristici senza precedenti. Sotto la presidenza di G.

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<sup>18</sup> In italiano significa "Gruppo del popolo della Sunnah per la predicazione e la Jihad"

<sup>19</sup> U. M. Yusuf, nato a Yobe il 29 gennaio 1970, ha studiato teologia all'Università di Medina in Arabia Saudita prima di subentrare a Lawn nella guida di *Maitatsine*. Nel 2002 ha fondato Boko Haram, un gruppo definito terroristico dal Dipartimento di Stato USA nel 2013. Esso ha assunto connotati violenti solo dall'estate 2009, cioè dopo la morte di Yusuf.

E. Jonathan, il quale “ruppe” il tacito accordo di alternanza tra governo cristiano e musulmano, venne dichiarato lo stato d'emergenza (correva l'anno 2012). Ciò implicò l'intervento dell'esercito ufficiale contro Boko Haram che però non è stato risolutivo. Nel 2014 il gruppo jihadista<sup>20</sup> si è reso protagonista del rapimento di duecentosettantasei studentesse da una scuola di Chibok<sup>21</sup>, e l'anno successivo di oltre cinquecento persone a Damasak<sup>22</sup>. A partire dal 2015 il movimento estremista, composto da oltre trenta mila combattenti, ha cominciato a proliferare in maniera insistente anche nei paesi limitrofi alla Nigeria, quali: Niger, Ciad e Camerun. Boko Haram continua ancora oggi ad esercitare la sua attività incentrata sulla violenza tesa a contrastare l'influenza occidentale considerata peccaminosa.

L'uccisione di Abubakar Shekau<sup>23</sup> avvenuta il 19 maggio 2021 ha segnato un clima di ottimismo tra le file dell'esercito nigeriano guidato dal generale Lucky, impegnato da oltre dodici anni in una lotta estenuante contro il terrorismo, condivisa anche da mercenari e vecchi combattenti che in maniera autonoma cercano di dare il proprio contributo. La sensazione è che Boko Haram si stia allontanando dal suo obiettivo originario, cioè la creazione di un nuovo Califfato di Sokoto<sup>24</sup>, per mirare alla creazione di un'organizzazione criminale.

A pagare il prezzo più alto dei crimini commessi da questo gruppo terroristico sono i civili, vittime di continui attacchi che li inducono a vivere in un clima di terrore costante. Gli stati della Nigeria martoriati dalle offensive di Boko Haram sono Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Kaduna, Kano, Plateau e Yobe. Giusto per dare qualche dato, *The Global Conflict Tracker*<sup>25</sup> stima che dal 2009 Boko Haram abbia causato direttamente (circa trentamila) o indirettamente (circa trecentoquattordici mila) la morte di oltre trecentocinquanta mila persone nel Nord-Est della Nigeria, 3 milioni di sfollati nell'area del Lago Ciad e oltre 310 mila rifugiati in tutta la nazione.

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<sup>20</sup> Sostenitore, fautore della *jihad* intesa come “guerra santa”.

<sup>21</sup> Il 14 aprile 2014 Boko Haram rapì duecentosettantasei studentesse, sia cristiane che musulmane, dalla scuola governativa secondaria di Chibok, nello Stato del Borno.

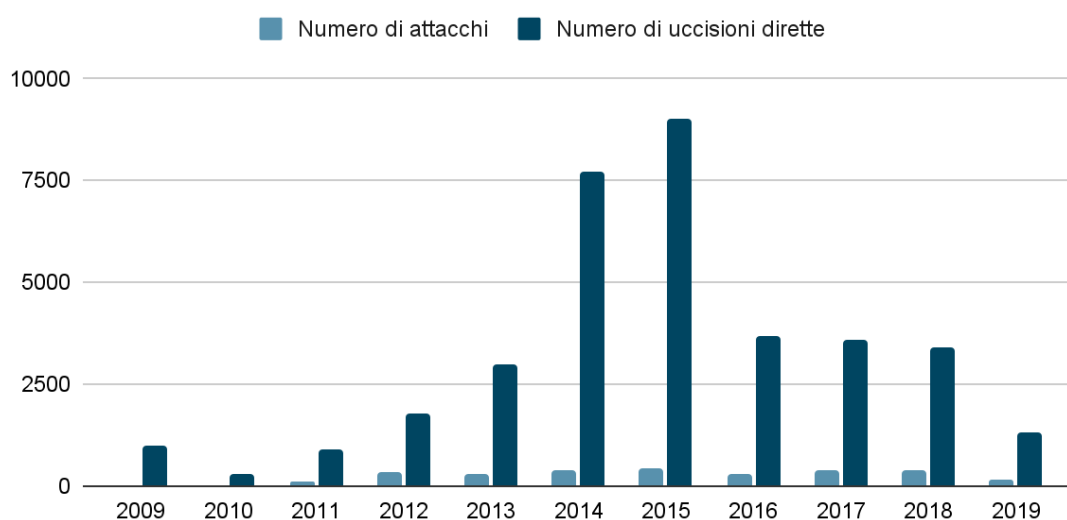
<sup>22</sup> Il 18 marzo 2015 l'esercito nigeriano dopo aver liberato la cittadina di Damasak, ha constatato un rapimento di massa dal parte di Boko Haram ai danni di circa cinquecento civili.

<sup>23</sup> leader di Boko Haram dal 2016 al 2021. Shekau è stato ucciso per mano dei combattenti della Provincia dello Stato Islamico dell'Africa Occidentale (ISWAP), una delle numerose fazioni di Boko Haram.

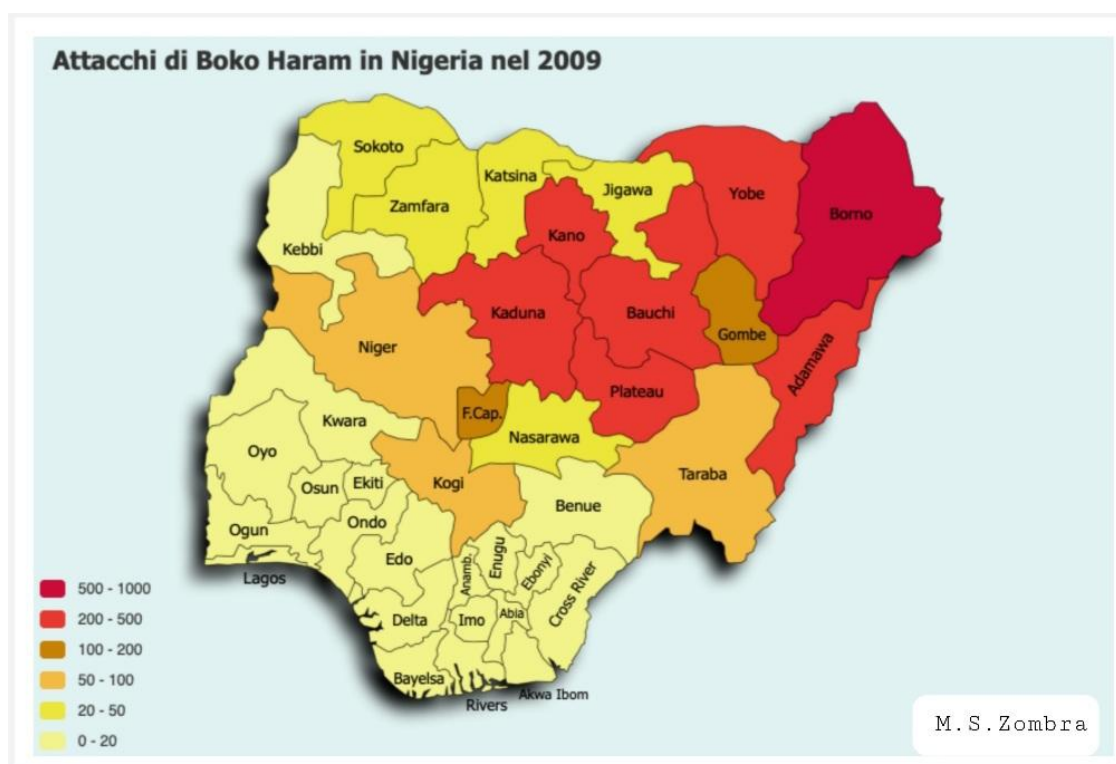
<sup>24</sup> un Califfato fondato nel 1804 dallo sceicco Usman dan Fodio.

<sup>25</sup> <https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/boko-haram-nigeria>

## Numero di attacchi e di uccisioni dirette commesse da Boko Haram



Questo grafico, realizzato consultando le fonti ACLED, ha lo scopo di comparare il numero di attacchi e quello delle uccisioni dirette nel periodo compreso tra il 2009 e il 2019. Cioè nel primo decennio di attività del principale gruppo terroristico della Nigeria.



Questa cartina indica il numero di attacchi compiuti da Boko Haram in ciascuna regione della Nigeria nel 2009.

# Ratto di Chibok e reazione mediatica

## a. Rapimento di Chibok

Il 14 aprile 2014 il gruppo terroristico Boko Haram rapì duecentosettantasei studentesse della scuola secondaria femminile di Chibok, una cittadina a prevalenza cristiana nello Stato del Borno nel nord della Nigeria.

In una prima fase le notizie erano molto confuse e il numero delle ragazze rapite era incerto. Si ipotizzava che le ragazze fossero state portate a Konduga, una città nella foresta di Sambisa ove Boko Haram aveva la sua roccaforte. Il clamore mediatico innescato dai media locali e poi estesasi a quelli internazionali, con l'apporto del movimento *#BringBackOurGirls*, caricò il Governo della Repubblica Federale di Nigeria di un'enorme responsabilità. Si assistette alla mobilitazione di numerose organizzazioni internazionali quali *South Africa Association of Women Graduate (SAAG)*, *African National Congress of Women's League (ANCWL)*, *Global Partnership for Education (GPE)*, *UNICEF*, *ONU*, *Amnesty International*, eccetera.

Le azioni intraprese dall'esercito ufficiale non portarono i frutti sperati, e la promessa fatta dai vertici militari dopo una conferenza tenutasi in Arabia Saudita, sei mesi dopo il rapimento, di liberare a breve le ragazze cadde nel vuoto.

Delle duecentosettantasei ragazze rapite, cinquantasette riuscirono a fuggire subito dopo il blitz, ventuno furono liberate nell'ottobre 2016 grazie alla mediazione del governo svizzero e della Croce Rossa Internazionale, e un altro centinaio fuggirono o vennero liberate in operazioni successive.

L'onda mediatica si scagliò contro il governo con particolare veemenza quando emerse che nell'ottobre 2016, ottantasei ragazze vennero rilasciate in cambio della messa in libertà di alcuni membri di Boko Haram.

Ancora oggi ci sono molte ombre su alcune fasi del rapimento, ad esempio sul fatto che i leader militari fossero a conoscenza di un attacco imminente da parte del gruppo terroristico in questione, ma non fecero nulla per contrastarlo. Il fine del sequestro era quello di creare delle tensioni religiose che avrebbero intensificato la sfiducia nel sistema politico. Le ragazze rapite vennero costrette a sposarsi, e quelle cristiane a convertirsi all'Islam. Riguardo le ragazze ancora nelle mani di Boko Haram ci sono pochissime informazioni, stando a quanto riporta il *Vanguard*<sup>26</sup> l'ultimo episodio di liberazione è avvenuto il 30 gennaio 2022 e ha visto coinvolte quattro ragazze.

Alcune ragazze liberate sono state inserite in un programma finanziato sia dal governo che da privati teso a farle frequentare l'*American University of Nigeria*, altre invece ripudiate dalle loro famiglie e/o dai loro villaggi si sono ri-avvicinate all'organizzazione terroristica e ai loro mariti che avevano sposato con la forza durante il periodo di prigionia.

Numerosi studiosi hanno notato una certa somiglianza tra il *Ratto di Chibok* e altri rapimenti di ragazze avvenuti in Algeria negli anni '90 e all'inizio degli anni 2000 da parte di

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<sup>26</sup> E' un quotidiano nigeriano dotato sia di una versione cartacea che una online. E' stato fondato a Lagos nel 1983 da Sam Amula-Pemu e altri tre suoi amici.

Al-Qaeda<sup>27</sup> nel Maghreb islamico. Questi rapimenti avevano lo scopo di svilire la femminilità e intimidire la popolazione civile.

## b. Reazione Media

I media in una società civile hanno una responsabilità fondamentale nell'inquadrare e mostrare informazioni all'opinione pubblica. Essi hanno anche il potere di modellare le percezioni della società. Il ruolo che i media svolgono in una determinata situazione dipende da un insieme di fattori, tra questi il rapporto che i media hanno con gli attori, il suo livello di indipendenza e i suoi interessi economici.

Nel caso del Ratto di Chibok i media nigeriani hanno seguito con grande attenzione la vicenda, suscitando interesse anche a livello internazionale. Ciò ha fomentato il movimento #BringBackOurGirls, molto attivo sia sui canali social quali Facebook e Twitter che attraverso manifestazioni di piazza. Celebrità di tutto il mondo, tra le quali la First Lady statunitense Michelle Obama, hanno preso le difese delle duecentosessantasei ragazze rapite. I media, sia nazionali che internazionali, hanno giocato un ruolo fondamentale nel costringere il governo ad intervenire e ad evitare che il Ratto di Chibok finisse nel dimenticatoio come è avvenuto con molti altri episodi analoghi. Basti pensare che soltanto nel 2014, stando alle fonti di Amnesty International, Boko Haram è stato responsabile del rapimento di oltre duemila persone nel nord della Nigeria, ma fatta eccezione per Chibok, gli altri sequestri sono stati "dimenticati" sia dalle forze governative che dai media.

## i. Media Nigeriani

In Nigeria esistono circa quaranta testate giornalistiche, alcune cartacee e altre online. Quelle che hanno una copertura nazionale sono poche, tra queste troviamo il *The Guardian*<sup>28</sup> (217 mila copie al giorno), il *Vanguard*<sup>29</sup> (120 mila copie), il *ThisDay*<sup>30</sup> e *Leadership*<sup>31</sup> (100 mila copie), e il *The Punch*<sup>32</sup> (80 mila copie). Se consideriamo che la

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<sup>27</sup> E' un movimento islamista sunnita paramilitare nato nel 1988 in occasione della guerra in Afghanistan. Il suo leader è stato Osama bin Laden fino al 2 maggio 2011, data della sua uccisione. Al-Qā'ida è stata protagonista di atti terroristici ed esecuzioni violente che hanno indotto l'ONU, altre istituzioni internazionali e numerosi paesi ad inserirla nell'elenco delle organizzazioni terroristiche.

<sup>28</sup> E' stato fondato nel 1983 da Alex Ibru ispirandosi all'omonima testata britannica. E' considerato il pioniere di un giornalismo di alta qualità in Nigeria. <https://guardian.ng>

<sup>29</sup> Sam Amuka-Pemu lo ha fondato con il supporto di tre amici nel 1983. Ha sia una versione cartacea che online, ed è uno dei pochi quotidiani nigeriani indipendente dal controllo politico. Nel 1990 sotto il regime militare di R.Rasaky il *Vanguard* fu sospeso per un breve periodo. <https://www.vanguardngr.com>

<sup>30</sup> E' un quotidiano nazionale fondato nel 1995 da N. Obaigbena. *ThisDay* è uno dei pochi giornali cartacei durevoli in Nigeria. <https://www.thisdaylive.com>

<sup>31</sup> E' un quotidiano nazionale attivo dal 2004, anno nel quale è stato fondato da Sam Nda-Isaiah. <https://leadership.ng>

<sup>32</sup> E' una testata giornalistica fondata da James Aboderin e Sam Amuka-Pemu nel 1976. Nel corso delle dittature militari ha subito numerosi abusi da parte delle autorità del paese. <https://punchng.com>

Nigeria ha circa 103 milioni di abitanti con più di diciannove anni (la popolazione totale si aggira intorno ai 206), ci accorgiamo che il seguito della carta stampata è davvero esiguo. Le testate online hanno un seguito in crescita, soprattutto nei grandi centri urbani, ma ancora limitato.

Nel caso del rapimento di Chibok la stampa nigeriana ha giocato un ruolo cruciale mettendo sotto pressione il governo, al punto tale da costringerlo ad intervenire in maniera decisa per liberare le ragazze rapite. Da uno studio intitolato “*Media, Terrorism Reporting and Lessons in Awareness Sustainance: the Nigerian Newspapers’ coverage the Chibok girls’ abduction*”<sup>33</sup> è emerso che nel primo anno dopo il rapimento, il 49,49% delle notizie pubblicate da *The Nation*<sup>34</sup>, *The Guardian* e *The Punch* riguardavano questo argomento. La maggior parte degli articoli non erano in prima pagina, bensì nelle pagine interne. E’ sempre un compito difficile per i giornali far combaciare i loro interessi, soprattutto economici, con il giusto spazio che meriterebbero determinate notizie.

Un altro studio intitolato “*Online Newspaper Coverage of the #BringBackOurGirls Campaign in Nigeria*”<sup>35</sup> ha esaminato come il *Daily Trust*, *The Punch*, *Sahara Reporters*<sup>36</sup> e *Vanguard* hanno trattato la campagna #BringBackOurGirls da aprile 2014 a ottobre 2014. Lo studio ha rivelato che i giornali hanno fornito una copertura per lo più favorevole alla campagna BBOG<sup>37</sup>, favorendo un maggiore interesse anche da parte dei media internazionali.

Analizzando gli articoli pubblicati dalle maggiori testate nigeriane, sia cartacee che online, riguardanti il rapimento di Chibok, emerge che la quantità di notizie varia in base alla posizione geografica della sede del giornale. Ad esempio il *Daily Trust* che ha sede a Kano, nel nord della Nigeria, è stato più attivo su questo argomento, rispetto al *The Punch* e al *Vanguard*, quotidiani con sede nella parte meridionale del paese.

Per quanto riguarda l’episodio in questione la maggior parte dei giornali nigeriani si appoggiavano a fonti dirette, e in casi rarissimi a quelle provenienti dai funzionari governativi.

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<sup>33</sup> Ajakaiye O. O. P., Nwozor A., Ojeka J. D., Aleyomi M. B., Owoeye G., Okena-John R. e Okidu O.; “Media, Terrorism Reporting and Lesson in Awareness Sustainance: the Nigerian Newspapers’ Coverage of the Chibok girl’s abduction”; 27 luglio 2021  
<https://bjr.sbpjor.org.br/bjr/article/view/1329/pdf>

<sup>34</sup> E’ un quotidiano nigeriano fondato a Lagos nel 2006 da A. Adesina. *The Nation* si occupa di affari ed economia, politiche pubbliche, processo democratico, sport, arte e cultura. E’ stato il primo giornale del suo genere a diffondersi in tutti e trentasei stati. [the nation nigeria](http://thenationnigeria.com)

<sup>35</sup> Jibril A.; Online Newspaper Coverage of the #BringBackOurGirls Campaign in Nigeria”; University of Ghana, 2015.  
<http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh/bitstream/handle/123456789/21749/Online%20Newspaper%20Coverage%20of%20the%20%20Bring%20Back%20Our%20Girls%20Campaign%20in%20Nigeria%20-%202015.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

<sup>36</sup> E’ una testata online con sede a New York che si concentra in particolar modo sulle regioni settentrionali della Nigeria.

<sup>37</sup> acronimo di #BringBackOurGirls

## PM News Nigeria

Per comprendere meglio come il *Ratto di Chibok* sia stato trattato dai media nigeriani, analizzeremo degli stralci degli articoli pubblicati da *PM News* nel primo mese dopo il rapimento, quindi dal 15 aprile al 14 maggio 2014.

*PM News* è un quotidiano nigeriano con sede a Lagos e fondato nel 1993 da B. Onanuga, B. Ojudu e altri ex membri dello staff dell'*African Concord*<sup>38</sup> che si erano dimessi in segno di protesta su una richiesta di M. Abiola, l'editore, per scusarsi con il presidente *Ibrahim Babangida*<sup>39</sup> per una critica al regime militare. Dopo le molestie da parte del regime di Babangida, ci fu un breve periodo di libertà di stampa sotto il generale *Sani Abacha*<sup>40</sup> durante.

Il quotidiano fondato da Onanuga e Ojudu è orientato sulle notizie di cronaca ma anche alla moda, allo sport e all'intrattenimento. Nel corso degli anni '90 le sue pubblicazioni hanno suscitato malumori tra gli esponenti del governo.

*PM News*, pur essendo una testata giornalistica con sede nel sud della Nigeria, si è dimostrata particolarmente attivo sulle vicende del rapimento di Chibok. Nel corso del primo mese dopo il *Ratto*, il giornale ha pubblicato oltre centoventi articoli inerenti al caso. Ciò sottolinea come i media nigeriani abbiano preso a cuore la vicenda suscitando interesse a livello globale e coinvolgendo anche le testate internazionali, le quali però hanno pubblicato un numero di articoli nettamente ridotto e in maniera meno costante.

Numero di articoli riguardanti il rapimento di Chibok e pubblicati dal PM News

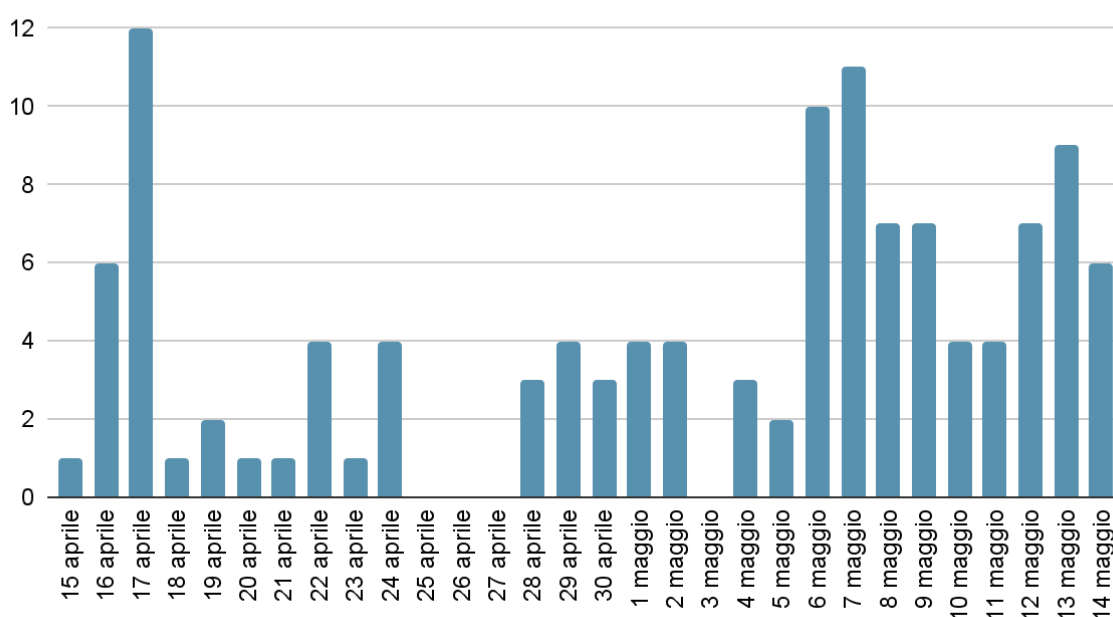


Tabella realizzata consultando l'archivio online di PM News.

<sup>38</sup> Era una testata giornalistica del Concord Group, le cui pubblicazioni vennero proibite nel giugno 1994.

<sup>39</sup> E' stato presidente della Nigeria dal 27 agosto 1985 al 27 agosto 1993. Tra il 1991 e 1992 è stato anche presidente dell'Unione Africana (UA).

<sup>40</sup> Ha guidato il governo federale nigeriano dal 17 novembre 1993 all'8 giugno 1998.



*PM News* nell'arco di tempo analizzato in questo elaborato ha pubblicato in media (*vedi tabella sopra*) quattro articoli al giorno riguardo il *Ratto di Chibok*. Nelle pagine successive è riportato l'estratto di un articolo per ciascun giorno dal 15 aprile al 14 maggio 2014, fanno eccezione i giorni nei quali non sono stati pubblicati articoli inerenti all'argomento in questione.

## **Boko Haram Abducts School Girls in Borno**

April 15, 2014 - Editorial Staff - PM News

Heavily armed Islamist gunmen kidnapped a group of girls from a secondary school in northeast Nigeria's Borno state and torched the surrounding town, a local official and a witness told AFP Tuesday.

"Many girls were abducted by the rampaging gunmen who stormed the school in a convoy of vehicles," said Emmanuel Sam, an education official in

the town of Chibok, where the attack took place on Monday.

The attackers are suspected to be members of Boko Haram, a radical Islamist group whose name means "Western education is forbidden".

...

<https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/04/15/boko-haram-abducts-school-girls-in-borno/>

## **Troops pursue Boko Haram kidnappers of school girls**

April 16, 2014 - Editorial Staff - PM News

Nigerian soldiers are on the trail of Boko Haram gunmen who kidnapped about 100 girls from a secondary school in Chibok, Borno state. The gunmen stormed the Government Girls Secondary School after sundown on Monday, torching several buildings before opening fire on security forces guarding the school.

A senior security source said troops had tracked the tyre marks of the convoy and were pursuing the Islamists.

Senator Ali Ndume, who represents the region, said the pursuit included soldiers backed by members of a local vigilante force formed last year to help fight Boko Haram.

"They are now combing the forest to rescue the school girls," he told AFP. "They are being aided by surveillance

helicopters," he said, but noted the difficulty of the search in a vast forest that extends to neighboring Cameroon.

...

It is not yet clear why the Chibok school was open, but Emmanuel Sam, an education officer based in the area said the girls had been scheduled to write exams this week and that school was full when the attackers arrived.

...

The military has so far refused to comment on the abductions, even as the tragedy dominates the front pages of most leading newspapers, and the status of the rescue operation remains unclear.

<https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/04/16/confab-delegates-condemn-kidnap-of-100-school-girls/>

**115 schoolgirls still missing after kidnap - Principal**

April 17, 2014 - Editorial Staff - PM News

Asabe Kwambura, principal of Government Girls' Secondary School, Chibok, Borno State has denied reports from the military that most of the students kidnapped from her school by Islamists were now safe.

She said only 14 of the 129 girls taken had escaped and that was the figure she could confirm.

...

Borno's governor has offered a 50 million naira (\$300,000, 216,000 euro) reward to anyone with information leading to the return of the schoolgirls.

Parents in Chibok swarmed the home of the area's tribal chief on Thursday, demanding clarification after the military claim, residents said.

...

<https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/04/17/115-schoolgirls-still-missing-after-kidnap-principal>

### **News Analysis: big blow on Nigeria's military**

April 18, 2014 - Onanuga B. - PM News

Skeptics of Nigeria's military campaign against the murderous Boko Haram gunmen in Nigeria's northeast now have a smoking gun to prove that all is not well with the campaign.

Almost daily, Nigeria's military authorities issue one bulletin after the other about their triumphs against the insurgents; the massive killings they have achieved, the bombing plots foiled, how they have flushed insurgents out of the major urban centres, how they have smoked out the insurgents out of Sambisa forest; how the 'frightened', hungry remnant, weakened forces of Abubakar Shekau have disappeared into the mountain fringes between Nigeria and Cameroon.

...

The last time Governor Kashim Shettima raised the alarm that Nigeria's forces are losing the war as the Boko Haram boys appeared better motivated and armed

against Nigerian soldiers, he was taken to the cleaners, vilified and scolded like a primary school boy by military chiefs and even the commander-in-chief, Goodluck Jonathan.

...

The more ridiculous dimension in this shocking drama was the attempt by the army to claim credit, for rescuing the abducted girls, just like the Nigerian police do in cases of kidnapping. This has now blown up in their faces and must have been a monumental embarrassing blow to the military.

While parents, the school, Governor Shettima, the nation and the international community grieved about the abduction of the girls, the military headquarters in Abuja, issued a statement that all but eight of the girls had been rescued, even adding that one of the armed kidnapers had been arrested. Everyone applauded

the military's quick response. But they applauded too early.

...

<https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/04/18/news-analysis-big-blow-on-nigerias-military/>

### **85 school girls still missing, 24 escape**

April 19, 2014 - Editorial Staff - PM News

Eighty-five of the abducted 129 school girls in Chibok, Borno State are still missing, an education official said, on the heels of the escape of 24 girls from the Sambisa Forest.

...

Extremists have been attacking schools and slaughtering hundreds of students in the past year. In recent months they have

begun kidnapping students, who they use as cooks, sex slaves and porters.

...

The Defense Ministry spokesman, Maj. Gen. Chris Olukolade, claimed in a statement Wednesday that all but eight of the 129 abducted students had been freed by security forces. But he retracted that statement on Thursday.

<https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/04/19/85-school-girls-still-missing-24-escape/>

### **Borno Christian begin fasting for abducted school girls**

April 20, 2014 - Editorial Staff - PM News

Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) in Borno state has declared fasting from Monday to Wednesday to seek divine intervention for the release of the

abducted students of the Government Girls Secondary School, Chibok.

...

<https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/04/20/orno-christians-begin-fasting-for-abducted-school-girls/>

### **Boko Haram: Abducted school girls jump to 234**

April 21, 2014 - Editorial Staff - PM News

The number of secondary school girls still under Boko Haram captivity is more than the figure widely circulated.

There are 234 of them missing from the northeast Nigerian girls secondary school attacked last week by the Islamic extremists, significantly more than the 85 reported by education officials.

...

Borno state education commission Musa Inuwo Kubo and the principal of the Chibok Government Girls Secondary School had initially said that 129 science students were at the school to write a physics exam when the abductors struck, after midnight on April 14.

...

<https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/04/21/boko-haram-abducted-school-girls-jump-to-234/>

### **Agregbesola Calls For Mass Protest Over Missing Schoolgirls**

April 22, 2014 - K. Ugbodaga - PM News

Osun State Governor, Rauf Aregbesola has called for nationwide mass protest against Islamic terrorists, Boko Haram over the recent abduction of 234 schoolgirls.

The girls were taken hostage from Government Girls Secondary School, Chibok, Borno State, Northeast Nigeria.

Describing the abduction as a national disaster, the governor said there was need by all Nigerians to rise up against the abduction of innocent citizens, lamenting that it was sad that one week after the abduction, Nigerians moved on as if nothing had happened.

...

...

<https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/04/22/aregbesola-calls-for-mass-protest-over-missing-schoolgirls/>

### **Boko Haram Threatens to Kill Abducted Schoolgirls**

April 23, 2014 - Editorial Staff - PM News

The fate of over 200 schoolgirls abducted by Boko Haram from their hostels at Government Girls Secondary School in Chibok, Borno State, northeast Nigeria, still hangs in the balance as the Islamist fighters have threatened to kill them if their parents do not stop the search for the girls.

...

In an Easter message, President Goodluck Jonathan said Nigeria will 'overcome' the Islamist threat.

"God willing, we must bring Boko Haram to an end."

<https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/04/23/boko-haram-threatens-to-kill-abducted-schoolgirls/>

## **Jonathan tells military to rescue abducted schoolgirls**

April 24, 2014 - Editorial Staff - PM News

The expanded National Security Council meeting, presided over by President Goodluck Jonathan on Thursday, tasked the military to ensure the rescue of the abducted school girls in Chibok, Borno.

...

Minister of Defence, Lt.-Gen. Aliyu Gusau (ret'd) who presided over the media briefing, said that the meeting discussed the overall security of the country.

“The security operation in the North East region, cattle rustling, kidnapping and other criminal activities that warrant security attention”.

He stated that they concluded that the Federal Government should do everything within its powers, with the collaboration of the state, local governments and everybody to bring the unfortunate situation under control.

...

<https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/04/24/jonathan-tells-military-to-rescue-abducted-schoolgirls/>

## **Nyako, Gaidam hammer Edwin Clark on emergency rule**

April 28, 2014 - Editorial Staff - PM News

Governors Murtala Nyako and Ibrahim Gaidam have condemned the recent call for their replacement with military administrators as part of measures to curb the security challenge of Boko Haram insurgency by prominent Ijaw leader, Chief Edwin Clark and Governor Godswill Akpabio of Akwa Ibom State.

The Ijaw leader had last week asked President Goodluck Jonathan to sack the Governors of Yobe, Borno and Adamawa, the three States at the epicentre of Boko Haram insurgency in furtherance of State of emergency declared to enhance military fight against the Islamists last November.

The state of emergency will lapse early May and there have been arguments whether it should be extended given its

<https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/04/28/nyako-gaidam-hammer-edwin-clark-on-emergency-rule/>

limited success in curbing the activities of the insurgent group.

Clark had in the statement he released last week not only asked for the extension of the state of emergency, but declaration of what he described as “full emergency rule”, that will lead to replacement of the democratically elected state governors with appointed administrators.

Governor Akpabio was reported to have also argued for replacement of the elected Governors with appointed administrators at a meeting President Goodluck Jonathan held with PDP Governors some two weeks ago.

## **Abducted school girls sold for 12\$ each to Boko Haram fighters**

April 29, 2014 - Editorial Staff - PM News

Nigerian parents lashed out on Tuesday at the government's failure to rescue scores of schoolgirls kidnapped two weeks ago by Boko Haram Islamists, as a local leader claimed the hostages had been sold as wives abroad.

...

The parents outrage came as Pogo Bitrus, leader of a Chibok elders group said the captured girls are being offered to Boko Haram fighters at \$12 each.

...

Borno officials have said that 129 girls were kidnapped when gunmen stormed the school after sundown on April 14 and forced the students — who are between 12 and 17 years old — onto a convoy of trucks. Officials said 52 have since escaped.

Locals, including the school's principal, have rejected those numbers, insisting that 230 students were snatched and that 187 are still being held hostage.

...

<https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/04/29/abducted-school-girls-sold-for-12-each-to-boko-haram-fighters/>

## **“Bring Back Our daughters”, chant protesters in Abuja**

April 30, 2014 - Editorial Staff - PM News

Nigerian protesters marched on the National Assembly Wednesday to demand the government and military do more to rescue scores of schoolgirls kidnapped by Boko Haram gunmen at Government Girls Secondary School, in Chibok, Borno State, more than two weeks ago.

Dubbed “a million woman march” and promoted on Twitter under #BringBackOurGirls, the protest was not expected to draw a massive crowd and turn-out was hindered by heavy rain in the capital Abuja.

But several hundred women and men, mostly dressed in red, marched through the rain towards the National Assembly carrying placards that read “Find Our Daughters.”

Protest organizer Hadiza Bala Usman had earlier said that the size of the protest was less important than raising awareness about the plight of the hostages whose April 14 abduction at gunpoint from their school in the northeast has outraged Africa's most populous nation.

...

Speaking by phone from Chibok, a father of one of the kidnapped schoolgirls voiced

hope that attention to his nightmare from protesters near the seat of government could make a difference.

“We believe if Nigerians, the high and the low, raise their voices from different quarters it will make the government sit up and do the right thing to free our girls.”

<https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/04/30/bring-back-our-daughters-chant-protesters-in-abuja/>

### **Jonathan: Rescue plan in place for abducted schoolgirls**

May 1, 2014 - Editorial Staff - PM News

President Goodluck Jonathan has stated that his administration has put every security agency on alert with a view to rescuing the abducted school girls from Government Secondary Schools, Chibok, Borno State, northeast Nigeria.

Manager, Senator Chris Anyanwu, Senator Buka Abba Ibrahim, Senator Ahmed Lawan, Senator Barnabas Gemade, Senator Eyinaya Abaribe, Senator Ali Ndume and Senator Ahmed Za’nah.

This was the submission of the President when the delegation of 22 Senators from the country’s Upper Legislative Chamber met him in Aso Rock Wednesday, 30 April.

...

Senator Ojudu stated further that the President also expressed sadness at the abduction of the girls and as a parent himself, he equally felt the pains of the parents and relatives of the abducted girls.

The Senate delegation was led by the Senate President, Senator David Mark and it included Senator Babafemi Ojudu, Senator Boluwaji Kunlere, Senator Sola Adeyeye, Senator Zainab Kure, Senator Esther Nenadi Usman, Senator James

<https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/05/01/jonathan-rescue-plan-in-place-for-abducted-schoolgirls/>



## **Police jack up number of captured Nigerian schoolgirls**

May 2, 2014 - Editorial Staff - PM News

On a day President Goodluck Jonathan set up a panel to verify the number of captured Nigerian schoolgirls, in Chibok, Borno state, the Nigerian police already provide him the answer.

On Friday the police confirmed that 276 girls were seized from the Girls Secondary School in Chibok, by Boko Haram militants and that 223 of the girls are still in captivity.

...

<https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/05/02/police-jack-up-number-of-captured-nigerian-schoolgirls/>

## **Nigeria will “surely” free abducted girls - Jonathan**

May 4, 2014 - Editorial Staff - PM News

Nigerian President Goodluck Jonathan Sunday vowed that his government will ensure the release of the 223 schoolgirls abducted by suspected Boko Haram Islamists.

“We promise that anywhere the girls are, we will surely get them out,” Jonathan said in a live radio-television media chat in the nation’s capital Abuja, monitored in Lagos.

“This is a trying time for this country... it is painful,” he said, and pleaded for the

cooperation of parents, guardians and the local communities in the rescue efforts.

He said that Nigerians were “justified if they expressed their anger against the government” over the perceived slowness in rescuing the girls who were kidnapped from their hostel in Chibok town, in northeast Borno state, on April 14.

...

<https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/05/04/nigeria-will-surely-free-abducted-girls-jonathan/>

## **Shekau confirms kidnapping Nigerian schoolgirls**

May 5, 2014 - Editorial Staff - PM News

The Boko Haram leader, Abubakar Shekau on Monday confirmed that the group was responsible for the abduction of hundreds of schoolgirls from Chibok Girls Secondary School, in Borno State, north east Nigeria.

The abduction has triggered growing domestic and international outrage and demands for an immediate rescue mission.

“I abducted your girls,” the Islamist group’s leader Abubakar Shekau said in the 57-minute video obtained by AFP, referring to the 276 students kidnapped

from their school in Chibok, Borno state, on April 14.

Fifty-three of the girls managed to escape from the militants but 223 were still being held, state police said last Friday.

<https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/05/05/shekau-confirms-kidnapping-nigerian-schoolgirls/>

### **Mahama writes to Jonathan on Boko Haram**

May 6, 2014 - Editorial Staff - PM News

President John Dramani Mahama has called on member states of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to help end the Boko Haram campaign of terror in Nigeria.

He noted that Nigeria's security and stability was tied to the security and stability of the entire West African sub-region.

In a correspondence to President Goodluck E. Jonathan, which has been confirmed by sources at the ECOWAS Secretariat and at the Flagstaff House, President Mahama described those atrocities and heinous crimes being perpetrated against the good people of Nigeria as absolutely unacceptable.

President Mahama, who wrote the letter in his capacity as ECOWAS chairman, said he had been deeply saddened by the recent bomb attacks in Nyanya, Abuja, resulting in the death of innocent citizens and the kidnap of girls who were in school to take part in an examination in Chibok, Borno State, by elements of the terrorist group, Boko Haram.

Sources have confirmed that President Mahama was expected in Nigeria this week to meet President Jonathan to hold discussions on the security situation in Nigeria and the Boko Haram issue.

President Mahama, in his correspondence, expressed hope that the girls who were kidnapped would be returned to their families in the shortest time.

<https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/05/06/mahama-writes-to-jonathan-on-boko-haram/>

### **Abducted Girls: Nigeria Police offer N50m reward for information**

May 7, 2014 - Editorial Staff - PM News

The Nigeria Police Force has offered N50 million as reward to anyone with useful information about the over 200 schoolgirls kidnapped at the Government Girls Secondary School, Chibok, Borno state.

The announcement was made in a statement issued by the Force Public

Relations Officer, CSP Frank Mba, in Abuja.

"The Nigerian Police Force hereby announce a cash reward of fifty million naira (N50,000,000) to anyone who volunteers credible information that will lead to the location and rescue of the

female students abducted from Government Girls Secondary School, Chibok, Borno state”.

<https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/05/07/abducted-girls-nigeria-police-offer-n50m-reward-for-information/>

### **Nigerian army says it can rescue the abducted girls**

May 8, 2014 - Editorial Staff - PM News

The Defence Headquarters (DHQ) has condemned the impression being created by a section of the press that the military lacks the capacity to rescue the girls

abducted from Government Secondary School, Chibok.

...

<https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/05/08/nigerian-army-says-it-can-rescue-the-abducted-girls/>

### **Michelle Obama speaks on Boko Haram abductions**

May 9, 2014 - Editorial Staff - PM News

Michelle Obama, First Lady of the US, is to speak out against the kidnapping of more than 200 Nigerian schoolgirls by Islamic militants when she gives the weekly presidential address instead of her husband, the White House said Friday.

White House deputy spokesman Eric Schultz said Michelle Obama would focus on the issue of the mass abductions in an address on Saturday to mark Mother's Day, which falls on Sunday in the United States.

“As the mother of two young daughters, Mrs Obama is taking up the opportunity to express outrage and heartbreak at the President and she share over the kidnapping of over 200 Nigerian girls of their school,” Schultz told reporters aboard Air Force One.

...

<https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/05/09/michelle-obama-speaks-on-boko-haram-abductions/>

## **Nigeria, US wants UN to label Boko Haram a terrorist organisation**

May 10, 2014 - Editorial Staff - PM News

Nigeria and the United States are working on a UN Security Council resolution to designate Boko Haram a terrorist organisation, diplomats at the foreign ministry in Abuja have confirmed.

NAN quotes the sources as saying that the two countries have agreed that the UN should take a quick action to designate Boko Haram a terror organisation.

A strong indication that the 15-member council would consider the resolution emerged on Friday when the members spoke with one voice in condemning the activities of the group.

The council said it would actively follow the situation of the abducted school girls in Chibok and Warabe, both in Borno, and threatened to use “appropriate measures” against Boko Haram.

The council also noted the attacks by the group since 2009, saying “it had caused large scale devastating loss of life and represent a threat to the stability and peace of West and Central Africa”.

...

China has also indicated that it would help international efforts to find the girls.

...

<https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/05/10/nigeria-us-wants-un-to-label-boko-haram-a-terrorist-organisation/>

## **French President calls for African summit on Nigeria**

May 11, 2014 - Editorial Staff - PM News

French President Francois Hollande called Sunday for African leaders to hold a summit in Paris on security in west Africa focusing on the Islamist sect Boko Haram who have abducted more than 200 schoolgirls in Nigeria.

“I suggested, with Nigerian President Goodluck Jonathan, a meeting of Nigeria’s neighbouring countries,” he said during a visit to the Azerbaijan capital Baku.

The meeting will take place Saturday “if the countries agree,” he added.

The leaders of at least five African countries – Nigeria, Chad, Cameroon, Niger and Benin may take part, a source close to the president said.

The kidnap of 276 schoolgirls on April 14 by Boko Haram in the northeastern Nigerian town of Chibok has sparked a wave of international outrage.

A team of French experts in “human and technical” intelligence arrived in Nigeria on Saturday to help in the search for the teenagers.

...

<https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/05/11/french-president-calls-for-african-summit-on-nigeria-abductions/>

## **Boko Haram is not asking for negotiation, but ransom**

May 12, 2014 - C. J. Azuatalam - PM News

It is important that as a nation, we take a detailed look and have a deep thinking of situations that come our way before we take decisions and swing into action. The issue of Boko Haram, its operations and the recent abduction of over 200 girls is one of such critical and sensitive issues that require deep thinking, professional approach and tactics in its management. We are now at a cross road, the tension is palpable and any erroneous or bad decision taken will have a grave and far reaching consequence on our nation.

The situation that is right in our hands now requires us to stop and think, weigh our options and action to avoid falling into the hands of our enemies. We should treat everyone as a suspect including those offering help and assistance to us, lest we fall into the hands of our enemies. Terrorists are on top of their game and they will stop at nothing to inflict pain on us. Our nation should scrutinize every offer of help to identify genuine offers and distinguish them from others that have hidden agenda and those that are possible from the same people that terrorize us.

...

According to Boko Haram, their idea and demand is for Nigeria to stop Western education and have all her citizens convert to their misguided form of Islam. They went further to assert that any Muslim that is seeking civilization and taking part in Western education is an enemy and not a true Muslim. They declared such Muslims as enemies and vowed to kill them.

Boko Haram has not asked for any reasonable or feasible condition to stop its operations. They have abducted our girls to hold us to ransom. Their ransom is the release of their members in the custody of security agents. This has confirmed that the Federal Government and its security agents are in custody of Boko Haram members. This fact makes me ask what information the Federal Government has gotten from the Boko Haram members in their custody. Is it possible for hundreds of Boko Haram members to be arrested without a single suspect giving vital information as to the whereabouts of the sect, their operations, facilitators and sponsors during interrogations?

...

<https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/05/12/boko-haram-is-not-asking-for-negotiation-but-ransom/>

## **Emergency Rule: Jonathan Seeks Extension in Borno, Others**

May 13, 2014 - A. Oluokun - PM News

President Goodluck Jonathan has written to the National Assembly to seek the extension of the state of emergency in three Northeastern states of Borno, Adamawa and Yobe.

The President said in a letter sent to the Senate and read by Senate President David Mark to Senators on Tuesday morning that there is need to extend the state of emergency because the security situation in the three states has not improved as attacks by the insurgent group Boko Haram has not abated. There have been calls for the lifting of the state of emergency, which was first imposed on the three States mid last year and was renewed last November, by some stakeholders in the Northeast region following arguments that it has not achieved its aim of curbing the insurgency.

Despite the state of emergency which must be renewed every six months with the approval of the National Assembly, Boko Haram has continued to carry out attacks in the three states.

...

Also, in spite of the state of emergency, the insurgent group on 14 April abducted 234 students at Government Girls Secondary School, Chibok, in Borno State, an action that has attracted worldwide condemnation.

Military and counter insurgency experts from countries like the United States, France and United Kingdom are already in Nigeria to help to rescue the girls.

<https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/05/13/emergency-rule-jonathan-seeks-extension-in-borno-others/>

## **UN expert asks Nigeria to talk with Boko Haram**

May 14, 2014 - Editorial Staff - PM News

The United Nations' top expert on worldwide human trafficking called Tuesday for the negotiated release of Nigerian schoolgirls held by Boko Haram rebels, amid worries they might be sold off.

"The elements of trafficking are there," said Joy Ngozi Ezeilo, the UN Human Rights Council's special rapporteur on the issue, in a conference call with US-based foreign journalists.

"We cannot do politics with the lives of these young girls," said Ezeilo, a Nigerian herself, adding that she favors a negotiated solution rather than a military assault "that might jeopardize the lives of these girls."

"What should be paramount in our minds is how to bring them safely back home," she said. "They are minors. They have to be at home (and) they deserve to be in school... their education should not be in any way compromised."

Boko Haram staged the mass abduction on April 14 in the northeastern Nigerian town of Chibok. In a video obtained May 5 by AFP, its leader Abubakar Shekau threatened to sell off the more than 200 young captives as “slaves.”

In another video, seen last weekend, Shekau said the girls would be held in return for the release of detained Boko Haram rebels.

Bisa Williams, deputy assistant secretary of state in the US State Department’s

<https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/05/14/un-expert-asks-nigeria-to-talk-with-boko-haram/>

African affairs bureau, participating in the same conference call, said a “nexus” exists between human trafficking and terrorism.

But in the case of the missing Nigerian school girls, she said, “it’s far too early to state that this is a trafficking incident” — which for the United States would entail slavery, sexual exploitation or forced labor.

“We don’t know where these girls are,” Williams said.

## ii. Media Internazionali

Come anticipato in precedenza anche i media internazionali si sono interessati al rapimento di Chibok. Analizzando le maggiori testate di vari paesi sparsi nel mondo spicca come ci sia stato un discreto interesse al caso, ma al contempo emerge come, nella maggior parte dei casi, ci sia stato un vuoto totale di notizie tra i primi giorni a seguito del rapimento e inizio maggio. I media internazionali hanno spesso ripreso le notizie pubblicate dai quotidiani nigeriani o si sono rivolti a dei corrispondenti presenti sul posto.

Segue una tabella esplicativa dell’interesse di alcune testate internazionali nel primo mese dopo il rapimento (dal 15 aprile al 14 maggio 2014).

Testata*	1° articolo su Chibok	N° di articoli su Chibok nel primo mese dopo il rapimento
ABC News (USA)	16 aprile	29
Bilde (Germania)	16 aprile	8
Global Times (Cina)	16 aprile	20
Japan Times (Giappone)	10 maggio	4
La Repubblica (Italia)	15 aprile	16
Moscow Times (Russia)	ND	ND

New York Times (USA)	15 aprile	13
Times Live (Sudafrica)	20 aprile	16
Times of India (India)	7 maggio	23

ND = non disponibile. Nessun articolo è stato trovato in merito al rapimento di Chibok.  
 \*si fa riferimento alla versione online del giornale.

### New York Times

Il New York Times (NYT), fondato il 18 settembre 1851 da H. J. Raymond e G. Jones, è considerato il quotidiano più autorevole degli Stati Uniti. Non ha mai fatto mistero del suo orientamento politico, dichiarandosi sostenitore dell'area *liberal* del paese.

Il NYT si è interessato al rapimento di Chibok dedicandovi ben 13 articoli online nei primi 30 giorni successivi al fatto. Seguono gli estratti degli articoli in questione:

#### **Nigeria: Dozens of Girls Kidnapped**

April 15, 2014 - Associated Press - New York Times

Gunmen kidnapped about 100 teenage girls on Tuesday from a school in northeastern Nigeria, in what officials said was a new attack by Muslim militants. The men killed a soldier and a police officer guarding a school in Chibok on the edge of the Sambisa Forest and abducted the teenage girls after midnight. Some of the girls escaped by jumping off the open

truck as it was moving slowly along a road, according to one official. All schools in Borno State were closed three weeks ago because of increased attacks that have killed hundreds of students in the past year. But the young women had been recalled to take their final exams, a local official said.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/16/world/africa/nigeria-dozens-of-girls-kidnapped.html>

#### **Nigeria Fears Captive Girls Will Be Held as Sex Slaves**

April 17, 2014 - Adam Nossiter - New York Times

LAGOS, Nigeria — Dozens of schoolgirls abducted by armed militants in northeastern Nigeria this week remained missing on Thursday amid fears that they would be turned into “sex slaves and cooks” if they were not rescued, a top official in the region said.

Boko Haram insurgency, startling a country already numbed by a steady drumbeat of horrific episodes — massacres, bombings, shootings — attributed to the Islamist militant group.

...

The girls were kidnapped early Tuesday from a state school in the heartland of the

Some of the girls managed to escape by jumping off trucks that the gunmen had



crammed them into, and others slipped away as they were forced into cooking chores in the forest, said the governor of Borno State, Kashim Shettima. But as of Thursday, 52 parents were still reporting their daughters as missing, he said.

...

“They are young men,” he said, speaking of the kidnappers. “And most of these ladies will be turned into their sex slaves and cooks.” - Mr. Shettima.

....

The students had been staying overnight at the school to take their final exams. The gunmen first attacked the village, setting buildings on fire, then shot and killed a soldier and a police officer guarding the school.

...

Mr. Shettima said that a suspect in the attack had told investigators that the lead attackers, on two motorcycles, were youths from Chibok and members of Boko Haram. The governor said there was “an ongoing military operation” in the vicinity of the school to find the girls.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/18/world/africa/nigeria-fears-captive-girls-will-be-held-as-sex-slaves.html?searchResultPosition=1>

### **Nigerians Hold Second Day of Protests Over Mass Abductions**

April 30, 2014 - Adam Nossiter - New York Times

DAKAR, Senegal — Hundreds of protesters marched in the streets of the Nigerian capital on Wednesday, demanding that the government do more to find scores of schoolgirls abducted by armed militants more than two weeks ago. Parents of the girls have turned up sick in hospitals, overcome with worry. Some have even gone into the bush to search for the girls themselves, armed only with bows and arrows in the heartland of an Islamist insurgency.

...

The girls — roughly 275, although the authorities and parents differ on the number — were kidnapped April 15 in the country’s far northeast, where the Islamist group Boko Haram has been active for three years. The girls were

taken from a state school in the town of Chibok by armed and uniformed men, and were loaded into trucks and driven into a dense forest at night.

No one has claimed responsibility, and military efforts to find the girls have been unsuccessful.

...

About 40 girls managed to escape on their own, a local official said on Wednesday in a telephone interview.

...

Several hundred women marched on the Parliament building in the capital, Abuja, in driving rain on Wednesday, demanding that the girls be found and criticizing the government’s handling

of the situation. It was the second day of protests.

...

Boko Haram has attacked state schools in the past, but girls have usually been spared.

...

Villagers also told Mr. Bitrus that some of the girls had been “auctioned off to Boko Haram members for 2,000 Naira” — about \$12.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/01/world/africa/nigerians-hold-second-day-of-protests-over-mass-abductions.html?searchResultPosition=2>

### **Nigerian Islamist Leader Threatens to Sell Kidnapped Girls**

May 5, 2014 - Adam Nossiter - New York Times

DAKAR, Senegal — In a video message apparently made by the leader of the Nigerian Islamist group Boko Haram, Abubakar Shekau claimed responsibility for the kidnapping of hundreds of schoolgirls nearly three weeks ago, called them slaves and threatened to “sell them in the market, by Allah.”

“Western education should end,” Mr. Shekau said in the 57-minute video, speaking in Hausa and Arabic. “Girls, you should go and get married.” The Islamist leader also warned that he would “give their hands in marriage because they are our slaves. We would marry them out at the age of 9. We would marry them out at the age of 12.”

Members of Parliament contend that some girls have been forced into marriage by Boko Haram militants. A cousin of some of the kidnapped students said in a phone interview that some hostages had been forced to cook for their abductors, while others had been asked to fetch water. “They were assigned to various housewife tasks, asked to fetch wood,” he said.

...

“If this abduction of 236 girls happened anywhere else in the world, the nation would be at a standstill,” Ms. Usman said.

The message was received by news agencies in Nigeria on Monday and is similar to previous videos purportedly from Boko Haram. It is the first time the group has claimed responsibility for the kidnappings, which have gripped Nigeria, ignited a rare anti government protest movement and embarrassed the government of President Goodluck Jonathan, who has so far been unable to rescue any of the teenage girls. They were abducted from their school in a remote corner of northeastern Nigeria on April 14. By some counts 276 remain missing.

The kidnappings are the latest assault by Boko Haram, which has committed dozens of massacres of civilians in its five-year insurgency in Nigeria’s north with the aim of destabilizing and

ultimately overthrowing the Nigerian government. Earlier this year, for instance, more than 50 teenage boys were slaughtered — some burned alive — at a government school in the north. That attack, like many others, was

quickly forgotten in Nigeria and barely noticed outside of it.

...

<https://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/06/world/africa/nigeria-kidnapped-girls.html?searchResultPosition=3>

### **New Kidnapping Reported in Nigeria as U.S Offers Help**

May 6, 2014 - Adam Nossiter - New York Times

ABUJA, Nigeria — A second kidnapping of schoolgirls in Nigeria's northeast by Islamist militants put new pressure on the country's troubled government, which had been hoping to showcase its emergence as Africa's largest economy this week but instead has been forced to confront its failure to contain a growing insurgency in its north.

A viral social media campaign, using the hashtag #BringBackOurGirls, has brought new infamy to Boko Haram, which has been operating in Nigeria for more than a decade. The group's goal, never clearly enunciated, is to radically undermine the secular Nigerian state.

...

...

<https://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/07/world/africa/outrage-grows-over-kidnapping-of-nigerian-schoolgirls.html?searchResultPosition=4>

### **Can Hashtag Activism Save Kidnapped Nigerian Girls?**

May 7, 2014 - Robert Mackey - New York Times

As my colleague Adam Nossiter reports from Nigeria, President Goodluck Jonathan's government is under intense pressure to respond to the mass kidnappings of hundreds of schoolgirls by Islamist militants over the past month. Public outrage over the abductions, and the apparent

inaction of the authorities, first expressed in small street protests, has been greatly amplified on social networks, where more than a million messages have been tagged with the simple demand: #BringBackOurGirls.

...

<https://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2014/05/07/can-hashtag-activism-save-kidnapped-nigerian-girls/?searchResultPosition=5>

## U.N. Refugee Agency Says Thousands Fleeing Nigeria Region

May 9, 2014 - Nick Cumming-Bruce - New York Times

GENEVA — As international support builds for the search for more than 200 abducted Nigerian schoolgirls, the United Nations refugee agency expressed alarm Friday at the swelling tide of people fleeing their homes in northeast Nigeria to escape attacks by Boko Haram insurgents that it said were unprecedented in their brutality and frequency.

Up to a thousand people are crossing the border into southern Niger every week from fear of attacks by the Islamist insurgent group and counterattacks by the Nigerian armed forces, and smaller numbers have arrived in Cameroon and Chad, Adrian Edwards, a spokesman for the refugee agency, told reporters.

...  
American and British security experts arrived in Nigeria this week to help locate more than 200 missing schoolgirls seized by Boko Haram militants from their boarding school in the town of Chibok in the northeastern state of Borno on April 14. It is believed that the girls are being held somewhere in the forests that stretch into Cameroon. France also offered this week to send an intelligence team to support the search.  
...

<https://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/10/world/africa/nigeria.html?searchResultPosition=6>

## Skills and Strategies | Engaging in Causes Via Hashtag Activism”

May 9, 2014 - Sarah Gross and Katherine Schulten - New York Times

On April 14, almost 300 girls were abducted from the Government Girls Secondary School in Chibok in northeastern Nigeria by the terrorist group Boko Haram.

World Bank for Africa, spoke out and demanded the release of the missing girls, saying, “Bring back the girls!” A

few of the people in attendance shared her remarks on Twitter and included the hashtag #bringbackourgirls.

In early May, the hashtag had spread worldwide, and by this week it had been shared over a million times.  
...

<https://learning.blogs.nytimes.com/2014/05/09/skills-and-strategies-engaging-in-causes-via-hashtag-activism/?searchResultPosition=7>

## In Town of Missing Girls, Sorrow, but Little Progress

May 11, 2014 - Adam Nossiter - New York Times

CHIBOK, Nigeria -

...

As many as 276 girls here were taken. Although about 50 escaped, not a single one of the remaining girls has been found, and despite international offers of help, the Nigerian government has been slow to act.

...

The officials in the town, though — some of whom say they warned security services of the impending attack on April 14, to no avail — feel their constituents' pain acutely. "These are small girls who are used to seeing their parents every morning," said Zanna Madu Mai Usman Chibokma, an official in Chibok. "Now they are in the bush. What conditions are they being subjected to?"

...

The United States, Britain and France have all pledged to lend their expertise in the search for the girls, who were probably taken into the Sambisa Forest, the

<https://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/12/world/africa/in-town-of-missing-girls-sorrow-but-little-progress.html?searchResultPosition=8>

forbidding, dense scrub that abuts this isolated dot on the map. Counterterrorism experts from all these countries have begun to arrive in Nigeria.

The international effort broadened on Sunday, with Israel offering help and President François Hollande of France suggesting a summit with Nigeria and its neighbors focused on Boko Haram.

...

The government has revealed little of its strategy beyond — unusually — accepting offers of international help, which it had consistently rejected over the course of the years of Boko Haram insurgency.

...

In a speech Saturday night in Maiduguri to a gathering of local notables, the Borno Elders, Mr. Shettima expressed deep frustration at the lack of progress, and anxiety over the fate of the girls. "These girls are from the poorest of backgrounds," he said. "They are the poorest of the poor."

...

## Nigerian Girls Seen in Video From Militants

May 12, 2014 - Adam Nossiter - New York Times

MAIDUGURI, Nigeria — The fears have been mounting for weeks: that the girls have been sold, married off, spirited across international borders, and perhaps even killed. Their fate has become the

focus of intense international concern, with Michelle Obama holding up a placard appealing for their safe return and governments across the globe pledging to help track them down.

On Monday came the first hint that many of them may still be alive: a video from Boko Haram, the radical Islamist group that claimed responsibility for kidnapping more than 200 Nigerian schoolgirls last month, shows scores of girls, covered from head to toe, stone-faced, somewhere in the pervasive semidesert scrub that covers this arid region.

After weeks of global concern over the girls' plight, Boko Haram appears to have seized on the international attention and begun to use the girls as bargaining chips in its war with the Nigerian state.

"These girls will not leave our hands until you release our brothers in your prison," Boko Haram's leader, Abubakar Shekau, warns in the video.

...

"I don't follow international law," he says, as if mocking the world's outrage at the abduction of the girls. He adds: "There are many verses in the Quran that allows the seizing of slaves. Abduction of slaves is allowed."

<https://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/13/world/africa/boko-haram-video-kidnapped-nigerian-girls.html?searchResultPosition=9>

### **Small Comfort as Parents Identify Kidnapped Nigerian Girls on Video**

May 13, 2014 - Adam Nossiter - New York Times

MAIDUGURI, Nigeria - ...

Four weeks of anguish have passed since the night when more than 300 schoolgirls were kidnapped by the radical Islamist group Boko Haram from a state school in Chibok, an isolated village 80 miles from this state capital in northeastern Nigeria. But on Tuesday, at the well-guarded government compound in the heartland of the Boko Haram insurgency, an unwelcome window into their children's forbidding new world was opened to the grieving parents.

...

The militants released their video to news organizations on Monday, providing the first glimpse of the girls in what has become a global search effort, spurred by a grass-roots outcry on two sides of the

Atlantic. The girls, some 276 of whom remain missing, are now bargaining chips for Boko Haram, which is demanding that the Nigerian government release its imprisoned members in exchange for the kidnapped students.

...

By the end of Tuesday, 77 faces in the solemn crowd of girls, newly clad from head to toe in somber black-and-gray robes, had been recognized, the state governor's office said in a statement. The robes, revealing only the schoolgirls' faces, rendered some of them difficult to identify, some parents said.

...

"It's certain General Rodriguez reassured the Nigerians that the U.S. is committed to supporting their efforts to find the

kidnapped schoolgirls,” Colonel Caggins said.

The general arrived Monday on a previously scheduled visit for talks with his Nigerian counterparts that also included senior American policy makers and

<https://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/14/world/africa/parents-identify-kidnapped-daughters-in-nigerian-militants-video.html?searchResultPosition=10>

diplomats, including Sarah Sewall, the undersecretary of state for civilian security, democracy and human rights, Colonel Caggins said.

...

### **The Kidnapping of a Country**

May 14, 2014 - Lauren Bohn and Chika Oduah - New York Times

CHIBOK, Nigeria — THE road to Chibok is eerily quiet, lined with checkpoints manned by civilians, many of them teenagers, welding rusty rifles and serving as added security for an area that has little. In this northeast Nigerian village, where more than 300 teenage schoolgirls were kidnapped by the militant Islamist separatist group Boko Haram on April 14, their stunned families were still waiting this week for them to come home.

Lawan Zanna was still waiting for Aisha, his 18-year-old daughter. “How can I sleep?” Mr. Zanna asked. “Anger is gripping my body.” After the girls were abducted, Mr. Zanna said, he and other parents searched the nearby Sambisa forest for their children, but came back empty-handed. As he spoke, Aisha’s sister Hawa, 19, stood in silence. The two girls shared a small bedroom and almost everything else.

...

<https://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/15/opinion/the-kidnapping-of-a-country.html?searchResultPosition=11>

### **Tales of Escapees in Nigeria Add to Worries about Other Kidnapped Girls**

May 14, 2014 - Adam Nossiter - New York Times

MAIDUGURI, Nigeria — ...  
When the militants came to their school, the men shouted “Allahu ak bar!” and announced, “We are Boko Haram,” firing their rifles and threatening casually to kill the teenage girls studying there.

Jonathan of Nigeria rejected Boko Haram’s demand that he free the group’s imprisoned members around the country in exchange for the girls, according to a British minister who met with him.

...

...  
More than 260 schoolgirls are still missing, and on Wednesday, President Goodluck

Some of the schoolgirls who escaped jumped from the trucks taking them through the bush, trying to persuade reluctant classmates to follow them.



Others slipped away from the Islamists' camp while their captors were distracted. The teenage girls wandered directionless in the thick semidesert scrub before kind strangers took them in and back to their village.

...

There was no jubilation in these stories of lucky flight. No resolution for the missing girls is in sight, though at least four other nations — the United States, Britain, France and Israel — have offered to help the Nigerian government find them.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/15/world/africa/tales-of-escapees-in-nigeria-add-to-worries-about-other-kidnapped-girls.html>

Osservazioni sulle notizie pubblicate dal PM News e dal New York Times

Leggendo gli articoli del *PM News* (Nigeria) e del *New York Times* (USA) riguardo il rapimento di Chibok nell'arco temporale compreso tra il 15 aprile<sup>41</sup>e il 14 maggio 2014, è inevitabile fare delle constatazioni. E' evidente che il numero di notizie pubblicate dal *PM News* sia nettamente superiore e più costante di quelle pubblicate dal *New York Times*. Il NYT ha un vuoto di notizie tra il 17 e il 30 aprile 2014, mentre il *PM News* pubblica più resoconti al giorno, fatta eccezione per soli quattro giorni durante i quali non sono state divulgate informazioni riguardo l'argomento in questione.

Mentre la maggior parte degli articoli del quotidiano nigeriano sono brevi e privi del nome dell'autore, quelli della testata statunitense sono più corposi e in genere opera di Adam Nossiter, un inviato speciale sul posto che specifica il luogo nel quale ha scritto il pezzo. Rileggendo gli articoli delle due testate si può notare come le notizie nei primi giorni dopo il rapimento fossero frammentate ed errate, ad esempio il numero di studentesse rapite. E' interessante analizzare anche i diversi appellativi utilizzati dai due quotidiani per descrivere i terroristi di Boko Haram.

Appellativi che vengono attribuiti a Boko Haram nella testata giornalistica PM New Nigeria:

- Heavily armed Islamist
- radical Islamist group
- Islamists
- Insurgents
- Extremists
- Islamic terrorists
- Boko Haram Islamists
- Islamic militants
- Terrorist organisation
- Islamist sect

Appellativi che vengono attribuiti a Boko Haram nella testata giornalistica New York Times:

- Muslim militants
- Militants
- Islamist militant group

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<sup>41</sup> Il rapimento è avvenuto nella notte a cavallo tra il 14 e il 15 aprile.



- Islamist group
- Nigerian Islamist group
- Islamist militants
- Insurgents
- Islamist insurgent group
- Terrorist group
- Radical Islamist group
- Militant Islamist separatist group

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