Conflict, National Integration and the Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria: An Overview

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Abstract

National integration and nation building is a complex process in a multi-ethnic nation like Nigeria. The problem of insecurity facing Nigeria, most especially the North-eastern region at this point in time, orchestrated by Boko Haram insurgency draws the attention of well-meaning individual who cares to the need to find rapid solution to this menace. History has demonstrated the difficulty and complexity it entails to unite a people under a government and to create among them a stable cultural, economic, political, and social community. The process has been especially cumbersome where the people to be united have large groups distinguished by their own customs, language, religion and separate identity. The unfortunate security challenges currently faced by the country, with its new ethnic and religious dimension, have once again brought to the fore, the internal contradictions of the Nigerian system. The emergence of the militant sect Boko Haram insurgency and all it represents started like any other protest, but it seems to have come to stay. The battle has been taken to the door step of the government to command attention that breaks across borders. Hence, the objective of this study is to examine the effects of Boko Haram insurgency on national integration in Nigeria. The paper discusses Conflict, National Integration and Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria. The researchers employ secondary sources of data collection to generate the required data mainly from books, journals, articles, dissertations, and internet materials. The study adopts a qualitative approach to data analysis to assess the effects of Boko Haram Insurgency and findings indicate that the activities of the Boko Haram Insurgents have extreme effects on national integration and nation building in Nigeria. The paper recommended that Poverty should be address across the country through employment generation by governments at all levels, collaboration between government and the private sector, revamping ailing firms and empowering youths and women through skills acquisition programmes and agricultural practices.

Key words: Boko Haram; Conflict; Insurgency; National integration; Nigeri

INTRODUCTION

Societies accommodate various tendencies, interests and identities which often result to conflict. Conflict is a global phenomenon which is not peculiar to Nigeria. The results of violent conflicts in many parts of Nigeria hitherto known to be peaceful have degenerated to a worrisome phenomenon. The emergences of ethnic organisations such as the Odua People Congress (OPC), Arewa People's Congress (APC), the Bakkassi Boys, etc have added a new dimension to the nature of these conflicts. The ZangoKataf religious riots and those that occurred in other parts of Kaduna State in March 1992, the conflicts in the Kaduna metropolis in 2000, etc. have at least left all well-meaning Nigerians restless. The socio-political and economic problems associated with inter and intra-group conflict is immediately evident and has far reaching consequences on the security, properties and

social co-existence of the people a survey by International Institute for Democracy and Election Assistance (International IDEA, 1999) revealed that there were about 102 simmering conflicts in different parts of the country. These conflicts are mostly local ones, fueled by disagreement over sharing of resources. They often have religious or ethnic coloration. The seasonal clash between farmers and cattle rearers, border skirmishes over land, protest over Sharia law and perceived marginalization of some groups in power sharing was obvious. These conflicts resulted in loss of lives, property and means of livelihood, thus creating humanitarian emergency situations with the internally displaced population trooping to rehabilitation centers. The trauma to which people in conflict prone areas are subjected to, and the huge costs of post-conflict reconstruction of the society take a heavy toll on the resources that would otherwise have been invested in development projects.

Moreover, conflicts have consequential effects especially on local governments. This is because whenever and wherever there are violent conflicts there will be senseless destruction of lives and properties, arson, looting and vandalization of public buildings, structures and properties hence retarding development and other government programmes.

This perception of religious mobilization has further strengthened a negative force in all efforts at national cohesion. As noted earlier it has left a trail of destructive violence (International IDEA, 2000, p.94)

Statement of the Problem

Conflict are no longer confined to the urban centres which was earlier identify as the cradle site of the antagonism. Rather we have the ruralization of conflict as different group that have shared century and decades of more or less peaceful co-existence have been pitched against one another as mortal enemy from Zango-Kataf and other places in the southern Kaduna and Manbila plateau of Taraba state to Tigno-Waduku in Adamawa state and Wukari (where the Tiv and the Jukuns are locked in the most protracted conflicts) as well as the Jukuns and Kuteb in Taraba state, evidences abound that the rural area have been turned into killing fields (international IDEA, 2000).

In seeking to come to terms with the phenomenon of the resurgence of these identities, it is important to take into cognizance the different forces at work, at both the domestic and global levels. Some of these forces, either acting alone or in combination, have been sharpened the crisis of the nation-state project in post-colonial African. they include the accelerating process of globalization and democratization, they deeping economic crisis and social inequality, the resurgence of liberal ideology seeking to enforce market reforms, and the consequent whittling down of state legitimacy and capacity, all of which have led to the emergency of different individual groups redefining and reinventing their identities.

The problem of order and stability; are bound to arise where inequality and inequity resulting from this tend to occur along ethnic and religious line. In some other societies it has to lead to religious and ethnic groups, perceiving them as been disadvantage, demanding political autonomy. The way in which feelings of alienation and injustice at national, state and local levels enter into discourses has had a snowballing effect on what has appear as ethnic communal conflicts, religious conflicts and terrorism in various part of the country.

The objectives; therefore, the paper will examine the effects of Boko Haram insurgency on national integration in north-eastern and to find out how Boko Haram insurgency can be abated in the north-eastern Nigeria. These are the gaps the paper intends to address.

The article relied mainly on library facilities essentially secondary sources of data collection, such as books, journals, Government publications, conference papers, research reports, periodicals and internet materials were heavily used. Describing the activities of the Boko Haram insurgency and its effects on national integration which were reviewed and critically analyzed updated. Data from these sources were used mainly to provide insights into the scholarly perceptions on conflict, national integration and Boko Haram insurgency and its activities, in the north-eastern Nigeria and other conceptual issues.

Scope of the Work

The work attempts to look at the effects of boko haram insurgency on national integration in the north-eastern Nigeria. Its restricted period is from 2012 to 2015. The justification of this period is premised on the fact that the period serves as a point of reference that disposes the intensity of the Boko Haram activities in different parts of the country.

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Conflict

At the mention of conflict, the picture that appears to most people's mind is that of war, fighting, argument, misunderstanding and the like. All these are negative tendencies which are undesirable. However, conflict has positive impact in the society as it can increase clarity about existing problems, and eventually lead to innovative break-through or new approaches to solving social problems.

Conflict involves struggle over values and claims, power and resources in which the aim of the opponents are to neutralize or engage in outright elimination of rivals. The condition of objective incompatibility between values or goals as the behaviour of deliberately interfering with another goals achievement emotionally in terms of hostility. In this case, conflict is perceived as

divergence of interest or belief that common objective cannot be actualized, hence clashing of values, views and interest.

Akande (1988) is of the view that "there is no society without conflict; it is inherent to societal relation and management. The ability to manage conflict makes a good society or state, because conflict cannot be eradicated." It can be noted that conflict varies and is of different dimension. In most cases they are confrontational, violent and sometimes may lead to a state of anarchy. For instance, it can be social conflict like the topic under investigation i.e. ethnic and religious. It can be economic like the struggle on resource control, establishment of markets and the location of some viable economic organisations like banks, industries, etc. Likewise, conflict can be political like the aftermath of the January, 1966 military coup d"etat, the political impasse after the annulment of the June 12, 1993 presidential election in Nigeria, and of recent the 2011 post-election political violence and killing of innocent people and bombardment of security outlet by a group allegedly known as Boko Haram.

Consequently, conflicts arise out of mistrust, hostility and polarization of relations among groups at times in a competitive setting. One fact is that there are many causes of conflict.

As stated earlier, conflicts know no bound as it happens in most countries of the world. And such conflicts cut across both developed and the developing countries. However, the nature and dynamics of the conflicts depends on the conflict management techniques that are put in place to take care of the situation. Osaghae (1994) observed that;

> There is a tendency to assume that these conflicts are more rampant and devastating in African countries where alternative action-bases like class, activity organizations and party identities have not become deep rooted enough to challenge the primacy of ethnicity. But they have been no less destructive in advanced industrialized states where alternative action-bases and management strategies are arguably better developed. Examples are Scottish and Irish separatism in the United Kingdom, the Flemish and Walloons in Belgium, the Quebec question in Canada and diverse ethnic problems in the USA.

Therefore, conflicts abound in both industrialized and non-industrialized countries.

National Integration

The literature on integration is replete with different definitions of the term. It is a very broad statement. In anthropological language, integration suggests that various peoples of Nigeria, in pursuing their daily lives, are actually interpenetrating into each other (morphing) in the course of which a new Nigeria is being born. Jacob and Tenue (1964, p.9), defines it as "a relationship of community among people within the same political entity… a state of mind or disposition to be cohesive, to act together, to be committed to mutual programmes".

National Integration means combing all the people of the nation into a single whole. It is a particular sentiment that binds together all people in one common bond no matter what their religion, language or history is. It is strong cementing force whereby all kinds of people live together peacefully and can identify themselves as a part of a single whole. It reduces sociocultural and economic differences or inequalities and strengthens national unity and solidarity, which is not imposed by any authority. People share ideas, values and emotional bonds. It is feeling of unity within diversity. National identity is supreme.

However, in the words of Ntalaja, solidarity with one's identity is best mobilized when the group faces a threat, real or imaged, to its interests, security or its very existence as a group. This is why there is an increase in identity based conflicts during periods of economic and political crisis…, the high incidence of inter communal violence is due to growing competition over scarce resources and the persistence of poverty. Thus are insecurity and poverty intertwined, and their persistence can only frustrate the Nigerian 'national' integration and development process (Ntalaja, 1987).

Thus, Karl Deutsch et al (1966) seem to have considered these issues when they defined integration as "the attainment, within a territory of a 'sense of community' and of institutions and practices strong enough and widespread enough to assure, for a long time, dependable expectations of peaceful community." In other words, a sense of community is an integrated group of people. According to them, a sense of community is a belief on the part of individuals in a group that they have come to agreement on at least one point that common social problems must and can be resolved through processes of peaceful change. This means the resolution of social problems without recourse to large scale physical force (Deutsch, et'al, 1966, cited in Ojo, 2005, pp.51-52). There is no doubt that agreement on peaceful resolution of disputes is an important element of integration that can ensure lasting peace in a society. It also implies that the members of the community in question are ready to compromise and treat each other fairly and equally.

This line of thinking is therefore similar to the view that integration is a situation in which diverse groups in a political system have been successful in developing common institutions and norms by which to settle conflicts peacefully or pursue collective goals cooperatively, depending on the situation (Eisinger, 1976, p.53). It is asserted that "integration is built on the fact of diversity, the need for mutual accommodation and the desire of the parties in the system to maintain the integrity of the competing groups" (Eisinger, 1976, pp.57-58. Cited in Ojo, 2009, p.18). For Tunde (1984) national integration has to do with the alteration in the relationship between people with respect to the flow of interaction whereby individuals find their places within the community

without reference to ethnic origins. What this view implies is that in the relationship or interaction among people ofa multi-ethnic nation, the individuals involved pay greater allegiance to their national unit than their ethnic affiliation. Similarly, Nwosu (2005, p.48) submits that "integration has to do with the elimination of ethnic sentiments and parochialism among the ethnic groups that make up a political system". In properly integrated systems therefore, political or religious conflicts are reduced to the barest minimum.In the same line of contention, Rupert (1960, p.120) argues "that if people are convinced that they belong to a terminal community whose values and institutions are worth preserving, they are unlikely to permit conflicts among themselves".

Also, Ogunjenite (1987, p.224) believes that national integration relates to the building of nation-states out of disparate socio-economic, religious, ethnic and geographical elements. According to him, this entails the translation of diffuse and unorganized sentiments of nationalism into the spirit of citizenship through the creation of state institutions that can translate into policy and programmes in line with the aspirations of the citizenry. Stated in another way, national integration means efforts to weld together a plural society to enhance development but without necessarily jeopardizing ethnic identity (Ogunjenite, 1987. Cited in Ojo, 2009, p.18).

Thus, national integration is a serious and purposeful endeavour, the failure of which has grave consequences. It is no wonder, therefore, that Emeka Odumegwu-Ojukwu sees it also as 'active nation-building' which means "forging out a nation out of our diverse ethnic groups." He also contends that the failure to achieve this in respect of Nigeria is that: "Today, the result is that tribalism and ethnicity has become a potent source of friction, rather than diminish in the face of an emergent, virile and modern nation" (Odumegwu-Ojukwu, 1989, p.174).

Pen ultimately, Ojo (2009, p.206) goes along with Osaghae (1994) and argues that national integration is "the process by which sub-national and particularistic identity with and loyalty to the state supersedes primordial loyalty." According to him (Ojo), the end-product of this process is a nation which has been defined as the "largest community which when the chips are down effectively commands men's loyalty, overriding the claims of the lesser communities within it…" (Emerson, 1960, p.96. Cited in Ojo, 2009, p.206).

It is clear that individuals are the units of integration, and members of a nation are integrated as they share a common identity. Thus, the term national integration is not applicable to a single nation, but involves two or more nations. A state is a political entity that is in many cases made of more than one nationality group. Thus, for example, Nigeria is made of about 250 ethnic groups (Enegwea & Umoden, 1993; Coleman, 1986). From the array of definitions on national integration, Enaruna (2014, p.1) opines that "national integration is actualized when individuals from different ethnic backgrounds demonstrate a high spirit of oneness in every aspect of their relations". This may therefore bring about some critical ingredients which of course, will go a long way in ensuring the realization of both individual and national objectives.

Manifestations of National Integration in Nigeria

Nigeria is a political entity made up of various ethnic groups, bound together by common cultural and linguistic affinities. The spirit of national integration, however, is indispensable in order to form one formidable nation, sharing common goals and interest and doing things together. Nigeria has various manifestations in both her colonial and post-colonial existence to enhance the process of national integration (Enaruna, 2014). The following are some of the appropriation or manifestations of the government policy at the centre to foster and promote national integration:

(i) The British policy of amalgamation of 1914.

(ii) The adoption of parliamentary system of government.

(iii) The adoption of state structure in the place of regional structure in 1967.

(iv) The Nigerianization policy after the civil war.

(v) Introduction of the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) in 1973

(vi) National spread of political parties.

(vii) Relocation of Federal Capital Territory from Lagos to Abuja in 1991

(viii) The Nigeria Passport

(ix) The Nigeria Constitution

(x) The establishment of federal character principle.

(xi) Establishment of Federal Unity Schools Across the Country

(xii) Introduction of National Sports Festival in 1973

(xiii) Institution of the Nigeria Inter Religious Council (NIREC)

(xiv) Federally composed administration

(xv) National Symbols of Unity and Integration such as: The Nigeria National Flag; The Coat of Arms; The National Anthem; The National Pledge. Etcetera (Enaruna, 2014)

This study hereby examines the following manifestations of national integration in Nigeria:

(a) One of the major efforts in pursuit for national integration was the adoption of a parliamentary system of government and existence of an opposition party following Nigeria's political independence in 1960 which enabled equitable distribution of power by the three major ethnic Groups-Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba and Ibo. While the office of the prime minister and president were occupied by a northerner and an easterner respectively and the opposition was under the auspices of the south (Adebola, 2006).

(b) Compulsory one-year national service by fresh graduates of Nigeria's higher institutions of learning:

This programme came up as a follow up to the events that resulted to the Nigeria-Biafra War (1967-1970). The military coups witnessed in Nigeria shortly after Nigeria's political independence in 1960, are motivated by ethnic affinities which worsened the problem of national integration in Nigeria. As Nwosu (2005, p.49) avers, "the programme was borne out of the need to promote unity and peaceful co-existence among Nigerians". Besides, the institution of the of the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) Scheme in 1973 was mainly to fix the problem of national integration in Nigeria as stated in Decree No. 23 of 1973 by General Yakubu Gowon (Rtd), but now supplanted by an Act in 2004. According to the Act, the aim of the scheme was to create an enabling environment for young graduates of Nigerian higher institutions to cultivate the spirit of patriotism and feeling of oneness in their fatherland. And also, "to develop common ties among Nigerian youths and promote national unity and integration" (NYSC, 2004). Rising from the latter is that the scheme was to address the ethnic loyalties, mutual group suspicion and distrust that have plagued the fabrics of Nigerian society. The scheme is implemented such that fresh tertiary institution graduates are distributed to serve the nation in states or communities other than their native land with the intention of broaden their social-cultural orientation and to instil in them the virtue of tolerance.

Despite the achievements of the programme in the past, the scheme has come under severe criticisms in contemporary times in view of the unwarranted loss of lives of those involved in the scheme in the process of performing their national assignments such as elections, national census, and those posted to militant or terrorist prone states of Niger Delta and North East, Nigeria. Consequently, some influential Nigerians now influence the posting of their children and wards which betrays the objective of the scheme. Currently, persistent calls have continued to be made in several quarters for the restructuring of the scheme in view of contemporary challenges or realities.

(c) The Creation of States: The adoption of a state structure in place of the regional structure in 1967 represents another attempt of unifying the nation. Since the pre-existing regional structure encourages ethnic classifications and loyalty in Nigeria, the adopted new state structure was aimed at redirecting the loyalty and commitment of the citizens to the state instead of their ethnic affinities and organisation. Therefore, the regions were partitioned into states. Oyebade (2013) stated that:

The first stage of this state creation process was carried out in 1967 when the following states were created: South-Eastern State, Benue-Plateau State, East Central State, West Central (later, Kwara) State, North-Western State, Bendel State and Lagos State. Again, in 1976 to further fracture the structure the following new states were created: Bauchi, Benue, Borno, Imo, Niger, Ogun, Ondo, Oyo, and Plateau State. Also in 1987, more

states were created out of the existing ones and they were: Akwa-Ibom and Kastina. In 1991, twelve more states were created thus: Abia, Adamawa, Anambra, Delta, Edo, Enugu, Jigawa, Kebbi, Kogi, Osun, Taraba and Yobe State. The final act that produced the structure which we have today, was carried out in 1996, with the creation of the following States: Bayelsa, Ebonyi, Ekiti, Gombe, Nassarawa and Zamfara (p. 8).

(d) The establishment of federal character principle: The 1979 constitution drafting committee made provision for the federal character principle in order to foster greater spirit of oneness, tolerance and understanding among the diverse people of Nigeria (Nigeria 1976 CDC Report, vol. 1). Federal character principle which became an aspect of Nigeria federalism in 1979 was another significant step at working toward national integration. As expressed in the amended constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria, Chapter II, Article 14, No. 3:The composition of the federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried in such manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity, and also to command national loyalty thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from a few states or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in that government or in any of its agencies (FGN, 1999).

The arrangement was made a constitutional issue in order to maintain the principle of equity, justice and fairness in the management of national affairs, as well as addressing the alleged fears of marginalization expressed by certain groups in the country in national affairs.

(e) The establishment of Federal unity schools across the country: In addition to other efforts to boost national integration in Nigeria, federal unity schools, universities and similar institutions have been established across the various geo-political zones in the country. In admission policy or staff recruitment, provision has also been made to ensure that opportunities are spread across board to give the various zones some sense of belonging and encourage inter-ethnic interaction and feeling of oneness (Ndoh & Emezi, 1997). The congregation of these various nationalities and ethnic groups results in a variety of languages, cultures, traditions and a diverse world view. This is aimed at giving the different groups the opportunity of learning and understanding one another and discarding some already built ethnic stereotypes and sentiments that may have hindered (or still hinder) national unity and integration.

(f) National spread political parties: In order to avert ethnic lopsidedness in the formation of political parties that hitherto bedeviled national unity and integration in Nigeria, the constitution now provides that any political association vying for registration as a political party in Nigeria must have a national coloration or geographical spread with its headquarters located at the federal capital territory, Abuja. Provision has also been made

for membership of political parties to be drawn from at least two third of the states in the federation. It has to be recalled that the ethnicization and regionalization of political parties in the early years of Nigeria's independence was because the major political parties then and their members had more regional focus and also paid greater allegiance to their regions than the nation. For instance, just before and immediately after Nigeria's first republic, Northern People's Congress (NPC) dominated politics in Northern Nigeria. For the Eastern region, the National Council of Nigerian citizens were the major political party whereas the Action Group dominated the politics of the western region (Nnoli, 2008)

Boko Haram

Some analysts view the rise of this radical movement, Boko Haram, as an extension of the Maitatsine uprising in 1970s and 1980s (Danjibo, 2011). Idowu Samuel posits "it is not in doubt that Boko Haram is part of the unaddressed issues on religion which the Maitatsine had attempted to raise in the northern parts of the country, starting from Kano more than three decades ago. An offshoot of Islam called the 'Yan' tatsine' violently rebelled against the authorities and non-members" (Idowu, 2011, p.27). These radical Muslims estimated between 3000 and 5000 were inspired by Mohammed Marwa, an Islamic scholar who migrated from the town of Marwa in Northern Cameroun to the city of Kano in 1945 (Sani, June 30, 2011; Idowu, ibid).

Lubeck (1985) puts: "Maitatsine and his followers became separate from orthodox Islam…by denouncing certain parts of the Holy Qur'an and even criticizing Prophet Muhammad…and condemning the secular elites and the wealthy upper classes consumption of Western goods during the petrol boom in 1974 81"(Falola, 1990, p.143).It is very obvious that Marwa exploited the dwindling economic situation and the Almajerisystem and was able to attract large followers amongst the commoners, who, unable to afford the basic necessities of life, became die hard patriots of the sect and Marwa himself. He was then referred to as "Maitatsine", meaning 'one who curses', and his sect as Yan'tatsine (those who curse) (Danjibo, 2011).

From indications, Maitatsine resurfaced in the garb of Boko Harramin 2009 through a 35-years-old Mohammed Yusuf. Yusuf was born in Girgir village of Yobe state, a secondary school drop-out who went to Chad and Niger Republic to study the Qur'an. While in the two countries, he developed radical views that were abhorrent to Westernization and modernization. Yusuf got back to Nigeria and settled in Maiduguri. According to Shehu Sani, the Boko Haram group started as Sahaba group named Shabaab Muslim Youth Organisation since 1995 under the leadership of Abubakar Lawan who later conceded the leadership to Yusuf to study in University of Medina (Sani, 2012; Ekanem and Ejue, 2012). Yusuf

officially founded the group in 2002 with the aim of establishing a Shari'ah government in Borno state in the city of Maiduguri.

He was allegedly opened the group to political influence with the support of the former Governor Ali Modu Sheriff. (In the year 2002 Ali Modu Sheriff was a senator and became governor in 2003) (Gilbert, 2014). He established a religious complex that included a mosque

and a school where many poor families from across Nigeria, particularly the Northern states and from neighboring Chad and Niger enrolled their children (Chothia, 2012).

Effects of Boko Haram Insurgency on National Integration

The effect of Boko Haram violence has led to a constant threat to Nigeria's fragile unity and peace with the fault lines of disintegration emanating and growing daily along religious, tribal and ethnic lines (Casimir A, et al 2014). The sect's condemnation of Western education and its intention to establish an Islamic state across Nigeria has made Nigeria to be divided into two poles which hindered national integration. To this end, the absence of national identity weakens government structures and institutions, thereby creating a national crisis and political instability (Akwara A.F. 2013).

The activities of the sect have caused the loss of a vast wealth of human lives and the massive migration of people especially non-indigenes from the Northeast where the sect attacks. According to (Duke & Agbaji, 2018), "the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria has led to the displacement of over 1.3 million citizens in the northeastern region." The destructiveness of the conflict is epitomized in the death of Nigerians in gargantuan proportions. For instance, according to Governor Kashim Shettima of Borno state, the Boko Haram sect accounts for almost 100,000 deaths (Tukur, S. 2017).

The activities of the sect have also negatively affected the socio-economic structure of Nigeria as it has slowed down the national economic growth and development since no investors would prefer to invest in a crisis-ridden nation (Duke, O. et al 2016). In this light, according to (Duke, O. et al 2016): When insecurity and terrorism is the case like in Nigeria, investors, who are to facilitate industrial growth and employment generation, would avoid such unfavorable crisis-ridden business environment, thereby, impoverishing the economy... according to the 2011 World Investment Report (WIR) of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the Nigerian economy lost a whopping N1.33 trillion Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) owing to Boko Haram's activities. FDI flows to Nigeria have been depleting over the years. According to the CBN statistics... FDI flows fell to 4693.83 million USD in 2014 from 5608.45 million USD in 2013, and further fell to 3064.17 million USD in 2015. These statistics are quite similar

to the World Bank's where FDI flows fell from 8841.11 million USD in 2011 to 7069.93 million USD in 2012, 5562.87million USD in 2013, and to $4655.85 million USD in 2014... Thus, a downward slope in the FDI flows is the only available reality.

The attacks of the sect have also led to the closing and abandoning of shops by some traders who reside in the affected states. (Duke, O. et al 2016) wrote that: Former Minister of Information, Mr. Labaran Maku, purported that Boko Haram's attack on Kano State especially is so significant because it affected the multi-billion naira, Kano Textile Market, otherwise called the Kanti-Kwari Market, regarded to be the oldest and biggest textile markets in sub-Saharan Africa, and as such it affected the foundation of economic and social well-being of the northern region.

Also, (Dauda, M. 2014) noted that there has been the reduction of people's patronage of product from the Northern region because of rumors that members of the Boko Haram were planning to send poisonous product from their region to other parts of Nigeria. This according to him has affected 97% of business in the region (Dauda, 2014).

The National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) scheme which was introduced as a mechanism for the manifestation of national integration has faced setback particularly in the Nigeria's Northeastern states owing to Boko Haram insurgency. This is clearly seen in corps members' refusal to serve in the North when they are posted there. Those who were posted to the Northeastern and Northwestern states have on several occasions sought for redeployment. According to (Okpaga, et al, 2012), reports have it that those posted to Kano requested to be posted to a state outside the North. Some of them specially asked the authorities to stop further posting of corps members to Adamawa, Kano, Kaduna, Bauchi, and Niger until the insecurity in the region is over (Okpaga, et al, 2012).

Theoretical Framework

This study adopts Poverty Theory to examine the effects of Boko Haram insurgency on National Integration.

The Poverty Theory can be used to explain one of the major causes of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. According to Liolio (2012), the successful recruitment of the people into the group depend on the nature of the economic and poverty level in the area mostly insurgent gain members by claiming their struggle is for the people and that they would provide basic necessity for the general population if supported. The insurgent may succeed if such society embedded by poverty, illiteracy, ineptitude, corruption, discrimination to modernization and globalization, which create artificial poverty to many underdeveloped countries, such countries would become recruitment target of the terrorists. Liolio further stated that, it is significant to know that the root causes

of the insurgency often relate to a long cloudy set of problems culminating into uncontrolled grievances and exploding violence. Such problems are socio-economic, political, ethnic and religious, that is why insurgencies are more rampant in underdeveloped countries or countries engulfed by corrupt regime, ethnicity, social prejudices religion and disparities in the distribution of resources or even lack of it. Also, Olojo (2013) contends that one significant factor that has stimulated the drive towards violent extremism, recruitment and support for Boko Haram are economic deprivation. Several scholars believed that poverty and longstanding economic disparities in the northeast part of the country made the youth join the sect. Similarly, Adesoji (2010) stresses that, in Nigeria the marginalization and imbalance distribution or implementation of the resources made some radicalised scholars to preach against the government and democratic setting, which later gave birth to the present Boko Haram insurgency. The Poverty Theory further explains that domestically the politicization of religious traditions and the radicalization of religious communities are especially likely in times economic decay, social integration or state collapse. Hopeless people below the poverty line; people who are marginalized or physically threaten turn to their religion in search for an alternative political order that satisfies their need for welfares, recognition, and security (Hasenclever & Rittberger, 2005 cited in Salisu, S.S. et al 2015). In present time, there are many violence uprisings around the world, some transformed into full terrorist organizations like the Boko Haram insurgency. The theory shows the significance of socioeconomic factors in explaining religious insurgency like Boko Haram. Furthermore, Nigeria a country with more than 160 million people nearly 330 ethnic groups more than 250 languages with 50% Muslim and 40% Christian as well as 10% traditional belief were very poor. Poverty is what is seen by many observers and analysts as the root causes of most ethno-religious crisis in northern Nigeria which Boko Haram insurgency is among. With the death of infrastructural development, 90% of Nigerians are permanent of crippling poverty. The country was ranked 153th out of 177 poor economic countries on the human development index (2008), despite its rich cultural endowment and abundant human and natural resources (Adenrele, 2012). Northern Nigeria in particular has the highest figure of relative poverty in comparison with south-west and south-east zones that have relative poverty of 67.0% and 59.1% respectively. The northeast and north-west zones have the higher figure of 76.3% and 77.7% relative poverty respectively (NBS, 2012).

Moreover, the rate of unemployment in the country has continued to increase despite the abundant human and natural resources available in the country. Unemployment has become a major problem tormenting the lives of the Nigerian youths and this poses a serious menace to Nigeria as a country (Adebayo, 2014). Furthermore,

64 million Nigeria Youths are unemployed while 1.6 million are under-employed. Unemployment causes dejection, frustration, desperation and dependency on family members and friends. This dependency situation has left the youths in a vicious cycle of chronic poverty that daily erodes their confidence of bright future. In such a case, most of these unemployed youths are the primary target of the insurgents (Adebayo, 2014). In addition, International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD, 2007) said "despite Nigeria's plentiful resources and oil wealth, poverty is widespread to the extent that the country is ranked one of the 20 poorest countries in the world". Indeed, over 70 percent of the population is classified as poor, with 35 percent living in absolute poverty (Andenrele, 2014). According to Blanchard, P. 2014, p.10): Understanding Boko Haram's appeal among some citizen in Nigeria's far north requires an examination of underlying development challenges facing northern Nigeria, where high rates of poverty and unemployment are exacerbated by extreme population growth and low level of literacy. These factors combined with weak governance, rampant corruption and inadequate public service delivery, has contributed to the widespread disaffection that some suggest may facilitate Boko Haram recruitment. A country with legacies of economic stagnation, a higher level of unemployment and uneven economic development such country is a fertile ground on which terrorist seed can flourish (Umar, 2013). Moreover, individuals and group grievances such as poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, discrimination, and economic marginalization can be used as mobilising instruments by sinister group to get support and recruit for terrorist violence. This explains how economically deprived youth can easily be recruited by the extremist group, due to the economic hardship in the region (Umar, 2013). The increasing rate of unemployed youth in the region, which were economically deprived, mostly was the recruiting target of Boko Haram. Some scholars pointed out that the connection between poverty, illiteracy and terrorism is indirect and complicated. The huge number of young people living on the margins of Nigeria society intensified these linkages (Olojo, 2013). In 2013 the federal government released some detainees of Boko Haram mostly wives and children of the sect members, some children confessed of providing kegs of fuel to Boko Haram to set school and other buildings ablaze in Maiduguri for the sum of 5000 naira (Olojo, 2013). These show how the people in the area were living in abject poverty due to the failure of the Government to provide education and economic opportunity in the area for more than a decade. These socio-economic problems contributed to the escalation of Boko Haram violence in north-eastern Nigeria. They theory explains that in most cases, conflicts occur as a result of growing economic, social, and political inequalities in and between nations (Hensenclever & Rittberger, 2005). Ojolo, (2013) noted that: Individuals and groups grievances such as poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, discrimination, and economic marginalization, can be used as mobilizing instruments by sinister group to get support and recruit for terrorist violence. The predominantly Muslim northern Nigeria provide the group a steady stream for recruitment, the deprived youths and Almajiris are willing to join any movement for them to find an alternative to the current economic and political inequalities that existed in the country; believing that the sect version of radical Salafism to be the answer to their problems.

CONCLUSION

Boko Haram has triggered a national crisis in Nigeria, but the manifestations of this crisis differ from region to region. What began as a North eastern problem has threatens to spread to the rest of the North, to fuel inter-communal violence in the Middle Belt, and to touch off retaliatory violence in the South. In this religiously and ethnically divided country, many eyes will remain fixed, fearfully, on the militants in the North. The longer Boko Haram attacks go on, the greater the potential for such vigilante actions, the persistent reminder that crisis is pervasive and threatening national integration. And if the bombing and counter-bombings are prolonged, it will give rise to nationwide political instability deepens disunity and disintegration of Nigerians.

RECOMMENDATIONS

• The government should match words with action in dealing with the security challenges in Nigeria. This should include equipping the military, re-organizing the police force, settlement of political, economic and religious disputes without favouritism.

• In addition, poverty should be address across the country through employment generation by governments at all levels, collaboration between government and the private sector, revamping ailing firms and empowering youths and women through skills acquisition programmes and agricultural practices. Pursue of economic growth and other indices of development will promote national integration. These measures cannot be achieved without government addressing the issue of corruption which is the major cause of poverty in Nigeria.

• Finally, peace education, whichever angle it is perceived, has the tendency to change the physical, intellectual, emotional and spiritual abilities of people within the context of their cultural, political and social milieus for peaceful and harmonious living. It is a holistic education that moderates unwanted behaviour in a society. It is based on philosophy that teaches non-violence empathy, trust, tolerance, accountability, rejection of direct violence and respect for differences and people.

Hence, Peace Education should be introduced into the Nigeria Education Curriculum at all levels.

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