

## **Towards an All-Inclusive Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration in North-East Nigeria**

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### **Abstract**

*Despite the logistical challenges of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) the acquisition of civilian status and sustainable employment and income is considered the most difficult phase of any DDR process. . This has generated resentment among many Nigerians. In pursuit of its agenda, Boko Haram has engaged in mass killings, mass kidnapping and went as far as establishing a form of rebel governance in parts of territories where it operates. The group may have used forced conscriptions to recruit members. Offering amnesty and applying a DDR will demonstrate the government's commitment to finding a democratic solution to the insurgency. It demonstrates to the Nigerian members of the fighting group and local communities that the government may be willing to provide a more conciliatory solution to the conflicts. DDR needs to be dynamic, innovative and pragmatic to remain valuable in the contemporary times. The Human Needs Model and Theories of conflict transformation were adopted as theoretical framework. Data were collected essentially from secondary sources and qualitatively analysed. This study attempts to find pragmatic solutions to the inherent difficulties of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration in Nigeria, particularly in the ongoing Northeast insurgency and provide workable recommendations.*

**Keywords:** Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration, North-east Nigeria and Insurgency.

### **Introduction**

The nature and character of disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) is evolving in the contemporary times, these concepts were designed originally as programmes towards the end of a war. However, the roles are becoming dynamic and applicable to ranging issues

such as counter-insurgency, stabilization, crime deterrence, conciliation and attainment of the conditions of peace. These developments were informed by the emergence of different forms of conflicts, preponderance of non-state fighters and the increasing involvement of negotiators, technocrats, consultants and government officials in peace processes. Issues such as disengagement, de-radicalization, rehabilitation and reconstruction are taking centre stage. There are progressively more multifaceted permissible and operational problems confronting supporters of DDR on how to proceed and how to apply these measures and interventionist programmes. The significance of DDR is presently on the increase as International agencies such as the United Nations, World Bank and a number of bilateral aid agencies are adopting it and prescribing it to conflict and warring situations. DDR has over the past decades shown to help build confidence and trust and buy the necessary time and space for the underlying conditions leading to conflicts to evolve. DDR has proven to be uniquely equipped in building a bridge from violence to peace. There is a sizeable epistemic community prepared to continue investing in planning, implementation, and measurement. For it to remain valuable in the contemporary era, it will need to adjust to the changing landscapes of violence, be supported by a highly skilled team of experts, and fully exploit the research-practice network (Muggah & O'Donnell, 2015:1-2).

The debate on how to end the insurgency in North-east Nigeria has not abated, with stakeholders arguing about the appropriateness of “carrot and stick” approach. This is the military and non-military approaches, Nigerian government has intensified its offensive against the Boko Haram militants but this is understood to have made the insurgents more determined and have so far not capitulated under the onslaught. The sect has lost some territories especially after President Buhari assumed power on May 29, 2015 but has managed to continue its operations by hitting soft targets, carrying out suicide attacks using improvised explosives (IEDS) in the north-east territories and occasionally attacking neighbouring countries of Chad, Niger Republic and Cameroun. The insurgents went further by altering the name of the group and called itself Wilayat Gharb Afriqiya, meaning “Islamic State of West Africa”. Moreover, the second alternative of peace negotiations has also gained

grounds across the country. Some interested parties have suggested the state-led peace process that was initiated by the Musa Yar'Adua government in response to militant agitations in the Niger Delta, be applied to the north-east crises (Ebiede, 2015).

Sergie and Johnson (2014) argued that while the Boko Haram phenomenon can't be neatly characterized as an insurgency or terrorist organization, its origins appear rooted in grievances over poor governance and sharp inequality in Nigerian society. In the beginning, Boko Haram targeted mostly government institutions that they claim represent the western values that they see as responsible for corruption and injustice. But as the group evolved, it targeted civilians, kidnapped women and children, forcefully conscripted young men into its fighting force, and burned down communities. It sought to carve out an Islamic state out of Nigeria's territory (Ebiede, 2015). DDR is being introduced not only in the midst of armed conflict, but almost as a way to end it; the risks of integrating 'terrorists' into a country's security forces has become a significant threat; whilst the agendas of DDR, countering violent extremism (CVE), counter-organized crime and even counter-terrorism have become, sometimes distressingly conflated (Felbab-Brown, 2015). Yet, over the last 20 years, there have been DDR programmes in more than 30 countries around the world with about two-thirds of these countries being in Africa (Social Development Department, 2009). Some reports have tagged the Niger Delta disarmament exercise as one of the most successful in the history of DDR in Africa because all known armed militant agitator groups in the Niger Delta were successfully disarmed (*This day*, 2010).

North-east Nigeria is a former administrative division of Nigeria. It was created on 27 May 1967 from parts of the Northern Region. Its capital was the city of Maiduguri. On 3 February 1976, the state was divided into Bauchi, Borno and Gongola states. Gombe State was later split out of Bauchi, Yobe State from Borno and Gongola was split into Taraba State and Adamawa State. The north-eastern part of Nigeria comprises of six states, with this region mostly known for the production of crops and livestock which contribute greatly to the economy of the country. The region is densely populated as compared to the southern

region of the country. The major tribes are Hausa, Kanuri and Fulani and they are largely Muslims (Relief web, 2015). It is also one of the six geo-political zones in contemporary Nigeria.

### **Conceptual Clarifications**

In an effort to decisively appraise the entrenched issues in this paper, it is significant to conceptualize some terms considered essential to the study. They include:

**Disarmament:** It is the collection, documentation, control and disposal of small arms,ammunition, explosives and light and heavy weapons from combatants and often from the civilian population (Egbeme, 2015). Furthermore, Disarmament is the act of reducing, limiting, or abolishing weapons. It generally refers to a country's military or specific type of weaponry. Disarmament is often taken to mean total elimination of weapons of mass destruction, such as nuclear arms. General and Complete Disarmament was defined by the United Nations General Assembly as the elimination of all Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), coupled with the "balanced reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments, based on the principle of undiminished security of the parties with a view to promoting or enhancing stability at a lower military level, taking into account the need of all States to protect their security" (Raskin, 1991).

**Demobilization:** This is the formal and controlled discharge of active combatants including a phase of "reinsertion" which provides short-term assistance to ex-combatants. The Presidential Amnesty Programme (PAP) in Nigeria's Niger Deltademobilization programme for instance, has the following components: non-violence training andreorientation, wellness assessments, peace building and conflict resolution, counselling, and career fair/ guidance counselling etc. Moreover, Demobilization provides information to the participants on the opportunities in the various vocations and career areas and formed the basis for the career choices they can make in the rehabilitation and economic reintegration phase of the programme (Egbeme, 2015).

**Reintegration:** It is the process by which ex-agitators acquire non-combatant status and gain sustainable employment and income. It is both a political, social and economic process. The goal of the reintegration programme is to create jobs and hasten the economic development of the areas affected by conflicts. It provides de-radicalized insurgents and ex-agitators with three options: formal education, vocational skills acquisition or entrepreneurship skills. It takes place mostly in communities at the local level (Ball & Goor, 2006). DDR activities are crucial components of both the initial stabilization of war-torn societies as well as their long-term development. DDR must be integrated into the entire peace process from the peace negotiations through peace-keeping and follow-on peace-building activities (Allport, 2009).

### **Theoretical Approach**

Conflict resolution as a discipline has built academic insights into the nature and sources of conflict and how it can be resolved through peaceful methods to effectuate durable settlements (Cunningham, 1998). To explain the necessity of the community security option in Nigeria as well as consider its relevance to the myriad of security challenges assailing the north-east region, this paper is anchored on the Human Needs Model as propounded by John Burton and Theories of conflict transformation. Burton's work is of immense significance in the field of human needs model. He argues that when an individual or group is denied its fundamental need for identity, security, recognition or equal participation within the society, lingering conflict is predictable. To resolve such conflict, it is essential that needs that are threatened be identified and subsequently restructuring of relationships or the social system can take place in a way that needs of all individuals and groups are accommodated (Galtung, 1996). Theorists of conflict transformation while referring to the interest-based and the human needs models argue, solution that satisfies each country's interests and needs could be reached through these models. However, if negative attitudes developed in each country during conflicts are not addressed, these could serve to generate further conflicts some time later. Whereas, conflict transformation aims at a fundamental change in attitude or behavior of individuals and the relationship between two

or more disputing parties. This approach is very well exemplified in Bush and Folger's theory of transformative mediation and Lederach's model of conflict transformation. Lederach uses the term conflict resolution to refer to peace building. For building peace destructive or negative communication patterns need to be transformed or replaced by constructive or positive interaction patterns. Like Bush and Folger, Lederach stresses the need to transform the disputing parties by empowering them to understand their own situation and needs, as well as encouraging them to recognize the situation and needs of their opponents (McCandless, 2007).

In the context of this work, the grievances and needs of Boko Haram must be identified and addressed. Some require dialogue and negotiations, others calls for infrastructural and economic development to gain the hearts and mind of the populace in the region. Wretched governance and pointed disproportion among Nigerian economic classes has been recognised as being among the dissatisfactions of the group, the government on its part must device programmes that promotes equity and justice such as affordable education, free primary health care, fair processes to job opportunities, social welfare for the vulnerable in the society among others. Nonetheless, some unrealistic demands of the sect must be met with force, such as having its own caliphate carved out of Nigeria's sovereign territory.

### **The Nature of Conflict in North-east Nigeria**

The conflict has affected the lives of communities across the Lake Chad Basin region with some 2.5 million internally displaced people and more than 170,000 Nigerian refugees forced to flee their homes. Foreign countries have provided various forms of support for Nigeria and its neighbours in the fight against the Boko Haram insurgency. The United States in particular provided advisors, intelligence, training, logistical support and equipment to her African partners as they work to defeat Boko Haram (*New Telegraph*, 2015:1). President Buhari lamented about the impact of terrorist group, Boko Haram activities on women and children, declaring that they are the biggest casualties of the terrorists. He said: "In the North-east, what I saw for myself and on those clips is

a source of concern for people with conscience; they are mostly women, and children who are orphaned. Some of them don't even know where they come from. This is the pathetic situation in which the country has found itself" (Ukwu, 2016).

The number of people in need of food assistance in North-eastern Nigeria has nearly doubled to 4.5 million from March 2016, according to a mid-August analysis by various agencies including the World Food Programme (WFP). All indications point to an extremely grave situation, said officials of the UN agency's Regional Director for West Africa. It was further revealed that as the rains set in and the lean season deepens, and more areas are opened up to access humanitarian aid, the full scale of hunger and devastation is likely to come to light. In the states of Borno, Yobe and Adamawa, the number of people "struggling with severe food insecurity," or in an "emergency phase" requiring food assistance to survive, has risen fourfold since March to exceed one million, the analysis found. The Boko Haram-related insurgency in these states has caused population displacement, disruption in livelihoods, and acute food insecurity (UN, 2016b).

According to a recent report by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), children on the move, children left behind, in addition to 2.6 million people are currently displaced in the Lake Chad region because of the violence, corroborated by *UN News service* 2016, August 29. UN rapporteur calls for urgent action to protect hundreds of thousands of displaced people in north-eastern Nigeria. In addition, some 2.2 million people are feared to be trapped in areas under the control of Boko Haram and need humanitarian assistance. The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) news release noted that the situation resulting from the Boko Haram violence, as well as Nigerian Government counter-insurgency measures are indicative of a crisis of the highest category. It noted that civilians, including children, leaving areas recently liberated by government forces bear the signs of advanced malnutrition and of deep trauma, while also flagging that humanitarian access is limited in some areas due to security concerns (UN, 2016c).

### **Initiatives Aimed at Amnesty and Truce**

Northern elders including the Sultan of Sokoto, Sa'ad Abubakar, advocated for dialogue and amnesty to be offered to Boko Haram and other Islamist sect which the government subsequently accepted. Consequently, President Goodluck Jonathan instituted the "Committee on Dialogue and Peaceful Resolution of Security Challenges in the North" with 26 members, headed by Mallam Kabiru Taminu Turaki, the then Minister of Special Duties on April 24, 2013. The Borno Elders and Leaders of Thought (BELT) had made a similar plea in 2012 (Adewumi, 2014:8). A major problem was identified by scholars who reasoned that the crises could have been prevented from reoccurring in north-east Nigeria but because of the non-implementation of the various recommendations of Commissions of Inquiries. In various crises across Nigeria and especially in the north, reports of probe panels have not been implemented, these includes the crises in Kano, Kaduna, Jos and other conflicts in the country (CGA, 2010). Lack of political will on the part of government has also been identified as another factor for the neglect and abandonment of probe reports.

A ceasefire deal with the Boko Haram sect was proclaimed by TanimuTuraki on Monday, July 8, 2013 on Radio France International Hausa services, adding that his committee had contacted some top leaders of the group and that there was a constructive answer from the gang leaders that they would drop their arms for peace and unity in the north-east region (Akhaine Adeyemi, Jimoh, Olaiya and Olajuwon, 2013). But the ceasefire agreement was disclaimed by the group's leader, Abubakar Shekau on Saturday, July 13, 2013 and threatened more attacks on schools. It was equally reported that an influential member of the Shekau-led sect, Imam Muhammadu Marwana corroborated Turaki's claim, yet Shekau in a video message declared: "there is this wicked rumour making the rounds that we have dialogued with government of Nigeria which led to a ceasefire on our part. We have also heard how some of our operations and attacks are being credited to criminals. As such the security agents have been killing our armed members in the name of criminals, who were out on holy mission, are being attacked and killed with the label of criminals...Western education is a plot against



Islam, we will kill school teachers who are teaching western education, western education is sin, and we don't attack students" (The Nation, 2013: July 14).

The Nigerian army has initiated some reconciliatory moves towards the Boko Haram fighters with the establishment of a rehabilitation camp for remorseful Boko Haram members and named it "Operation Safe Corridor", designed to allow repentant insurgents to surrender their arms and take up psycho-analysis from the government. A recent report published revealed about 8000 Boko Haram members had voluntarily surrendered to the Operation in the North-east as released by the Nigerian army in August, 2016 through the Director of Defence Information, Brigadier-General Rabe Abubakar. It was disclosed that the surrendered insurgents were in a camp in Gombe waiting to be "deradicalised" by the military. The general also disclosed that more than 10,000 Boko Haram captives had been rescued by the military. He said some of them were reunited with their families, while others were taken to Internally Displaced Person's (IDP) camps (*Premium Times*, 2016). Earlier in February, 2016 The Nigerian army has made an official handover of 275 suspected Boko Haram members, after investigations show they have nothing to do with the insurgency in the northeast, while Governor Kashim Shettima has promised to help the detainees fit back into the society, by assisting them with vocational training (Nathaniel, 2016).

Similarly, following Boko Haram's recent video, there are indications that the Federal Government has begun moves to exchange the Chibok girls with some Boko Haram detainees. It was gathered that as part of the moves, security agencies had started conducting a fresh profiling of the Boko Haram detainees in line with a directive of the Federal Government. It was learnt that the profiling would include the time they were arrested and the de-radicalisation programme they had undergone. Findings showed that besides the military, the police, the Nigeria Prison Service, the office of the National Security Adviser and the Ministry of Justice would be involved in the swop talks. It was gathered that although the government had not decided on the militants that would be released in exchange for the Chibok girls, insurgents, who had not been tried

could be the first beneficiaries of the swap deal. Shekau, in a video released on August 14, 2016 said the sect was ready to exchange more than 200 girls abducted on April 14, 2014 at Chibok Secondary School for its fighters that were being detained by the Federal Government (*Saturday Punch*, 2016). 21 Chibok girls were later released in October, 2016.

**Peacebuilding and Reconstruction in North-east Nigeria** President Buhari has assembled a committee of rich and eminent Nigerians to raise funds for rehabilitation, provision of infrastructure and resettlement of Internally Displaced Persons (IDP's) in the troubled North-east region. Buhari said that all forms of assistance and aid in this respect, generated locally and from foreign countries as promised by the Group of Seven of Industrialized Countries (G7) would be channeled through the committee when it starts to work. He said he had compiled a list of damaged infrastructure, including schools and bridges and handed it to the leaders of the G7 and the United States (Ukwu, 2016). Moreover, the governor of Yobe state, Ibrahim Geidam in a recent visit to the State House in Abuja, Nigeria's capital disclosed that about N20 billion will be needed to renovate communities and amenities obliterated by the Boko Haram insurgency and terrorism in the north. He added that security threats have reduced considerably and that all territories are now fully under government's control. It was also revealed by the governor that Yobe state alone have 3,000 IDP's who are living in government camps and yet to return to their homes (Ehikioya, 2016: 45).

It is estimated that at least 65,000 people in newly liberated but still inaccessible areas in Borno and Yobe are facing "famine-like" conditions. The situation remains fluid, with more people uprooted in areas where fighting goes on. Some formerly displaced people are meanwhile returning to find their rural homes uninhabitable: forced to stay in urban areas, they are entirely reliant on external assistance. Further burdened with spiraling inflation, families have to beg, run up debts or skip meals to survive. Many are reduced to consuming low-nutrient foods and then, only once a day. A worsening economy could push up the number of people in need of food assistance in the country's north-east by another million as early as September, 2016. A separate food assessment by World Food Programme (WFP) has warned of soaring

prices in areas affected by the Boko Haram insurgency. WFP is scaling up its response, aiming to reach over 700,000 people with food and cash assistance in the coming months (UN, 2016b).

There were also reports highlighting the direness of the situation in the camps, where women and girls face demands for sex to access food or to leave the camps and that early pregnancy and marriage are common place. Many do not report abuse due to stigmatization, cultural factors and the knowledge that perpetrators can abuse with impunity. United Nations (UN) rapporteur called for protection measures to be stepped-up and camps to be quickly placed under trained civilian management to prevent abuses (UN, 2016c). The World Bank has allocated \$800 million to support rebuilding of infrastructure destroyed in the North-east by the Boko Haram insurgency. The UNDP said the UN was scaling up its presence in Borno and other North-eastern states ravaged by the insurgency. There were also discussions with the World Bank team that is validating the year findings of the recovery and peace-building assessment. The World Bank has promised to leverage 800 million dollars for the Northeast in response to recovery, rehabilitation, de-mining, waste management and debris processing for the areas. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in addition pledged that the UN would continue to complement the World Bank and the EU supports to address the root causes of poverty and exclusion in the North-east (George, 2016).

### **Robust-disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration for North-east Nigeria**

A comprehensive DDR requires that government and stakeholders need to pursue urgently a wide-ranging strategy that targets the economic, social and cultural roots of the crisis. The Second Regional Security Summit for the Lake Chad Basin held on 14 May, 2016 in Abuja also reaffirmed the need to address the root causes of the crisis (UN, 2016a). It has become rational and logical that non-military approaches have to be explored to address the issues of insurgency and reintegration processes. As a case in point, the former National Security Adviser (NSA) Mohammed Sambo Dasuki announced a “soft” approach to addressing the root causes of terrorism on 18 March 2014. It also demands multi-

sectoral, domestic and international approaches, efforts and cooperation (Sambo-Dasuki, 2015). Many northern intellectuals, activists, politicians and religious leaders have suggested different strategies to address the high poverty and unemployment in the far north. Some, like former Central Bank Governor Sanusi Lamido Sanusi, push for a “northern Nigeria development council” to address economic deprivation. Others demand a federal ministry for northern development and a ‘Marshal plan’ for the north (Haruna & Smith, 2012: 28).

Economic potentials abound in the Lake Chad Basin and it is estimated to have a reserve of 2.32 billion barrels of oil, and 14.65 trillion cubic feet of natural gas. The oil and gas flows underground across the countries sharing the Lake Chad Basin, Nigeria, Chad, Niger and Cameroun. Former President of the Senate, Dr. Iyorchia Ayu at a Convocation lecture argued that Chad is not only tapping oil within its territory, but also from Nigeria to push up its production levels. He noted that the drying up of the lake once the largest water body in Africa was affecting the economic and social life of over 30 million people in the four countries around the lake. He also said the development had resulted in the migration of many farmers and herdsmen as well as sprouting local conflicts between Cameroonian and Nigerian nationals and between occupational group fishermen fighting farmers and herdsmen to stop diverting water from the lake to their farms and livestock (Josiah, 2014). Yet, opening the second Northeast Economic Summit in Gombe on 3 December 2013, former President Jonathan noted “the unique experience that this region has had with Boko Haram necessitates aggressive and urgent action to revitalise its economy” (*The Punch*, 2013). A well-articulated economic development plan or agency should include the coordination of anti-desertification campaigns, developing large-scale irrigation, agriculture, and power and road projects and promoting small businesses that could create jobs for youths. Moreover, Dr Yerima Ngama, former minister of state for finance, said the federal government had approved a five-year special intervention program that would enable it to accelerate the socioeconomic development of the Northeast. “FG approves five-year economic package for troubled states”. The government reportedly has provided 2 billion naira (about \$11.8 million)

to the region in the 2014 budget, primarily to repair public buildings damaged by the insurgents. It says this could increase when the states present a fuller assessment of the damage they have suffered. The government has also formulated an “elaborate” five-year programme for development intervention in the North-east, and a small “contact group” has been formed that is consulting with various stakeholders, including development partners. It is intended to target education, water supply and health services, but priorities and framework are still unclear (ICG, 2014: 42-43). Inconsistencies in government policies must be addressed in order for the country and affected areas to attain meaningful development.

On the other hand, the federal government, and particularly its military and security agencies, must step up efforts to win the hearts and minds of citizens, especially in the North-east. This involves equipping units appropriately and conducting military operations more clinically and professionally, so as to minimize collateral casualties, damage to livelihoods and human rights violations. The regional offensive involving Chadian, Cameroonian, Nigerian and Nigerien troops operating under the Multi-National Joint Task Force (MNJTF), has recaptured 80 per cent of areas once under Boko Haram control, freed thousands of captives and prevented terrorist attacks (UN, 2016a). However, Lake Chad Basin countries have expressed their growing impatience over delays by international partners to support the MNJTF financially, as the Force’s success depends on timely and actionable intelligence as well as specialized counter-terrorism skills and equipment, given the evolving tactics of Boko Haram. The 2016 Humanitarian Response Plan for Nigeria is only 28 per cent funded, while those of Niger, Cameroon and Chad are similarly under-funded (UN, 2016a). Efforts must not be spared to get counterpart funding from development agencies and multilateral financial institutions such as UNDP, UNICEF, UK Department for International Development (DFID), Africa Development Bank (AfDB) and World Bank.

Ebiede (2015) advises that the Nigerian government must offer communities and fighting groups in the north-east a genuine democratic alternative to violence. The government is observed to always follow an old model; it should instead propose a peace building process that

includes a context-specific DDR programme. This intended scheme should be developed in consultation with the civil society (religious leaders and Islamic scholars, women's groups, traditional rulers, youth groups, and local politicians) in places impacted by Boko Haram. Such a model should include communities in the peace building process, an aspect that has been missing in all state-led peace building efforts in Nigeria. This will help to discourage impressionable youth from being radicalized and to lead de-radicalization programmes.

### **Conclusion**

The conflict in Northeast Nigeria and the Lake Chad Basin is one of several profound threats to Nigeria's stability. It has grown quickly to be a major security challenge because it taps into wide discontent with bad governance, corruption and official impunity. To address this challenge, the federal and state governments, as well as the region, must develop and implement comprehensive plans to tackle not only physical security but also the grievances that fuel the insurgency. Ultimately radical reform of governance and the country's political culture is required. Nigeria's elites have not yet demonstrated they have the will to attack. But if they do not, Boko Haram, or groups like it, will continue to destabilise large parts of the country. The best way to deal with extremism is to mitigate underlying causes. Social reforms can promote inclusive governance and respect for majority and minority groups alike. As Crisis Group once noted of similar problems in other countries, "the government needs to realise that if people no longer believe in the state to provide justice and well-being they will look elsewhere. The challenge is enormous, but the solution is in the hands of the state and the people.

DDR is being re-imagined as a complex bargaining process connected fundamentally to local conditions on the ground. It is also connected in complex ways to peace negotiations and robust peace operations, justice and security sector reform, and peace and statebuilding. Indeed, in all these settings DDR is acknowledged as a central plank of the peace negotiations. The latest generation of DDR reveals a move away from narrowly conceived stand-alone interventions toward activities that are purposefully connected to national development plans. Part of the goal is to avoid unintentionally stigmatizing combatants and dependents,

preconceiving them as 'productive citizens'. Indeed, there is a sociological dimension to next generation DDR that encourages former insurgents, terrorists and combatants to embrace more positive and forward-looking identities.

### **Recommendations**

The following recommendations are made for the effective realization and consolidation of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) in Northeast Nigeria and they are:

- The Nigerian authorities and relevant stakeholders must address the fundamental causes of insurgency by tackling grievances over poor governance and sharp inequality in Nigerian society. Adopting fairness, equity and sound economic policies.
- The DDR has been proven to promote ceasefire between government, combatants and neighbourhood. It has also introduced not only in the midst of armed conflict, but almost as a way to end it. Therefore, the Nigerian government must explore ways to utilize it.
- The World Food Programme (WFP) has given early warnings on food shortages in north-eastern Nigeria. The government must respond by investing rapidly in agriculture in the region, it should also engage people in the IDP camps to be engaged in farming, this will reduce crime rate and engage officials alleged to be abusing female occupants.
- Negotiations with moderate groups of BokoHaram should be encouraged while hardliners should receive the stick approach, intelligence could be used to infiltrate the insurgents, causing divisions amongst its ranks and weakening the group. Their supply routes should also be identified and disrupted in collaboration with neighbouring countries.
- The federal government should devise a democratic programme as an alternative to violence by having consultations with the civil society, religious leaders, Islamic scholars, women's groups, traditional rulers, youth groups, and local politicians. This will help to discourage impressionable youth from being radicalized and to lead de-radicalization programmes.

- The President Buhari's committee of eminent Nigerians on rehabilitation of infrastructure and resettlement of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in the troubled North-east should be made to work, providing funding for identified developmental projects. Counterpart funding from development agencies and multilateral financial institutions such as UNDP, UNICEF, UK Department for International Development (DFID), Africa Development Bank (AFDB), and World Bank among others must be sought and obtained.
- Economic potentials in the Lake Chad Basin must be exploited and a well-articulated economic development plan or agency must be instituted to cover wide-ranging issues. These should include anti-desertification campaigns, large-scale irrigation, agriculture, power and road projects and small businesses among others.
- Lack of continuity and inconsistencies in government policies must be addressed in order to attain meaningful development.

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