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Challenges of internal security and basic education in Northeastern Nigeria, 2014-2020

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Abstract

The protection of lives and property remains the cardinal responsibility of the government and the hallmark for the existence of critical sectors like education, health, social infrastructure and the entire economy. However, the Nigerian state has experienced an increasing rate of internal insecurity in the Northeastern part of Nigeria, which has significantly negatively impacted the basic education sub-sector between 2014 and 2020 in the Northeast despite the government's efforts to fight insecurity. These internal security challenges have led to the destruction of schools and the abduction of secondary school students and teachers by bandits and Boko Haram in Northeast Nigeria. Systems theory was adopted as the theoretical framework for this study. The expository qualitative method of inquiry was used for data collection, which entails the in-depth acquisition of documentary material, and the data was analysed using the content analysis technique. The study found, among others, that accessibility and affordability of basic education have retrogressed due to the insecurity in the Northeast, which undermines the realisation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in education by 2030. To curb these challenges, the study recommends that the Federal Ministry of Education, in collaboration with the government of Northeastern states, should recruit and train armed education marshals to offer security surveillance in schools.

Keywords: Abduction, Education sector, Internal insecurity, Northeast Nigeria, Security challenges, Boko Haram

Introduction

The protection of lives and properties has remained one of the cardinal responsibilities of governments around the world. To undertake this fundamental responsibility and achieve national development security is key. In recent times, internal security challenges in Nigeria have taken a new dimension, having expanded from the previous ethno-religious clashes, militancy, armed robbery, and electoral violence to the present Boko Haram insurgency, farmersherders clashes, coupled with kidnapping for ransom by bandits in the Northeastern states of Nigeria.

The inability of the Nigerian state operators to curb the ugly internal security challenges in the Northeastern states has hampered the social and economic activities of the region. Specifically, the education sector, which is critical in driving the wheels of national development, is hugely affected by the internal security threats in

Northeast Nigeria. Thus, quality basic education, which constitutes Goal 4 in the Sustainability Development Goals (SDGs), will likely not be realised in Nigeria in 2030.

Achieving quality basic education in the Northeast depends on the region's

security situation since education cannot strive in an environment that threatens the protection and sustainability of school facilities and the lives of the teachers and learners who are the main stakeholders in the education systems. Thus, incessant attacks on schools by the Boko Haram insurgents and the abduction of students by bandits will spell further doom for the educationally backward Northeastern states of Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba, and Yobe. Out of the 10.5 million out-ofschool children in Nigeria, 60% of them are in the North. Likewise, about 30% of pupils drop out of school without completing their Primary school education, which is part of the basic education programme due to the internal security challenges in the Northeast (Lawal, 2020).

Basic education entails nine years of uninterrupted formal primary and junior secondary school education. It was designed to reduce the burden of children and provide literacy, numeracy, lifelong education, skills, and values needed to thrive in an ever-changing world (Egede & Asabor, 2020). Hence, it can be deduced that basic education ensures equitable accessibility and affordability of quality, uninterrupted nine years of schooling for school-age children, as

encapsulated in the Universal Basic Education Act (UBEC Act, 2004).

Recently, the insecurity situation in the Northeast has received attention from scholars. Daily, the insecurity in the Northeast constitutes major headlines in Nigeria's various television channels and newspapers. The situation is so critical that even after the federal government's pronouncement that Boko Haram has been technically defeated such a defeat remains a broadcast of deceit (Okolie et al., 2020). Hence, the corporate existence of Nigerians, their properties, and human rights are being undermined since the government has to channel all resources at its disposal toward fighting the war against internal security threats in the country.

To date, the impact of the internal security challenges in Northeastern Nigeria on the realisation of quality basic education as enshrined in Sustainable Development Goal 4 remains unexplored. As a result, this study seeks to inquire if the accessibility and affordability of basic education in the Northeast will likely be affected due to the internal security quagmires in the region. This expository qualitative study adopts the documentary data collection method, which was subsequently analysed using content analysis.

This work is divided into four parts. The first part deals with the conceptual review, followed by the theoretical framework of analysis, methodology, then the literature review organised thematically, and finally, the conclusion and recommendation sections.

Conceptual review

Security

Security as a concept has remained a contentious issue for decades among scholars. However, the consensus is that security is a fundamental duty of the state which it must perform in order to fulfil the social contract it has with the citizens while at the same time securing its sovereignty, territory, lives, and properties from any form of internal or external threats. According to Stan (2004), security entails measures incorporated to reduce, circumvent or resolve violent conflict as well as threats that emanate from either the states, nonstate actors, social-political or economic situations. This definition portrays how comprehensive security is. First, threats emanating from the states constitute external security challenges, while threats from unresolved internal contradictions within a given state, and non-state actors, among others, and constitute internal security challenges.

Heath (2022) theorises that "security" is a site of continuing struggle in the international system between competing approaches to identifying and responding to urgent threats. These threats can also be economically, socially or politically motivated within a country for the interest of an external force. However, security implies the non-jeopardisation of the interests of two or more countries carrying out international transactions. Therefore, the protection of the interests and the well-being of two or more countries is referred to as security.

Achumba et al. (2013) opined that insecurity depicts being open or susceptible to threat or danger. Thus, it can be deduced that insecurity portrays the state of being exposed to threats that, if not curtailed, will result in a spill-over effect capable of endangering the lives of all.

According to Bodunde et al. (2014), internal security entails freedom from an internal threat capable of undermining a country's internal cohesion, orderliness, and corporate existence. Similarly, Perterside (2014) argued that internal security consists of the actions and measures by domestic security agents/personnel such as the police, customs services, and similar paramilitary agencies aimed at curtailing the

country's internal threats. These threats include riots, demonstrations, communal clashes, youth restiveness, terrorism, kidnapping/abduction, banditry, etc which constitutionally do not fall under the purview of the military.

It is important to note that while every state in Nigeria is affected by a high rate of insecurity which negatively affects both economic activities and the educational sector, the insecurity situation in the Northeastern part of the country is the most volatile. Okolie et al. (2012) posited that the cause of the high level of insecurity is a result of the noncoordination of the activities of security agencies. They posited that the lack of constant security meetings to appraise the security situation in the country has led to a high rate of insecurity in Nigeria. Similarly, Okolie et al. (2022) argued that corruption by the political elite and poverty are the root causes of the increase in insecurity in Nigeria.

Theoretical Framework and Application

This study adopts the systems theory as the framework of analysis. While Von Bertalaffy, a German biologist, is regarded as the first to propose this theory, other theorists such as Parson, (1951), and Easton (1965) have also contributed to the explication of the systems theory. Historically, the term

systems according to Aristotle, depict the whole as being more significant than the sum of its parts (Muriel, 1995). The systems theory argues that sub-systems or elements within a group (system) are in some way related to one another to keep the entire system functional. Von Bertalaffy (1968) opined that systems are often open in order to interact with the environment. Thus, a system receives inputs from the environment and releases processed inputs as outputs to the environment.

The Nigerian state operates a federal system of government, and as such, the federating states can be seen as subsystems operating within the larger Nigerian system. Likewise, no state can function without some basic critical sectors. The education sector is a critical sector of the economy that cannot be neglected based on its contribution to national development. Despite the substantial yearly budgetary allocations injected into the security sector the Nigerian state has failed to provide internal security to its citizens. As a result, insecurity is bound to affect the proper functioning of critical sectors like the education sector, of which the basic education level is a sub-system to the education sector. Similarly, quality teaching and learning cannot occur at the basic education level in an insecure

and hostile environment constantly terrorised by bandits and Boko Haram terrorists whose ideology is contrary to Western education and civilisation.

The effect of such state failure to provide internal security in the Northeast region has paved the way for the incessant attacks on schools by the Boko Haram terrorist groups and the unlawful abduction of school-age children and teachers by bandits. Hence, this resulted in the shutting down of some schools. Furthermore, the more schools are attacked and students are kidnapped, the more likely many school-age children will

join the skyrocketing out-of-school figure in the Northeast. When this happens, the possibility of achieving quality basic education as encapsulated in the Sustainability Development Goal Number 4 by 2030 will likely be defeated because part of, if not all, the North-eastern states lagged behind in terms of achieving the Millennium Development Goals as it relates to quality basic education in 2015.

One of the peculiarities of the systems theory lies in the fact that if any part of the system receives a prolonged disturbance leading to the collapse of any part of the sub-systems, a spill-over effect is likely to be preventable. This is the situation the Nigerian government

has found itself in, failing to manage the internal security challenges in the Northeast, which has spread to other parts of the country and has catastrophic consequences for most, if not all, sectors of the economy.

The more security challenges in the North-east and other geopolitical regions persist, the lesser the chances of having a functional basic education system that can instil the needed values and knowledge that is capable of winning the war against illiteracy, poverty, and unemployment, which are some of the major contributing factors responsible for insecurity in the North-east.

Methodology

The study uses an expository qualitative method of inquiry, which entails the indepth exploration of documentary material. Thus, the content analysis technique was used to analyse the data, while the documentary method of data collection was used to collect secondary data from secondary sources, including textbooks, journal articles, newspapers, magazines, and other online sources (Okeke et al., 2014).

Literature Review

Nigeria Security Scorecard

Currently, Nigeria's security situation has deteriorated more than ever. A report by

Hile (2021) noted that insecurity in northeast Nigeria, coupled with its escalation to other states in the country, has invariably crippled the performance of the Nigerian state among other countries in the world. According to the Global Peace Index (GPI), Nigeria scored 117th in 2007, 129th in 2008 and 2009, 137th in 2010, 142nd in 2011, and 146th in 2012 out of the 158 countries around the world (Ede et al., 2021). The 2020 (GPI) report revealed that Nigeria retrogressed by 0.8% in terms of the attainment of peace compared to the 2019 scorecard. Nigeria ranked 147th out of 163 countries in the 2020 GPI report. This report shows that Nigeria is among the 20 least peaceful countries in the world. The 20 least peaceful countries include Mali, Israel, Venezuela, North Korea, Syria, and Afghanistan. On the other hand, the Global Terrorism Index (GTI, 2018, as cited in Hile, 2021) revealed that terrorism-related deaths rose by 33% to 2,040 in 2018. Thus, Nigeria scored next to Afghanistan, which scored 7,379 regarding terrorismrelated deaths. However, Nigeria's insecurity-related deaths were 882 in 2011 compared to 2,040 in 2018. The report further noted that violent extremism as a security challenge in Nigeria cost the country about 2.7% of the 2018 Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

Comparatively, Nigeria scored above Cameroon, its West African neighbour, in the 2010 Human Development Index (HDI, 2010). Regrettably, Cameroon outperformed Nigeria in the 2018 HDI ranking by scoring 150 out of 189, whereas Nigeria scored 158th out of 189 countries in the period under review. The Legatum Prosperity Index (LPI, 2019) ranked Nigeria 148th out of 167 countries in terms of personal freedom, living conditions, enterprise conditions, health, education, governance, safety, security, and social capital.

The Global Rights Report, as cited by Ewepu (2021), noted that banditry accounted for the loss of 906 lives, while Boko Haram attacks accounted for 207 lives. Kidnapping, on the other hand, recorded 1,774 victims in quarter one of 2021. Thus, banditry has the highest causalities. The report further asserted that the payment of ransom by the Nigerian government would motivate intending bandits and kidnappers to thrive at the expense of diminishing security services due to the acute shortage of security personnel in Nigeria.

Eze (2018) opined that since the return to democracy, the internal security situation has generally worsened in the Northeast in particular and Nigeria in general, despite the enormous annual budgetary

allocation to the security sector. According to him, kidnapping, terrorism, and banditry have taken a more complex dimension. Ekwueme et al. (2019) corroborate this view that since the end of the civil war in Nigeria, the spate of internal security challenges has become more complicated. Onozure (2021) argued that the insecurity situation in the Northeast has further exposed the weak capacity of the Nigerian Police in terms of personnel adequacy. This is the reason for the continuous request for the government to increase the number of police officers in the country. Atairet et al. (2024) stated that Nigeria has less than 500,000 police officers policing an estimated population of 203 million Nigerians. Hence, the use of police in maintaining internal security is no longer feasible. Currently, the armed forces are being deployed to perform some of the primary responsibilities of the police.

The aforementioned facts attest to Nigeria's degenerating internal insecurity, which has snowballed into critical sectors such as basic education in the Northeast. The ripple effects of the security deficiency in Nigeria are not only felt in the Northeast as the entire state of the federation has its share of internal security challenges. The shutting down of schools due to student abduction and the destruction of school facilities by Book

Haram insurgents and bandits will likely increase illiteracy and further escalate the out-of-children syndrome in the region.

Internal security challenges and basic education in Northeastern Nigeria
Ikpefan (2020) reported that due to insecurity between 2015 and 2019, about 10,200 schools closed in Nigeria and seven other African countries, including Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Congo, Chad, and Mali. Basic education learners in these countries are dropping out of school, while others are being recruited as child soldiers.

The Teacher's Registration Council of Nigeria (TRCN), report that between 2009 and 2015. Boko Haram's continuous assaults on schools resulted in the total damage of over 910 schools, while 1500 schools were forced to shut down their activities (Dele-Adedeji et al., 2016). Also, about 2295 teachers have been killed in Northeast Nigeria within the period under review. Between 2009 and 2015, the Boko-haram terrorists destroyed 910 schools and forced the closure of 1500 schools in the Northeast. Olanrewaju et al. (2018b) posited that under the year in view, 952,029 school-age children were displaced in the Northeast due to regional security challenges. Only 10% of this population had access to formal

education through specially arranged voluntary teachers who taught them in their government-reserved internally displaced people camps. The remaining 90% lacked access to formal education since they were left with their parents in shanty IDPs (HRW, 2016). Corroborating, Oyewole (2016) averred that between 2012 and 2013, the Boko-Haram insurgents destroyed more than 200 schools in Yobe state, valued at \$15.6 million.

Aliu (2021) observed that the shutting down of schools in some states in the Northeast helps to advance one of Boko Haram's ideologies which are to do away with Western education. Hence, the negative empowerment of paying ransoms to the kidnappers will motivate the terrorist to carry out more student abductions and attacks on schools and destroy more schools and their facilities to the detriment of the teachers, students, and other education system stakeholders.

In the 2020/2021 academic year in Northeast Nigeria, we witnessed massive school closures due to incessant student abduction and destruction of school facilities by bandits and insurgents. This act has denied over 1.3 million students access to basic education in the region (Ogunode & Kolo, 2021). In the same

vein, current survey research has shown that internal security challenges in Northeast Nigeria are partly responsible for the depreciation in student enrolment rate at the basic education level (Abdullahi et al., 2019).

Citing a report in Tribune (2021),
Ogunode & Kolo (2021) have argued that
the incessant closure of basic education
institutions in the Northeast states had
become a norm since bandits and
terrorist groups incessant attacks on
schools. This situation could stop
teachers, learners and other school
workers from performing their duties
since their lives are in constant danger
(Ogunode & Kolo, 2021).

Students and teachers' abduction and quality basic education in Northeastern Nigeria

Iwara (2021) observed that between the first nine years of the Boko Haram insurgency in the Northeast, about 1400 and 2000 schools have been destroyed. Likewise, about 2295 teachers have been killed while more than 19000 teachers and 950000 students fled for safety. Currently, Nigeria has a shortage of 280,000 teachers to effectively and efficiently implement the universal basic education programme, and the insecurity challenges in Northeast Nigeria are a significant contributing factor to such a

shortage of teaching personnel. With the recorded acute shortage of qualified teachers in the Northeast due to insecurity challenges in the states, implementing and sustaining inclusive and equitable quality teaching and extended learning for all school-age children will remain impossible to achieve by 2030.

Onyishi et al. (2023) posited that after the Nigerian security agency eliminated the Boko Haram leader in 2009, the goals changed as they turned violent against anybody and anything that did not share their religious orientation (Walker, 2012; Centre for Preventive Action [CPA], 2022). This was followed by their bombing of Louis Edet House, the national police headquarters in Abuja (Walker, 2012). This increased the rate of violence in the Northeast and the attacks on media offices and schools heightened.

Similarly, UNESCO (2018) decried that about 19,000 teachers have been displaced due to the insecurity situation in the Northeast. If this should continue unabated, the region will likely experience an acute shortage of qualified teaching personnel, which, by extension, will affect the attainment of basic education in the region (Ogunode et al., 2021).

Amzart (2017) argued that insecurity in the Northeast is responsible for the inability of students in the region to catch up with students from the Southern part of Nigeria in terms of literacy level; this is because of the constant abduction of students and teachers has led to the shutting down of many schools in the Northeast. Hence, the interruptions in learning due to insecurity challenges have brought about the low literacy rate recorded in the Northeast region. Amzart (2017) further revealed that in the literacy scorecard, Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, and Gombe States scored 55.82%, 19.26%, 23.11%, and 29.05%, respectively. These figures portrayed a low literacy rate performance when compared to the remaining 31 states in the country.

Amzart (2017) further stated that the Northern part of the country receives more basic education from the federal government compared to other states in the south, west, and east of Nigeria. Between 2007 and 2016, the Northeast, Northwest, and Northcentral regions received N3 trillion, N2.5 trillion, and N2.2 trillion, respectively. Furthermore,

Imo state, which has the highest literacy rate of 96.43%, received N29.85 billion even with a population of 4.7 million, whereas Yobe state, which is among the northeast states with a population of 2.8 million, received N30.95 billion as a federal allocation but recorded a low literacy rate of 2.23%.

Lawal (2018) noted that the abduction of students has further fuelled the crisis of out-of-school children roaming the streets begging for alms. The lifestyle of begging for a living exposes the students to serve as potential recruits for the role of suicide bombers or child soldiers. Between 2010, 2015, and 2019, Nigeria experienced a skyrocketing number of out-of-school children, ranging from 10.5 million to 13.2 million and 14 million. respectively (Emordi et al., 2020). However, as cited in Bassey (2022), recent data released by UNESCO revealed that Nigeria's current number of school children is 20.2 million. This figure indicates that eliminating illiteracy through providing quality, equitable, and lifelong education is daunting due to insecurity in the Northeast.

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S/N	Regions	Number of OOSC
1	Northcentral	1,329,111
2	Northeast	2,0012,038
3	Northwest	3,490,671
4	Southeast	713,176
5	South-South	1,208,1832
	C 111	1 451 740

Table 1: Nigeria Regional Data on Out-of-School Children, 2018-2021

Source: Authors compilation, adapted from Okeke (2023)

The data in Table 1 above shows that the Northwest is leading with more than three million out-of-school children. This is followed by the Northeast region, which accounts for two million, while the Northcentral, South-South, and Southwest recorded one million plus each. The region with less than one million school-age children that are not in school is the Southeast region. One exciting aspect of this data is that it revealed how regions that are worst hit by internal security challenges, such as the Boko-Haram insurgency and armed bandits, accounted for the majority of school-age children who are denied access to quality basic education; this is followed by other regions that the insecurity challenges have spread into such as the Northwest and Northcentral. Thus, the more assaults on schools persist, the more out-of-school children will be recorded. The impact of the global pandemics, coupled with cultural values and expectations, as well as poverty,

contribute to fuelling and sustaining these ugly statistics of a growing number of school-age children who are not in school.

UNICEF as cited in (Okolie et al., 2020), reported that Boko-Haram insurgents in Northern Nigeria accounted for the killing of 2,300 teachers and the destruction of 1,400 schools in the Northeast States of Adamawa, Yobe, and Borno between 2009 and 2018. The killing of teachers who are crucial tools for producing and disseminating knowledge, which is geared towards realising sustainable development goal 4, will widen the literacy gap between the North and South. Similarly, the destruction of schools in the Northeast will further encourage the menace of out-of-school children, who are likely to be potential tools for the terrorists and bandits to utilise in carrying out their nefarious activities across the whole country.

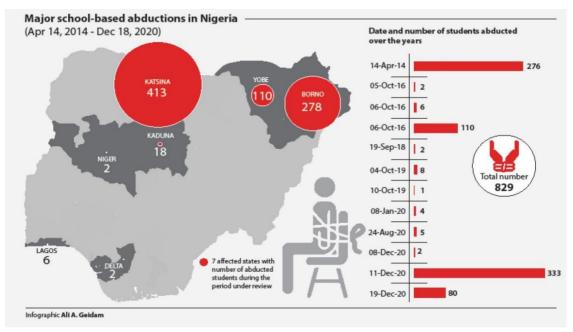


Figure 1: Major School-based Abduction in Nigeria, 2014-2020

Source: Okeke and Ibrahim (2020).

The figure above reveals the rate of school-based abduction in Nigeria between 2014 and 2020. Kastina and Kaduna, which are in the Northwest, recorded 413 cases of school-based abductions. Borno and Yobe, which represents the Northeast, had a total of 388 abduction cases. Niger and Delta States recorded the least cases, followed by Lagos, with only 6 cases. The data above reveals that if insecurity is not curtailed, it is likely to have a spill-over effect over other federating states in Nigeria. This spells doom for Nigeria in terms of catching up with the attainment

of quality education and lifelong learning by the year 2030.

In light of the above critical appraisal of the literature, this paper summarises below how internal security in the Northeast has affected and will continue to affect the realisation of Sustainability Development Goal 4 by 2030

1. Some parts of Borno State have been experiencing electricity outbreaks due to the Boko Haram attacks in the state. Thus, the electricity shortage will affect the learning of some students in boarding schools and off-boarding

- resident students who rely on steady electricity to study. Likewise, since
- 2. electricity generated through generating plants has limited service hours, school security will be threatened, exposing students and other personnel to security risks.
- 3. The federal government's efforts to improve enrolment rates at the primary school level through the Home Grown Feeding Programme will be undermined. The insecurity situation in the Northeast region has already distorted the enrolment rate, further exacerbating the rate of out-of-school children in the Northeast region.
- 4. Pupils and students rendered homeless due to the insecurity situation in the Northeast will have limited access to quality formal basic education in the various Internally Displaced Persons Camps (IDPs). In the same vein, those whose parents are already living as refugees in neighbouring countries like Chad, Niger, and Cameroon may face the same fate regarding access to basic education in a different country and with some curricular variations.

- 5. The closing-down of some susceptible public schools due to the Boko Haram and bandits' abduction
- 6. of students in the Northeast will encourage the perpetrators of these acts to continue since it is an end to the realisation of the agenda of the Boko Haram insurgents, which negate Western education and civilisation. School closure will compound the academic loss recorded during the Covid-19 lockdown era and further add to the illiteracy burden among learners in the Northeast.
- 7. The internal security challenges in Northeast Nigeria have distorted the realisation of the Safe School Initiative programme. This constitutes a drawback in protecting the lives of learners and teachers and a constitutional breach of the learner's rights to education.
- 8. The incessant abduction and killing of teachers, which constitute crucial instruments in implementing the Universal Basic Education mandate, will spell further doom for the Northeast, which is currently one of the educationally backward states. Hence, catching up in terms of adequate qualified teaching personnel needed to reduce the

illiteracy burden will become a herculean task to perform under the current insecurity challenges in the region.

Conclusion

In conclusion, providing quality basic education is intrinsically linked to establishing and maintaining a positive and peaceful school climate for teachers, learners, and all educational stakeholders. In line with the system theory, this study reveals that the Nigerian state's inability to address the internal security challenges in the Northeast region is a significant factor contributing to the regressive state of basic education in the area. The continuous abduction of students and teachers by bandits and Boko Haram terrorists has further exacerbated the region's declining student enrolment and literacy rates, depriving millions of students of access to quality education. Consequently, there has been a drastic increase in the number of out-of-school children in the region. Moreover, the ramifications of this crisis extend beyond the immediate educational sector, impeding socioeconomic development and perpetuating cycles of poverty and illiteracy. The burden of an educationally backward Northeast region poses a significant obstacle to Nigeria's efforts to achieve

Sustainable Development Goal 4 by 2030. Urgent action is, therefore, imperative to

address the security challenges effectively and restore access to quality basic education in the Northeast states as education remains the key to sustainable development.

Recommendations

- 1. The Federal Ministry of Education, in collaboration with the government of Northeastern states, should recruit and train armed education marshals that would offer security surveillance in schools. In addition, effort should be made to improve the electricity supply in schools.
- 2. A sustainability programme, such as the National School Feeding Programme, should improve school enrolment rates. Adoption of such a programme will help enhance basic education in the Northeast.
- 3. Efforts should be made to relocate people who have been dislodged as a result of security challenges. In doing this, the government should ensure that IDP camps have schools for formal education.
- 4. In collaboration with the various Northeastern state governments, the federal government should show genuine interest in prioritising the Safe School

Initiative programme. This will help provide all the necessary technical gadgets to boost the security of lives and school facilities in schools in the region.

5. There is an urgent need to strengthen the general security architecture in the Northeastern Nigeria so that teachers can be protected from attacks.

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