INSECURITY AND GIRL CHILD EDUCATION IN NORTH-EAST NIGERIA: A CASE OF CHIBOK AND DAPCHI QUAGMIRE

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ABSTRACT

The growth of girl child education has been greatly endangered over the years due to the wanton threats and sporadic attacks in schools by the Boko Haram sects. This act of terror to the girl child in Chibok and Dapchi has affected the zeal, passion and desire of most girls in seeking western education. The study therefore, examines how insecurity in the north-east has hindered enrollment and commitment of girls to education since 2014. The authors argued that, there is a nexus between girl child education growth, development and security. The paper recommend adequate security to all schools in the north-east as means of confidence building for parents to release their female children to school. The method of data collection used is both primary and secondary method. The paper made use of elite theory as the theoretical framework of analysis. The paper proffered solutions to the threat to the girl child and clearly stated also the role of government, stakeholders to peace in the region. The conclusion was that, for the nation to succeed in its quest and desire to educate girls from the north-east region, security must be taken seriously.

KEYWORDS: Education, insecurity, girls, North-East & Boko Haram

INTRODUCTION

"Every gun that is made, every warship lunched, every rocket fired
Signifies in the sense, a theft from those who are hungry and
Are not fed, those who are cold and not clothed"Eisenhower, 2001

Insecurity in the northeast has become a matter of tremendous concern in the region over the years. Boko Haram has terrorized the region and this has caused great insecurity.Boko Haram is led by a philosophy that prohibits western education. The group has engaged in guerrilla warfare against the Nigerian government and its citizens for the last decade and poses a threat to survival in the region (Azama, 2015). The challenges of this insecurity range from sporadic attacks on innocent civilians as well as security forces, kidnappings or abductions, banditry and of recent Fulani herders attacks on farmers in the region and other regions of the country. The dreaded Boko Haram continuous attacks on the populaceare extremely worrisomely despite the claim by the Federal Government that Boko Haram has technically been defeated.

Girls are a consistent target of these terrorist and are constantly exposed to brutal violence in their schools being soft targets of the Boko Haram terrorist.There are few safe places left for women and girls in the northeast. UNICEF reported that since the emergence of the Boko Haram in the northeast over ten (10) years ago, at least 2,295 teachers have been killed and more than 1,400 schools have been destroyed. Most of these schools have not reopened because of extensive damage or ongoing insecurity and fear of attacks on their schools. (UNICEF, 2018)

THE ABDUCTION OF CHIBOK AND DAPCHI: AN OVERVIEW

Security is necessary for human beings in general; the multi facets and many phases of security quagmire in the Northeast Nigeria are a growing hitch and dilemma. Since 2013, more than 1,000 children have been abducted by Boko Haram in northeastern Nigeria, (UNICEF, 2018).It was on 14^{th}-15^{th} of April, 2014 that the nation was greeted with the heinous and egregious news of the abduction ofabout 276 female school girls from Government Girls Secondary School Chibok(over five years ago). Till date, 112 of the girls are still missing, while the federal government has rescued some. The girls are being used as baits or prawns by the Boko Haram members in exchange to their arrested members by the Nigerian State. Available

report by some of the girls indicates that, six of the girls died. The federal government rescued eighty-two (82) of the girls in May, 2017 and one (1) was also rescued in 2016 and two other girls escape in September and January 2017. In October 2016 21 girls were freed (ICRC) in exchange. According to the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in 2014, more than 100 girls are still missing after they were abducted from their school. This action led to shutdown of schools in the area and Northeast in general. Amnesty international posit that over two thousand (2000) women and girls had been abducted since 2014 and fourteen (14) mass abductions has taken place in the Northeast.Again on February 19, 2018 the nation was greeted with the news of the abduction of about 110 school girls from the Government Girls' Science and Technical College (GGSTC) Dapchi in Bulabulin, Yunusari Local Government Area of Yobe State. Thisabduction of school girls is a great source of concern to the region. Boko Haram terrorist believe that education and western knowledge, is a taboo. These abductions are not only a source of worry to the region alone, nor to Nigeria only, but it is a source of great concern to the global community, this can be seen from the way the news of these abductions usually make global headlines, in fact the case of the Dapchi kidnappings of the 110 school girls is still making headlines since one girl abducted alongside the other 110 school girls named Leah Sharibu who refused to renounce her Christian faith is still held captive by the Boko Haram Terrorist, therefore this is still attracting a lot of global attention to the country and the insecurity the nation faces (Nnochiri, et al, 2018).

Women and girls abducted by the Boko Haram Terrorist are usually terribly traumatized as the results of the different forms of experiences that they go through during the period that they are held as captives. These experiences are mostly very ruthless and violent in nature, such as rape, beatings, early and forced marriage and torture, sex slavery and some even murdered. Some have become pregnant and give birth to children. All these are as a result of the insecurity in the region. Security is multi-dimensional and multi-faceted, what is obvious historically is the constant search by man for answers to the problem of conflicts among states (Amadu, 1999). This new dimension of security quagmire has created a major sign of discomfort among the people in the region. Since 2008, the Nigerian State had to manage the constant attacks, killings, bombing of the people in States like Borno, Yobe and Adamawa, but the new system of school girls' abduction is scary and disturbing. This new development has made global leaders, opinion leaders, thought leaders, the comity of states and the international community to focus and refocus it lens to the region. This problem has become a major national and

international emergency, and now the need to defend and protect the girl child who seeks to be educated like their male child counterparts has become paramount. The threat is now directed on the girls as their hope for sound education is being threatened. Since the Chibok incident six years ago and the Dapchi abduction of almost two years back, girls in the many parts of the north in general are not totally free to enroll in schools. This is the impact of insecurity on the girl child education in northeast Nigeria. Generally, there is tension and fear in the hearts and minds of the people in the north, but now the focal point is, the direct attack on girls not at their homes but in schools is even more worrisome.

There is another part of insecurity in the northeast that adds to the worry; these are attacks on security forces like as the military, their barracks and their bases. The military over the past eleven years have lost many Men, Materials and Machines (3 M's) due to the activities of the Boko Haram sects and their allies. The girl child quagmire is of interest because it is a direct target to them in a region with low educational turn for the female gender in particular. The recurring abduction, kidnapping of women in Borno and Yobe is indeed a call for concern.

Elucidation of Concepts

Insecurity: in general terms, insecurity is refers to; want of safety, danger, hazard, uncertainty, want of confidence, doubtful, inadequately guarded or protected, lacking stability, troubled and lack of protection. Beland (2005) refers to insecurity as the state of fear or anxiety steaming from a concrete or alleged lack of protection. It is also seen as lack of freedom from danger as well. Physical insecurity is the most visible form of insecurity. It feeds into many other forms of insecurity such as economic security and social security as well (Achumba,et al 2013)

Security: Shinkaiye (2004:2) defined security as the sum total of action and measures, including legislative and operational procedures, adopted to ensure peace, stability and the general well-being of a nation and its citizens. United Nations (1994) defined it as "safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression, and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily lives, whether in homes or communities". Bazan (1990:7), as cited in Nwolise (2013), identified five dimensions of security as military security, political security, economic security, environmental security, and social security. This was regarded as the horizontal expansion of security. There was also a vertical expansion, which saw security emphasizing and including the individual, social groups (ethnic, religious, and professionals), the state, and humanity at large.

Education: Education is one of the fundamental rights of individuals. Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in December, 1949 stipulated that everyone has the right to education that is compulsory at the elementary stage and be able to access higher education.

According to Prof. Herman H. Horn, Education is a perennial process of adjustment is higher for the creatures that have evolved physically, mentally free and conscious of God as manifested in the environment, intellectual, emotional and willingness of humans. To M.J. Langeveld, education is every interaction that happens and it is also every association that occurs between adults with children is a field or a state where the educational work in progress.

Girl Child: The Global Women Issue refers to Girl Child as one of the critical areas of the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action. Girl's rights are codified on the right of child. The girl-child is a biological female child which is between zeros to eighteen (18) years of age. It is the age of elementary to secondary school period and under the care of parents meaning depending of others as she grow and develops into young adult.

Methodological Discussion

The study utilized both primary and secondary sources of data collection. Primary Data was obtained through key informant interviews with Dapchi Community leaders as well as members of the Dapchi Community, and with the parents of the lone school girl who is still held captive in the hands of Boko Haram. Secondary data was generated from research studies from textbooks, journals, periodicals, magazines, newspapers and other literature from archival records or documents and| online materials concurrently.

Theoretical Framework

> *"What we lack is a dynamic theory, one that indigenizes the mechanisms of transformation."*Margaret Levi, American Political Science Association, Presidential Address, 2006.

The Elite theory can be traced back to the writings of a number of European thinkers in the years preceding the growth of fascism, particularly to Vilfredo Pareto and Gaetano Mosea, both Italians, Roberto Michel's, a Swiss German and Jose Ortega Y. Gasset, (Varma S.P.

1975). The origins of the theory of political elites came under discussion through these scientists. Pareto (1848-1923) believed that every society is ruled by a minority that possesses the qualities necessary for its accession to full social and political power. Those who get to the top are the best. They are the elite and they consist of those successful persons who rise to the top in every stratum of the society and every occupation. Society consists according to Pareto of two classes:

(1) A higher stratum; the elite which are divided into governing elite, and non- governing elite

(2) A lower stratum; the non-elite. Pareto's focus of enquiry was the governing elite, he believed, unless by a mixture of force and cunning.

Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941) opined that "in all societies, from societies that are very meagerly developed and have barely attained the dawning of civilization, down to the most advanced and powerful societies, two classes of people appear; a class that rules and a class that is ruled. The first class, always the less numerous, performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages that power brings, whereas the second, the more numerous class, is directed and controlled by the first, in a manner that is now more or less legal, more or less arbitrary and violent and supplies the first, in appearance at least, with the instrumentalities that are essential to the vitality of the political organism" (Meisel J.H., 1948).

The basic assumption of the elite theory is that every society is dichotomous, based on unequal distribution of power. Society therefore, is viewed by the elite theorists as being made up of those who have significant power, and make laws or define the rules which govern the rest of the society. The elite are in the minority, compared to the rest members of their society who are governed and have no significant power. Eneanya A.N. (2009) also stressed that the essential argument of the elite theory is that it is not the people or the "masses" who determine

public policy or foreign policies through their demands and action, rather, policy is decided by a ruling elite and affected by public officials and agencies.

Thomas Dye and Human Zeigler (1981) provided a summary of the elite theory:

(a) Society is divided into the few who have power and the many that do not. Only these small members of privileged persons allocate values for society. The masses do not decide policy.

(b) The few who govern are typical of the masses that are governed. The elite are drawn disproportionately from the upper socio-economic strata of society.

(c) Movement of the non-elite to elite positions must be slow and continuous to maintain stability and avoid revolution. Only the non-elite who have accepted the basic elite consensus can be admitted to governing circles.

(d) The elite share a consensus on the basic values of the social system and the preservation of the system.

(e) Public policy does not reflect demands of the masses but rather the prevailing values of the elite. Changes in public policy will be incremental rather than revolutionary. Incremental changes permit responses to events that threaten a social system with a minimum of alteration or dislocation of the system.

Some scholars such as Barbook (1975) "see elite theory as a tautological view of the world". The elite theorists are often criticized on the sectional use to which power is put, a situation that does not benefit all in the society. The assertion by the elite theorists that society is made up of people with unequal powers and that democratic rule or equality of all cannot be attained has also been criticized.

Impact of the Abduction on Education

"Earlier this year, I learned that the gender parity index for education in Northern Nigeria is 28%. Basically,this means that for every 100 children getting basic education in that part of the country, only 28 are girls" **Nuyo 2018**

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Insecurity is a major challenge and setback in Nigeria and the Northeast in particular. The Boko Haram terror activities have had a huge impact on the already fragile education systems of the Northeast region. Many teachers fear to return to the classroom just as parents are scared to send their children back to school. Since 2014 which marks the beginning of attacks in schools, the girl child education has been in danger; this can be seen clearly by the largenumbers of women and girls who fled their homes as the result of the activities of the Boko Haram terrorist in the various internally displaced people (IDP) camps across the country. In the IDP camps women face a degrading living condition. They are faced with security challenge in the camps because there were incidences of attacks by the Boko Haram group on some IDPs camps. Some of the girls interviewed narrated the ordeals they faced as girls in the camps. Some cases of the gender based violence they face in the camps were perpetrated by some camp officials and security men who are supposed to protect these women unfortunately. Hunger as a result of shortage of food which leads to inadequate feeding can be severe in some camps and this has exposed the women and girls to malnutrition.

Parents are not at ease with the idea of sending their girls to school in other to prevent them from danger. Parents and community leaders of Dapchi narrated their ordeal and how the kidnapping occurred the day Boko Haram attacked their village and taking their daughters away from their schools due to lack of security forces to keep the terrorist away and they urged the Nigerian government to help secure these schools to enable them send back their wards to school as most of them have refused to send them back because of fear that the schools will be attacked again.(Abdukareem, 2018). Some of the residents interviewed pointed to the fact that before the attacks on their community and the abduction of their daughters from their school in Dapchi,the military checkpoint at the entrance to town had been removed, and they believe that this security gaps gave the terrorist the free hand to attack the community for several hours. “The Boko Haram came into townand carried out their terror attacks unhindered and left,” said the mother of one of the girls abducted, the school matron. “This is something that would have been averted if military presence was visible in the town. It’s really traumatic, honestly.”

Leah Sharibu has not yet been released and her parents said that their daughter’s abductors would only release her if she converted to Islam. The parents have pleaded with the Nigerian Government to negotiate with the Boko Ham as they did when the rest of the Muslim girls were released. Information minister Lai Mohammed stated that the release was unconditional and has promised that the government is negotiating with the book Haram. The

Members of the Boko Haram after releasing the girls warned their parents not to send them back to school again. After the Chibok girls saga, it is only those rescued girls that were sent overseas for studies that continued with their education quest and pursuance, those who went back to the community were traumatized to the extent that school was the last option they have because of fear of the unknown and the abuse and molestation meted on them has left a damaging impact on them. The memory of the remaining girls in captivity still poses as threat to education among girls in the north in general. The unfortunate case of Leah Sharibu is another case that makes the girls to stay off the classrooms and lost faith in education because of the danger other girls have gone through in the past five (5) years. In the Northeast, over 2.2 million people have been displaced around the Lake Chad region since 2009.\ The Boko Haram constant hostility has been an attack on education. The sect has killed over 2,295 teachers and over 19,000 teachers have been displaced. Over 1,400 schools have been destroyed and over 600,000 children have lost access to education in a region that is educationally disadvantage (UNICEF, 2018). According to GCPEA (2018) over 600 girls and women have been abducted by Boko Haram in schools since 2014. These girls are also use by the sect members as suicide bombers, wives and prostitute (UN, 2017).

It is very visible that their attacks on school are harmful and unfavorable to girl child education. The impact of incessant attacks on girls will lead to more girls going into early marriage and the goal on education will not be achieved as well.Most of the girls rescued from the Boko Haram abduction, would require intensive and personal counseling if they are to be re-integrated into society due to the long period they have spent in captivity. (Vanguard, 4 May 2015). Again apart from the psychological trauma, these girls also find their families displaced from their homes and now having to live as refugees in the different communities where there may not be schools to attend even if they want to return to school.

In 2017, between Januarys to July, Boko Haram has used 145 girls for suicide attacks across the northeast. Ample evidence exists that calls for concern in the way that Boko Haram has been using the abducted girls and women in suicide operations. The first reported female suicide bombing in Nigeria was on 8 June, 2014 in the north-eastern State of Gombe, where a female suicide bomber was reported to have blown herself and a soldier close to the Quarter-guard of the 301 Battalion of Nigerian Army in Gombe (Odebode et al. 2014). The use of girls for these acts will make or spur parents to decide not to release their girls to school since they are

the prime target by the sect. Boko Haram threatens girls' access to education as it is a core component of their modus operandi (Timi A, 2018).

Prospects of Girls Child Education in Northeast

A healthy nation is a wealthy nation' and one of the indices that ensure a healthy nation is education, therefore the implications of a proper education of the girl-child cannot be over emphasized. Women are naturally endowed with great potentials and they possess virtues which that can be channeled through education to bring out those potential that can allow them tocontribute to national development. It is therefore very important to educate the girl child. Girl child education is the northeast is limited by so many challenges including the insecurity. Studies have pointed to the fact that there is a link between girls' literacy rates and religious misconceptions which is seen in the northeast with the activities of Boko Haram by attacking girl child education, forcing the people in the region to live according to their believes. More women need to speak up on the importance of girl child education.

The government must first move to end insecurity in the region, rescue the remaining girls in custody.The government has been criticized for failing to keep schools safe. The government has a role of rebuilding the destroyed schools to enable the people to give the protection in all realms. It is imperative for the girl child to be educated in the northeast and the northern region in particular. The security of the region and protection of schools by government at all levels is sacrosanct. This will be the only yardstick for the promotion of Girl Child education. Educating the girl child is necessity in the northeast because it will give the female child the ground to compete favorably with the male child whose insecurity impact is not equal to that of the Girl child.

Recommendations

1. Government must take the revamping of security in the region very seriously to enable the girl child to study in a safe environment without any rancor or threat to her life and safety.
2. International humanitarian corporations must work more assiduously to promote and preserve the girls and other school age children in the region especially in Yobe and Borno.

3. The local government leaderships in the states must unite to form a coalition to enhance internal security in the local communities. Their priority must be on girl child and all educational facilities. Safety of the schools and girl child mean safety in the entire region. The locals have a huge role to play.
4. All schools in the northeast must be secured and re-secured to avoid the incident of Chibok in 2014 and Dapchi in 2018. All schools must have well security personnel's that will secure it on daily basis. If this is done, the danger on girl child will be averted.
5. Information gathering by members of the local community in the redline location is needed. The people must contribute to the security of their homes by alerting all agencies of mass vehicular movement at all time. This is because the terrorist group moves in huge convoy. If this information is made available by the locals to government and key security agencies, attacks on schools and the girl child would reduce and eradicated.
6. All girl schools should be relocated from rural areas to urban areas in Borno and Yobe. This will end the unnecessary abduction and kidnapping of girl child in the region.
7. There should be mass registration of girls in all school to enable the government have the clear statistics of number of girls who are in school and guarantee their security better.
8. The Yobe and Borno government should seek the assistance of the Federal government to build joint girls schools with the two states that will have maximum security and state of the arts facilities that will put security of the girls above other things.
9. Government in other to encourage girls to go back to school must put them scholarship. This will be a motivation to peasant parents who cannot afford the money to send them to good schools.
10. The state government should create jobs for the few girls that are able to complete their elementary studies and give priority to those who made it to the tertiary studies as well. If this is achieved, the girl child will have hope and faith in education. They will take the risk to enroll in schools because of the perceived and foreseen future benefits that awaits them after schooling.

Conclusion

To conclude, it is very important for the Nigerian government to place more priority on girl-child education, particularly in the northeast. This will lead to maximum and optimal development in the nation. When a girl child is educated, the country growth will know no bounds. Parents should be encouraged to send their wards to school. Education is the right of

every girl and she should be given the opportunity to reach her potential which will transform her life and her community. Without education, girls are denied the opportunity to develop their full potential and to be productive to the world. It is pertinent to note that, the northeast was known to be a disadvantage region in terms of education, the attacks on schools, students, pupils, educators etc has endangered the region retrogressively on it quest to education. The right to education has been drastically devastated and insecurity has dramatically affected hundreds of thousands of school children at all levels, the girl child is the most targeted.

It would also be interesting to undertake more research on what is being done in other areas to strengthen effectively the human rights of women and girls in order to challenge patriarchy and other cultural or religious arrangements that make systemic violence against women possible. If the challenge on girl's child is not properly tackled and handled in the northeast states of Borno and Yobe, the probability of education insecurity escalation to other parts of the geographical divides of the nation to northwest and north central is high without imaginations and controversies. The threats if allowed '*un-assuage*', the terrorists and insecurity entrepreneurs will migrate to other parts to carry out their act of terror. Since the basic and primary aim of government is the provision of security and the protection of lives and property, the Nigerian government at all levels of the divide must work assiduously hard to build hope, faith, confidence and trust of the girl child for her to fancy education, having the believe and strength of mind that she will not be victim of the Chibok and Dapchi quagmire.

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