THE CHALLENGES OF SAFE SCHOOL IN NIGERIA: THE ROLE OF SECURITY AGENCIES

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Abstract
Safe school in Nigeria in the last decade has come under security threats. This is as a result of terrorist activities targeted at schools resulting in the destruction of school infrastructure, abduction of teachers and students, closure of schools and increase in internal displacement of persons in affected areas prone to security threats. This study looked at the challenges of safe school in Nigeria and the measures that can be taken by security agencies to promote safety of schools from frequent attacks by terrorist and other non-state actors. The paper adopted qualitative research design approach with the use of secondary sources of data. The data gathered were analyzed through content analysis.By adopting Abraham Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs as theoretical framework for analysis, the paper explainedwhy safety and security needs of teachers and students are under threat. The study noted that the roles and responsibilities of law enforcement agencies were hampered by large "ungoverned space" which Boko Haram insurgents group and other criminal groups take advantage off in perpetrating various crimes and criminality.The study among other things recommended that for schools to be safe from attacks, counter-terrorism rather than anti-terrorism approach must be adopted in combating Boko Haram Insurgency and other similar activities by armed criminal groups. This can be achieved by the effective use of strategic intelligence and reconnaissance activities through effective policy measures and preventive measures. Also stepping up intelligence-led policing certainly will aid the effective use of early warning signals and also ensure that early response mechanisms are properly instituted and situated in the overall diagnosis of issues generating security concerns in the country by the relevant authorities.

Keywords: Security,Safe School, Boko Haram, Insurgency, Terrorism.

Introduction
Save schools in Nigeria has been under serious threat most notably in the North East geo-political zone. The threats can be attributed to the internal armed conflict generated from the activities of the Islamist insurgency group known as "Boko Haram" founded by late Mohammed Yusuf and whose successor AbubakrShekau pledged allegiance to Islamic State 'Caliph' Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi leading to the rebranding of the movement as Islamic State's West Africa Province (ISWAP) in 2015 (Pearson,2018).

According to a special report released by the United States Institute of Peace,Boko Haram expanded its attacks to schools from 2011 and that resulted in the killingand abduction of hundreds of teachers and students and also the destruction of school buildings and teaching materials (Walker, 2012).The height of abduction carried out by the Boko Haram insurgent group was that of over 200 girls from Chibokwhich led to the launch of social media initiatives "Bring Back Our Girls". Since the abduction of the Chibok girls, the effect of such attacks has dampened participation in education most especially across the northeast geo-political zone mostly ravaged by Boko Haram insurgents. This led to the "Safe Schools Initiative" launched by the UN Special Envoy for Global Education, Gordon Brown, alongside Nigerian Global Business Coalition for Education and private sector leaders at the World Economic Forum Africa (United Nations Development Group).

The conflict dilemmas created by Boko Haram was so serious that it significantly increased the number of out-of-school children. By the end of 2015, a UNICEF estimate indicated that 37% of the Internally Displaced People (IDP) in Borno, Adamawa and Yobe states were between 6 and 17 years of age while the Education in Emergencies Working Group Nigeria (EiEWGN) also estimated that more than 800,000 school-aged children were also displaced in late 2015; with more than 650,000 of those displaced in two neighbouring Local Government Areas (LGAs) situated in Borno-Maiduguri and Jere(Famuyiwa-Alaka, Powell , Akogun, Musa, Mohammed & Njobi,2018).

Safe schools therefore remain a human security issue and if there is no safe schools there will be no future for the world.This was buttressed in a statement credited to Prof. Peter Okebukola, former Executive Secretary Nigeria Universities Commission who affirmed that:

> there are at least three compelling reasons for asserting a focus on safe schools. Without safe schools, our dream of harnessing the power of education for achieving goals in health, food, employment, environmental, energy, security, among a miscellany of other subsets of human security will come to naught. Without safe schools, Education for All will remain a pipe dream so also attainment of post-2015 global development goals. Without safe schools, quality education yearned by all countries of the world will be hindered. The terminal point of the logic is: no safe schools and no future for the world(Youdeowei and Iruoma,2015).

It is therefore the global desire that every child should have access to quality education across regions of the world(Occupational health and Safety Managers,2017).

Conceptual Clarification

The major concepts that are central to this paper are: Security, Safe School, Boko Haram, Insurgencyand Terrorism. Security is often viewed in terms of the basic survival, welfare, and protection of the state existing in an international system. It is the ability of states and societies to maintain their independent identity and their functional integrity (Peterside, 2014). Within the context of a nation Buzan (1992) argues for a view of security which includes political, economic, societal, environmental as well as military security. According to Ozoemena (2009) security has to do with national interest and involves "the sum total of actions and measures, including legislative and operational procedures, adopted to ensure peace, stability and the general wellbeing of a nation and its citizens".

According to the (National Center on Safe Supporting learning Environments,2019) School safety is defined as "schools and school-related activities where students are safe from violence, bullying, harassment, and substance use" while safe schools are places that "promotes the protection of students from violence, exposure to weapons and threats, theft, bullying, and the sale or use of illegal substances on school grounds". In the last decade, school have continuously been under threat and most disturbing issue is the impact of armed conflict on education which has led to bombing, shelling and burning of schools and universities, killing maiming abduction or arbitrarily detention of children, students, teachers and academics and educational facilities used by parties to armed conflict as bases, barracks or detention centres(Global Coalition to Protect Education From Attack,2019).

Insurgency also has been defined as an "organized movement aimed at the overthrow of a constituted government through the use of subversion and armed conflict" or "as the organized use of subversion and violence to seize, nullify, or challenge political control of a region"(Adedire, Ake& Olowojolu,2016). Insurgents mainly seek to subvert or displace the government and also completely or partially control the resources and population of a given territory through the use of force (including guerrilla warfare, terrorism, coercion or intimidation, propaganda, subversion, and political mobilization) (Adedire, Ake&Olowojolu2016).Insurgents are deadly groups and theyoften reside among men in various countries of the worldwith the use of different kind nomenclatures to identify themselves. Furthermore,Boko Haram insurgents has become a "very blood sucking pest on Nigerian society as they strike with such ferocity that

both Nigeria and the world beyond are drawn to the question of the emergence of this group and what they stand to gain after all"(Okoroafor& Ukpabi,2015).

Terrorism can be defined as the "systematic use of violence and intimidation to coerce a government or community into acceding to specific political demands" (Adedire, Ake& Olowojolu,2016).Article 2 of the draft comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism as cited by (Schmid&Graaf,1980) defined terrorism as:

> any person who commits an offence within the meaning of this Convention if that person, by any means, unlawfully and intentionally, causes: death or serious bodily injury to any person; or serious damage to public or private property, including a place of public use, a state or government facility, a public transportation system, an infrastructure facility or the environment; or damage to property, places, facilities, or systems referred to in paragraph 1 (b) of this article, resulting or likely to result in major economic loss, when the purpose of the conduct, by its nature or context, is to intimidate a population, or to compel a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act (Adedire, Ake& Olowojolu,2016).

Boko Haram which generic terms also means "western education is forbidden" is an Islamic sect founded in 2002 in Maiduguri in Northeastern Nigeria byMohammed Yusuf. The group's official name in Arabic, Jama'atuAhlissunahlidda 'awatiwal Jihad,which translates to "people committed to the propagation of the Prophet's teachings and Jihad" (Adedire, Ake&Olowojolu, 2016).The armed group carried out brutal attacks beginning from2009 till date with the aim of establishing extremist Islamic rule.Violence against civilians, including targeted attacks on education, was part of Boko Haram's strategy (Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack,2018).

Theoretical Framework for Analysis

The security challenges that Nigeria educational system is facing certainly have bearing with safety of life and property. Therefore this paper adopted Abraham Maslow's Hierarchy of needs as theoretical framework for analysis. This is premised on the notion that teaching and learning demand for an environment that is serene and devoid of form of acrimony or rancor (Kpee and Comfort,2014) .Abraham Maslow's Hierarchy of needsproposed that human beings are guided by needs and wants which are rather complex but ordered in a hierarchy of prepondency.

Maslow classified all needs in a hierarchy and simply separated the needs as lower order needs and higher order needs. The first four levels are: 1) Physiological: hunger, thirst, bodily comforts, etc.; 2) Safety/security: out of danger; 3) Belongingness and Love: affiliate with others, be accepted; and 4) Esteem: to achieve, be competent, gain approval and recognition. The general level needs that focused on growth beyond that oriented towards self as further explained by Maslow are: 5) Cognitive: to know, to understand, and explore; 6) Aesthetic: symmetry, order, and beauty; 7) Self-actualization: to find self-fulfillment and realize one's potential; and 8) Self-transcendence: to connect to something beyond the ego or to help others find self-fulfillment and realize their potential (Huitt, 2007).

In relation to this discourse, once the physiological needs have been satisfied, the next need that surfaces is safety needs which range from "protection against danger, harm or threat and noise to protection from fear, anxiety, chaos disorderliness, attack, relocation, war, crime etc. safety or security needs call for orderliness, law, limit and extent of freedom" (Kpee and Comfort,2014).Safety needs or security needs deal with the protection and survival of any form of chaotic situations or danger that are not limited to "communal crises, conflicts, wars, clashes, civil disturbance, riots, militancy, terrorism, kidnapping, armed robbery, killings among others which usually threaten peaceful co-existence and harmonious living of people in various communities in the society in the contemporary human environment"(Aruma and Hanachor,2017) .Thisis the true situation of things in some northern states of Nigeria where Boko Haram is causing social

disorder and chaotic situation leading to destruction of lives and property. The safety of schools are therefore threatened in in the area and fundamentally, no community in Boko Haram prone states of Borno, Yobe, Adamawa, Bauchi and Jigawa among others can conveniently embark on community development in such chaotic environment in the country as further noted by (Aruma and Hanachor, 2017).

Issues and Challenges

One of the most important promises made by schools is safety of the studentswhile they are in the school or within a stipulated set of hours. But unfortunately the safety of schools can no longer be guaranteed going by the attacks directed at school by terrorists, hoodlums, thievesand most worrisome is the fact that schools do not adequately benefit from public security as expected (Youdeowei&Iruoma,2015). This situation played out when over 200 school girls were abducted from their hostels in the night from Government Girls Secondary School Chibok in Borno State on May 14, 2014; an action by Boko Haram insurgents that drew international condemnation and global assistance to locate and rescue these girls (Peterside,2014).

Since the abduction of the "Chibok girls" the educational sector of the country most especially in the North East geo-political zone has remained highly vulnerable to attacks. School and colleges with students and teachers have remained targets. They are injured, killed or abducted and their facilities destroyed. The most unfortunate aspect is the fact that the conflict and insecurity situation in the affected areas have often had a direct and compounding negative impact on "children's access to education, the availability of educational spaces and materials and the ability of teachers"(Amalu,2015).The situation is such that dozens of schools and universities were bombed or set on fire by violent extremists, killing hundreds of students, teachers, and other education personnel. Schools also were repeatedly used as barracks, for weapons caches, detention and killing centers while hundreds of students were abducted from classrooms, particularly girls, many of whom were then forced into marriage(Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack,2018).

Lawal(2018) noted that subsequent abduction of 110 Dapchi female pupilson February 19, 2018further leaves Nigerian schools with more doubt about safety of their ward. Furthermore, following the kidnapping incidents many parents faced the challenges of optingnot to send their children to school. In one of the account given by an adducted pupil at the school in Dapchi, in Yobe State during an interview session with BBC noted that "No matter what security is put in place I honestly don't think I can go back to this school. I have a lot of friends who went missing. At first, I couldn't go to sleep. I was very much shaken. But I feel better now" (Lawal, 2018).

The target on schools has certainly led to a cumulative effect. This is captured in the statement credited to Education in Emergencies Working Group Nigeria (2018) below:

> An estimated 1,400 schools have been destroyed since 2014, with over 1,280 casualties among teachers and students. The crisis has further devastated the education system and children, teachers and schools are on the front line of the conflict. Recorded attacks reported damage in the schools and universities from bullets, shells or shrapnel. Schools have been deliberately set on fire and looted. Likewise, the cumulative effect of attacks, looting and wanton destruction of schools, climatic degradation, and the impact of occupation by armed groups or its use as shelter by IDPs has left the education infrastructure in a catastrophic state.

The targeted abductions and attacks on schools in North-east Nigeria have left children and their parents in constant fear. Over 600 teachers have been reportedly murdered, 19,000 displaced and 1,200 schools damaged and destroyed with an estimated 3 million conflict-affected children in need of education humanitarian assistance. Furthermore, the education needs are overwhelming both in IDP camps and also in host the communities where more than 50% is under the age of 18 and the crisis no doubt has deteriorated an already fragile and weak education system (Save the Children,2016).

Apart from the North-East geo-political zone of Nigeria being the epicentre of crisis in Nigeria relating to the safety of schools, several attacks on education most specifically violence against students and education personnel has been reported in other areas of the country. Attacks recorded ranges from "hoodlum attacks, break-in and vandalism of school properties by hoodlums and drug addicts to attacks involving burning schools or killing, injuring, kidnapping, detaining or torturing students, teachers and academics"(Education in Emergencies Working Group Nigeria, 2018).One of such attacks in the South-West geo-political zone happened on January 13, 2017 when pupils of the Nigerian Tulip International College (formerly Nigerian Turkish International College), Isheri, Ogun State, was attacked by armed kidnappers who took away three pupils and five employees of the institution (Lawal,2018).

The short-term impact of attacks on education are numerous and often include death, injury, and destruction of educational infrastructure while the long-term impact includes "disruptions in attendance, declines in student enrolment, diminished quality of education and learning, lower rates of transition to higher education levels, overcrowding and reductions in teacher recruitment. Also the attacks on higher education have undermined research and teaching, and have resulted in "brain drain" (Education in Emergencies Working Group Nigeria, 2018).

The attacks on education as further noted by (Education in Emergencies Working Group Nigeria, 2018) have also compromised schools' capacity to protect students from social risks, thereby leaving learners more vulnerable to sexual and other forms of exploitation, recruitment as child labourers or child soldiers, and in other instances, early marriage and pregnancy. The motives for targeting schools, universities, students, teachers and other education staff by terrorist and other non-state actors include the desire achieve the following:

> block the education of girls, abduct children for use as combatants, sex slaves or logistical support in military operations, or abduct students and teachers for ransom; seize schools and universities for use as barracks, bases or firing positions, or attack schools because they are being used for these purposes by opposing forces (Education in Emergencies Working Group Nigeria, 2018).

The various attacks carried out by BokoHaram and other non-state actors certainly have great effect on teachers and students. Some of the effect of violence witnessed by teachers and their pupils outlined in the study conducted by (Famuyiwa-Alaka, Powell, Akogun, Musa, Mohammed &Njobi, 2018) are: fear, anxiety, shock or depression; death of close filial relations (spouse, parent, child, or sibling); death of friends and acquaintances (colleagues, friends, neighbours); abduction or arrest of relations; displacement; illness or physical injury; molestation; impairment of freedom; idleness among youth; loss of social ties; loss of own social network and adjusting to unfamiliar culture. Behavioral changes with regards to Teacher-Pupil relationship observed on the other hand include: pupils' truancy; imitation of insurgents and admiration of insurgents; general stubbornness and unruly behavior fear, anxiety, shock or depression; poor pupil performance (due to prolonged idleness); empathy (sharing scarce resources). There is therefore the need for the government to critically study the trend and ensure and take drastic action in addressing the security challenges faced by schools.

The Role of Security Agencies
Ensuring the safety and security of the citizenry is primarily the responsibility of the state through the effort of the law enforcement agencies by their effective and efficient discharge of duties. The 1999 constitution of Nigeria clearly spells this out in section 14(2) (b) which states that the "the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government". Government therefore is responsible for safeguarding the lives, property and welfare of the citizenry against internal and external threat. Monitoring law and safety which also include law and order therefore becomes government responsibility(Ibrahim, 2013).These role and responsibility are performed by the relevant law enforcement agencies which include the police, the military, department of state security etc.This is in consonance with the "Three Pillar Framework of the

Responsibility to Protect as explained in the 2009 report of the United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki Moon titled "Implementing the Responsibility to Protect" as detailed below:

Pillar One: The state bears the primary responsibility to protect their population from genocide, war crimes, crime against humanity and ethnic cleansing.

Pillar Two: The international community i.e. the UN, regional organization, governments and civil society, must assist states in fulfilling their protection obligations.

Pillar Three: When a state manifestly fails to protect its population or in fact the perpetrator of these crimes, the international community has a responsibility to take collective action in a manner to prevent or halt the commission of mass atrocities. Such action must be on a case-by-case basis using broad range of political, economic and humanitarian measures, and should peaceful means prove inadequate, coercive measures, including the use of force as authorized by the Security Council and in accordance with the Charter (International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect, n.d)

Internal security operations are designed for the purpose of handling internal conflicts in a country and security agencies like Police, Customs Services, Immigration Services, and others are saddled with the responsibility of carrying out Internal Security Operations for the purpose of containing domestic threats to the security of the country. Some of the threats include riots, demonstrations, strikes, communal clashes, terrorism which normally fall outside the constitutional duty of the military. Section 4 of the Police Act of Nigeria also affirm the general duties of the police as the "preservation of law and order, the protection of life and property and the due enforcement of all laws and regulations with which they are directly charged within the society" (Peterside, 2014). However, while noting the dismal security situation in Nigeria with regards to the adequacy of policing (Kriesch, 2018) stressed that:

> There are fewer than 400,000 police officers for Nigeria's population of more than 180 million people. Almost half of them are responsible for protecting VIPs such as politicians, businessmen and other wealthy individuals… Nigeria's military also seems overwhelmed by numerous security challenges. Forces are stationed throughout the country: addressing the threat of Boko Haram in the northeast, hunting oil thieves and criminal gangs in the Niger Delta, and trying to manage growing tensions between farmers and herdsmen in the center of Nigeria.

The inadequacy of police personal for carrying out law enforcement duties as noted above no doubt remains a major challenge to security. The upsurge of insecurity issues in Nigeria such as communal /ethnic clashes, religious conflicts and recently acts of terrorism have therefore necessitated involvement of the Military in internal security operations even though 1999 Constitution of Nigeria clearly provides for the duties of the military in its section 217 as "defend Nigeria from external aggression, maintain its territorial integrity and securing its borders from isolation on land, sea or air, suppressing insurrection and acting in aid of civil authorities to restore order when called upon to do so by the President but subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by an Act of National Assembly" (Peterside,2014).

Section 217 (c) 1999 constitution also forms the basis of involvement of the military in internal security operations in Nigeria as it provides in relation to the functions of the military in Nigeria: "suppressing insurrection and acting in aid of civil authorities to restore order when called upon to do so by the President but subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by an Act of National Assembly". Furthermore Section 8(1) of the Armed Forces Act also provides that the President shall also determine the operational use of the Armed Forces for the purpose of "maintaining and securing public safety and public order" (Peterside,2014).That paved way for the May 2013 declaration of a state of emergency in Adamawa, Borno, and Yobe states by the Nigerian Senate which resulted in increased military activity and an escalation of violence in the states (Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack,2018).The military therefore have been actively involved in the internal security operations of the country due to the numerous security challenges witnessed which necessitated their involvement.

The roles and responsibilities of law enforcement agencies arehowever being hampered by large "ungoverned space" which Boko Haram insurgents group and other criminal groups take advantage off in perpetrating various crimes and criminality. Besides the lack of Biometrics data and ICT driven security architecture have also hindered the effort of law enforcement agencies in Nigeria. While private security organizations have their limitations in guard duties, without the complementary role of law enforcement agencies in the discharge of their duties and responsibilities in response to the recent attacks on schools, private security guards stationed in schools certainly will have difficulties containing the threats from Boko Haram and other criminal groups. Therefore synergy must be maintained between law enforcement agencies and private security officers posted in schools by effectively applying and harnessing the critical elements of security outlined by (Phenson, Ojie ,Esin&Atai 2014) below:

a. Timely procurement of security intelligence.
b. Prompt identification of threats to both internal and national security with its attendant pro-active security arrangement.
c. Threat assessment, statement of aims/objectives of national security objectives and programmes and planning to be in line with the objectives of national security.
d. Security liaison, and net-working with other sister security departments towards achieving the national security objectives.
e. Effectively coordinating security and its activities under a centralized command structure.
f. Re-appraisal of the overall security objectives, situations and strategies in the light of new developments as well as advising government based on the situation on ground for the overall improvement of security measures and adequate funding.
g. Collaborating with local vigilante groups and other private security organs responsible for guard duties in schools must ensure that safety standards are maintained.
h. Law enforcement agencies should also be involved in the training and provision technical support to private security professionals most especially in the aspect of repelling attacks from non-state armed group.
i. Security personnel must ensure that screening procedures for those entering the school premises are strictly monitored.
j. Security personnel must ensure that communication mechanisms are activated and information of intelligence value collected are passed on to the to the appropriate superior authority for prompt action

Conclusion and Recommendations

The complementary role of government, security agencies, international organization local vigilante groups and private securityorganization cannot be overemphasized in the overall effort directed towards reversing the security threats to schools. Therefore greater commitments by stakeholders are required to drive the policies and implementation of save school initiatives. The study further recommends that:

- Government should adequately fund security agencies and zero down on capacity building aimed at improvingeffective and efficient deployment of strategic intelligence and reconnaissance activities by security forces directed towards combating insurgency and other security threats from non-state actors.
- Security agencies should step-up intelligence-led policing which will certainly aid the effective use of early warning signals and also ensure that early response mechanisms are properly instituted and situated in the overall diagnosis of issues generating security concerns in the country.
- Security agencies should be actively involved in the development and implementation of school safety policies.
- Periodic awareness campaign and capacity building for students, teachers and administrators should be supported by government and development partners aimed at responding to safety threats.
- The government should be committed seriously in tackling the issue of security without paying lip service to sensitive security matters.

- Government and security agencies alike should realize thatthe porosity of the nation's border which remains a threat to national securityand the urgent need to entirely step up control measures at the nation's frontiers.

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