

## **ARMED BANDITRY, EDUCATION AND STATE SECURITY IN KADUNA STATE: TOWARDS A WORKING PARADIGM**

**Elizabeth A'ishatu Bature**

Department of Political Science, Faculty of Arts And Social Sciences  
Nigerian Defence Academy, Kaduna State.

This paper examines the issues of armed banditry, education and State security in Nigeria. The Nation, in its entirety, is under severe internal security threat. At a more general level, the threat has social, economic, political and environmental dimensions. Each of these dimensions has greatly affected the Nation's stability and can be traced to the ethnic militia armies, ethnic and religious conflicts, poverty, terrorism, armed robbery, corruption, economic sabotage and environmental degradation. The efforts of the government to eradicate banditry and other nefarious vices are seen as slow and costly in terms of the public funds spent and the lives and properties lost. The activities of bandits in the country have grossly affected the sustainability of education in Nigeria. Kaduna State is the worst hit as the educational calendar keeps being tampered with because of armed bandits' activities. This, amongst others, has made the citizens question the government's commitment to eradicating this menace. Using frustration-aggression theory, it explains the rise of armed banditry and how this has affected education in Kaduna State viz-a-viz the (in) ability of the state security services to curtail acts of banditry in Kaduna State. A Historical method of research and analysis was employed in the study. The study data were collected through documentation of secondary sources, including a review of related literature journals and writeups and also interviews of military officials who have engaged with such bandits. The study is also descriptive in style as it is built on the findings of existing works about emerging security threats in Kaduna State and Nigeria. The study recommended that the country evolve a working security paradigm that states would emulate to ensure their security.

**Keywords:** Armed banditry, State security, Education, National Security and Kaduna State.

### **Introduction**

Like any other African country, Nigeria has been experiencing various forms of violent crimes, such as ethnic conflicts, rape, armed robbery, assault, murder and kidnapping. Armed banditry is a type of armed robbery that has been a national concern in Nigeria. There is a growing concern in parts of North Central Nigeria over insecurity caused by bandits suspected to have come from neighbouring countries. Scores of people have been killed, and many robbed of valuables in the past years by bands of heavy gunmen identified as remnants of rebel forces from years of civil war in Chad and by militant herdsmen known locally as 'Udawa' and said to come from Niger (Shalangwa, 2013)

Although banditry is not a new phenomenon in Kaduna State, it was previously restricted to robbery and cattle rustling in rural communities in Birnin-Gwari, Chikun, Giwa

and Igabi local government areas. Kaduna then only witnessed a spillover of the crime in the Kamuku, Kuyanbana and Falgore, a large forest spanning Niger, Kaduna, Katsina, Kano, Zamfara and Sokoto states. The group became more dreaded when they began mass cattle rustling around 2001. Communities had to form vigilante groups against robbers and cattle thieves. The measure did not, however, yield many results. Instead, it aggravated and toughened the bandits, as they became more audacious and even followed members of the vigilante groups to their communities to kill them in their numbers. The climax of such an attack was in 2013 when the bandits rounded up vigilantes and other community members at the mosque and killed 33 during the dawn prayer in Dogon Dawa, Birnin-Gwari Local Government Area. The bandits became untamed after the Dogon Dawa killings, and the Kamuku Forest, where they operated, became dreaded and home only to the criminal gangs, who established links with their likes in Niger, Zamfara and Katsina ends of the forests (Olaniyan and Yahaya: 2016).

The alliance made it easy for them to strike in one State and hibernate in another. In the Northwest area of Nigeria, particularly in Zamfara, Sokoto, Katsina, Niger, Kaduna and Kebbi States, the activities of Bandits have been particularly problematic (Ademola, 2021). The activities of these bandits range from kidnapping to murder, robbery, rape, cattle rustling, and the like. Their modus operandi involves maiming and killing their victims when they least expect it. Usually, they mobilised themselves through the forests into the neighbourhood, riding fast motorcycles, especially at night, and shooting at will. Sometimes in the afternoon, once they were sure there was no security presence of the police or military around, they unleashed terror in the communities. The activities of bandits all over the country and in Kaduna State are undermining farming cultivation, agro-allied and industrial expansion and education (Adelowo and Musa, 2021).

In any education system, peace and tranquillity are antidotes to successful teaching and learning. In 2024, 18.3 million of school children ( UNICEF, 2024) in Nigeria are caught up in conflicts that have resulted in insecurity regarding the drop in attendance and aid threats to life and property. Regular school attendance is crucial to the education and development of school children in any country. There is always a negative impact on the educational development of the child, the school, and the community when children do not attend school regularly. Despite measures to tackle insecurity, attacks on schools have increased. There are fears that if not proactively addressed, the situation in schools, especially in the north, will portend long-term danger to the quality of the labour force and human capital needed to drive a sustainable economy (Adelowo and Musa (2021).

### **Understanding the "Growth" of Armed Banditry in Nigeria**

Understanding armed banditry in Nigeria's North West region requires examination of the historical, socio-economic and governance contexts, as well as the conflict dynamics resulting from the interplay of farmer-herder relations on access to land resources. While ecological changes and climate-induced pressures have increased conflicts in the agro-pastoral sector,

the phenomenon also links to banditry and governance challenges. Factors that drive banditry in the region, such as cattle rustling, illicit artisanal gold mining, a proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW), youth unemployment, inequality and poverty, indicate weak governance and security capacities across the States. The situation is further complicated by the existence of largely unregulated and poor government-controlled forest areas in the region, some of which are situated within under-policed border areas between Nigeria and neighbouring countries. The porosity of these borders aids cross-border criminality (Gadzama, Saddiq, Oduehe, and Dariya: 2018: Okoli and Ugwu 2019).

Banditry is used in different parts of Nigeria to describe different outlawry variants. In reality, the usage conflates two underlying problems and that is ineffective law enforcement in Southern Nigeria and the crisis of ungoverned spaces in Northern Nigeria. Since Independence, successive governments have had to confront variants of these trends. The evidence over time suggests a link between governance, its failures, and banditry.

In *This Present Darkness*, his history of organised crime in Nigeria, Ellis ( 2016) traces post-independence banditry in Nigeria to "shortly before the civil war, when the government broke down in some parts of the Western Region, and there was a blurred line between political violence, crime, and organised insurgency." At the war's end, Gowon's military regime failed to manage demobilisation. As demobilised combatants from the war returned home with nothing to do, outlawry became appealing. Urban banditry ensued in Southern Nigeria, which comprises a mere 29% of Nigeria's nearly 924,000 km<sup>2</sup> of landmass. Unsurprisingly, armed robbery in built-up areas of the country was an early manifestation. An early exponent of this was Ishola Oyenusi, a high-school dropout who chose to be called "the Doctor" and terrorised Lagos at the end of the Civil War. In response, the military government introduced mandatory death by firing squad for convicted armed robbers. The first public execution that occurred in front of Bar Beach, Victoria Island, Lagos, on April 26, 1971 was that of Babatunde Folorunsho, for armed robbery. Others include Joseph Ilobo, Williams Alders Oyazimo, and Lawrence Anini in the 90s ( Tayo, 2017).

Urban banditry was not confined to southern Nigeria. In April 1970, three armed men robbed a bank in Kano of £27,750. The pace of public executions of armed robbers quickly escalated. By 1976, over 400 armed robbers had been publicly executed by firing squad. In 1984 alone, under the regime of Major-General Muhammadu Buhari, there were at least 338 such executions. In 12 years between 1984 and 1996, over 1,200 executions took place. Around the same time, drug trafficking emerged as a major factor in outlawry in Nigeria (Odinkalu, 2018). It appeared that each succeeding decade saw an intensification of urban outlawry in different parts of southern Nigeria. In the 1980s, the poster boy was Lawrence Anini, another school dropout who concatenated indiscriminate violence with a touch of the Robin Hood marinated in advocacy for the oppressed. Anini's reign of terror in the then Bendel State and surrounding states was

facilitated by the collaboration of some senior police personnel who helped to provide his gang with intelligence and made evidence against them disappear. When two members of his gang were convicted in mid-1986 following effective police work, Anini turned his guns against the police in an intense mass killing rampage, during which 10 police officers in Bendel State died between August and October 1986. That would prove to be his undoing. Military President, Ibrahim Babangida, turned up the heat on then Inspector-General of Police Etim Inyang, famously asking him during a meeting of the then-ruling military council in October 1986: "Where is Anini"? Two months later, in December 1986, the police arrested Anini and dismantled his gang, which included Monday Osunbor, a Police Superintendent. In March 1987, they were executed (Odinkalu, 2018).

In the 1990s, Shina Rambo terrorised parts of South-West Nigeria with similar escapades. In South-East Nigeria, the Otokoto case in Owerri, Imo State, in 1996 revealed an underworld of ritualised human sacrifice. By the 2000s, commercial kidnapping, political violence and assassinations would emerge as dominant forms of outlawry. The best-known exponents included a man that was known as "Osisikankwu" (Obioma Nwankwo) in Abia State and resource militants in the Niger Delta. In Abia State and parts of South-East Nigeria, the government broke down, and security was taken over by a bandit, a vigilante horde known as Bakassi Boys. Populations in northwest Nigeria faced the ever-increasing threat of banditry, which included kidnapping, armed robbery, murder, rape, cattle rustling, and the exploitation of environmental resources. Armed banditry has become a central security challenge to Nigeria's northwest that has terrorised communities, killed and displaced thousands, hindered socio-economic development, and threatened democratic governance (Okoli, and Iortyer, 2014).

### **Dynamism and Operating Pattern of Crime in Northwest Nigeria: A Threat to National Security**

Nigeria's North West, one of the country's six geopolitical zones, comprises seven of the country's 36 states. These are Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto and Zamfara. It covers an area of 216,065 sq km or 25.75 per cent of the country's total land mass, close to the size of the UK. Its major ethnic groups are the Hausa and Fulani, who historically share strong cultural ties and are very much intermixed with other smaller groups, especially in Kaduna state. The region's estimated population of 33 million is predominantly Muslim (Sunni). Most of the population (about 80 per cent) are farmers, pastoralists, agro-pastoralists or small-scale entrepreneurs. The region has substantial solid mineral deposits, including Gold exploited by artisanal miners in open pit mines (Adeniyi, 2018).

Despite its economic potential, 63% of persons living within Nigeria (133 million people) are multidimensionally poor. The National MPI is 0.257, indicating that poor people in Nigeria experience just over one-quarter of all possible deprivations. 65% of the poor (86 million people) live in the North, while 35% (nearly 47 million) live in the South. the North West has the highest poverty rate in Nigeria. As of 2024, all seven states in the zone has

poverty levels above the national average of 40.1 per cent, led by Sokoto (91% per cent), Jigawa (79 % to 87.02.% ) and Zamfara (78%) (NBC, 2022). Millions lack access to basic health care and clean water, and immunisation coverage is far below national goals. While the region has a long and proud history of Islamic and Arabic scholarship, apathy toward, and inadequate investment in, formal education over the decades have contributed to a literacy rate of 59% for males and 29% for females. The zone currently has the highest number of out-of-school children in Nigeria, the North West has 8.04 million children. On top of those who do not attend school, millions of children are in the poorly resourced and ill-supervised Quranic school system, or *almajiranci*, which produces cohorts of unskilled youth. Much like the rest of the country, the region also suffers poor local governance, characterised by the mismanagement of public funds. The deteriorating situation of human security in Nigeria accounts for the incidents of rural banditry and cattle rustling. 'Human security' is much broader than national security, which tends to focus on the security of the State in military terms and the protection of the State from external aggression (Egwu, 2016).

Human security shares the conceptual space of the people-centric approach to human development pioneered by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 1994). Central to the idea of human security, espoused by the 1994 Human Development Report on Human Security, are two important concerns: freedom from fear, intended to indicate freedom from violence and freedom from want, which is intended to indicate freedom from poverty. In this conception of human security, human beings become the 'vital core', with a 'fundamental set of functions related to survival, livelihood and dignity' as the minimum. The multidimensional nature of human security is underlined by the recognition given to economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political security. The number of central issues is greatly expanded to include the welfare of citizens, larger issues of development, and redistribution of wealth among the different strata of society (Acharya, 2020).

There is also a concern given to governance issues, the realisation of social citizenship for subaltern social groups and classes, and respect for group identity and self-determination of minority groups. The key assumption is that a nation cannot be secure if it fails to address issues of governance, unemployment, and corruption, all of which can subvert the rule of law and can undermine the welfare of the citizenry, even if the State has the most modernised army or the most sophisticated police force (Fiki and Lee, 2004).

The causes of violence in the North West are complex and interrelated. At its root, the region's security crisis derives from long-running competition over land and water resources between predominantly Fulani herders and mainly Hausa farmers, both of whom have over time mobilised armed groups (referred to by the authorities as "bandits" and "vigilantes", respectively) for protection. Climate change-related environmental degradation and high population growth have intensified this struggle. Amid a boom in the trade of small arms and light weapons in the region, organised gangs operating from ungoverned forests have increased, engaging in cattle rustling, kidnapping for ransom and armed robbery, including of miners and traders in the largely unregulated gold mining sector, as well as the pillage of communities. Having originated in Zamfara state, gang violence has since spread to five

other nearby states, namely Kaduna, Katsina, Sokoto, Kebbi and Niger, the last of which is in North Central Nigeria (Fiki and Lee, 2004).

As security has deteriorated, the region has steadily come under the renewed influence of jihadist groups, which have sometimes attacked security forces. The spike in jihadist activity in the North West has raised fears that the region could soon become a land bridge connecting Islamic insurgencies in the central Sahel with the decade-old insurgency in the Lake Chad region of north-eastern Nigeria. Security sources point to a resurgence of the long-dormant Boko Haram splinter group, *Jama'atu Ansarul Muslimina Fi Biladis Sudan* (Group of Partisans for Muslims in Black Africa), known as Ansaru, which was active in north-western Nigeria between 2011 and 2014. Elements of other Boko Haram offshoots, notably the Islamic State in West Africa Province, are arriving in the area. Meanwhile, a poorly secured international boundary enables the influx of arms and facilitates the movement of jihadists to and from the Sahel, where the Islamic State has been expanding its influence (Dauda: 2014).

### **Historicising Education and its Phases in Nigeria**

Long before the arrival of the British Government into the African soil, Nigeria (as it was later called) had two major types of education: Islamic Education: This type of education was only afforded to members of the Islamic religion across all Muslim communities. The scope of education was limited to teaching students about the Qur'an and the Arabic alphabet. This form of training was an extension of the teachings in the Mosque specifically for young muslim children who would have a more basic education regarding their religion and Indigenous Education; Students were exposed to the realities of society and trained how to apply practical skills in adding significantly to the progress of their society. In addition, they learned more about the customs and traditions of the community as well as engaged in community activities such as sanitation and farming. This was the traditional training at the pre colonial era which is still in practice today. The involvement of the students in basic and specialized trainings was dependent on the age of the students and their genders. During this time line, there was no formal education in terms of reading and writing neither on arts or science.

**The 1882 Education Ordinance:** Education legislation began in Nigeria with the introduction of the 1882 Education Ordinance for British West African territories that is Lagos, Gold Coast (now Ghana), Sierra Leone and Gambia. It prescribed the following criteria: (i) Award of grants for organisations and discipline, with special grants for schools which obtained a high percentage of passes and thus attained a high standard of general excellence. (ii) A capitation grant for each subject (iii) A capitation grant in proportion to the average attendance at school. The other provisions of the Ordinance are the annual evaluation of pupils, methods of granting teachers certificates, a system of grant-in-aid, and establishing a General Board of Education with the power to establish local boards. The Ordinance also recommended that one-third of the salary of the inspector of schools for the Gold Coast should be paid by the Lagos colony. Lagos and Gold Coast were jointly administered. The 1887 Education

Ordinance Consequent to the separation of the Lagos colony from the Gold Coast in 1886, became mandatory that a purely Nigerian Education ordinance be enacted (Awokoya:1972).

**The 1916 Education Ordinance:** The 1916 Education Ordinance and the Code were approved on 21 and 24 December, 1916, respectively. They were the results of Lord Lugard's efforts to cater for the whole country, as education was based on good character and usefulness to both the individual and the community. The Ordinance tried to reorganise the school system in Nigeria. It also recommended that grant-in-aid be offered in the following percentages: (i) Tone of the school, discipline, organisation and moral instruction – 30 per cent. (ii) Adequacy and efficiency of the teaching staff – 20 per cent (i) Periodical examination and general progress - 40 per cent (ii) Buildings, equipment, sanitation – 10 per cent the Ordinance paved the way for increased financial participation by government, full cooperation between the government and the missions and asserted government's firm control over education (Fabunmi, 2005).

**The Amended Ordinance No. 8 of 1919:** This gave more powers to the inspector by allowing them to inspect any school, whether assisted or non-assisted and empowered the Education Board, upon inspectors' recommendation, to close nonperforming schools. The 1926 Education Ordinance In March 1925, a memorandum on Education Policy in British Tropical Africa was dispatched to the colonies as the basis for the British colonial education policy. The need to provide a modus operandi for this memorandum and the necessity to stop the mushroom primary schools from operating in Southern Nigeria provided the impetus for this Ordinance. The Ordinance was a landmark in the development of education in Nigeria and an outcome of the recommendations of the 1920 Phelps – Stoke Commission on Education in Africa. Its terms of reference include:- (a) To inquire into existing educational work in each of the areas to be studied; (b) To investigate the educational needs of the people in their religious, social, hygienic and economic conditions; (c) To ascertain the extent to which these educational needs were being met; and (d) To make available in full the result of the study. The report of this Commission geared the British Colonial Administration to demonstrate increased interest in African education. It issued its first educational policy in 1925 (Fabunmi, 2015).

The 1925 memorandum outlined guidelines for operation in the colonial educational system. This policy consisted mainly of the recommendations of the Phelps-Stoke Commission. These include the following:- (i) Establishment of advisory boards of education that will assist in the supervision of educational institutions. (ii) Adaptation of formal education to local conditions (iii) Study of vernaculars in schools (iv) Thorough supervision and inspection of schools (v) Education of women and girls (vi) Emphasis on religious training and moral instructions (Osokoya, 2002). While the recommendations of the 1926 Education Ordinance are:- (i) Making registration of teachers a pre-condition for teaching in any school in Southern Nigeria. (ii) Disallowing the opening of schools without the approval of the Director of Education and the Board of Education. (iii) Authorising the closure of any school, which was conducted in a way that conflicted with the interest of the people or the host community. (iv)

Specifying the functions and duties of supervisors or mission school inspectors. (v) Expanding and strengthening the existing Board of Education by including the Director and the Deputy Director of Education, the Assistant Director, ten mission representatives, and other educational agencies. vi) Regulating the minimum pay for teachers employed in an assisted school (Osokoya, 2002; Fabunmi, 2003).

**The 1948 Education Ordinance:** The Director of Education's report, appointed in 1944 to review the ten-year plan and that of Sir Sidney Phillipson on the procedure for assessing grants-in-aid for 1948, was the basis for the promulgation of the 1948 Education Ordinance. The ordinance decentralised educational administration. It created a Central Board of Education and four Regional Boards, those of East, West, Lagos and North. It also recommended the establishment of Local Education Committees and Local Education Authorities. The 1952 Education Ordinance The 1952 Education Ordinance was introduced to enable each of the three newly created (Eastern, Western and Northern) regions to develop educational policies and systems. The Ordinance became an education law for the country. The membership of the central and regional boards was modified, while the Colonial Board was abolished. All schools, whether public or private, were to be inspected by the Regional Director and the Inspector General or his representatives. The Ordinance emphasised the overall responsibility of the central government (Osokoya, 2002).

**The Regional Education Laws:** In 1954, Nigeria became a federation of three (i.e. Eastern, Western and Northern) regions and the Federal Territory of Lagos (the Federal capital) as a result of the adoption of the 1954 constitution. Each region had the power to make laws for its territory and citizens. The constitution contained three lists. These are: (i) Exclusive legislative list, which contained items upon which only the federal legislature or parliament could legislate, i.e. make laws. (ii) Concurrent legislative list consisted of items upon which federal and regional legislatures could make laws. (iii) Residual legislative list, which comprised items which were within the exclusive legislative competence of the regions. The regions quickly exploited this constitutional provision and made regional laws. The outcome of this exercise was the Education Law of 1955 in the Western Region, the Education Law of 1956 in the Northern Region and the Lagos Education Ordinance in 1957. The Ashby Report of 1959 In April 1959, the Federal Government of Nigeria constituted the Ashby Commission to investigate and report Nigeria's manpower needs for twenty years (1960-1980). The Commission, led by Sir Eric Ashby, comprised three Nigerians, three Americans and three Britons (Dike, 1980).

The Commission reported:

- ♣ The imbalance between one level of education and the other.
- ♣ Limited admission opportunities for primary school leavers.
- ♣ Few school teachers were qualified and certificated.
- ♣ That Nigerian education was parochial and literary.
- ♣ Imbalance in education development between the North and South (Dike, 1980)



The Commission recommended expanding and improving primary and secondary education, upgrading the University College at Ibadan to a full-fledged university and establishing three other universities at Nsukka, Ife and Zaria. It also recommended the establishment of a University Commission in Nigeria so that the universities will maintain a uniform academic standard. The post-secondary school system was to produce the post-independence high-level manpower needs of Nigeria.

**The Education Edicts of 1966-1979:** The Federal Military Government of Nigeria enacted Decree No. 14 of 1967, creating twelve states out of the existing four regions (West, Mid-West, North and East). Lagos remained the federal capital. The number of the legislatures increased to thirteen, twelve State and one federal legislature. In 1976, the number of states increased to nineteen, thus making the legislative bodies twenty. Each State promulgated an edict for the regulation of education and its provision and management. Examples include East Central States Public Education Edict No. 5 of 1970, Lagos State's Education Law (Amendment) Edict/No. 11 of 1970, South Eastern State's Education (School's Board) Edict/No. 20 of 1971 and Mid-Western State's Education Edict, No. 5 of 1973. Each State amended its education law when necessary. All the mandates had common features, such as state take-over of schools from individuals and voluntary agencies, the establishment of school management boards and a unified teaching service (Taiwo, 1980).

**The Education Laws of the Second Republic (1979-1983)** The first era of military rule (1966-1979) in Nigeria was followed by the second republic, which had a presidential system of government. The 1979 constitution was the legal basis of education in the period. The objectives of education, as provided in chapter II, Section 18, Sub-Sections 1-3 of the 1979 constitution, are: (i) The government policy shall ensure equal and adequate educational opportunities at all levels. (ii) The government shall promote science and technology, (iii) The government shall strive, as and when practicable, to provide (a) Free, compulsory and universal primary education, (b) Free secondary education, and (c) Free adult literacy programme the 1979 constitution put education in the concurrent legislative list. This implies that responsibilities and authority in the provision of education ought to be shared among the three tiers of government, that is, federal, State and local governments. Chapter 11 of the constitution gave the federal government more powers than the states in the areas of post-primary, professional, technological and university education under its control. The states had total control of primary, post-primary, technical, technological, university and other forms of education within their territories. In states like Ogun and Bendel, the organisation and administration of primary education were transferred to their respective Local Government Councils (NERDC, 1972).

**The Education Edicts of 1983-1999:** Consequent to the return of military administration in 1983, several decrees were promulgated by the Federal Military Government to guide and regulate the conduct of education. Such include Decree No. 16 of 1985, promulgated on National Standards and Establishment of Institution's Decree No. 20 of 1986, which changed the school calendar from January to December to October to September, Decree No. 26 of 1988, which proscribed and prohibited the Academic Staff Union

of Universities (ASUU) for participating in trade union activities and Decree No. 36 of 1990, which revoked the proscription of ASUU, and many other decrees.

The education laws of 1999-2004 (a) The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (Promulgation) Decree of 1999, chapter 11, Section 18 re-states the objectives of education in Nigeria as contained in the 1979 constitution of Nigeria and the third edition of the National Policy on Education (FRG, 1998) which states the following as the objectives of Nigerian education: the inculcation of national consciousness and unity; (b) The inculcation of the right type of values and attitudes for the survival of the individual and the Nigerian society; (c) The training of the mind in the understanding of the world around; and (d) The acquisition of appropriate skills and the development of mental, physical and social abilities and competencies as equipment for the individual to live in and contribute to the development of his society (FRG, 1999).

**Universal Basic Education Programme (2004):** The Universal Basic Education Act provides the legal framework for the implementation of the UBE Program, which makes basic education not only free but also compulsory. Subsequently, the UBE Commission (UBEC) was established as a way of ensuring the proper implementation of the UBE Program. The commission is responsible for the coordination of the activities of the program (World Bank (2017), National Policy on HIV and AIDS for the Education Sector in Nigeria (2005), National Gender Policy (2006), National School Health Policy (2006), The Safe School Initiative (SSI) in Nigeria (2014), National Home Grown School Feeding Programme (2016) and the National Policy on Inclusive Education in Nigeria (2016) (Ogunode and Ahaotu 2020; Jacob, 2020). Education is an instrument for excellence. It liberates people from poverty and ignorance. Ukeje (1966:155) believes that "education is for life and for living. It is an investment in people which pays untold dividends to the society. When that investment is not made or is made inadequately, the society suffers a loss" The importance of education to national development is no longer in doubt. The issue that agitates the mind is the effect of poor implementation of educational policies on the development of Nigeria.

### **Functionalist Theory**

This paper will adopt the Functionalist theory as a tool of analysis. Functionalism was popularised by works of scholars such as Herbert Spencer, Kingsley Davis, Auguste Comte, Bingham Powell, Talcott Parsons, Emile Durkheim, Gabriel Almond, Robert Merton, and Max Weber. The theory posits that society comprises distinctive interrelated parts, each accomplishing a specific need. Spencer (1820-1903) labels these parts of society as "organs" that work in harmony and move toward the correct body working. At its core, Functionalism is a sociological approach that views society from a macro-level perspective. It focuses on the social structures that shape society as a whole. Principally, it contends that within the human community, various structures exist. Such structures manifest in the political, economic, security, education, industry, technology, science, social control, or social order and work together in an interconnected, interrelated, and symbiotic manner to uphold the solidarity and stability of the society as a whole.

The theory attempts to explain social institutions as collective means to meet

individual and social needs. According to functionalist theorists like Robert K. Merton, Merton Levy, and Gabriel Almond, institutions arose and persevered because they play a role in society, promoting stability, integration, and solidarity (Gaub, 2007). Generally, societies are made up of institutions, each catering to different indispensable needs. Accordingly, every institution only exists because it serves a vital role in the working of society. The institution will wither once it stops fulfilling that role, and new institutions will evolve to cater to emerging needs. The functionalists maintained that society is a structure of interrelated parts that work together in synchronization to maintain a state of equilibrium and social stability for the whole. The functionalist approach accentuates the interconnectedness of society by focusing on how each part influences and is influenced by other parts.

Functionalists such as Auguste Comte (1951), Emile Durkheim (1893), and Herbert Spencer (1860) were mainly absorbed by how the social order is achievable and how society remains relatively stable. Auguste Comte's (1951) organic analogy sees society as an organism functioning for the survival of the whole entity. Durkheim was preoccupied with how societies uphold internal stability and survive over time. He explained social stability through the concept of solidarity and differentiated between the mechanical solidarity of primitive societies and the organic solidarity of complex modern societies. For Spencer (1860), societies are like organisms, having many system needs; if these needs are not realised, the system (society) risks withering away. These systems are considered social institutions, which are firmly related to the structures mentioned above and perform specific roles towards maintaining the whole. These roles could be manifest and latent and have continued to hold society together (Merton, 1938).

Functionalism stresses that harmony and order in society entrench social stability and promote the public value system. From this viewpoint, any structural anomaly, such as deviant behaviour, leads to disruptions that force the other societal components to recalibrate to attain stability. In other words, every time a part of the system is broken, it disrupts all the different parts and creates social problems, fostering social change. Durkheim maintains that all social change begins with a certain form of deviance.

According to Durkheim, crime is an unavoidable and natural part of social life. It is inevitable in all societies. The certainty of crime was because not every community member can be equally committed to society's shared values and moral beliefs. Given that individuals are exposed to different influences and circumstances, it is "impossible for them to be all the same." Consequently, some people would inevitably break the law (Durkheim, 1893). Further, he stated that crime only became dysfunctional when it became incessant or non-existent. When it is excessive, social order will break down too little, and there will not be sufficient capacity for positive social change.

Émile Durkheim held that deviance is an essential component of any prosperous society because it serves three fundamental functions: 1) it explains norms and increases conformism, 2) it promotes social bonds among the society reacting to the deviant, and 3) it can help lead to positive social change. Durkheim's opinion on the effect of punishing

deviance expresses his arguments about the law. Durkheim viewed laws as the manifestation of "collective conscience," which encompasses a society's beliefs, morals, attitudes, and values. In essence, "A crime is a crime because we condemn it,"

### **Kaduna: Northern Nigeria Center of Activity**

The 2023/2024 Human Development Report shows that the path of human development progress which shifted downwards in 2020 have remained below the pre-2019 trend, threatening to entrench permanent losses in human development gains, as none of the developing regions have met their anticipated HDI levels based on pre-2019 trends. For Nigeria, the HDI has shown a 22% increase in 19 years but remains low at 0.548, categorizing the country as having low human development. The report emphasizes Nigeria's significant loss in HDI due to inequality, estimated at 32.7%. Gender disparities persist, with a notable gap between male and female HDI values and a Gender Inequality Index (GII) ranking placing Nigeria poorly. Furthermore, Nigeria's Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) indicates that 33% were multidimensionally poor in 2023 (UNDP, 2024)

Kaduna State was ranked 24<sup>th</sup> out of the 36 States in the 2018 country assessment of Nigeria, which meant it belonged in the low human development categorisation. The Percent of population living on less than \$2.15, \$3.65 and \$6.85 a day, are 37.3%, 68.6% and 91.6 % international dollars (2017 PPP) as per the World Bank, which was in the medium human development category in the same year. While all the states in the northwest and northeast fell into the low human development category, no state in Nigeria qualified to be among the high human development category following UN standards (Danbazzau).

Kaduna State is the home of training for the Nigerian armed forces and the police. It hosts major military training institutions and one of the two oldest police colleges, the other being in Lagos. Until about the late 1980s, when several industries closed down due to several factors, Kaduna was the home of Nigeria's major textiles and aluminium industries. The State is rich in mineral resources, including Gold and gemstones, while the fertile soil has made farming the main preoccupation of the mostly rural population. The only oil refinery in the north is in Kaduna, and in terms of education, Kaduna State is leading the north, hosting the oldest secondary school in the north, Barewa College; the premier northern university, Ahmadu Bello University; and the premier Polytechnic in the north, Kaduna Polytechnic. Almost every civil servant and clerical staff of northern origin that served in the first and second republics were trained at either Institute of Administration (now ABU Congo Campus), Zaria, or the Federal Training Centre, Kaduna. Therefore Kaduna remains the backbone of civil and public service administration. Likewise, Kaduna State hosts the Nigerian College of Aviation Technology (formerly Nigerian Civil Aviation Training School), where most of Nigeria's pilots and aeronautical engineers were trained, and they subsequently laid the foundation of today's aviation sector in Nigeria. Kaduna, a home for retirees from different sectors and diverse professions, both private and public, also provides opportunities for everyone who desires to settle in it, regardless of religion and ethnicity (Dauda: 2014).

## **Insecurity and the Impact of Armed Banditry on Education in Kaduna State**

The impact of conflicts on educational standards has been well documented one does not need to delve deep into bodies of literature to comprehend the impact of damaged school infrastructure, loss of human capacity, and risks posed to students' and staff's safety in a situation of active conflict. The prevalence of banditry cases in Kaduna and other states is a testament to the above. Education is often among the first victims of any armed crisis, regardless of its intensity. Since 2020, the threat posed by Educational institutions globally has manifested in the form of terrorist attacks. The horrific attack on School Number One in Beslan, Russia, in 2004, by a Chechen armed separatist group, the kidnapping of 275 Chibok schoolgirls by Boko Haram Insurgents in Nigeria in 2014, and the execution of at least 150 students and staff in a Peshawar school by the Taliban in Pakistani in 2014 brought to public consciousness the vulnerability of students as soft targets to the machinations of terrorist and other criminals. Terrorists target public locations with evocative symbolic value (Braithwaite, 2013), and schools suit the criteria perfectly.

According to Bradford and Wilson (2013), students and educational institutions are particularly vulnerable to terrorism because they are "soft targets" typically unsecured places of gathering that allow for mass casualties. They say that the lack of security at schools, as opposed to a public venue like an airport, contributes to their specific vulnerability. Schools may be targeted in addition to their symbolic value because of the services they are expected to deliver. Attacks on soft targets are also intended to garner much media attention and elicit a strong emotional response from the public. Terrorist organisations covet media attention and glory (Richardson, 2006) and may attempt to use media coverage to legitimise and gain sympathy for their cause (Perl, 1997).

For decades, ie from the 2000s terrorists have targeted schools. According to the Global Terrorism Database, between September 11, 2001, to December 31, 2015, there were 757 terrorist attacks on schools, colleges, and educational infrastructures worldwide. The data reveals that terrorists are increasingly targeting educational institutions. Miller (2014) reports that between 1970 and 2013, there were more than 3,400 targeted assaults on educational institutions worldwide, utilising a variety of attack methods across 110 nations. He further posited that the attacks accounted for 2.7 per cent of all terrorist incidents worldwide during that period. In 2020 and 2021, there were more than 5,000 reported attacks on education and incidents of military use of schools and universities, harming more than 9,000 students and educators in at least 85 countries. More than 3,000 attacks on education were identified in 2022, a 17 percent increase over the previous year of 2023. Almost one-third of all attacks took place in just three countries: Ukraine, Myanmar, and Burkina Faso, with the war in Ukraine accounting for the majority.

The data provided above demonstrates the vulnerable nature of educational institutions and why they are soft targets for terrorists. Bandits operating in Kaduna State and other parts of Nigeria have also keyed into the exploitation of schools to further their cause. Between December 2020 to August 2021, at least 12 attacks culminated in the abduction of teachers and students. In the same period, 4 attempts were unsuccessful. The atrocities of the bandits were not the first foray of violent non-state actors into the Nation's educational sector. In fact, before the infamous Chibok girls kidnapping in 2014, there were incidents of school attacks and destruction, especially by the Boko Haram group. In 2013, At the Mamudo Government Secondary School in Yobe State, forty-one students and one teacher were murdered (IRIN News, 2013).

Similarly, at the College of Agriculture in Gujba, roughly 120 kilometres east of Mamudo, another forty-four students and professors were slaughtered (Adamu and Faul,

2013). A third educational institution in Yobe State was assaulted in February 2014, resulting in the untimely death of 59 students at the Buni Yadi Federal Government College, barely 30 kilometres south of Gujba (Hemba, 2014). In February 2018, 110 students were kidnapped from the Government Girls Science Technical College in Dapchi, Yobe State, 130 kilometres north of Gujba and Mamudo (International Crisis Group, 2018).

In Kaduna State, Three mass kidnappings and three unsuccessful abductions occurred in March 2021. On March 11, 2022, thirty-nine students were kidnapped from Mando's Federal College of Forestry Mechanization (AFP, 2021a). The bandits intended to kidnap over 200 persons; however, the military rescued 180 persons, including 172 students (Umeh, 2021). Similarly, The Nigerian army was able to thwart an attack on the Nigerian Tulip International College in Rigachikun on March 13 (Umeh, 2021). In the same vein, an attack on the Government Science Secondary School in Ikara was repelled by Nigerian Military, police, and vigilantes on March 13 to 14<sup>th</sup> (Lere, 2021). Three teachers from UBE Primary School in Rama, Birnin Gwari, were kidnapped on March 15 (Al Jazeera 2021a; *Muhammad 2021; Sadiq and Yaba 2021*). Between April and July 2021, Twenty students and three staff members from Greenfield University in Chikun, Kaduna State, were kidnapped on April 20. The kidnappers killed five students, and the other students were freed in May (Vanguard, 2021). When many thought the constant attacks on schools by bandits had reduced, on June 5, 2021, bandits stormed Bethel Baptist School Maramara in Chikun Local Government Area of Kaduna State and left with 140 students after an attempt to kidnap students of Faith Academy was resisted by security personnel. Also, 121 students were taken from Bethel Baptist High School in Maramara, Kaduna State, on July 5 by bandits (Gabriel, 2021).

Following the security threat and kidnapping of school children, Kaduna State Schools Quality Assurance Authority immediately ordered the closure of 13 schools in areas vulnerable to bandits attacks. A letter sent to the proprietors of the affected schools from the authority by the Director-General, Umma K. Ahmed, said, "Sequel to the information reaching the authority on the security threat at the Bethel Baptist High school, Damishi, a meeting with the National Association of Proprietors of Private schools (NAPPS) and some key stakeholders was held on Monday, July 5, 2021, with the resolution that the following schools should close down with effect from Monday, July 5 2021."

In the letter entitled "Notice Of Closure Of Some Identified Vulnerable Schools," the authority warned of sanctions against schools that fail to comply. The affected schools listed in the letter included Faith Academy, along Kachia Road, adjacent Jakaranda, Deeper Life Academy, Maraban Rido, Ecwa Secondary school, Ungwar Maje and Bethel Baptist High School, Damishi. Others are St. Peters Minor Seminary, Katari, Prelude Secondary School, Kujama, Ibis Secondary school, Tashar Iche, Tulip International (Boys) School and Tulip International (Girls) School. Also on the list are Goodnews Secondary School, St. Augustine, Kujama, Comprehensive Development Institution (CDI), Tudun Mare and Adventist College, Kujama. As highlighted above, the soft target nature of schools makes them predisposed and ideal for bandits to operate with impunity. Securing all the schools from attack is impossible because of the resources needed to accomplish such tasks. Nigeria's primary education sector is the biggest school system in Africa, with more than 97 000 public and private schools (Federal Ministry of Education, 2016; National Education Statistics, 2019).

Similarly, the country has more than 32,800 secondary schools and many private and public tertiary and vocational institutions (Federal Ministry of Education, 2016). The immense size of Nigeria's education industry highlights the enormous problem of protecting every student and every institution from the capricious malevolence of armed groups and criminals. Although very few educational institutions were affected by the transgressions of the bandits, the snowball effect impacted the educational sector in the affected regions. The government closed many schools in areas identified as blackspots in response to the kidnappings (BBC News2020b;).

Children may miss out on their education temporarily or permanently if schools are attacked or temporarily closed after being attacked. Some parents, understandably, may choose to withdraw their children from school due to concerns about their safety. However, if more attacks persist, it may result in long-term teacher and staff shortages as adults become less motivated to secure jobs where their lives are continually in danger. Schools may just become empty vessels that no longer serve as meaningful institutions. This pontification is against the backdrop that because several of the attacks highlighted above occurred in regions with already-weak education infrastructure and negative comparative advantage, the consequences of a generation of lost teachers and a growing population of children who have missed out on education could have severe consequences for the country's future. As observed by the Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack (2014), the symbolic value of an attack against a school is matched only by its potentially long-term destructive value.

### **Towards a Workable Paradigm**

Education goes far beyond learning how to read and write. It is the process of acquiring skills, principles and ambition to achieve personal success and, by extension, societal impact. It is seen as the prime factor for development in every society. "Education is a lever for social mobility, enabling people to rise above the circumstances of their birth and providing a basis for building a meritocratic society". The educational sector in Kaduna has suffered significant challenges over the years. The students have had to endure poorly trained teachers, destitute facilities, insufficient learning supplies and the growing threat of insecurity in the State. The situation has badly influenced students' academic performance and attitude towards academic activities.

The ten-year conflict with Boko Haram in the north-east, the deteriorating security in the Niger Delta, farmer-herder conflicts in northern and southern Nigeria, secessionist activities and other criminal activity throughout the south-east compromise the state security response to the rising insecurity in the area. The Nigerian military forces are addressing internal security issues that normally should have been handled by the police in no fewer than 30 states of the Nation. Terrorist organisations have been able to operate in the northwest, including Kaduna, Katsina, Zamfara, Kebbi, Sokoto, and the neighbouring Niger, with little opposition because security forces are overburdened. Security experts say that the permeability and substantial land mass allow for simple invasion. As a result of the fear engendered by the use of arms in bandit operations and the breakdown of informal norms of trust and cooperation, armed banditry must be seen to have an impact on decisions relating to personal mobility, social cohesion, and disrupts political participation, child schooling,

employment and personal protection. These indirect effects are often unnoticed because they are hidden (Mahmoud, Nd).

### **Conclusion**

Despite a significant military presence, Kaduna remains a hotspot for insecurity partly because it was simple to attack and flee to States like Niger, Kastina, or Zamfara, which were also security hotspots. Some criminal groups operating in Kaduna were driven out by military operations in 2016 and at the beginning of 2017. These wars, meanwhile, did not last long enough to control the region. The criminal gangs regrouped and returned. Peace, therefore, is the antidote to effective teaching and learning in the educational system. Millions of schoolchildren in Nigeria are currently involved in conflicts that have led to increased threats to life and property and a decline in attendance. In every Nation, a child's education and growth depend on regular attendance at school. When children don't go to school frequently, it negatively affects how they learn and the school and the community as a whole. Attacks on schools have grown despite security measures. There are worries that the situation in schools, particularly in the north, portends long-term risk to the quality of the workforce and human capital needed to create a sustainable economy if proactive measures are not taken.

### **Recommendation(s)**

1. Government at all levels, as a matter of necessity, should ensure the provision of adequate security to all nooks and crannies of the state to secure people's lives and property. More security personnel (police, army, civil defense, etc.) should be recruited, equipped and reinvigorated by strengthening their capacity to combat security challenges in any area in the state. Security issues should not be treated on ad-hoc basis, rather the operatives should be more pro-active, efficient and effective in intelligence gathering.
2. The Federal Government, as a matter of necessity and urgency should tackle the issues of *Boko Haram* insurgency, rural banditry, militancy and ethnic militia that are found in most parts of the country. These are the sources of violence, conflicts, mercenary inflows, gun-running, etc. which aggravates insecurity and lawlessness in the land.
3. Declaring state of emergency on education in the zone by compulsory education up to high level for all school age.
4. Creating conducive teaching and learning environment, re-training of teachers, securing all schools to avoid further abduction of students.
5. Finally recommend that reports on security issues from civilian should be treated with high degree of responsibility.



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