

The Politics and Implications of Students' Abductions in Nigeria under Peoples' Democratic Party and All Progressives Congress

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Abstract

Since the return to democratic rule in 1999, Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) and All Progressives Congress (APC) are the political parties that ruled Nigeria at the federal and various states' level. Under these political parties, insurgent groups evolved and carried out series of attacks on various institutions and socioeconomic activities. Boko Haram/ISWAP and bandits' attacks led to the abductions of many persons, particularly students in at least five states in northern Nigeria. These, rise questions and suspicion between political parties, exposed some fallacies and administrative lapses on part of the ruling party, affected pupils/students enrolment in schools, caused closure of schools and psychological trauma to the learners, teachers and parents alike. The above has negative implications on the nation's economy and its educational system. Government at all levels are urged to employ and deploy more security operatives to safeguard lives and properties, schools, parents are encouraged to send their wards to schools, government and international organizations should pragmatically be involved in developing and providing education to every citizen.

Keywords: PDP, APC, Insurgency, Kidnap, Northeast, Northwest.

Introduction

Insurgency is the violent attacks on human being, structures and the social system by person(s) for political, economic, ethnic or other reasons. To Powell and Abraham (2006), insurgency refers to "a violent move by a person or group of persons to resist or oppose the enforcement of law or running of government or revolt against constituted authority of the state or of taking part in insurrection".

Cheri, Kaku, and Kele (2018) on their part described insurgency as "an organized use of subversion and violence to seize, nullify or challenge political control of a region. As such, it is primarily a political struggle, in which arms is used to create space for their political economic motives and influence activities to be effective". On their part, Mclean and McMillian (2009) defined insurgency as "armed uprising or rebellion against a government". Oxford English Dictionary (1989) sees insurgency as an armed rebellion against a constituted authority (for example, any authority recognized by others and the United Nations) when those taking part in the rebellion are not recognized as belligerents".

From the above, one can discern that insurgents are people, human being who carry or use weapons/fire-arms of different magnitudes to execute their missions/plans. Characteristically, insurgency is not always conducted by a single person, but requires or involve at least two or more persons, or groups of organized persons with centralized,

military-style command structures; insurgents' seek to overthrow an existing order with one that is commensurate with their political, economic, ideological or religious goals (Kilcullen, 2006; and Gompert & Gordon 2008). They may or may not be people of or from the same place; they are connected or may seek the connection of other likeminded persons or groups; they could start in one area and later spread or move to other places, capture lands, establish their hegemony; their main target is their perceived enemies, but anybody attacking or speaking against them, can also experience their wrath. This makes insurgents dynamic and unpredictable; they may sometimes succeed in changing government or cause stalemate to socioeconomic development and political stability/security in their immediate and remote environments; they use a combination of persuasion, subversion and coercion while using guerrilla tactics to offset the strengths of government security forces, to gain control of populations or territories and they adopt various means for getting money, weapons and other items to carry on their mission. All of the afore-mentioned features are found or applicable to Boko Haram/ISWAP sects in northeast and banditry in northwest Nigeria, hence their activities qualified them as insurgents.

Nigeria is a sovereign nation-state on the African continent, with huge human population, estimated to be 208,026,352 million as at September, 2021 (Google search, 8/9/2021). Nigeria is made up of thirty-six states; that are clustered into six geo-political zones which include: North- East, North- West, North- Central, South- South, South- West, and South-East. From all these micro-states, many insurgent and banditry activities are common. For example, Boko Haram insurgency started from Borno state and has engulfed Yobe and Adamawa states in northeast and has extended or is trying to extend its influences to northwestern Nigeria. Similarly, other bandits and kidnappers have evolved in many states in Nigeria, with lot of implications on various aspects and the image of the country at large. This study therefore examines the origin and growth of Boko Haram insurgency, the impacts and implications of the insurgency on pupils/students in the northern Nigeria under the government of Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) and All Progressives Congress (APC) and highlights some recommendations.

Statement of the Problem

Boko Haram/ISWAP and banditry has continued in Nigeria for several years unabated under the current political era in spite of democratic government in place. Consequently, schools, students, teachers, etc. are negatively affected. This has become worrisome to both citizens and members of the international community.

Research Objectives

The general objective of this study is to examine the political dynamics involved in the abductions/kidnaps of students by different armed groups under PDP and APC as political parties. Specifically, the historical background of insurgency; causes of insurgency/terrorism in northern Nigeria; the various prominent school abductions/kidnaps

under PDP and APC as political parties; areas of convergent and divergent in the abductions and its implications on Nigerian educational system will be explored.

Research Questions

What are some of the causes of insurgency in Nigeria?

Who are the abductors of school girls and boys in northern Nigeria?

What could be some rationale for students' abductions/kidnap in Nigeria?

How did insurgence/bandits affect schools and students in Nigeria?

Research Method

Secondary sources of data were employed/adopted for this study. Some books, journals, Newspapers, Magazines and internet materials were sourced and utilized to answer the afore-mentioned and other related questions in this study.

Background of Boko Haram/ISWAP Insurgency in Nigeria

The emergence of Jama'at al-Hi-sunna Lid Da'awat Wal-Jihad, popularly called 'Boko Haram', in northeastern Nigeria may not take one by surprise due to long history of trans-Saharan trade, which brought Islam before the amalgamation of Nigeria. The name of this Islamic religious sect's according to Katsina (2011) is a combination of Hausa and Arabic language which is literally translated to mean 'western education is forbidden'. They are Sunni Islamic fundamentalist sect, which advocates a strict form of adherence to the Sharia (Islamic law) and its implementation in Nigeria (David, 2001).

Originally, the intention or objective of this group was to preach and teach how to practice Islam in the way the prophet handed it over to his disciples (base on the understanding of this sect). To this effect, they had a School and Mosque in Maiduguri, the Borno State capital as the medium of carrying out their mission.

The actual date and the initial founder of the group seem to be in disputes by some scholars and personalities. For instance, Governor Moudou Sharriff of Borno, under whose regime the sects came to prominence, and Onuoha (2010) asserted that this group seem to be in existence since 1995 with Mallam Abubakar Lawal as the leader, operating under various names like Ahlul Sunnah Wal Jama'ah Hijira; later Shabbaab, Muslim Youth Organization; Nigerian Taliban; to Yusufiyyah sect, to Boko Haram. The advocates of this theory disclosed that the first major activity of Boko Haram was in Kanama, in Yobe state before it later moved to Borno state (Yakubu, 2014). Trying to establish who that Mallam Abubakar Lawal was proves difficult. The surrounding allegation however was that when Mallam Abubakar Lawal left to continue his education, Mohammed Yusuf took over the leadership of the group.

According to another theory, Mohammed Yusuf is said to officially form the group called Jama'at al-Hi-sunna Lid Da'awat Wal-Jihad, popularly called 'Boko Haram' in 2002 in the city of Maiduguri where he established a religious complex that included a Mosque and a

School where many poor families from within and across Nigeria enrolled their children. Yusuf's leadership allegedly opened the group to political influence and popularity. The group continued its activities such as preaching Islam in a more radical way; vehemently speaking against bribery, corruption, injustices in the social or political system. Such teachings gave the group more adherents. Corroborating with the above, Maiangwa (2014:115) states:

The movement was critical of government inefficiency, lack of accountability and corrupt practices which has resulted into unemployment and increase in poverty in Borno state in particular and Northern Nigeria as a whole... On several occasions, the group leader (Mohammed Yusuf) had spoken against Western liberal democracy and the ills it has brought to his own community which according to him, encouraged corrupt leaders to relegate the religion of Islam and perverse justice

In a juxtaposed however, the political class saw this group and its teachings as a threat to political stability of Borno state and the nation at large, as Mohammed Yusuf's popularity and his teachings got him more adherents among the less privileged population (Maiangwa, 2014). Some people perceived his aim and teachings was the establishing a Sharia government in Borno State.

The sect's brand of teachings gradually brought suspicion and tension in the metropolis between the politicians/ruling elites and the ruled, especially the masses over the group's advances. Borno and northern Nigeria being religious sensitive, made the authorities cautious on the immediate crackdown; but there were some cases of underground arrest since 2008 (Maiangwa, 2014). The group clash with security operatives in Maiduguri from 26th to 30th July 2009 which led to its leader, Mohammed Yusuf being killed in questionable circumstance while in police custody; death of about three hundred and fifteen of its members; arrest of some of its members and the demolition of its properties in Markas, its base in Maiduguri according to Ibrahim (2014) and Maiangwa (2014) was the last straw which broke the Camel's back. This was the circumstance that warranted the group to take to violence in the states. Nigerian security operatives were able to silence and halt the excesses of the group then, especially in the township and manhunt was mounted on other members.

As an organism and living movement, the group went underground and relocated to the outskirts of the metropolis and gather momentum which made her to resurface on a revenge mission. The group went after members, stations and Barracks of the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) attacking, killing, collecting their weapons and freeing prisoners. At this level, the sects were only after their perceived enemy, the Police and other security operatives. As the situation persisted, Borno state, especially Maiduguri became insecure as gun shots can be heard; stray bullets could hit innocent person(s) anytime; more Police Mobile Force were drafted to Borno state.

The year 2010 to 2011 seemed to be the incubation and rebirth period for a radical and militant Boko Haram to become a geopolitical and subsequently national insurgent group.

The group now went wild attacking several institutions in the state like Schools; Churches; Banks, Markets; Motor parks and other government buildings. Corroborating with above, Fineman, (2018:114) asserts:

Boko Haram unexpected resurgence, following a mass prison break in September 2010, was accompanied by increasingly sophisticated attacks, initially against soft targets, but progressing in 2011 to include suicide bombings of police buildings and the United Nations office in Abuja. The government's establishment of a state of emergency at the beginning of 2012, extended in the following year to cover other states-Adamawa, Borno and Yobe all in northeast of Nigeria, led to an increase in both security force abuses and militant attacks. To justify their insurgency, the successor to Mohammed Yusuf, Imam Abubakar Shekau, the leader of the group in a YouTube video released in the year 2012, mentioned three reasons for their violent attacks on Nigerian Government and State:

- a. To avenge the killing of their leader and other members in July 2009 by Nigerian Police;
- b. To avenge the ill-treatment the Christians are meting out to Muslims and Islam in Nigeria; and
- c. To correct the present secular constitution which he described as un-Islamic.

Many states in northern Nigeria like Kano, Bauchi, Gombe, Katsina, including the Federal Capital territory, Abuja all had their shares of the attacks.

As a result of frequent search and arrest of suspected Boko Haram members by security operatives and local vigilante group known as Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF) in their Bulabulin Ganaram area in Maiduguri metropolis and environs, the sect members left Maiduguri Township to Sambisa forest. Sambisa Forest was a Game Reserve that shares west Sudan savannah and the southern boundary of the Sahel savannah, located 60 kilometers south-east of Maiduguri. It occupies parts of the states of Borno, Yobe, Gombe and Bauchi states along the corridor of Darazo, reaching other states (Bodurin, 2014) and (Mbaya and Malgwi, 2010). By 2013, the sect has established its hegemony in the game reserve and forest. Taking advantage of this isolated and peaceful serene atmosphere, Boko Haram recruited more members, trained them in making and using Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) and made itself a formidable force against the Nigerian state (Aju P.C and Aju J.A, 2018).

Boko Haram has graduated from being a local insurrectionary group to insurgency group with international affiliations according to Fineman (2018) whereby she has established links with various terrorist formations like Ansar Dine, Al-Qaeda of Mali in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO). To practically confirm its association with foreign terrorist groups, on 7 March 2015, Boko Haram's leader [Abubakar Shekau](#) pledged allegiance to the [Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant](#) (ISIL), headed by Abubakar Al-Baghdadi. [Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant](#) (ISIL) originated as Jamma'at al-Tawhid wal-jihad in 1999 and pledged allegiance to Al-Qaeda. She participated in the Iraqi insurgency following the 2003 invasion of Iraq by western forces at the behest of the United States and proclaimed itself as worldwide caliphate, thereby

referring to itself as Islamic State. As a Caliphate, it claimed religious, political and military authority over all Muslims and captured many places in Iraq and Syria before it was defeated. This group was also known for its video postage on beheading and other types of executions of both military and civilian population.

The link of Boko Haram and ISIL, gave or metamorphosed and upgraded Jama'at al-Hi-sunna Lid Da'awat Wal-Jihad, popularly called 'Boko Haram' to its new status and name as the Islamic State in West Africa Province (ISWAP). This implies that Boko Haram is beyond the shores of Nigeria. It is now upgraded to a West African militant or insurgents' group. Boko Haram militant organization base in northeastern Nigeria is also active in Chad, Niger and northern Cameroon republics.

Some of the impacts and evidences of the group's alliance with more established international terrorist groups were the good quality of snapshots or pictures and video messages the group are posting on YouTube; they now launched several attacks on the military in their bases in Baga, Gubio and Lake Chad axis without much fears and collecting several weapons from the military. Since the insurgency started in 2009, Boko Haram has killed tens of thousands and displaced 2.3 million from their homes and was ranked as the world's deadliest terror group by the Global Terrorism Index (2017).

Paradoxically however, after the allegiance to ISIL, there was perhaps internal friction among the Boko Haram Commanders/fighters and the ISIL leadership on another hand which prompted one faction to break away. On 3rd August 2016, the Islamic State reported in the 41st issue of its newspaper, al-Naba, that Abu Musah al-Barnawi had been appointed as the new leader of their West African branch (B.B.C News, 6:30am 4/8/2016). Today, there are two different factions of the insurgent groups. Al-Barnawi, that is backed and connected to ISIL leads ISWAP, while the initial and most popular one in Nigeria and across the region, Boko Haram is still headed by Abubakar Shekau. Whichever of the group attacks, it is labeled as Boko Haram. Both of them have the same mission of establishing caliphate in Nigeria and beyond; however, with some slight differences between the groups as outlined by Hamidu, (2020:11 &12) thus:

Shekau's faction (Boko Haram) take harder lines on who is an apostate Muslim and therefore deserving death while the ISWAP headed by Al-Barnawi seems to be moderate. Secondly, Al-Barnawi considers the population in particularly Borno and Yobe states to be Muslims while Shekau conclude the populations, who don't belong to their sect, are non-believers. Thirdly, Boko Haram in 2014 abducted 276 Chibok school girls in Borno state and release few in exchange with some of its forces/foot soldiers; while, ISWAP in 2018 abducted 110 school girls in Dapchi, Yobe state and returned all, except Leah Shuaribu, who refused to renounced her faith in Christ Jesus (this may attest to their radical and moderate stands of the two different groups). Fourthly, Boko Haram attack indiscriminately, while ISWAP target security forces. Fifthly, Boko Haram seems to be more proactive in Sambisa/Adamawa axis, while ISWAP is along the Lake Chad axis. Both of them are however deadly and had their stronghold in North-eastern Nigeria.

Many factors, ranging from none observance of rule of law; poverty; unemployment; absence of parents; the negative impact of movies; the influence of unpatriotic politicians; failure to provide democratic dividends to the electorates; bullying and oppression in school system; parental insensitivity to the plight of their wards and bias/wrong religious teachings facilitates the outbreak of the Boko Haram/ISWAP insurgency in the northeastern Nigeria (Hamidu, Gaikan and Mathias, 2020).

The inability of authorities in Nigeria to prevent, manage or crush the Boko Haram/ISWAP insurgency in northern Nigeria has caused violence on schools and particularly students of both masculine and feminists' gender (Hamidu, 2020). Among the numerous activities of Boko Haram/ISWAP is kidnap or abduction of people, both local and foreign nationalities in and across the northern Nigeria. The abduction or the [kidnapping of 276 school girls](#) from [Chibok](#) in April 2014 was the first known major mass kidnap/abduction of school children by the sect (Bodunrin, 2014). As if that was not enough, they went further to kidnap or abduct another 110 Dapachi school girls in 2018. Further still, on December 11, 2020, they kidnapped or abducted over 400 school boys in Kankara, Katsina state (Oguntola, Enna & Egwu, 2020). As if the afore mentioned were not enough, on 26th February, 2021, 279 female students in Government Girls Secondary School in Jangebe, Zamfara state were kidnapped. On 11th March, 2021, gun men attacked Federal College of Forestry Mechanization, Afaka, Igabi LGA, of Kaduna state and took away 39 students. On 20th April, 2021, over 20 students and two staff of Greenfield University, in Kasarami village, Chikun LGA of Kaduna state were kidnapped. On 5th July, 2021, 126 Bethel Baptist school students in Maraban Damishi, in Chikun local government area of Kaduna state were kidnapped. On 12 October, 2021, bandits attacked and abducted some students in Albert the Great institute of philosophy, a seminary belonging to the Catholic Church in Fayit community, Kagoma, in Jamaa LGA of Kaduna state (Omonobi, 2021 and Hassan, 2021). The aforementioned are examples of the mass abductions of students in their schools/hostels in northern Nigeria which showcased that schools' and students are not exempted from the insurgents'/bandits' wrath. Beside these that were well known, there were other abductions of school boys and girls in some remote areas, especially in the northeast that were not apparently known/recorded (Onuoha (2010); and (Noah, Abubakar & Ikwuba, 2017). The kidnap or abduction of innocent school children by the insurgents/bandits caused national and international uproar/condemnations (Odebode, 2015).

Some scholars, political and security analysts tried to give explanations on the likely reasons/rationale for such abductions/kidnaps to include, but not limited to: conspiracy to discredit or tarnish the image of the government of the day (Baba-Ahmed, 2020); get young ladies to satisfy the sexual urges/instincts of the insurgents/bandits; get young ladies for marriage to some of the sect's members; use them as a tool for negotiation with the states in exchange for their arrested members to be released; get more members/new recruits through capture and indoctrination process; get some financial benefits/rewards before the release of the abductees; use the ransomed money they collect to purchase more weapons,

vehicles, pay their foot soldiers and meet other logistics (Ofejebi, 2020); and, or they sell their captors as war slaves to interested parties. These were not however known by the general public and members of the international community, until the mass abductions/kidnaps were recorded (Idowu, 2015). The lingering challenges of armed bandits and cattle rustling in northwest could be another step to politically compel the federal government of Nigeria to establish North West Development Commission, as it was done in North East, due to Boko Haram terrorism.

Comparative Discourse on the Abductions/Kidnaps of Students in Nigeria

The eight major school attacks, cum kidnap by Boko Haram/ISWAP and bandits under PDP and APC in Nigeria have several similarities to include but not limited to the under-listed: The eight abductions (Chibok, Dapchi, Kankara, Jangebe, Afaka, Kasarami, Maraban Damishi and Kagoma) were all in five states (Borno, Yobe, Katsina, Zamfara, Kaduna,) in northern Nigeria. This is presumably, the strong hold of the Boko Haram/ISWAP insurgents and bandits in the country.

Majority of the abductions were done at evening or night. Evenings/nights is the period when students should be resting from all academic activities. It perhaps serves as the best time for the insurgents/kidnappers to avoid being seen or pursued by security operatives. The Presidents of the federal republic of Nigeria were inside the country when the abductions took place. For instance, Goodluck Jonathan was in Abuja while Buhari was in Katsina, all in Nigeria. None of them was outside the country for any foreign engagement when most, if not all those kidnaps took place.

Even though the Presidents were all within Nigeria when the abductions/kidnap took place, none of the Presidents visited the place of the abductions immediately the action occurred, even though they were informed accordingly.

All the mentioned abductions above, took place in the current Nigeria's fourth republic political dispensation, with democratically elected leaders/ regimes in place under Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) and All Progressives Congress (APC) respectively.

Parents of most of the abductees went to the respective schools and did some peaceful demonstrations in their immediate streets, calling on the authorities to rescue their wards and bring them back home unhurt.

Concerned Nigerians and other human rights advocates across all the gender in Abuja also cried out for the government to be proactive and rescue the kidnapped school boys and girls. For instance, there was the 'Bring Back Our Girls' (BBOGs) and Bring Back Our Boys (BBOBs). These groups staged peaceful protests which pressured the government and political party of the day to act promptly.

Most of the abductions were done in boarding schools that are mostly owned by state government in northern Nigeria.

All the abductions caused psychological trauma for the students and their parents as well as the staff, thereby affecting their morale and vigor in pursuing educations.

Top governments officials or delegates and Military officers visited those affected places; they promised to work hard and rescued the abducted school children and reiterated their commitments to ensure the security of lives and properties of the people in the region. To these effects, there were deployment of more security operatives to the affected areas.

Most of the abducted students were later released by their captors. For instance, the abducted students of Dapchi in 2018, Kankara in 2020, and Jangebe in 2021 respectively, were released without rigorous exchange of gunshot between security operatives and the insurgents/bandits. This, some pundits opined that ransom was paid but the authorities kept denying (Oguntola, Enna & Egwu, 2020).

In most of the abductions where the students were later released, notably that of Chibok, Dapchi, Kankara and Jangebe, there were go-in-between. There were some mediators that lead to the release of some of the abducted school girls and boys for either in exchange with some Boko Haram fighters (Chibok girls); or the returning of the Dapchi girls and that of the Kankara boys respectively for monetary and other secret settlements. The Switzerland authorities, International Committee of the Red Cross, Sheikh Mahmud Gumi and Miyetti Allah organizations, etc, were said to broker the releases/return of the students.

Differences in the Scenarios

Northeast geopolitical zone of Nigeria has six states, which includes: Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba, and Yobe. While Northwest has seven states, which are Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto and Zamfara. In northeast, Borno, Yobe and Adamawa experienced the havoc of the insurgents most. In northwest, Kaduna, Sokoto, Zamfara suffered the wrath of the bandits/insurgents most.

Boko Haram and ISWAP were known to be active in northeast. In the northwest, armed bandits and cattle rustlers are known to be operating. Therefore, the kidnap of the boys in Government Science Secondary School Kankara was suspected to be by the armed bandits. However, in one of the videos released, Boko Haram claimed responsibility and that was a surprising phenomenon. There are those who believed it was Boko Haram that kidnapped the Kankara school boys, since they had done same in the past and showcased their captors in videos. Some people however did not believe that. Rather, they believed it is the armed bandits that carried away the school boys (Oguntola, Enna & Egwu, 2020).

When the Chibok kidnap happened in 2014, PDP was the party in power at the federal level, with Goodluck Ebele Jonathan being the president. The president did not have any formal military background. The abduction in the 2018 Dapchi; 2020, Kankara; 2021, Jangebe; 2021, Afaka, Igabi; 2021, Kasarami; 2021, Maraban Damishi; 2021, Albert the Great, Kagoma respectively (Omonobi, 2021 and Hassan, 2021), were under APC as the ruling party and President Muhammadu Buhari, a onetime army general as the leader. The eight abductions took place under two different political parties and leadership; one of the leaders with military background, while the other does not have military background.

The kidnap in Chibok, 2014, and Dapchi, 2018, were all in the northeast Nigeria. However, the 2020, Kankara; 2021, Jangebe; 2021, Afaka, Igabi; 2021, Kasarami; 2021, Maraban Damishi; 2021, Albert the Great, Kagoma was in northwest geopolitical zone in Nigeria.

The abductees in Chibok and Dapchi, in northeast geopolitical zone were all female students. In contrast, the one in northwest were both male and female students respectively, even with one or two teachers, unlike the former.

The insurgents came with cars or lorry and evacuated the female students from their Chibok and Dapchi school hostels. The insurgents/bandits came on motor bikes and some on foot and carried away their captives into the bush in northwestern Nigeria.

Northeast have had or experienced only two mass school abductions. But in the northwest, there were the Kankara boys' abductions 2020; Jangebe, 2021; Afaka, Igabi, 2021; Kasarami, 2021; Maraban Damishi, 2021; and Albert the Great, Kagoma, etc). This implied the kidnaps/ abductions were more in northwest, than northeast.

The Chibok 2014 kidnap was under PDP leadership at the top/federal level and All Nigeria's People Party (ANPP) at the state level. In that of Dapchi 2018; Kankara, 2020, Jangebe; 2021, Afaka, Igabi; 2021, Kasarami; 2021, Maraban Damishi; 2021, Albert the Great, Kagoma respectively however, APC leads at both the federal and states levels.

All the Dapchi girls, except the ones that died due to anxiety and apprehension and Sharibu Leah that refused to renounce her faith in Christ Jesus, all the girls were returned by the insurgents. The Kankara boys and the girls from Jangebe were also released by the bandits/ their abductees unhurt and their state government sent vehicles to transport them back to their homes/ states.

The Chibok kidnap was carried out by Boko Haram, and Boko Haram also claimed responsibility for that of Kankara in a video she released. In spite of the video from Boko Haram, some people still express doubt on Boko Haram's claims, preferring to believe that bandits kidnapped the boys. In that of Dapchi however, it was carried out by ISWAP; while that of Jangebe; Afaka, Igabi; Kasarami ; Maraban Damishi; Albert the Great, Kagoma respectively were attributed to armed bandits operating in that axis.

While there was no much questioning or skepticism on the numbers of abductees in Chibok and Dapchi school girls, there were confusion and reservations on the true number of the abductees from the Kankara school boys. For instance, Senior Special Assistant to Buhari on Media and Publicity, Mallam Garba Shehu said only 10 boys were taken away, Katsina state government gave 333 and, one of the escapees said they were 540 respectively. When the abductees were eventually released on Thursday night/Friday morning, the school boys were 344.

The Kankara school kidnap in northwest was higher in number than the others. For example, both from the state government's record of 333 and that of an escapee, 540 as well as those officially released by the kidnappers, 344, the number is higher than Chibok, 276; 110 for Dapchi; 120 Bethel Baptist School; 20 Greenfield; 39 Afaka, Igabi; 279, Jangebe; respectively.

There were uncertainty and more questions on the figures in the Kankara boys kidnap and release. In Chibok and Dapchi, it is officially noted that some of the abducted school girls are still with the insurgents for one reason or the other like Leah Shuaribu and others. But in the Kankara abduction, there is the missing or unaccountable number of 196 school boys if one carefully followed the account of the escaped school boy and the number of the boys released by the armed bandits ($540-344=196$). Could it be that those 196 were killed or died in the bush? Could it be that they too were Christians and the bandits refused to release them like Leah Shuaribu or were they stocked in the bush and cannot find their way home? Could it be that other young people, who maybe not from that school were among the captors counted that night, and that while the real school boys were released, they (the 196) were held back? The escapee's eye witness account stated 540 abducted and 344 released a figure higher than the official record of the kidnapped students. This implies that something must be amiss somewhere which should not be taken lightly.

The Kankara school boys abducted spent less than a week/month in the hands of their captors before their return; while the abducted school girls of Dapaci, Chibok, Jangebe, Greenfield, Kagoma, etc, spent no fewer than one to two months before some or most of them were released.

Nigerian President, Muhammadu Buhari was in Katsina state when the Kankara kidnap occurred, his presences could not deter or frightened the abductors; he was however not present in Yobe state when that of Dapchi and others occurred. In that of Chibok, President Goodluck Jonathan was not in Borno states, but in Abuja when that occurred.

Immediately the news of the kidnap of Kankara school boys in Katsina state was confirmed, schools in Kebbi, Jigawa, Kaduna and Kano, among other states were closed down abruptly. While in that of Chibok in 2014 and Dapchi in 2018, other schools in the neighbouring states were not closed immediately, except that security was beefed up.

In the northeast, those kidnapped were students in secondary school that are owned by the government. In northwest however, students of secondary school and even some in university that were owned by government and by private/mission organization were taken away.

Implications of the Students Kidnap/abductions on Nigerian Polity and Educational System

There are many implications of the Boko Haram/ISWAP and bandit attacks on the state in general and the educational sectors in particularly.

Boko Haram incessant attacks in the north, particularly on schools are direct fulfillment of the meaning of their name in Hausa, "western education is forbidden". They are really proving or showcasing that they are against western education in the region (Okafor, 2015). Boko Haram/ISWAP or bandits attacks on schools are not only detrimental to Nigerian educational system, but it's an attack on the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN-UDHR), Article 26 of December 1948 (Shavis & Gaunya 2015)

The statement by the government of APC that Boko Haram/ISWAP is 'technically defeated or degraded' is now fallacious and misleading or it can be seen as a mere political propaganda. Because Boko Haram that was, and still active in northeast have expanded or is establishing links into northwest states in Nigeria. This means, insecurity is therefore not over (Ajayi, 2019).

The attacks by Boko Haram/ISWAP and the bandits implies that no parts of Nigeria or persons are safe as the insurgency can move from one place to another in the country to carry out their works without impunity. Nigeria and Nigerians are vulnerable and at the mercy of armed groups operating in northern Nigeria and across the borders (Baba-Ahmed, 2020).

The kidnaps or abductions in Chibok, Dapchi and other places, were without fierce battle or strong resistance from Nigeria security. It was in that of Kankara that there was news of gunshot between members of the police force and the bandits. These attacks/kidnaps showcased that our security operatives and structures are not too combatant ready to apprehend and halt the insurgency and other gunmen.

Under PDP that rule Nigeria for sixteen years, the abduction was once, that of Chibok in 2014. But under APC, that is now in its seven years of ruling Nigeria, the kidnaps are more than five, Dapchi; Kankara; Jangebe; Afaka, Igabi; Kasarami; Maraban Damishi; Albert the Great, Kagoma respectively. This implied that APC government under Buhari, a onetime army general has failed to secure the students, in spite of his campaign promises to end terrorism and rescued Leah Sharibu if elected in 2015. Boko Haram/ISWAP that was limited to northeast have continued to wreak havoc on Nigerians and other bandit groups have emerged or possibly, Boko Haram/ISWAP have now snowballed to northwest of Nigeria.

The mass abductions/kidnaps in the four states proves that Nigeria security personnel are either inadequate to secure the states and people, or there are lack equipment for prompt action when called upon, or they are over stretched with numerous insecurities in the country.

The kidnaps/abductions of students across the states have attracted national and international attention, since it happened more than five times. These made people to see the Nigerian states and its security operative as weak and defective in crime prevention and tracking of criminals/bandits.

Religiously, some observers are sensing some conspiracies in some of the abductions. The abductions of all students and their return, but refusal to return Leah Sharibu because of her faith; the kidnap and return of the girls from Dapchi, Jangebe, all the boys in Kankara; while those boys in the Baptist high School were not returned in mass, etc, These made the whole issue to be viewed with skepticism and religious undertone. These gives room for many questions without tangible answers.

The consequences of the above on northern educational system are dangerous, retrogressive and traumatizing. Hamidu (2020:44-46) and Hamidu & Audu (2017:80-82)

outline some of the implications of the insurgency on both male and girl-child education in the northern Nigeria to include:

1. States in northern Nigeria that is said to be the backward educationally will continue to be backward, since many young men and ladies are removed from schools for fear of not being abducted;
2. There are and shall be lack of many female teachers, workers and other professionals from northern Nigeria. Because the females to be trained today and to be in offices tomorrow are halted from going to school by the previous abductions;
3. There shall be more students, teachers and other professionals in township and less of such students and workers in the villages due the fear of not being abducted in the rural or neglected areas;
4. Scholars and students from other parts of Nigeria may not be applying for jobs or to study in schools in northern Nigeria due to the fear of insurgents' abductions and this will affect vital exchange of ideas and national integration which educational system is meant to promote and uphold;
5. Researches and exploration in the environments may not have many female engineers/technocrats; and even when they are available, it will be done haphazardly or abandoned due to fear of being abducted by insurgents/bandits;
6. It will be hard for young scholars, most especially female researchers and explorers to come to northern Nigeria or the Lake Chad area for researches/study so as not to be abducted;
7. Government at all levels must have to expend more to re-build or fence and equip schools for better teaching and learning and to attract more students from and in northern Nigeria;
8. Some parents may stop their wards, especially the female folks from going to schools especially in remotes areas since the insurgents are critical of it and have attacked it severally;
9. Women or girl-child education enrolments in schools in northern Nigeria will reduce as many of them have been abducted by the insurgents in many villages in northern Nigeria, notably were the Chibook, Dapchi and Kankara respectively;
10. Boarding schools and exchange or unity school system may be affected in most northern states;
11. There is fear, anxiety and uncertainties among and between staff and students in boarding schools in northern states, thereby affecting quality teaching/learning;
12. The number of students' enrolment in other non-formal or religious based schools will or have increased at the detriment of formal education especially for the female gender;
13. The desire and government policy for robust Girl-Child education in the northern Nigeria will be put in jeopardy;

14. Consequent upon the insurgents' attacks and abductions of young boys and female students, as well as some teachers in other attacks, the Nigerian state may not achieve its educational goals in the immediate near future as expected, and,
15. Both the state and the non-state actors or perpetrators of some of the aforementioned dehumanizing attacks against the male and women folk can be sued in the court of law for war crimes or crime against human dignity.

Conclusion

Boko Haram insurgency and insecurity generally in some states in northern geopolitical zones of Nigeria has lot of implications on the nation's image, socioeconomic advancement, particularly, as it affects or retard educational development (Hamidu, Gaikan and Mathias, 2020). It is not therefore out of place to say that both PDP and APC led governments have failed to defend innocent school children from insurgents/bandits attacks in Nigeria. Consequently, the quest to acquire quality formal education for overall development seems to be under serious threat from the insurgents and bandits operating in northern Nigeria. Consequently, the geopolitical zones will suffer a huge setback as boys and girl-child education, as well as advanced level educational systems are thwarted or disrupted. The much-needed science and technical education in the nation that would stimulate holistic development will remain but an illusion or a mirage, hence, keeping Nigeria as a dependent economy for more years to come.

Recommendations

In view of the aforementioned impacts and implications of insurgence and bandits attacks on the economy and educational system, the under listed recommendations became needful:

1. Authorities in Nigeria are advised to recruit, train and boost its security operatives for prompt and pragmatic responses.
2. The security architecture in the country should be overhaul and in the geopolitical zones to meet the security needs of the population, especially that of the students, farmers, etc.
3. Government should buy more equipment and or develop drones for night surveillance and prompt actions.
4. All boarding schools should be well fortified and the security operatives be kept on alert as that is the residence of the staff and students while in school.
5. The Girl-Child education policy in northern Nigeria should be boosted morally, financially and otherwise for more ladies to be in schools or be educated.
6. The policy of re-integrating the repentant Boko Haram/ISWAP members into the society should be re-visited and overhauled. The repentant insurgents should expose their former hideouts to enable the state's security operatives to attack and end the insurgency/banditry bedeviling the nation once and for all.

7. Government should use the same third party or go-in-between method to dialogue with the insurgents so that they should be disarmed or hand in their weapons and stop terrorism; should they refused the states to professionally and pragmatically end insurgency/banditry in the country.
8. Northern elites should arise, and be responsive to halt the advances of the insurgents/bandits. The havoc these insurgents are creating in the geopolitical zones has immediate and remote consequences on educational, psychological and sociological wellbeing of all people.
9. Authorities, non-governmental organizations and International Organizations like United Nations, through its specialized agencies like UNICEF and UNESCO should come to the aid of students in the north, by providing the necessary educational materials/facilities needed for quality teaching and learning.

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