



EDUCATION UNDER ARMED ATTACK IN NORTH EAST OF NIGERIA: EVALUATING THE IMPACT OF BOKO HARAM ATTACKS ON TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS IN ADAMAWA STATE

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Abstract

Since the emergence of Boko Haram (BH) insurgency in the Northeast of Nigeria, education has come under severe attacks from the sect, owing to its ideology, which perceives Western education as un-Islamic. These attacks have had debilitating impact on the educational system in the war-torn zone. Extant studies on BH insurgency are yet to examine the short and long term impacts of the sect's attacks on tertiary institutions in the frontline states of the insurgency, particularly how these affect human and material resources as well as academic activities in the region. To address this gap in literature, this study evaluated the impact of BH attack on three tertiary institutions in Adamawa State. Qualitative data was collected from teaching and non-teaching staff, principal officers and students of the affected institutions, including parents and guardians. Results showed that BH attack resulted in the loss of lives of students and staff, destruction and looting of valuable items and educational infrastructures, reduction in enrolment into the institutions, and encouraging academic staff attrition. Thus, it was recommended that federal and state governments and the private sector should provide adequate funding to revitalize the affected educational institutions. Educational institutions in Nigeria should be prioritized as critical infrastructures deserving adequate security protection.

Keywords

Adamawa, Armed Conflict Zone, Education, Boko Haram, North East Nigeria

1 Introduction

There is a growing body of evidence that violent political and military attacks on education have occurred in dozens of states in the past decade and have significantly intensified in many of the worst affected countries in recent years (O'Malley, 2011). More worrisome is the fact that Islamic groups with extremist tendencies appear to have declared violent jihad on Western civilization including Western-secular education which they believe is the main tool for propagating and perpetuating toxic Western influences which corrupt Muslims. Such Islamic groups are primarily driven by Salafi ideology and their common rhetoric is that "the Qur'an is my constitution (Asfura-Heim and McQuaid, 2015:37 Thurston, 2016:22 and Omenma, and Hendricks, 2018: 766)" One main interpretation of Salafism focuses on the use of violence to bring about radical change in societies, which is commonly known as Salafist Jihadism. There are documentations on the growing attacks of armed groups on educational institutions. For instance, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation reports that "education has been attacked in at least 31 countries in Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America over the past three years". Similarly, a 2014 report of National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) 2014 has noted that:

Between 1972 and 2003, 2 percent of all attacks each year, on average, targeted educational institutions. Globally, 69 percent of attacks on educational institutions between 1970 and 2013 targeted schools, universities, and educational buildings; 19 percent targeted teachers, professors, and instructors, and 11 percent targeted other educational personnel (START, 2014: 2).

Non-state armed groups such as terrorists, insurgents and rebel fighters as well as the military are responsible for the majority of the attacks on

educational institutions in armed conflict zones. Attacks on education or educational institutions refer to the deliberate use of violence against students, teachers and educational infrastructures to achieve political, economic, military, ethnic/religious, ideological, or sectarian objectives (Momodu, 2021: 7). Such attacks often have direct and indirect consequences on the students and the human and material resources of educational institutions both in the short and long term (Momodu, 2021: 7). Most times, attacks on educational institutions often negatively affect the functionality of educational institutions, its stakeholders and the society at large. A case in point is the state collapse in Somalia coupled with targeted attacks on educational infrastructure which grounded the country's educational system to a halt (Abdi 1998). The severe attacks of the BH insurgents on educational institutions in the North East of Nigeria have resulted in huge collateral damages on the educational system of the affected states. According to a report of the Federal Government of Nigeria's Recovery and Peace Building Assessment, it is estimated that the sum of 249 million USD worth of damage was done by Boko Haram (BH) insurgency to educational infrastructure within Borno, Adamawa and Yobe States (Asfura-Heim, Patricio, and Julia McQuaid, 2015: 23).

One of the major planks of BH ideology is the rejection of Western education and Westernisation (Mohammed, 2014:14). The sect believes that Western education is a sin and runs contrary to the tenets of the Quran and has a strong corrupting influence on its recipients. This radical belief made the sect declare Jihad against the Nigerian state and its educational system which it perceives as a symbol of Western civilisation. In 2012, BH started attacking educational institutions in Borno State when it burnt down eight schools in one night, although there was no human fatality (START, 2014:2). In 2014, the insurgents also attacked tertiary institutions in Mubi North Local Government Area of Adamawa State. The attack led to the death of both students and staff of the institutions; destruction and looting of many infrastructures and property belonging to the institutions, staff and students. Attacks on education in Borno, Adamawa and Yobe, which are normally referred to as the (BAY) states have caused a heavy toll on the educational systems of these already educationally backward states.

Furthermore, the North East region is backward in all ramifications of education and socio-economic indices. As the poorest region in Nigeria, it has

with the highest incidence of poverty, high infant and maternal mortality and illiteracy rates and is backward in terms of educational development (Momodu, 2020:74). Recent studies on multidimensional poverty show that Nigeria is still home to about 97 million poor people (Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative, 2018). The northern region of Nigeria has a very high incidence of both income and multidimensional poverty (National Bureau of Statistics, 2017). According to British Council Girls' Education in Nigeria Report (2014), in Sub-Saharan Africa, the youth (15-24 years old) literacy rate is 70% and Nigerian youths constitute the highest of this percentage. Without any iota of doubt, the situation of education in the north east is worrisome as it remains the poorest region in Nigeria as UNICEF (2013) has observed that in north-eastern Nigeria, 2.8 million children are in need of education-in-emergencies support in three conflict-affected states of Borno, Yobe, and Adamawa.

The BH insurgency has only compounded the state of education and hampered the capacity of the federal and state governments to provide education for all. This has further worsened the poverty and inequality profile of the insurgency affected states. On many occasions, the insurgents launched vigorous campaigns of terror on schools and tertiary institutions, desecrating the civility and sanctity of these institutions. International Crisis Group (ICG) report notes that on September 2014, Boko Haram reportedly killed more than 50 students in College of Agriculture in Gujba, Yobe State (ICG, 2014). The severity of BH attacks made some state governors – Benue, Lagos, Ogun, Kogi, Anambra among others –evacuate their indigenes from the University of Maiduguri (All African News, 2014). Essentially, the BH terrorism has had very severe impacts on the human and material resources of many tertiary institutions in the frontline states of the insurgency.

Much of the reporting of the impact of BH attacks on education focuses on primary and secondary education in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe, which are the frontline states of the BH insurgency (Ekereke, 2013; Monsuru, Unwana, and Kamilu, 2014). Clearly, there has not been any known serious attempt through research to document in literature the severe impacts of the BH attacks on tertiary education. Therefore, it has become very difficult to fathom the magnitude of damage that BH attacks have done to the tertiary education system in the frontline states of the BH insurgency that have for decades been

making efforts towards repositioning their educational system with a view to meet up with at least minimum global educational standards.

The tertiary system of education plays critical role in knowledge production and the development of human resources for societal transformation. It is against this backdrop that the present study filled the key knowledge gaps as it evaluates the impact of BH insurgent invasion of three tertiary institutions in Mubi North, Adamawa State, North East of Nigeria. The objectives guiding the study mainly focused on evaluating the short and long term impact of BH attack on the institutions, staff and students, property, infrastructures, academic activities and staff attrition/retention.

2 Emergence of Boko Haram in North East of Nigeria

There are numerous accounts as to the origin of the radical Islamist group called Boko Haram. While some believe that the sect was founded before 2002 in Yobe State as a reincarnation of Mohammed Marwa's Maitatsine Islamic sect, some believe that it was founded around 2002 by Mohammed Yusuf, a radical preacher based in Maiduguri, the capital of Borno State (Adeniyi, 2011:106). Some others believe that the group was founded in 2003 in a town called Kanama in present Yobe State (see, Gusau, 2009; Onuoha, 2010, p.55; Mohammed, 2014). However, the dominant view in extant literature on the evolution of BH is that the group was formed in the year 2002 in Kanama in present Yobe State. One of such dominant views is the one expressed by Adeniyi (2011, pp.106-109). who posits that the origin of BH dates back to 2002 when Muhammad Yusuf, the spiritual leader and founder of the sect, an indigene of Jakusko in Yobe State, rose to recognition within the Salafi Islamic circle (Wahabists). The BH group was actually founded in a small town named Kanama in Yobe State, where the founder Mohammed Yusuf hails from himself of the Kanuri extraction.

The name 'Boko Haram' was an appellation given to the group by residents of Maiduguri the Capital of Borno State, due to its strong resistance to Western education, which the group considers as un-Islamic and has a corrupting influence on its recipients. The name "Boko Haram" was later popularised by local media within Nigeria and it was subsequently globalised by Western media like Aljazeera, Cable Network News (CNN) and British

Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), who literally translated Mohammed Yusuf's Islamist group into "education is forbidden".

Essentially, the name Boko Haram is derived from a combination of the Hausa word 'Boko' meaning 'book' and the Arabic word 'Haram', which refers to something sacrilegious or sinful. It also literally means 'the sacrilegious book', but its contextual meaning is that Western education and civilisation are sinful, ungodly, and should therefore be forbidden (Mohammed, 2014:84). Just like Sheik Usman Danfodio waged a religious Jihad against what he described as the un-Islamic and corrupt ruling elite which led to the establishment of Sharia-governed Sokoto Caliphate, Muhammed Yusuf also launched a Jihad against the Nigerian state condemning it for its secular nature, which he said was un-Islamic and advocated for an Islamic Caliphate, which will be modeled after the Taliban in Afghanistan and will be strictly governed by Sharia laws. Therefore, the evolution of the sect could be traced to what Muhammed (2009:149) views as phenomenal rise of the Salafi movement:

The movement grew from a coterie of disgruntled Ulama (Islamic scholar) into a broad-based social movement in which various grievances found expression. Yamatulzalati (Bid 'a Walgamatus Sunnah (movement against negative innovation and orthodoxy), or Izala for short is the representative example of Salafi movement in Nigeria (Muhammed, 2009:149).

Mohammed Yusuf's sect calls itself "*Jama'atulAlhul Sunnah Lidda'watiwal Jihad*" (JAS), meaning "*people committed to the propagation of the Prophet's teachings and jihad*" JAS has its Salafi ideology rooted in the campaign against anything that is secular and un-Islamic in nature such as secular system of government (Western democracy and its ideals), secular system of education (Western education) and secular lifestyles (Westernisation), which runs contrary to the tenets of Islam. Terrorist groups that uphold Salafi ideology are often motivated by the idea that society stems from a divine motivation of religion, long-term view of religious goals, and the indivisibility of religion and politics or society (Juergensmeyer, 2003; Hoffman, 2006). Salafists strongly believe that the wanton corruption and culpability of the products of Western education were then related directly to the problems of

the country as a whole. Although radical Islamist groups often predicate or justify their attacks on educational institutions on religious ideology but there are perhaps other underlining motives for such attacks, which often may include political, economic, ethnic/sectarian or military in nature. The BH motives for attacking educational institutions may also not be exclusively predicated on the rejectionist ideology of the sect as there are other factors that motivate the sect's attacks on educational institutions which are discussed in this paper.

3 Theoretical Insight

This paper is anchored on the theory of "The Clash of Civilisations," which has been articulated by scholars such as (Matthews, 1926; Fukuyama, 1989:3-18; Huntington, 1996). For instance, attention is given to the issue of secularism in the Muslim world, and thereby considers the Western influences as those that spread the culture of entertainment, promote the spirit of a narrow form of nationalism, change the culture of Muslim women and introduce a secular educational system which would eventually bring about the collapse of the Islamic civilisation (Matthews, 1926).

Fukuyama has also hypothesised on the clash of civilisation, focusing on political ideologies as the main unit of analysis. In his approach, he clearly promotes the Western civilisation over and above other civilisations. In his article entitled: "*The End of History and the Last Man*", Fukuyama projects that with the fall of the Soviet regime, the democratic ideology cradled by the West would succeed in controlling the world. He also envisions that with the success of this ideology, the West would be at the pinnacle, and no other ideology or power would be able to challenge the West. However, he sees Islam as an ideology that could pose a threat to the West. Hence, he alleged that Islam would be unable to rise again from the faltering and challenging powers of the West (Fukuyama, 1989:16).

Huntington remains the most popular proponent of the theory of "The Clash of Civilisations". Unlike Matthews, Huntington's approach focuses on culture as the main unit of analysis. In his argument, he also makes a radical departure from the hypothesis of Francis Fukuyanma which saw the Western civilisation as the dominant civilisation after the demystification of Soviet Union in 1989, which ended the Cold War Era. In Samuel Huntington's

publications: *"The Clash of Civilizations"* (1993) and *"The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order"* (1996), he argues that the end of the Cold War primarily indicates the end of conflicts within Western civilisation, whereas a new era of inter-civilisation conflicts has begun. The crux of Huntington's argument is that the primary causes of conflicts will not be ideological or economic. "The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural" (Huntington, 1996).

Huntington further argued that the fault-lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future and that, as their power and self-confidence increase, non-Western societies will increasingly assert their own cultural values and reject those imposed on them by the West noting that the revitalization of religion throughout much of the world is reinforcing these cultural differences (Huntington, 1996). He predicted that the Third World War will be fought along cultural lines between the West (Europeans) and Islamic civilisations. An Indian Muslim author, M.J. Akbar also affirmed Huntington's hypothesis when he stated that the West's next confrontation was definitely going to come from the Muslim world, asserting that it is in the sweep of the Islamic nations from *Maghreb* to Pakistan that the struggles for a new world order will begin (Huntington, 1993:22-49).

So far, a radical sect in the Muslim world has been deploying Salafist ideology to challenge, repudiate as well as dismantle the values and vestiges of Western civilisation. According to European Commission's Expert Group on Violent Radicalisation (2008), "one specific interpretation of Salafism focuses on the use of violence to bring about such radical change and is commonly known as Salafist Jihadism". This type of terrorist violence is referred to as "new mode of conflict" (Jenkins, 1975:21).

The cultural differences between the West and Islamic civilisations can also be noticed in the area of Western education versus traditional Islamic education. In recent times, many radical jihadist groups like BH, Al-Qaida, Islamic States and Taliban have clearly condemned Western education, claiming that it has a very strong corrupting influence which makes its recipients impure and corrupt. Consequently, such terrorist groups have launched armed attacks on schools and tertiary institutions teaching Nigeria's national curriculum in a bid to express their disdain for Western education in their society. The BH sect has also actively called for, and carried out direct attacks on schools and tertiary institutions in Nigeria, killing, maiming and

kidnapping students and lecturers/teachers, and also burning down or destroying school buildings and facilities as well as threatening parents and guardians to withdraw their children from schools.

This study adopts Huntington's postulations on the theory of "The Clash of Civilizations", which sees culture as the main unit of analysis and religion as the main source of clash between Western and Islamic civilisations. The theory is relevant to this research in the sense that it clearly explains the rivalry or clash between Western civilization and Islamic civilization in areas such as politics, economics, education, religion, etc. For instance, within the Salafist Islamic circle (Wahabists), there is a strong feeling of disdain for Western education stemming from the belief that it has a strong corrupting influence. This feeling is also rife amongst most orthodox Muslims in northern Nigeria. Indeed, both the Maitatsine and Yusufiya (Mohammed Yusuf's sect) reject Western civilization (including Western education) and called for the strict enforcement of Sharia law (Johnson, 2011). They also believe that Western education "imparts some literacy to the aristocratic class, to the exclusion of the commoner classes" (Tukur 1979: 866). Although there may be many factors that explain why BH insurgents attack education and educational institutions in the North East of Nigeria, however, it is obvious that the clash between Islam and Western civilisation appears to be the main motivating factor for the daring attacks of the radical Islamic group on educational institutions as it attempts to Islamise the government schooling system, which it perceives to symbolise Western secular education.

4 Design and Methods

This research was carried out in Adamawa State located in the North Eastern part of Nigeria. It lies between latitude $7^{\circ} 15'$ and $10^{\circ} 58'N$ of the equator and between longitude $11^{\circ} 09'$ and $13^{\circ} 47'E$ of the Greenwich meridian (Adebayo, Tukur and Zemba, 2020: 37). The state covers a land area of about 39, 972.3 Km² with a population of 4,504,337 people (2006 census projected figure). Adamawa has 21 local government areas and it is one of the states affected by the over one decade (2009-2020) BH Islamist insurgency with Borno State as its epicenter. Adamawa State is agrarian in nature with farming, animal husbandry and fishing as the major occupations of the people. Adamawa State

was chosen to be studied in the research due to the fact that it is one of the frontline states affected by the Boko Haram insurgency and the tertiary institutions studied are located in the state.

Qualitative research method was adopted in this study and primary data was collected through Key Informant Interview (KII). This instrument was deemed most appropriate to elicit qualitative data because it provided the researchers with the opportunity to have face-to-face interactions with a wide range of key stakeholders. Also, the instrument afforded the researcher the opportunity to probe further and elicit even more responses from the interviewees that are purposively chosen from tertiary institutions that were attacked by the BH insurgents in Adamawa State. The adoption of purposive sampling technique is in accordance with the argument that researchers purposely choose subjects who, in their opinion and thinking, are relevant to the research topic (Sarantakos, 1998). The participants' ages ranged from 18 to 65 years.

The researchers engaged with key stakeholders in the three tertiary institutions attacked by BH insurgents and were able to observe the visible impact of the attacks of the BH insurgents on the tertiary institutions. The researchers' location in Adamawa State and their robust understanding of the terrain of the state, their working relationship with colleagues in the concerned tertiary institutions attacked by the insurgents as well as their participation in many researches on BH insurgency assisted them well in their interactions and assessments with the key persons from the tertiary institutions studied. Three tertiary institutions were studied in Adamawa State, namely Adamawa State University (ADSU), Mubi, Federal Polytechnic (FP), Mubi and Adamawa State College of Health Technology, Mubi (ASCHT) Adamawa State as indicated in Figure 1. ADSU Mubi was established in 2002 by the Adamawa State Law No. 10 of 2001, while FP Mubi was established by decree No. 33 of August 25th July, 1979 while ASCHT Mubi was established on April 14, 1975 through a military edict.

About 10 KII sessions were held in each of the three tertiary institutions studied. On the whole 20 KIIs sessions were held with teaching, non-teaching staff, students, principal officers, and repentant members of BH who were knowledgeable on the subject matter. Apart from the rich data collected from the primary sources, the study also relied on secondary data obtained from previous studies on Islamic education in Northern Nigeria and

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BH insurgency to broaden the researchers' understanding of the subject matter and also guide primary data collection and analysis. Data on students' enrolment and issues relating to staff were obtained from the admissions office and registries of the three tertiary institutions. However, there were some challenges encountered in the course of gathering data for this study. In particular, the three tertiary institutions were not willing to release information concerning their total staff strength and students' results to enable the researchers determine their academic performance. However, the challenges were addressed by provision of qualitative data by the registries of the three institutions.

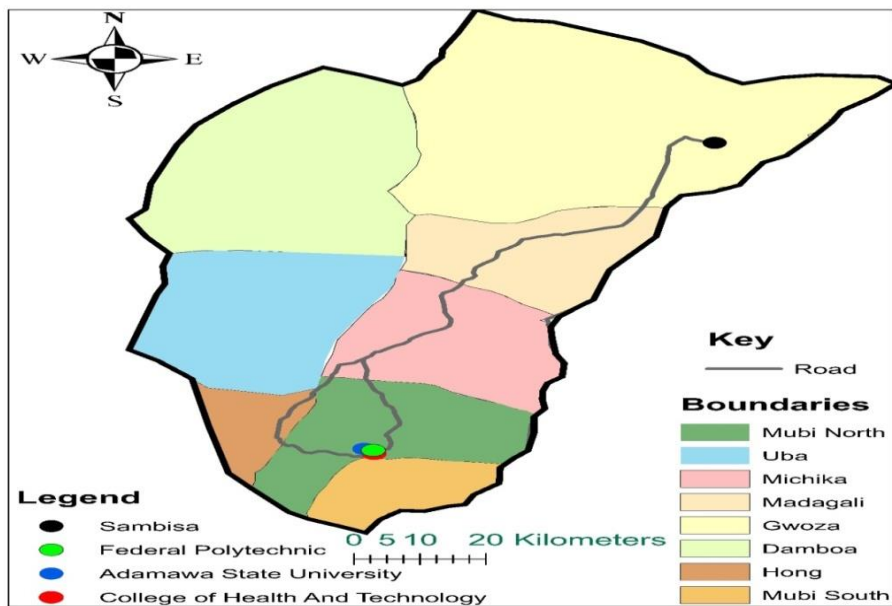


FIGURE 1: Mubi Local Government Area of Adamawa State.

SOURCE: GEOGRAPHIC INFORMATION SYSTEMS UNIT, ADAMAWA STATE, NIGERIA, 2021

5 Results and Discussion

This section deals with the discussion of the findings obtained from the qualitative and secondary data obtained on the impact of BH attack on the human and material resources as well as academic activities in three tertiary institutions in Mubi North Local Government Area of Adamawa State, Northeastern Nigeria.

5.1 Impact of BH Attack on life and property

The study examined the impact of BH attack on the three tertiary institutions in Mubi and found that it had debilitating impact on these institutions especially in terms of human and material resources costs. This was reported by virtually all the participants interviewed from the three tertiary institutions attacked by BH insurgents. For instance, an interview held with a senior academic staff of ADSU revealed that:

On 29 October, 2014, BH insurgents attacked three tertiary institutions in Mubi, namely ADSU, FP and ASCHT at Mubi Local Government Area of Adamawa State. This was a direct attack on the three institutions, which led to the killing of 21 students and staff. They also ransacked and looted property in student hostels, staff offices and quarters. Vehicles of these institutions and those belonging to staff were driven away while those left behind were vandalized. Computers, chemicals and equipment were carted away from the laboratories and the central store. Churches on the campus were burnt. Valuables and food items were also looted. The Senate building of ADSU was vandalized and looted (Interview, 15.05.2021).

It is important to point out that the very first attack of BH insurgents in the area was on October 1st 2014, which led to the death of 26 persons. This was not a direct attack on the three institutions but it was targeted on two communities called Wuro-Patuji and Baramaelwa, which are close to FP and ASCHT Mubi. However, the second attack of BH which occurred on 29 October 2014 was primarily targeted on the three tertiary institutions. This led to

human casualty and many infrastructures of the three tertiary institutions were either carted away or vandalized, thereby costing the institutions and relevant levels of government more money to fix the resultant damages.

S/No	Items/facilities/animals affected	Looted	Damaged
	Vehicles (cars, buses and trucks)	✓	
	Laboratories	✓	
	Chemicals	✓	
	Office furniture		✓
	Places of worship		✓
	Computers and laptops	✓	
	Student hostel	✓	
	Staff quarters	✓	
	Staff offices	✓	
	Machines and equipment	✓	
	Food items	✓	
	Library		✓
	Machinery and plants	✓	
	Cattle	✓	
	Sheep	✓	
	Goats	✓	
	Farm implement	✓	
	Poultry birds	✓	
	Rabbits	✓	
	Central store	✓	
	Senate building		✓

TABLE 1: Items and equipment looted and vandalised during the attacks of BH on the three tertiary institutions in Mubi Adamawa State.

SOURCE: AUTHORS' COMPILATIONS, 2021

A report of the ad-hoc committee set up by ADSU to assess the extent of damages caused by the BH attack on the university quantified the damages in monetary terms puts it at five hundred and forty million, four hundred and

eighty one thousand, two hundred and nine kobo (N540, 481,209.00.), an equivalence of three million, two thousand, six hundred and seventy three United States Dollars (\$3,002,673.00 USD). The current rate stands at one million, two hundred and six thousand, four hundred and thirty-one USD (\$1,206, 431.27). BH attacks remain a major setback to the affected tertiary institutions who already are suffering from infrastructural deficits. Several studies have indicated the challenge of infrastructure and facilities deficits in tertiary institutions owned by federal and state governments (Zubairu, 2010; Momodu and Matudi, 2013:8112). Similarly, a report of the presidential visitation panel that looked into the operations of all federal universities between 1999 and 2003 revealed that academic and physical facilities at the universities were in deplorable states. Many of them lacked sufficient lecture theatres/halls, laboratories and so on (National University Commission of Nigeria, 2006:18).

Due to the huge nature of infrastructural and manpower deficits in public tertiary institutions in Nigeria, a needs assessment was carried out by the federal government in 2012 to ascertain the state of infrastructures and manpower deficits in public universities, polytechnics and colleges of education in the country. It was discovered that a whopping sum of 1.2 trillion naira is needed to revitalize these universities, polytechnics and colleges of education. Clearly, the three tertiary institutions attacked by BH are still grappling with infrastructural and manpower deficits. It is also important to state the human costs of the attack of BH insurgents in terms of students, teaching and non-teaching staff fatalities in the three institutions.

Table 2 shows the number of times BH attacked the three tertiary institutions as well as the fatality figures arising from the attack. The high number of fatalities during the attack was probably to create fear in the minds of students, parents, staff members and the authorities of the institutions. By extension, the BH did the killings in order to send a strong signal to the general public that it has declared a violent jihad against Western education in the north and that the formal government schooling system will not be permitted because as it remained "*haram*". This fanatical and extremist behaviour of BH is reflective of the character of terrorist groups as been argued that "terrorists are fanatics and fanaticism frequently makes for cruelty and sadism." For many religiously motivated terrorism like the BH Islamist group, religion functions as a legitimizing force" (Laqueur, 1977:125)

and its content is “only secondary to ‘burning passion’, which serves as the primary driving force behind terrorist activity” (Hoffman, 1993:12).

S/no	Tertiary Institutions	Dates of Boko Haram Attack	No. of Time Attack was Experienced	No. of student fatalities	No. of teaching staff fatalities	No. of non-teaching staff fatalities
1.	Adamawa State University Mubi (ADSU)	Once, October 29, 2014	Once	None	None	2 killed
2.	Federal Polytechnic Mubi (FP)	Once, October 29, 2014	Once	2 killed	3 killed	10 killed
3.	Adamawa State College of Health Technology Mubi (ASCHT)	Once, October 29, 2014	Once	4 killed	None	None
	Total No- of deaths			6 killed	3 killed	12 Total No= 21 Deaths

TABLE 2: Trajectory of BH attacks and human fatalities in tertiary institutions in Mubi, Adamawa State.

SOURCE: REGISTRIES OF ADSU, FP AND CHT, 2020

We argue that the killing of teaching and non-teaching staff and students of the three tertiary institutions studied affirms that most attacks of jihadist groups on educational institutions, especially tertiary institutions are usually violent and result in human fatalities. There are also many similar examples outside Nigeria where jihadist groups attacked and killed students, teaching and non-teaching staff of some tertiary institutions. A case in point is

the *Al-Shabaab* terrorist attacks in Garissa University College, Kenya in 2015, which led to the death of 152 people, who were mostly students (Laqueur, 1999:230). However, it is not in all cases that terrorist attacks on educational institutions particularly; primary and secondary schools result in human fatalities. Some attacks are only for the purpose of kidnapping students and teachers to raise funds for terrorist groups. Terrorist groups also kidnap students in exchange for securing the release of their members or commanders as the BH insurgents have done in Nigeria, Cameroun and Niger Republics.

5.2 Impact of BH Attack on Academic Activities

5.2.1 *Academic staff attrition/retention*

The study gathered from the participants interviewed that the attack of BH on the institutions resulted in staff attrition as many teaching and non-teaching staff of these institutions left to secure employment in other universities and government agencies considered safe. For instance, an interview with a senior academic from ADSU reveals that:

BH attack on ADSU, FP and ASCHT created a sense of fear and trauma which forced many senior academics to secure employment elsewhere in institutions considered safe. I was one of the many staff members that moved from ADSU to Modibbo Adama University of Technology, Yola in 2016 for the fear of experiencing further attacks of the dreaded insurgents (Interview, 15.05.2021).

Due to the devastating nature of BH insurgent attacks on the tertiary institutions, the staff members continue to live in constant fear and this led some of them to search for jobs outside Mubi where they considered safe so as to avoid experiencing further attacks. Research has shown that in many conflict-affected areas, teachers are a direct target of government forces, including paramilitaries and of non-state armed groups. Teachers are exposed to intimidation, torture and persecution and are frequently killed (Global Terrorism Index, 2017:18). It is unfortunate that educational institutions

in armed conflict zones have not only become unsafe but threatened as students, teaching and non-teaching staff are becoming endangered species. This is also the case in the conflict zone of the North East region of Nigeria where BH has declared a violent jihad on Western secular education administered and sponsored by both the federal and state governments.

The perceived fear and danger that both the teaching and non-teaching staff were exposed to especially several months after the attack, affected the peaceful and conducive work environment in the three institutions to the extent that staff members were afraid to work and indeed stayed away from work for several months. This situation also discouraged people from coming to take up new appointments in these institutions, which has negatively affected the quality and quantity of staff in the institutions as well as affected the quality of graduates that are sent into the labour market from these institutions. Pointedly, attacks of BH on the studied institutions have led to an increase in teaching and non-teaching staff attrition as presented in Table 3.

Name of Institution	Teaching staff attrition due to Boko Haram attacks	Total
Adamawa State University, Mubi (ADSU)	14 (teaching staff)	14
Federal Polytechnic, Mubi (FP)	45 teaching staff and 32 non-teaching staff	77
Adamawa State College of Health Technology, Mubi (ASCHT)	5 (both teaching and non-teaching staff)	5
Total:		96

TABLE 3: Teaching and non-teaching staff attrition due to BH attacks on ADSU, FP and CHT, Mubi Local Government Area of Adamawa State.

SOURCE: REGISTRIES OF ADSU, FP AND CHT, 2020

Table 3 above shows that due to BH attack on the three tertiary institutions, a total of 96 teaching and non-teaching staff from these institutions moved to other institutions that they considered safe and secure to take up new employments. Their decision to switch institutions was probably due to the fear of experiencing the dreaded attack of BH insurgents again. Specifically,

14 teaching and non-teaching staff left ADSU for other tertiary institutions outside Mubi. Out of this figure, about 6 teaching staff secured employments in Modibbo Adama University, Yola (MAU, Yola) located about 198.8 kilometers away from Mubi but still within Adamawa State. Others took up employment in tertiary institutions outside the state while others completely changed their career line to take up jobs in the civil service and other government agencies. In FP Mubi, 77 members of teaching and non-teaching staff left the institution while 5 members of teaching and non-teaching staff also left the ASCHT due to the traumatizing experience of BH attack on their institution.

It is important to stress that apart from staff officially reported to have left these institutions, it was also gathered from some members of staff with whom the researchers interacted with expressed very strong opinion concerning the fact that many more staff left ADSU, FP and ASCHT to take up jobs in other institutions they considered safe in other locations both within and outside Adamawa State. This is obviously a huge loss to these institutions in terms of numerical strength, intellectual loss or brain drain and cost of training these staff members. According to a senior academic who left ADSU for MAU, Yola in 2016 whose name was not captured on the list provided by the Registry of ADSU to the researchers, he noted:

I am very sure that many more academic staff members have left ADSU, FP and ASCHT since the BH attack of October 29th 2014. The unfortunate thing is that most of these staff members were those trained both outside and within Nigeria. Just imagine the financial and intellectual loss that their departure would have caused these institutions (Interview, 15.05.2021).

Research has indicated that the costs of academic staff turnover (attrition) such as subsequent recruiting expenses, disruptions of course offerings, discontinuities in departmental and student planning, and loss of student graduate advisors are borne at individual, departmental and institutional levels and have an impact on the quality of services and the image of the institution (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, 2013:25). In addition, note that academic staff turnover has several disadvantages such as costs related to decrease organizational loyalty, loss of knowledge and experience regarding the institution, and increase in time

and cost of training novice academics (Zhou and Volkwein, 2004:141). Essentially, academic staff attrition/staff turnover often has direct negative impact on the teaching and learning process and quality and quantity of graduates of tertiary institutions. These are even institutions¹ that have deficits in academic staff strength as identified by the federal Government visitation panel of 2012 (Pienaar and Bester, 2008: 32-41).

5.2.2 Impact on student enrolment

Interview reports in this study also revealed the impact of BH attack on tertiary institutions in Mubi, which led to a general decline in the enrolment of students into the affected three tertiary institutions. For instance, in an interview held with a senior academic from Federal Polytechnic Mubi, who is currently undergoing a postgraduate programme at ADSU, he explained that:

BH attacks have had significant negative impact on undergraduate and postgraduate admissions. Both postgraduate and undergraduate admissions have dropped to almost about 30% - 35%. In my department, we used to admit about 1000 students (pre-National and National Diploma and Higher National Diploma), but now the admission has reduced to between 650-700 intakes and those admitted are mostly indigene students. It is the same story across the three institutions attacked (Interview, 28.07.2021).

The general decline in students' enrolment in two out of the three tertiary institutions attacked (i.e. FP and CHT) is not surprising as cross country quantitative analyses show that states experiencing civil wars often experience a decline in school enrolment by between 1.6 to 3.2 percentage points, which means a decline of 64,000 students for a country with a normally enrolled population of 4 million (Thyne, 2007:277-292). The decline in students' enrolment in tertiary institutions attacked in Mubi occurred in 2014/2015 session in CHT and in 2015/2016 and 2016/2017 sessions in FP. Specifically, in 2014/2015 session, there was no admission at all in ADSU and

FP due to the disruptions caused by the violent attack of BH to the 2013/2014 session, which led to cancellation of the session. Only CHT admitted new students during the 2014/2015 session and the number admitted was less than the previous session.

On a positive note, the situation of students' enrolment changed from 2015/2016 session for ADSU and CHT, as the two institutions have continued to witness a general rise in students' enrolments. This improvement means that the decline in student enrolment affected only 2014/2015 session for ADSU and CHT. However, from 2015/2016 session to date, students' enrolment has stabilized and continues to increase in ADSU and CHT. This improvement in students' enrolment is much quicker and faster considering the fact that previous studies have indicated that it takes at least five years for school enrolment affected or disrupted by violent conflict to witness improvement or return to pre-conflict enrolment rates. A case in point is the study which demonstrated that within five years of the genocide Rwanda, enrolment rates in schools returned to their pre-conflict levels (Lopez and Wodon, 2005:586-602).

Table 4 shows clearly that BH attacks led to significant reduction in enrolment in CHT in 2015/2016 session and FP in 2015/2016 and 2016/2017 sessions. The issue of low students' enrolments in tertiary institutions in Nigeria remains a general problem, as available records indicate that the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) in tertiary institutions in Nigeria is just about ten percent, which is at par with the sub-Saharan average but well below the global average (Clark et al., 2013). The Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) and Higher Education Ratio (HER) are at a percentage less than ten (Okebukola, 2008). It has also been observed that only twenty-five percent of applicants into Nigerian Universities were actually admitted (National University Commission of Nigeria, Memo, 2006:18). The current Executive Secretary of NUC, Professor Abubakar Adamu Rasheed, describes the painful situation thus when he said that the population of Nigeria, which is 198 or 200 million bearing in mind the total enrolment into the 164 universities today, is slightly less than two million. It is 1.961 million, which translates to roughly 1% of the country's population (Adedigba, 2020). By implication, it means that in every admission year, many applicants are shut out from accessing tertiary institutions in a country that is in dire need of building its human capital base.

Education under armed attack in North East of Nigeria

S/No.	Institution	Total No. of students admitted in 2012/2013	Total No. of students admitted in 2013/2014	Total No. of students admitted in 2014/2015	Total No. of students admitted in 2015/2016	Total No. of students admitted in 2016/2017
1.	ADSU	947 (9.85%)	1,234 (12.84%)	Insurgency period (No admission)	3,084 (32.08%)	4,348 (45.23%)
2.	FP	9,656 (OND) 1,998 (Pre-OND) =11,654 (36.19%)	6,398 (OND) 1,507 (Pre-OND) =7,905 (23.55%)	Insurgency period (No admission)	5,088 (OND) 1,010 (PRE-OND) =6,098 (18.94%)	6,246 (OND) 299 (PRE-OND) =6,545 (20.32%)
3.	CHT	403 (10.30%)	693 (12.71%)	590 (15.08%)	1005 (25.68%)	1222 (31.23%)

TABLE 4: Total number of students admitted in 2012/2013, 2013/2014, 2015/2016, 2016/2017 Sessions at the ADSU, FP and CHT, Mubi – Adamawa State.

SOURCE: REGISTRIES OF ADSU, FP AND CHT, 2020

Improvements in enrolment rates in two out of the three tertiary institutions attacked by BH insurgents can be attributed to the fact that majority of the new applicants who were admitted into the tertiary institutions were indigenes from other areas of the state that probably did not witness the violent and traumatising attacks of the insurgents. Interaction with a lecturer from ADSU revealed that *until now, many students of ADSU and FP who came from outside Adamawa who witnessed the dastardly attacks of the insurgents have not returned to complete their studies.* In fact, a significant percentage of the students that were admitted into ADSU and FP, Mubi who came from outside Adamawa State now prefer to seek admission elsewhere in places they consider safe and secure to pursue their studies to completion.

Most of the students who did not return to the institutions to complete their studies were majorly those from other states. Some came as far as the southern part of the country. For a long time until the attacks of BH insurgents on the tertiary institutions studied, applicants from other states constitute between 7% - 10% of the sources of students' enrolments in ADSU and Federal Polytechnic Mubi. However, indigenes of Adamawa State constitute the majority about 70% - 75% of the yearly enrolments into these two tertiary institutions, while states within the catchment areas of the North East make up for the remaining 15%. Since the attacks of BH on the institutions in 2014, admission of applicants from outside Adamawa State has plummeted significantly. In fact, parents and guardians of young people seeking admission into the tertiary institutions are very skeptical and fearful to allow their children or wards to school in Mubi.

In 2014, record indicated that many parents in Madagali and some other local governments of Adamawa State sent their children out of the state due to constant and frequent attacks by the BH insurgents (Umaru and Terhember, 2014). Interview held with a parent from the southern part of the country that had his children in ADSU during the attack of BH also confirmed this as he explained that:

BH attack on tertiary institutions in Mubi created an atmosphere of fear and trauma to the extent that many parents from the Southern part of the country no longer want to risk the lives of their children to come to school in the north east. Even me, an Ibo man based in Adamawa State, I tried to pull out my three children from ADSU soon after the attacks. My children also put so much pressure on me to transfer their studies to Modibbo Adama University, Yola, which was not attacked and considered very safe. But the process of transferring their studies was very cumbersome and with prayer and faith in God they were able to graduate in ADSU (Interview, 25.08.2021).

This means that most of the students that are now admitted are indigenes of Adamawa State and this affects the universality of these tertiary institutions as student-mix in terms of location and backgrounds are affected thereby localising the enrolment of students.

Education under armed attack in North East of Nigeria

S/No.	Academic Session	Total No. of student's	Students Admitted from Adamawa State	Percentage	Students Admitted From Other states	Percentage
1	2012/2013	947	901	95%	46	5%
2	2013/2014	1,234	1,213	98%	21	2%
3	2014/2015	-	-	-	-	-
4	2015/2016	3,082	3,036	99%	46	1%
5	2016/2017	4,348	4,030	93%	318	7%
6	Total	9,611				

TABLE 5: Total number of students admitted in 2012/2013, 2013/2014, 2015/2016, 2016/2017 Sessions in ADSU, Mubi – Adamawa State

SOURCE: ADSU REGISTRY, 2021

5.2.3 Impact on student attainment

It was also found that attack of BH has negatively impacted on student attainment. Student educational attainment refers to the highest level of education that a person has successfully completed. In the case of this research, student educational attainment refers to the number of graduates produced by the three tertiary institutions attacked in 2014 by BH in Mubi North Local Government Area of Adamawa State. Several months after the BH attack of October 29th 2014, students were unwilling to attend lectures due to fear and traumatic experience from the dastardly attacks of the insurgents. Lecturers were also not willing to teach for the same reason as the students who were not willing to attend lectures. This was affirmed in an interview held with the Provost of College of Health Technology (CHT), Mubi, who noted that:

The BH attack affected the psyche of both staff and students of the institutions because peace and tranquility is an integral part of creative thinking, hence affecting the attainment of goals and aspirations of the students. The general impacts of the attacks of the insurgents also have a way of culminating in the production of half-baked graduates that will contribute little or nothing to their immediate society (Interview, 25.08.2021).

Regrettably, the BH attack on the three tertiary institutions has had profound negative impact on the entire teaching and learning process and its attendant cumulative effect on human and material resources, lost days due to closure of the institutions, high academic staff attrition and delay in repairing damages on the infrastructures have had a great toll on student attainment in the affected institutions. This was also the case in Rwanda as the 1994 genocide in the country led to a significant decrease in the average level of educational attainment by 0.5 years, or 18.3 percentage points (Akresh and Walque, 2008:4606). Although the data of students' educational attainment for the three tertiary institutions could not be gotten from the three institutions due to administrative bottlenecks, however, interactions held with the academic officers of the tertiary institutions showed that the number of students produced or that graduated is lower than the number admitted by the time of graduation.

However, many factors account for this which include death of some students before graduation, students not able to continue with their studies due to financial problems or those not willing to continue due to marriage or ill-health as well as those changing or transferring to other institutions primarily due to fear of experiencing another violence of BH or other violent groups.. Student attainment in ADSU in 2017 indicate that of the 1777 students that graduated at the first-degree level, only 11 students graduated with First Class Honours, amounting to 0.62%. This means that student attainment in the 2017 academic session was grossly low as less than 1% of the 1777 students graduated with First Class Honours.

5.2.4 Interruption of academic calendar

The study also found that the 2014 BH attack disrupted the three institutions disrupted their academic calendars. Interaction held with a senior academic staff from ADSU explained the situation as follows:

Following the BH attack on the three tertiary institutions on October 29th 2014, academic calendar of ADSU was interrupted for one academic session. In order to graduate the final year students, the university relocated them to Adamawa State Polytechnic, Numan

Campus, which is about three and the half hours' drive by road. We organised lectures and conducted examinations for our students in this new location and they were consequently graduated (Interview, 15.05.2021).

Research has echoed the fact that violent conflicts often result in the disruption or shortening of academic calendar of educational institutions (Shemyakina, 2006:12). Interruption of the academic calendar of ADSU had some far reaching negative consequences on the teaching and learning activities especially because the authorities of the university had to work tirelessly under very difficult circumstances to graduate the final year students. The closure of these institutions impacted negatively on students, both teaching and non-teaching staff, families, the institutions and businesses that depended on the many activities in and around the tertiary institutions. For obvious reasons, interruptions of school calendar means the absence of students and teachers in the tertiary institutions studied and studies have found the evidence that students learn less when teachers are absent (Clotfelter, Ladd, and Vigdor, 2006; Miller, Richard, Murnane, and John, 2006).

5.2.5 Psychological impact on students and staff

The study also found that the BH attack on the three tertiary institutions led to the creation of an atmosphere of fear among staff and students as explained by a former student of Federal Polytechnic, Mubi that:

For a long time the insurgent attack on the three tertiary institutions had severe psychological impact on staff and students who were traumatized and gripped with fear (Interview, 15.05.2021).

Students, teaching and non-teaching staff often react with fear to violent attacks in their schools. The gruesome killings of students and staff members and the destruction of private and institutional facilities terrified many students and staff in the institutions as well as the parents and guardians of students. Indeed, the attacks teachers have experienced from BH have had psychological effects as they were overcome by grief at the loss or maiming of their colleagues and students or are distracted by threats to colleagues

(UNICEF, 2015). A very potent weapon or strategy employed by terrorist group is fear and intimidation and in the case of BH attack on the three tertiary institutions, the method of attack employed by BH included, shooting, arson, physical damage, armed assault on students and staff, looting, use of explosives for bombing of facilities and infrastructures and, verbal threats.

Indeed, previous studies have indicated that terrorist attacks have a psychological impact on students of educational institutions (Maheen, Khan, and AnsraDil, 2016:124-128; Musallan, Ginzburg, and Lev-Shalem, 2005:96-105; Korn and Zukerman, 2011:911). Students and staff from the affected tertiary institutions studied in Mubi were so terrified and traumatized that they stayed away from the institutions for several months for fear of experiencing the terror of BH again. Parents and guardians also had the same fearful and traumatizing experience that some of them had to change institutions for their children in other safer areas.

5.2.6 Forceful occupation of educational facilities

The study also found that BH insurgents forcefully occupied the facilities and staff quarters of ADSU and FP, Mubi for about three months, specifically from 29th October 2014 to Mid December 2014, when the insurgents were chased out by the combined forces of the military and volunteer non-state groups like hunters, Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF) vigilante. Most of the teaching and non-teaching staff who resided on the campuses of the two tertiary institutions affirmed this development. For instance, a senior non-teaching staff from FP, Mubi explained that:

After the attack of BH insurgents, the staff quarters on the university and polytechnic campuses were abandoned by the residents. BH later occupied the staff quarters for about 3 months starting from the day of the attack on 29th October, 2014 to sometime in December of the same year when they were chased out through the superior fire power of the government security forces and vigilante groups. While the insurgents occupied the residences of staff of these institutions, academic activities were completely interrupted (Interview, 15.05.2021).

Several research reports have indicated that there are ample examples in conflict affected areas where both state and non-state armed actors attacked and occupied educational institutions and used them for military purposes (UNESCO, 2010). In the case of the tertiary institutions attacked in Mubi North Local Government Area of Adamawa State, the BH insurgents invaded the educational institutions and occupied the campuses especially staff quarters and student hostels. They used these facilities as operational bases and shelters for a period of 3 months, during which academic activities were completely shutdown. The civility of the tertiary institutions was completely violated and this is considered as a violation under international laws such as the International Humanitarian Law (IHL), International Human Rights Law (IHRL), International Criminal Law (ICL) and customary law. These laws and conventions seek to ensure the protection of educational institutions as civilian objects and protected areas.

6 Conclusion

This study evaluated the impact of BH attacks on three tertiary institutions in Mubi North, Adamawa State, North East of Nigeria. Since, 2012, educational institutions have come under serious armed attacks from the BH insurgents in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe states, which are the frontline states affected by the BH insurgency. In particular, on October 29th, 2014, three tertiary institutions in Adamawa State came under the attack of the BH insurgents, whose ideology repudiates and criminalizes Western education and upholds Islamic laws.

Our study clearly revealed that the attack of BH on the three tertiary institutions affected the capacity of federal and Adamawa State governments including the authorities of the tertiary institutions to guarantee the provision of education in the affected institutions for about one year, specifically from 29th October 2014 to around middle of December 2015. This even led to cancellation of 2014/2015 Session in FP and ADSU. The BH attack had a profound impact on the human and material resources in the three tertiary institutions studied, particularly in terms of the lives of students, teaching and non-teaching staff lost, property of students and staff destroyed including infrastructures vandalized and looted.

The attack also had a great toll on students' enrolments in the affected tertiary institutions, which led to the cancellation of the 2014/2015 session which immediately followed the 2013/2014 session that the attack occurred. It also had a significant negative impact on teaching and non-teaching staff attrition on the three institutions as many staff left the tertiary institutions to take up employments in other institutions they considered safe outside Mubi North where the BH attack occurred. Overall, the BH attack on the three institutions is an attack on the future of the citizens of Adamawa State and Nigeria as a whole, with far reaching short and long term impact on the teaching and learning process as well as the quest for producing qualitative and quantitative manpower to fast-track the development of Adamawa State and the country at large. The following recommendations are hereby made:

- i. There is no gainsaying the fact that the BH attacks on the three tertiary institutions have led to the depletion and vandalisation of human and material resources having a great toll on teaching and learning of these institutions. Therefore, the federal government through the Tertiary Education Trust Fund (TETFUND) should provide funding for the affected institutions to re-equip and resource them so that they can function more efficiently. Adamawa State Government should also provide funding for the revitalization of the infrastructures of ADSU and CHT which are owned by it.
- ii. Considering the threats posed to tertiary institutions and other educational institutions in Adamawa State and other parts of the North East, both the federal and concerned state governments should prioritise educational institutions as critical national or state infrastructure requiring adequate security protection with a view to creating the necessary peaceful and enabling environment that will guarantee effective teaching and learning.
- iii. Efforts should also be made by government and private sector to provide security for educational infrastructures. This can be done through installation of security cameras, perimeter fencing, lighting points, and alarm systems. Security agencies in collaboration with the ministry of education and the authorities of educational institutions across Nigeria should also regularly expose students and staff members to security drills that will make them prepared for any security breaches.

- iv. International organizations like UNICEF and the World Bank including the Nigeria private sector should assist in providing funding and teaching and learning equipment to the three institutions affected by the BH insurgency. They should also assist in the area of human capacity development for both teaching and non-teaching staff so as to enhance their capacity to function optimally.
- v. Government should rejig the safe school programme through increased funding as well as mobilising funds from the private sector and international community so as to effectively and adequately implement the programme.

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