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Emily Coinco

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KD Kaduna
KN Kano
KW Kwara
LG Lagos
EN Enugu
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## Acronyms and Abbreviations

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Acknowledgement

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\(^1\) See Annex 1 for the List of Researcher.
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Executive Summary

Background to the Research

1. ESSPIN commissioned a research on Education, Conflict and Violence from the end of July until September 2014. The study grew out of the changing context in Nigeria, and was a response to the fact, that ESSPIN has been working in the education sector in Nigeria for the last six-years. The research was expected to gather evidence-based data and serve as baseline information on the impact of conflict and violence on education whilst exploring its general impact on children and the community in ESSPIN supported schools.

2. The main objectives for the research were to establish the different faces of conflict and/or violence in school and in the community level affecting children’s education, understand how violence and/or conflict directly or indirectly impacts the education of children, determine the (root) causes and dynamics that leads to violence and/or conflict in schools and in communities, identify the key actors and triggers of violence in their community and the dynamics of conflict, and explore activities on the ground that help mitigate conflict and/or violence in schools and in communities.

Research Overview

3. Though primarily a qualitative research, the research employed a mixed method of qualitative and quantitative (secondary information) approach combined with ocular observations to permit the triangulation and validation of data from various sources in conducting a comprehensive analysis. The research focused on three ESSPIN supported states; Kaduna, Kano and Jigawa. Five communities per state were selected totalling fifteen sample communities with a strong operational presence of ESSPIN.

4. Multiple research tools were developed for the purpose of the Education, Conflict and Violence research. These included focus group discussion protocols and guidelines to learn more about children’s perception on education, conflict and/or violence in school and in the community and how these impacts their education. A participatory rural appraisal
protocol and guideline was also developed to explore the community’s perception on education, violence and conflict in their respective community, its impact on the community and how these events affect children’s education, on-going activities responding to education, conflict and violence in each community were also explored. Questionnaires for in-depth interview protocols to learn more from various government branches within the Ministry of Education and other relevant offices, non-state actors, traditional, religious and community leaders, parents and children were also developed.
Selected Key Findings

5. Conflict issues play out differently in each sample state in relation to historical, political, socio-cultural and religious factors. This research reveals that 80% of randomly sampled communities have directly or indirectly experienced violence and conflict.

6. In the state level, systemic drivers of conflict that contributed to violence and conflict identified by the community members are, but not limited to:

- Politicising politics especially during elections leading people to retreat to political and religious lines which further complicates situations;
- The perceived failure of the justice system in investigating and persecuting people involved in past conflicts and violence, in spite of formal charges and evidence in Kaduna and Kano.
- Weak institutional capacity, or perceived lack of government will in maintaining peace and security in the sample communities.
- Poverty, unemployment and low literacy rate which allegedly contributes to the easy radicalisation of people by charismatic leaders politicising religion and politics;
- The prevailing belief in the northern sample Islamic communities is that ‘western education’ is against Islam and promotes ‘western values’ which are contrary to northern Nigerian Islamic traditional beliefs and values.

7. In 60% of the Participatory Rural Appraisals (PRAs) held with sample communities, a small group of people who believe that ‘western education destroys the fabric of their society’ were encountered. Field reports recorded a prevailing belief that western education is against Islam and that people who attend western education do not know how to pray is widespread in sample communities. Even for those that later ‘saw the light’ and received secular education, many say that it was a belief they grew up with.

8. During the research, discussions on ‘who are the out-of-school children’ was constantly raised by ESSPIN staff and community people, and ‘why are children called out-of-school when they are attending the Qur’anic schools.’ The final question is ‘who decides all these things.’ Another important question, but is often asked, is ‘why.’ These are basic questions that need to be openly discussed and addressed in a consensus given its direct links to people’s perception of the imposition of ‘western education.’ There is a need to espouse inclusivity in an open
discussion and redefine what education truly means and its benefits in the modern world for all.

9. Findings are presented by looking at the nature of violence and/or conflict in the community and in the school. The research explores the impacts of conflict and violence on the community at large, on children and on education.

**Conflict and Violence in Communities**

10. Evidence gathered show the most common violence that has impact to long-term peace, security and improved access to education across the three states are, but not limited to: election related violence, religious violence, communal violence, violence against women and children, clashes between farmers and herdsmen, factional clashes such as gangs, military and Shiite group (Kaduna), farmers vs. hunters to name a few.

11. The election season in Nigeria, from candidate selection until the announcement of winners, has been routinely marred by violence on the part of the government and the opposition party and avid supporters. Political violence ignites long standing religious and communal conflicts, which leads into violent conflicts. This research contends that politicising politics, religion and communal differences incites violence that is often times used to manipulate access to and control of natural, financial and economic resources for gains of one group over the other. There is a complex interplay and a fine line between political, religious and communal conflicts, which often overlaps and easily triggered due to long standing, deep rooted mistrust as described in all sample communities.

12. Amongst the three sample states, conflict and violence in Kaduna is seen to be in a chronic and latent state, which is easily triggered and may rapidly result to widespread communal conflict and violence. Interviews indicate that inadequately addressed legacies of past (historical) violence in Kaduna, has resulted to a salient ethno-religious divide in the state that people quickly retreat to for safety, protection, and continued access to land and livelihood. The post presidential election in 2011, which broke into riots in Kafanchan and Zaria rapidly evolved and deteriorated from a political conflict into a widespread, violent religious conflict resulting to casualties, deaths, the destruction and loss of houses and businesses was a common example provided by community members in all five sample communities\(^2\) in Kaduna in their conflict timelines.

\(^2\) 60% of sample communities in Kaduna are in a chronic conflict state.
13. In Kafanchan, where violence has been historically reported, field reports indicate the occurrence of ‘silent killings’ between Christians and Muslims resulting into the near polarization of the sample community. Silent killings are said to occur in the evenings where groups of armed men enter homes and kill people in their sleep, thus the name ‘silent killing.’ Silent killing was said to still occur at the time of the research fieldwork.

14. Reports from the field indicate that the main conflicts in sample communities in Kano are triggered by politicising politics and religion. Field reports state that spill over religious violence from Kafanchan and other states results to ‘revenge attacks’ on ‘Southern Christians,’ churches and their businesses in Kano. Though this report does not intend to compare the level of armed attacks between states, it would be amiss not to point out that amongst the three states, field reports on religiously motivated armed attacks, such as indiscriminate bombings and gun shots were reported more often in Kano, both with direct and indirect links to Boko Haram.

15. Jigawa state, bordering Yobe, considered to be relatively peaceful amongst the three sample states, is highly affected by the conflict across its state border with the increasing and steady influx of internally displaced people seeking safety. The increasing number of internally displaced people moving to Jigawa may potentially cause more strain on the limited (educational) state resources. Reports of conflict in Jigawa were mainly related to politics, and the seasonal migration of pastoralist communities, which results to conflicts between farmers and cattle herdsmen on grazing land, access to water and stealing of cattle.

16. Although reported in all three states, violence against women and/or children in the community setting, commonly manifested as abductions, differ in context from one state to another. Reports of children’s abduction on their way to and from school which, at times result in sexual assault was reported in all states, but the urgency of this matter was noted most in Jigawa due to the distance and geographic terrain children traverse to get to school.3 The sole report of 20 boys abducted by a Mallam in a neighbouring sample community was also reported in Jigawa. Other reported motives for children’s abduction in Jigawa have been possible recruitment to armed groups and the selling of body parts. In Kaduna, abductions of children were likewise linked to sexual assault and were reportedly committed by young men4 most like under

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3 This is discussed more under ‘School Based Violence.’

4 Examples given were okada drivers, gang members and unemployed youth.
the influence of drugs, while children were going to or from school. In one community, armed men reportedly abducted young (married) women while the men were away and children were in school. In Kano, reports of abductions were mentioned but no specifics were given.

17. Another state specific community violence aside from the ones mentioned earlier, ‘silent killing’ in Kaduna, ‘revenge killing’ in Kano, is witchcraft and spirit possessions, locally known as ‘jinni,’ in Jigawa. 60% of the sample communities strongly believe in ‘jinni’. Jinni has a direct impact on children’s education. Children who are ‘possessed by an evil spirit’ drop out of school and are brought to religious people to be exorcised; a process which may take weeks, months or even years. Returning to school and catching up on schoolwork is challenging for children, though researchers came across children who successfully returned to school after this ordeal during the PRA.

18. Armed attacks in communities, direct armed attacks in schools or the news of conflicts and insurgency in neighbouring communities has resulted in injury, loss of lives, destruction of properties, unrest, and a sense of lawlessness. Community people reported constant fear, mistrust (towards outsiders), and unremitting rumour mongering further fuelling the cycle of fear and violence. The feeling of insecurity and perceived lack of justice resulted to the formation of vigilante groups in 93% of the sample communities. Vigilante groups are community volunteers who are tasked to make a citizen’s arrest then hand over the perpetrators to authorities. It is unclear as to who, or what kind of training vigilante groups receive; the reporting line also varies from state to state from, and from community to community. Some are said to report to the community leader while others were said to report to the Sakri, traditional leaders, ward leaders or the local government leader. Reports emerged that some schools have started using vigilante members as security for schools. Though it is unclear if these vigilante guards are armed, caution must be taken in ‘militarising’ schools since it may have a backlash as being seen as an increased potential target by armed groups.

19. Aside from the closure of school due to community conflicts or violence there were also reports of teachers and students living in other communities who are unable to go to school even if their school was open due to insecurity on their way to school.

**School based violence**

5 Drug use was a problem associated with gangs all states but was most evident in Kaduna and Kano.
20. The most common forms of school-based violence, but not an exhaustive list, identified in sample communities are: corporal punishments and other degrading forms of punishments, bullying, fighting, sexual violence; abuse and exploitation, drug use and selling of drugs, stealing, and direct armed attacks on schools, students, teachers and other school personnel.

21. Corporal punishment and other degrading forms of punishments are the most widespread forms of school-based violence identified by both children and parents across all sample communities. Violence is an accepted form of discipline in all communities. As explained by children, ‘you only get flogged if you did something wrong...’ Corporal punishment is not only administered by teachers, but also by prefects. Prefects or fellow students, are given the same authority to punish and hurt other children, thus perpetuating the cycle and acceptability of violence as a form of discipline.

22. Excessive flogging was reported in all sample communities. Specific examples of ‘excessive use of flogging’ was distinctively reported in 73.33% of schools across the three sample states resulting in confrontations between parents and teachers due to longer-term physical effects or marks left on children in sample communities in Jigawa and to a lesser degree in Kaduna then Kano. Parents from Kano and Jigawa point to a past government initiative of addressing unemployment in the state by hiring unqualified people as teachers without any pedagogical training as a contributing factor to high rates of school-based violence and poor quality teaching.

23. While not directly related to education, the most common reason given by children for being flogged is coming late to school. Majority of children interviewed reportedly came to school late because their parents or caregivers expect them to: complete domestic chores such as fetching water, cutting grass for animal feed or feeding farm animals prior to going to school, selling small items; also known as hawking of groundnuts, cola nuts, bananas, oranges, sugarcane, tomatoes to mention a few or farming before and after school. While not directly related to education, family expectations for children’s financial and labour contributions at home are prioritised over their schooling. Students and teachers alike pointed out that children are unable to do their homework due to the domestic chore, hawking, and/or farming which results to flogging in school. Students have also reported coming to school tired and exhausted for work, which makes it difficult for students to concentrate in school.
24. Although there is no excuse for the cruel and arbitrary use of corporal punishment, it is equally important to consider the present context of education in the sample schools: classrooms that were originally built to hold 65 students at most sometimes have over a hundred students. There is a near community-wide acceptance of corporal punishment in childrearing which extends to school discipline, and classroom discipline used by teachers today are the same ones modelled to them when they were in school with no alternative positive discipline teaching strategies provided.

25. Bullying was reported by students and to a smaller extent, parents in at least 93.33% of sample communities. Reports of bullying by students were mostly connected with out-of-school children and prefects. While walking to and from school, students, both boys and girls, are reportedly bullied with degrading chants, or negative and insulting remarks such as, children who go to ‘western school’ do not (know how to) pray or that they are the ‘abbot of hell.’ These sentiments were echoed by a handful of PRA participants in 60% of sample communities who are against secular or western education. Findings show that ‘western education is perceived as promoting western values where children have no respect for their elders and women no longer follow or listen to their husbands,’ values that are the antithesis of Northern Nigerian Islamic practices and beliefs where women are expected to be subservient to their husbands and children follow their elders without questions.

26. Reports of sexual violence, abuse and exploitation of students on the way to and from school as well as in school were discussed as examples of the violence that happens in communities and in schools. Alleged perpetrators are, but not limited to: teachers, gang members, okada (motorcycle) drivers and members of armed groups. Though community people and students gave specific examples under this category, specific details about the incidents were limited. This is understandable given the sensitivity of the subject, the required trust to openly talk about this topic in relation to the limited time researchers had in each community.

27. Jigawa participants attributed the distance and ‘jungle-like’ pathways children need to traverse to go to and from school to reports of abduction and sexual violence and rape in their state. Unconfirmed reports from sample communities near the border of Yobe, indicate that due to the ‘increasing insecurity eight to ten kilometres away,’ more students, especially girls, living far from school have allegedly dropped out. Reports of insecurity from the three sample states point to high unemployment rates and the lack of productive work for a large number
of teenagers and young adults involved in gangs and their apparent use of drugs.

28. Interviews with students in all sample communities indicate the lack of information, and reporting mechanisms in schools related to security, protection, recognition of different forms of gender based and sexual violence, and reporting pathways. In Kaduna, a teacher who related a rape incident stated that ‘students trusts some teachers’ and ‘tell them what happened to them’ but there was apparently no action beyond this point. It is unclear if such cases are not formally reported in school due to the fear of being exposed and the taboo related to rape on the part of the child and her family, or if it is due to the lack of proper training and transparent mechanisms in school on how to handle such cases.

29. Armed attacks were reported in 13.33% of the sample schools. Recorded armed attacks are that of armed men entering school premises during class hours, shooting indiscriminately and seriously wounding teachers (Kano), and another report of a bomb being planted ‘just outside the school;’ the bomb was disarmed on time and no one was physically harmed (Jigawa). Though no deaths were reported in both armed school attacks, the trauma and fear it instilled in children, school personnel and community members is immeasurable. 80% of children interviewed from the school in Kano reported that a little over a year after the armed attack in school, they still have fears that the armed men will return. While no armed group has claimed these incursions, communities attribute these attacks to Boko Haram.

30. As discussed earlier, motives for attacks on western education and secular schools are, said to be, but not limited to the: prevention of ‘western schools from teaching a curricula that is perceived to be against the Islamic religion and beliefs, opposition of an education system that is perceived to be imposed by ‘outsiders’ and promotes foreign values, and the prevention of girls from accessing education. While field reports indicate the prevailing fear of possible armed attacks in most sample schools, the common response has been school fencing, the reporting of ‘new people’ in school premises to teachers and patrolling of vigilante groups or hiring of ‘school guards’ both community volunteers in less than half of the sample schools. There is no apparent (emergency) prevention and preparedness mechanism in place to help teachers and students deal with such incidences. Further inquiry shows possible but unclear coordination between schools and communities for a quick response.
31. Signs of violence and conflict in communities and armed attacks in schools, immediately results to school closure and increased student absenteeism. The chronic nature of conflict in some communities or fears of violence spilling over from neighbouring states or communities has resulted in limited face to face time between teachers and students last year, poor quality teaching and learning inputs and outputs. Reports of decreased school supervision and inspection by school inspectors have also been reported due to insecurity. A more visual impact is the destruction or damage of school infrastructures and materials.

32. Field reports indicate that selected key actors that drive conflicts in sample communities are politicians, gang members, religious leaders, farmers, herdsmen, armed groups and police/military. While at the school level, selected key actors that fuel conflicts are the teachers, students, parents, gang members and out-of-school children. Research participants identified the following people or groups that mitigate conflict and/or violence: traditional rulers, administrative and religious leaders, vigilante groups, NGOs and CBOs while in schools, School Based Management Committees (SBMCs), teacher and headmasters as mediators, and peace builders.

33. Depending on their motives, the same actors may mitigate and drive conflicts, such as religious leaders. Sermons of religious leaders have incited violence in certain communities in Kano while in Kaduna, examples of religious leader preaching peace and unity were identified in sample communities.

34. At the school level, aside from teachers and school head masters, 95% of children, parents, school personnel interviewed identified SBMCs or PTAs as key people in their schools promoting peace and child protection issues. The Commissioner Ishaya Akau of SUBEB and State Universal Education Basic Education Board in Kaduna and the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry Education in Jigawa, Malam Abdullahi Hudu both mentioned SBMCs as ‘a strong link between schools and communities that bring about change’ Aside from fund raising, specific activities of SBMCs linked to this research include mediation between parents and teachers, mediation between the school and gang related issues, in certain communities house-to-house visits promoting girls education were mentioned in Jigawa and Kaduna. In spite of the role SBMC members play to promote education for girls, maintain or forge peace, interviews indicate that there is no systematic plan or strategy in addressing school based violence or education related conflicts. Records show that SBMCs respond to conflicts as they come, and that further
training is crucial on child protection, mediation and peace building to empower them in their evolving role.

35. The primary trigger of conflicts and violence in sample communities is the election season followed by, but in no particular order are: rumours of imminent attacks, injury or death of a faction member, random (armed) attacks, encroachment of farmland into cattle grazing land and the stealing of cattle. At the school level, it is the physical marks or bruises left on children after excessive flogging and gang related activities in school premises putting children’s safety, which triggers conflicts.

36. Several ongoing activities were seen in the states that help address socio-economic and religious issues, which may be considered as concurrently helping mitigate conflict and violence. Examples of such activities are seen from the federal level with the increased budget allocation in education from 8.7% to 10.7% for 2014. Interviews with the SUBEB representatives and the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education in Kaduna and Jigawa both stated that the school fencing is a priority area for their offices this year. In Kano, the directive from the Ministry of Education for ‘unqualified teachers’ to undergo in-service training to upgrade their pedagogical knowledge and skills was welcomed by everyone. Various activities from stakeholders in the education sector and peace building activities from other CBOs and NGOs were also recorded. In two communities in Kaduna, traditional and religious leaders work together to preach peace, respect and harmony such as involving everyone in special religious celebrations in the community from different religious beliefs.

37. ESSPIN has achieved tremendous inroads in improving quality education in Nigeria. School Based Management Committees (SBMCs) have provided parents and community members a voice and an opportunity to be an active part in the education of their children. The increase in student enrolment, especially girl’s enrolment in ESSPIN supported schools, the improved teacher attendance, fund raising for school improvements and minor school rehabilitations are all attributed to SBMC work. As identified by sample communities, other roles that SBMCs play are advocates, negotiators and counsellors. The success of SBMCs in ESSPIN supported schools prompted SUBEB Kano to take it on and roll SBMCs the entire Kano state. Improvement in teacher’s ‘teaching attitudes and ways of teaching’ were also attributed by students and parents to the training provided by ESSPIN to teachers. In Jigawa, parents and students alike observed immense change; prior to
the training teachers received from ESSPIN, students reportedly came to school ‘just to play but now they go to school to learn.’

38. Another notable contribution of ESSPIN is the Islamiyya Qur’anic and Tsangaya Education (IQTE), which has been rolled out in the three sample states. IQTE are Qur’anic (boarding) schools run by Mallams and Imams providing a combination of Qur’anic education and basic literacy and numeracy classes taught by community volunteers trained by ESSPIN. Interviews show that more conservative Muslim families prefer to send their daughters to IQTE to learn not only the Quran but also basic literacy skills, it is also seen to be a ‘safer’ alternative to secular education. Recognising its success, IQTE in Kaduna, the state that piloted the project, it has been integrated in Kaduna’s Inclusive Education Policy.

39. Interviews with ESSPIN field staff indicate their multiple roles as trainers, facilitators, managers, negotiators, mediators and counsellors working with various partners, and the expressed need for more capacity building to effectively and efficiently respond to their evolving local contexts in relation to security, peace and education. As a technical support programme working in the education sector in fragile states with varying degrees of conflict and violence, espousing a conflict sensitive approach throughout its programme is essential. With the changing context in Nigeria, ESSPIN is in perfect position to support the government in minimising the negative impacts and maximising positive impacts of education policies and programming to equally benefit all.

### Conclusion and recommendations

40. In closing, it is important to go beyond the prevailing thinking that education is a strategy against poverty alleviation, and embrace efforts that recognise the intricate relationship between education, conflict and violence. Interventions in the education system in Nigeria should not only address the issues of capacity building, resources, and curriculum, but also focus on issues related to education, conflict and violence, which have a direct impact on gender, equity, inclusion, protection, access and quality education. Key recommendations under each category as follows:

#### Recommendations for the Government

- Plan for a coordinated education sector-wide emergency prevention, preparedness and response from the federal, state and school level.
• Reflect the emergency prevention, preparedness and response in education sector plans and allocate financial resources within relevant ministry budgets.

• Entrench a conflict sensitive approach within the Nigerian educational system starting the different branches within the Ministry of Education and other relevant ministries, and through the national school curricula and teacher training programmes.

• Improve information gathering and reporting mechanisms on peace, conflict and security focusing on attacks against education, child protection, school safety and security in a participatory, accountable and transparent manner from all levels;
Recommendations for the Donor Community and other key actors

- Integrate a conflict sensitive approach in all aspects of its humanitarian, development and emergency work; build up the capacity of the government and civil society to monitor, report and respond to attacks on education;

- Increase donor funding on ‘education, conflict and peace building’ programmes and research. Develop a joint strategy on education, conflict and peace building’ programmes and research with inclusive, sustainable and flexible funding mechanisms;

- Advocate, campaign for, and fund programmes or activities to help establish schools as sanctuaries or zones of peace; establish the Safe School Initiative in schools to provide a safe school environment and Zones of Peace.

Recommendations for ESSPIN

- Adapt an organisation-wide conflict sensitive culture throughout ESSPIN; weave peace education and conflict mitigation into exiting programmes, system strengthening, organisational development, school and community work resulting to an integrated programming from the four ESSPIN Outputs;

- Widen awareness raising and capacity building initiatives on conflict sensitivity within ESSPIN and amongst all partners; government institutions, in the state level and LGAs (various branches government and non-state stakeholders), in schools (through headmasters, teachers and teacher training institutes), in the community (through School Based Management Committees);

- Strengthen documentation, data collection systems and information sharing on data related to education, conflict and violence in schools and in communities between ESSPIN and state government partners; and within ESSPIN.

State level recommendations

41. For ESSPIN to support:

- SUBEB to lead, coordinate and the plan for emergency prevention, preparedness and response, and for its inclusion in the state education sector plans and allocate budgets for preparedness and peace building activities;

- the training of and strengthen the capacity of School Support Officers (SSOs) in monitoring schools, teacher competence and performance especially in times of insecurity; strengthen and support the capacity
building training of Social Mobilisation Officers (SMOs) in monitoring and mentoring School Based Management Committee (SBMC) work in schools in addressing challenges related to child protection and safety;

- the development of a data collection and reporting mechanism in the state level, in LGEAs and in schools on attacks on education to understand problem areas, key drivers, motivations, conflict contexts to help gauge the success of interventions, if any;

- the creation of a forum for dialogue to discuss issues related to education, child protection and school safety scenarios or preparedness planning in the community (through School Based Management Committees), in the school (through headmasters and teachers), LGEA and state level (various branches government and non-state stakeholders);

- state teacher training institutes in the inclusion of the following topics in the present teacher training curricula: human rights, responsible citizenship, conflict dynamics and transformation, peace and reconciliation, non-violent alternatives; so that teachers may feel confident in leading class discussions and activities on the said topics.

**School level recommendations**

42. For ESSPIN to support:

- States in utilising a conflict sensitive education approach in working with SBMCs, teachers and headmasters and partner government offices;

- School personnel, teachers and SBMCs to work with communities, religious, traditional and administrative leaders and local authorities in adapting community driven initiatives in safeguarding and protecting schools, teachers and students, which may lead to the creation of Zones of Peace;

- The identification of entry points and introduce peace building and/or conflict mitigation activities in ESSPIN teacher training support for immediate classroom use (e.g. classroom activities recognising and respecting diversity and equity, using language and dialogue in solving conflict, respect for different opinions and peaceful conflict resolutions skills, supporting teachers with training on alternative forms of positive class discipline and strategies of incorporating peace building concepts within the existing curriculum);

- schools in strengthening the participation of children in the reduction of school-based violence through training students in detecting
violence and accessing a transparent and accountable alternate reporting system, which involves the SBMC women’s group. Develop a confidential yet transparent reporting system with a clear timeline and action points;

**Recommendations for further research on:**

- The extent, medium and long term impacts of development, conflict and violence on the education systems in various states taking into consideration their local contexts whilst documenting best practices utilising the positive deviance approach.

- The extent of sexual violence against students, teachers and other school personnel going to and from school, its impact on the fulfilment of children’s education, successful community and state level mitigating activities.

- School based violence exploring both student’s and teacher’s experiences and perceptions about conflict and violence to provide an in-depth understanding of the issues; document ways these problems are presently addressed and how it may be prevented.
Introduction

43. The Education Sector Support Programme (ESSPIN) has ended its first phase of a six-year partnership programme between the Government of Nigeria and the United Kingdom Department for International Development (DFID). The ESSPIN programme has been extended up to the beginning of 2017. ESSPIN is a technical support programme which endeavour to enhance effective programme planning, education financing, delivery systems and engage communities in improving the quality of basic education and have a sustainable impact whilst working with existing government institutions and community structures to bring about systemic change. In line with capacity building and sustainability, ESSPIN aims to leverage government resources to support Federal and State Education Sector Plans in six states; Enugu, Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Kwara and Lagos.

44. The Nigerian context has changed since the inception of ESSPIN in 2008. States have experienced conflicts and/or violence, which have led to insecurity at varying scales, intensities, and intentions. Attacks on education have escalated in recent years, particularly but not confined to the northeast. Global reports show how a widespread attack on education is seen on a number of ongoing conflicts. In 2012 alone, the UN estimates more than 3,600 separate, documented attacks on education. A recent Watchlist report in Nigeria suggests that since 2012, armed groups have carried out attacks on schools, which has resulted to the death, injury, or abduction of at least 414 students, teachers, or other civilians on the school premises.

45. IRIN (2013) reported that over 800 classrooms have been destroyed in Borno state along with 209 schools in Yobe state and an estimated 15,000 children are out-of-school due to violence. In the same article, Boko Haram, an insurgent radical Islamist group, which is also active in Kano and Kaduna, both ESSPIN supported states, stated that schools offering ‘western education’ will be burned and teachers targeted because they are against Islam.

46. In the northeast of Nigeria, from January to September 2013 alone, some 30 teachers were reportedly shot dead, sometimes during class. In July 2013, The Associated Press reported that in a video statement made by

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7 Watch List on Children and Armed Conflict. (2014). Who will care for us: Grave violations against children in North-eastern Nigeria.
Abubakar Shekau, leader of the militant Islamist group Boko Haram, threatened teachers, saying: ‘School teachers who are teaching Western education? We will kill them! We will kill them!’ Amnesty International reports that in the first seven months alone of 2013, 50 schools were partially burned down or partially destroyed by Boko Haram in northern Nigeria. Boko Haram seeks to impose a strict form of Sharia, or Islamic law, in northern Nigeria. Boko Haram, which means ‘Western education is a sin’ in Hausa.

In April 2014, the abduction of over 200 girls from Chibok in Borno state by Boko Haram captured national and international attention and painted the chronic threat to education in Nigeria. By mid-August of 2014, the group declared the Northern town of Gowza as a ‘caliphate.’

‘Nigeria is a religiously diverse society with Islam and Christianity being the most widely professed religions. According to recent estimates, 50.4% of Nigeria’s population adheres to Islam (mainly Sunni). Christianity is practiced by 48.2% of the population (15% Protestant, 13.7% Catholic, 19.6% other Christian). Adherents of Animism and other religions collectively represent 1.4% of the population.’

Nigeria is a diverse country and home to more than 250 ethnic tribes. The three largest and most dominant ethnic groups are the Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba, and Igbo. Other smaller groups include the Ijaw, Kanuri, Ibibio, Tiv, and Edo. Prior to their conquest by Europeans, these ethnic groups had separate and independent histories. Their grouping together into a single entity known as Nigeria was a construct of their British colonisers. These various ethnic groups never considered themselves part of the same culture. Historical divisions have created an atmosphere of tension and conflict through its history.

Education is an area in Nigeria where tradition and modernism intersects and collides; it is at the heart of the conflict in the North. Education is seen to have an important role in either mitigating or exacerbating conflict. According to the Interagency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE), ‘Education policies and programmes that only focus

10 Amnesty International. (2013). Keep away from schools or we’ll kill you: Right to education under attack in Nigeria. London.
on technical solutions are not sufficient to address the challenges found in conflict-affected and fragile contexts. If attention to conflict is not integrated into education policy and programming, there is a risk that education investments will increase tensions. Education programmes and policies in conflict-affected and fragile contexts should be conflict sensitive, both minimizing negative impacts and maximizing positive impacts. As a technical assistance programme, ESSPIN needs to adapt and respond to the changing context in its work environment within the education sector and consider a more conflict sensitive approach.

There are 10.5 million out-of-school children in Nigeria. Most out-of-school children are found in Northern Nigeria, majority of which are girls. According to the same report, there are 23.1 million children in school in Nigeria but they are learning little.

Even before the armed attacks in schools, school based violence long existed. This research takes a broader definition of conflict and violence that impacts education. It looks beyond armed conflict; it also explores conflict and violence in both the community and school level that affects children’s education.

**Purpose of the Consultancy**

The Education, Conflict and Violence research was commissioned by ESSPIN to gather evidence-based data on the impact of conflict, violence and insecurity on education, in initially the three ESSPIN supported states in the north; Kaduna, Kano and Jigawa. From the onset of the research, it was determined that a wider definition of violence and conflict will be adapted for the purpose of this research and not solely concentrate on armed conflict.

The main objectives for the research were to:

- Establish the different faces of conflict and/or violence in school and in the community level affecting children’s education;
- Understand how violence and/or conflict directly or indirectly impacts the education of children;
- Determine the motivations or (root) causes of violence and/or conflict in school and in the community;
- Identify the key actors and triggers of violence in their community;

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• And the dynamics of conflict;
• Document how stakeholders are mitigating conflict and/or violence in schools and in their communities and;
• Provide recommendations.
Definition of terminologies:
55. For the purpose of this research, the following terminologies are used:

- Violence - ‘the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group of community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation.’

- Conflict - Takes place when two or more parties find their interests incompatible, express hostile attitudes, or take action, which damages the other parties’ ability to pursue their interests.

Scope and Limitations
56. This report is based on evidence gathered during the fieldwork, which reflects the perceptions of the research participants on education, conflict and violence within their own contexts, looking at the community and the school levels. It does not compare the prevalence of violence or conflict amongst the research states neither does it draw conclusions on whether school-based violence is increasing or decreasing. Rather, this research intends to identify the nature of violence and conflicts existing in the research communities, explore its impact on children and their education and understand the present context ESSPIN is working in.

57. Constraints on the research time with a tight schedule meant that a full day was spent in each sample community to conduct all research activities. The need for further clarification that arose in retrospect was not always possible to address after the research team moved to the next site. Follow up on these issues will need to be conducted by ESSPIN at a later time. Some key informant interviews in the state and federal level were not conducted due to their unavailability, conflict in schedule and the tight research timeframe; examples of such are state meetings with Kano education state representatives and the Universal Basic Education Commission (UBEC) in Abuja. Lastly, the transcription and documentation process took longer than anticipated which pushed back the data cleaning and finalisation process, this led to the delay in analysis and report writing.

58. The research was conducted from the end of July until September of 2014.

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Structure of the Report

59. This research is divided into five parts. The first part is the methodology, followed by findings. The findings identify the drivers of conflicts and violence in the three research states. An in-depth discussion about the links of education, conflict and violence, from the community level and school level follows. Discussion on the faces of conflict and violence from the community level and school-based level ensues looking at its impact on the community, on children and on education. Key actors that fuels and/or mitigates conflict and violence are presented, followed by a brief summary of trigger points.

60. The next section of the report is on potential conflict scenarios, then a brief section on mitigating activities presently on the ground. The report ends with Conclusions and Recommendations.

Methodology and Main Activities

61. The Education and Conflict research is divided into three phases: the preparation phase, fieldwork and final phase. The preparation phase involved the literacy review, development of the research framework, the planning, preparation for and the training of researchers. The fieldwork phase was the actual work in the communities and the states, including the documentation process. The final phase involved continuous analysis of field data and collected secondary information, separate debriefings with ESSPIN and Save the Children staff, the report writing and submission of the report.

62. The Education and Conflict research utilised a participatory mixed-method research design. Though primarily a qualitative research, quantitative (secondary) data were employed and combined with ocular observations from diverse sources, which permitted triangulation to validate information collected from various sources for consistency.

Research team and training

63. The research team was composed of 12 people (6 male/6 female), pre-selected researchers by ESSPIN in partnership with State Universal Basic Education Board (SUBEB). Each state research team was composed of four members, mostly coming from or with extensive knowledge of their state assignments. The research team underwent a three-day training. A pilot of tools, content and process was conducted on the fourth day. Debriefing with the research team was conducted on the fifth day to discuss issues, challenges and best practices. Tools were revised as needed.

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18 See Annex 1 for information on the Research team.
64. The researchers received training on topics such as: facilitation, the art of questioning, concepts related to conflict analysis, conflict timeline, conflict tree, mapping and analysis of key players, the documentation process and reporting templates amongst others.

65. During the training, the cascading effect was used with the researchers in the application of different concepts. Concepts or theories were introduced to the researchers; activities for fieldwork were simulated in big group then into smaller state research groups, these same activities were conducted with different communities during the actual fieldwork. An example is the conflict tree. In a big group, researchers were asked to identify general root causes of conflict in Nigeria and its effects. The group was later divided into state research teams where they were tasked to conduct the same activity and identify state specific root causes of conflict and its impact. With each level, an analysis was conducted. The research team later conducted the activity during the fieldwork looking at community specific root cases and impacts. For the conflict tree, since conflict is experienced differently by gender, the PRA participants were divided into a male and female group. A third group focusing on school issues with school personnel and SBMCs members was formed. This participatory, immersion process was utilised for all activities the researchers conducted in the field.

66. In the actual fieldwork, to introduce the community to the research, community members were asked to define the key words such as education, conflict and violence in small groups. As the group came into a consensus on the basic terminologies, which researchers ensured were also similar to the definitions used for this research, community members were shown a timeline and asked to think about a recent conflict or violence in their community. With the group consensus, all significant conflicts and/or violent events affecting the community were plotted to introduce the conflict timeline. The facilitators inquired about possible triggers and causes of the events. Links were also made on how these conflicts or violent events affected children’s schooling.

Research communities
67. Five ESSPIN supported schools/communities were randomly selected from Kaduna, Kano and Jigawa, with the following criteria:

- It is an ESSPIN supported school and community;
- A mix of urban, semi-rural and rural communities;
- The community is relatively safe to travel to.
68. A total of 15 communities\(^{19}\) were selected for the research.\(^{20}\) The evaluation provides the readers a snapshot of a specific time within ESSPIN’s project cycle timeframe.

**Fieldwork Activities**

69. A cross-cutting activity during the preparation and fieldwork phases was the internal meetings with ESSPIN staff, Technical Leader Specialists in Abuja and ESSPIN programme staff in the research states across all ESSPIN outputs. The objectives of the meetings were to develop a better understanding of the ESSPIN programme context in relation to conflict across the different outputs, to gather staff perceptions on education and conflict within their own work, and to explore recommendations of how their present work can be better linked across outputs and contribute positively in education in conflict within their states.

70. Actual fieldwork was conducted for five days per state. Key informant interviews were conducted in state and local government administration levels of both government and non-state actors relevant to the research. A micro-cosmic representation of community members participated in Participatory Rural Appraisals (PRA) in each target community. There were 349 PRA participants (187 male; 162 female) across the research states. The FGD was attended by 318 children (179 male; 139 female), mostly aged nine through years of age,\(^{21}\) participated in Focus Group Discussions (FGD). In-depth interviews were conducted with community members, traditional, administrative and religious leaders as well as children who are both in-school and out-of school to provide a holistic understanding of the context, root causes and impact and dynamics of conflict and violence as perceived by the participants. In-depth interviews were also conducted on the federal, state and local government levels of various government branches.

71. Information gathered in various activities was recorded through flipcharts, recorder’s notes for the PRAs and FGDs, and questionnaires supported by voice recorders for in-depth interviews, whenever possible, with children and adult community members. Questionnaires were used for data recording of key informant interviews in the state and Local Government Education Authority (LGEA) levels while researchers kept field notes throughout the research process.

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\(^{19}\) See Annex 2 for the list of Research Communities per State.

\(^{20}\) See Annex 3 for background information on the demographics of the sample communities from each state.

\(^{21}\) The proposed age range of children was from nine to twelve but in some rural communities, children started school late and resulted to having ‘older’ participants. There were exceptions in Jigawa where one 8 year old and a 18 year were invited as part of the group. The 18-year-old boy was in 6th grade.
A two-day debriefing was conducted in Kaduna with the research team and ESSPIN staff from Kaduna and Jigawa who were involved in the entire research process to share and analyse data gathered from the fieldwork. Data was continuously analysed and literature reviewed throughout the research phases. Thematic analysis was carried out after a data cleaning and data verification process in the final phase. The final activity in this phase is the report writing and submission.

**Research guiding principles**

Considering the sensitivity of the research, researcher’s and participant’s safety and privacy were ensured by following the guiding principles below:

- Do no harm;
- An inclusive and participatory research;
- Practice basic principles of working with and interviewing children;
- Application of basic research ethics and;
- Ensure the personal safety and security of all researchers at all times.

**Research tools**

To ensure the validity and systematic data gathering for this research across all states, a PRA and FGD protocol was developed for the research team. The protocols showed the logical application and process for each activity as well as key questions per activity. Questionnaires were developed for in-depth interviews with children, community members, community leaders, and government and non-state representatives. Questions explored participant’s perceptions about education, faces of violence and/or conflict in their community and in schools, if any, and the alleged perpetrators. Also, information was sought on mechanisms in place in helping address challenges mentioned by the interviewee.

**Findings**

The findings below document people’s perceptions, experiences, attitudes, behaviours and concerns related to education, conflict and violence in sample communities. Whilst triangulation was utilised to validate data from different sources and research activities; to provide a better understanding of the context, historical information and current events were used to support people’s stories.

76. Findings are presented under the following headings in response to the research questions:
- Drivers of conflict and violence;
- Violence in communities;
- School based conflict and/or violence;
- Key actors that fuel conflict and violence;
- Key actors that mitigates conflict or violence;
- Triggers of conflict or violence;
- Potential conflict scenarios;
- Activities mitigating conflict and violence.

77. Research findings reveal that 80% of research communities directly experienced some form of violence, 6.7% of communities had an indirect experience\(^{22}\) with violence and 13.3% of communities lived in relative peace.\(^ {23}\) A total of 86.7% of research communities have directly or indirectly experienced some form of violence or the effects of violence.

### Drivers of conflict and violence

78. This section of the report lists systemic themes derived from discussions and interviews as perceived by participants from various activities. Examples or stories presented under this section are the same ones given during the PRA. In many cases, secondary data was utilised to provide clearer factual details of the incidences. Themes under this section provide a situational understanding of the context and dynamics of violence and conflict in sample communities, implications of which are further discussed in the next sections of the report.

### Politicising political issues and elections

79. During the Timeline activity in the PRA where community people were asked to identify a recent example of conflict or violence in their community, all resource communities identified the last election, which may pertain either to the presidential election or the local government election, depending on the community. Another recent conflict that turned violent that is again rooted from a political event was the Turbination of the new Emir of Kano in June 2014. Politicised political events, especially, elections, from the pre-election season of candidate

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\(^{22}\) Indirect experience with violence means that research communities do not have actual experience with either armed conflicts or confrontations between groups of factions resulting to riots and armed clashes but neighbouring communities within close proximity have directly experienced armed conflict or violence associated with armed groups.

\(^{23}\) ‘Relative peace’ is defined as a place where there is peaceful coexistence amongst community members or with migratory groups (example: pastoralist). It includes communities that have experienced violence or conflict in the past but have been living peacefully in the last the three years.
selection, to the actual election and the post election period of announcing winners or political appointments may quickly trigger political conflicts, which may lead violence. The winning or appointment of unpopular candidates has historically brought about the question of a government’s legitimacy. As recent history shows, the fragile peace in Nigeria has the potential to immediately turn into violent ethno-religious conflicts and attacks on rival groups. Long standing feelings of inequality, discrimination, exclusion, marginalisation, and nepotism polarize people into taking ethnic and religious sides for identity and survival. Politics and election, the quest for power and access to resources is intertwined with Nigeria’s ethno-religious conflicts. The Human Development Index (HDI) report indicates that only 30% of people surveyed stated they ‘trusted the national government’. 

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24 Timeline covered for the question was 2007-2012.
**Unpopular government policies**

80. Unpopular government policies have also brought about problems and conflicts in states. In Kano state, it was reported that the former government addressed high unemployment rates by hiring people as teachers with no education background or education training. Interviews with parents and school personnel, associates problems on teacher commitment, poor quality teaching and the poor quality of education to unqualified teachers. Unqualified teacher’s alleged lack of pedagogical knowledge was also highlighted in many instances of school-based violence during PRA discussions. The problem of students who are unable to read or write in class five was also attributed to the appointment of unqualified teachers in Tudo Wada community, Kano during the PRA and in an in-depth interview.

81. A more recent government policy that is causing problems in Jigawa is the recent government move to pay teacher salary via bank transfer or electronic payment (e-payment). Teachers complained of the travel time they had make to the city which was sometimes as long as five hours to access an ATM machine only to find out that the bank is off-line or other problems about their account or account information. In all five-research communities in Jigawa, teachers, parents and students report increased teacher absenteeism related to the collection of teacher e-payment salary. As teachers stated, once they get to the city, they need to stay there until they get their salary, which may be for an undetermined amount of time. They therefore miss class time with students.

82. Reports of ‘frequent teacher strikes’ in Kano and Jigawa against ‘government policies’ and delay in the disbursement of salaries caused either school closure or the lack of meaningful use of class time with students present in class but no teachers in school. These examples have given a negative impact on the quality of education in each respective state and a probable cause of conflict.

**Weak institutional capacity**

83. Fund of Peace\(^\text{25}\) ranks Nigeria as the 17th most “fragile” state out of 178 countries. Considerations for ranking are central government is weak or ineffective, that it has little practical control over much of its territory; non-provision of public services; widespread corruption and criminality; refugees and involuntary movement of populations; and sharp economic decline.

\(^{25}\text{A Washington D.C., think-tank and a non-profit research and educational institution that works on preventing conflict and promoting sustainable security.}\)
Security issues: Lack of confidence in the military and police in maintaining peace and security

84. Research participants identified the government’s weak institutional capacity to respond to security problems, uphold the rule of law, and protect the people. Data reflect people’s general lack of confidence in the government, police, and military in maintaining peace, order, and security. Majority of research participants mentioned the apparent ‘lack of political will’ by the government to contain armed attacks of Boko Haram\(^{26}\) and other armed groups.

85. Conflict timelines developed by participants from Kaduna and Kano also refer to recent riots, which turned violent resulting to deaths and the destruction of property, where no one was ever prosecuted or held responsible. A specific example given was communal violence in Kafanchan after the presidential election in 2011 where numbers of people were killed, properties looted and destroyed. People apparently came forward to identify perpetrators, arrests were made, but accused people were later let go due to the lack of further evidence. ‘No one was ever brought to justice, you see these people everyday as if nothing happened,’ is a sentence that resonated from different communities that have directly experienced violence. In Kano and Kaduna, people reported the alleged abandonment of military and police presence prior to an attack of armed men or bombings coupled by the slow response of the military and/or police to such incidences.

The failure of the justice system

86. Aside from the lack of prosecution and a general feeling of failure for justice to be served, people’s lack of confidence in the rule of law is also evident in the education sector. In Jigawa, ESSPIN staff reported an incident where a teacher raped a student and was reported to the school. The abuse was reported to the police and this case became a criminal case. Although this case was also reported in school, no action was taken against the teacher who continued to teach in the same school. When probed why no action was taken against the teacher, the response was because this was ‘already a criminal case and out of the jurisdiction of the school authority and that if an official report was made to the school, the ministry of education had their own reporting mechanism of handling such cases.’

87. Several attempts were made to clarify this statement to no avail, in the end, what was evident was that:

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\(^{26}\) Which translates into ‘Western education is a sin,’ in the Hausa language.
• There seem to be two separate and independent routes with no coordination or link in reporting sexual abuse and rape between a student and school personnel. Reports may either be directed to the headmaster which is then internally handled through the education ministry reporting line and the other is reporting the incident to the police which in turn makes it into a criminal;

• Rape cases involving teachers and students under criminal investigations are not pursued within the school reporting mechanism along the education sector reporting line and lastly;

• The reporting mechanism for students within schools to report gender based violence such as, but not limited to, sexual abuse, rape is unclear, and lacks transparency and action. Such incidences ruin people’s belief in the rule of law, in a fair education system.

88. It was further reported that in the end, ‘nothing happens, the teacher always wins, either because the family does not pursue the case or the case is dropped due to lack of evidence.’

**A culture of violence**

89. To a certain degree, violence is an accepted form of discipline and submission to existing social norms, authority and stereotypes in Nigeria. The Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (2011) reports that 46% of women in Nigeria feel that their husband/partner has a right to hit or beat them for at least one reason. Twenty-nine percent of women believe that their husband/partner is justified in beating them if they neglect their children, about 26% said if they go out without telling their husbands. A larger proportion of women who are currently married believe their husbands are justified for beating them (48%) compared with those never married (37%).

90. In the same study, it was reported that, 90% of children ages 2-14 years were subjected to at least one form of psychological or physical punishment by ‘any’ household member during the month before the survey; 34% of the children were subjected to severe physical punishment. There are no significance differences in the percentage for gender, area and wealth quintiles. Violence is culturally legitimatised and the cycle of violence continues.

91. In fragile environments, the culture of violence puts women and children at higher risk of becoming targets due to the inferior status attributed to them socio-culturally and the perception of easy targets, as seen in the personal stories shared by community people and children. This is

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evident in the armed attacks specifically targeting women and children in Kaduna and Kano. The culture of violence as a means of discipline was seen across all sample communities in the three states of Kaduna, Kano and Jigawa. As reported by researchers, in the Northern Nigerian context, this is further complicated with the conservative practice of the Islamic religion intertwined with the traditional belief of women’s and children’s subservience to men.
**Economic issues**

92. Nigeria is ranked 152 out of 187 in the Human Development Index (2014).\(^{28}\) Almost 68% of the Nigerians live below $1.25 a day, with 46% of the population living in extreme poverty.\(^ {29}\) Nigeria is third in the top five poorest countries and home to 7% of the world’s poorest.

93. Community members in all states identified poverty and unemployment as the root causes of conflict and violence in their areas. The high prices for basic commodities, ‘school fees’ and unemployment create a sense of marginalisation, frustration and powerlessness for many. In all communities, parents and other community people stated that to supplement family income, children are sent out to do petty trading before and after school as well as farming; both of which have an indirect impact on quality of children’s education.

94. Youth unemployment in Nigeria has become a socio-economic threat to peace and stability. As the most populous country in sub-Saharan Africa, with a 60% youth population and an estimated 80 million youth, Nigeria has an unemployment rate of over 50 percent or over 64 million unemployed youth.\(^ {30}\) In spite of the government-sponsored employment programs; Youth Empowerment Scheme (YES) and the Youth Enterprise with Innovation (YOU-WIN), the number of unemployed youth continue to spiral up. Of the unemployed youth, 51.9% are female compared to 48.1% male.\(^ {31}\)

95. In the same report, the former Governor of Central Bank of Nigeria, CBN, Mr. Sanusi Lamido Sanusi, lamented recently that while the Nigerian economy grew at the rate of seven percent for the past five years, unemployment has actually doubled at same period. The gap between the country’s economic growth, and growing poverty, and unemployment strengthens allegations of widespread corruption and misappropriations within the present government’s weak institutional capacity.

96. In all three-research states, gangsters, commonly referred to as ‘gangs,’ area youth groups, ward groups and loosely called out-of-school children were identified as key instigators of conflict and violence due to the lack

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\(^{29}\) Ibid.


of productive (economic) activities to occupy their time. Especially during the election season, politicians are said to hire these gangs or unemployed youth groups for campaigning and security purposes. In rural communities in Kaduna and Jigawa, the lack of a secondary school to transition to was mentioned as part of the problem of why students are easily encouraged to not to attend class by out-of-school children, and eventually drop out. Some of the gang members reportedly finished primary school but did not have any secondary school to transit to. Although the lack of secondary schools in rural research communities was evident, it was difficult to ascertain if the ‘lack secondary schools to transit to,’ mentioned earlier is due to this or because students were unable to transition into secondary school because they were unable to pass the necessary tests associated to transitioning.

97. The pent up frustration of not being able to transition to secondary school, the lack of marketable economic skills and economic opportunities are said to be contributing factors for youth to join gangs where fast money may be earned. A recent study show how youth unemployment has also promoted ‘gangsterism’ by engaging violence, armed robbery, kidnapping, car snatching, illegal bunkering and fuel sales, and illegal importation of arms, most of which have reached alarming levels in several Nigerian cities. 32

98. In the early stages, the Boko Haram sect was widely known to have mobilized its membership from women and children, school drop-outs and unemployed university and polytechnic graduates, most of who tore up their certificates; student members withdrew from school. Okereke posits that “these recruits were indoctrinated by Yussuf to believe that their state of hopelessness was caused by government which imposed Western education on them and failed to manage the resources of the country to their benefits 33

99. Although this was the original belief of people, informal interviews during the research also indicate that armed groups also target children of influential people in communities. A case in Wudil, Kano was discussed whereby college students and youth were enamoured by a charismatic Imam from out of state. After a few years of living in the community and prior to the first ever attack in Wudil, the Imam, together with his youth followers reportedly disappeared. That evening the first of many bomb

blasts was experienced in Wudil. It was further reported that some of
the followers that disappeared were college students, some from
prominent and influential families.

100. Aside from unemployment, another conflict that was reported
across all three states was the conflict between farmers and cattle
herdsmen. The incessant land use and water conflict between farmers
and herdsmen eventually boils down to economics. The alleged
encroachment of farmers into grazing lands and climate change has
greatly affected the food and water supply of cattle. The loss of crops
for harvesting means lesser income for farmers while the lost or
shrinkage of grazing land may possibly mean starvation and death to the
cattle. These seasonal clashes have reportedly become violent at times
resulting to death and/or destruction of property. Over the past two
years, at least 400 people have been killed in the clashes between
farmers and Fulani herdsmen in the Nigerian states of Benue, Nasarawa,
Kaduna and Plateau state. The clashes are said to be increasing with the
climate change and the coming of foreign herdsmen in search of better
grazing pastures.34

Socio-cultural and religious issues

101. Religion is both a driver and a symptom of the current Nigerian
personal identity and national crisis. Inflammatory or disparaging
statements made by religious leaders may instantly instigate violent
reactions from his followers. In spite of this reality, this research
support’s the findings of the Nigerian Stability and Reconciliation
Programme (NSRP) that, ‘whilst there is a religious narrative to the
insecurity, the actual causes of violence are seldom due to religious
difference: more commonly, conflict results from the politicization of
religion and its manipulation for economic and political purposes.’ 35

102. Ethno-religious communal violence is a historical source of conflict
and violence in Kaduna and Kano, as identified by research participants.
Further probing indicates that the complex web of politics, religion and
tribalism that has resulted in chronic communal violence in Kaduna may,
to a certain extent be traced to access to power, resources, land and
livelihood. Access to power leads to increased access to resources and
jobs for a specific group of people while systematically marginalising
some. As quoted in several interviews in Kaduna, ‘when you apply for a

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job, the first question is what tribe are you from and not what job experience you have.’ The politicisation of politics, crossing over the fine line of religion, identity, tribalism and indigeneity for control of livelihoods, resources and settlement areas brews a volatile environment presently seen in 60% of the research communities in Kaduna. The need for inclusivity and equity has been recognised by the head of SUBEB in Kaduna.

“…you do not want to be seen as going against your group and favouring another...you do not want to be seen as a traitor...at the end of the day, it is about the haves and have not...here in SUBEB we try our best to be transparent and accountable by evenly allocating resources to all...” (Commissioner Ishaya Akau, Kaduna State Education Board and Executive Chairman of SUBEB, Kaduna)

103. Since 1987, violent conflicts between Muslims and Christians from Kafanchan, Kaduna has spilled over to Kano; many religious conflicts in Kano have been sparked by religious clashes from other states. 36 In August 1991, the perception that the Kano State Government was favoring one religion over the other on the use of the Kano Race Course for a Christian evangelical programme after disallowing the use of the same venue by the Muslims at an earlier time sparked one of the most violent and widespread religious clash in the state. 37 Discussions with research participants indicate the fragile sense of peace and deep-rooted division along religious lines in Kano. In an in-depth interview with children, one child stated that out-of-school children sometimes ‘bully’ him on his way to school by calling him a Christian, which for him was a grave insult.

104. Illiteracy in Northern Nigeria is one of the highest in the country. A UNESCO paper reports the literacy level in the three research states as: 24.2% Jigawa, 29.3% Kaduna and 48.9% in Kano.38 In Jigawa, only 22% of the female population aged six and above are literate, a 29% female literacy rate in Kaduna and 43% female literacy in Kano.

105. Illiteracy was one of the top drivers of conflict and violence identified by research participants, especially in Jigawa and Kano. Illiteracy limits a person’s ability to find gainful employment due to their

36 Ibid.
limited skills. The lack of revenue results to poverty and a poor socio-economic familial condition resulting to a cycle of poverty and helplessness. These coupled with illiteracy and a radicalized view of religion were the key factors identified by communities as to why some people do not understand the importance of basic literacy and numeracy, things that are often associated to ‘western education.’

106. There is a prevailing perception that ‘western-style educational system’ or what is commonly referred to in this report as ‘western education,’ was imposed on northern Nigeria by its British colonial masters. The ideology of opposing Westernization and ‘western education’ has existed since colonial times in northern Nigeria and is widely accepted by northern Nigerian academics, politicians, military officers, traditional rulers and communities. In 1996, opposition to western education was seen in a printed document titled, Western Education in Northern Nigeria. A chapter authored by Usman Bugaje, a prominent northern leader, titled ‘Education, Values, Leadership and the Future of Nigeria’ states that ‘western imperialism, of which the educational system is the most potent weapon, has gradually and subtly eroded the supplanted values and ideals of our pre-colonial societies. (and) initiated us into a virulent materialism which has since subverted our social morality, weakened our social fabric and crippled our socio-economic and political progress.’ Bugaje further states that the ‘only hope for escaping from this culture of corruption, decay and mismanagement is by restoring our values and culture buried in the abandoned and forgotten history and culture of our pre-colonial societies...to dislodge the hegemony and monopoly of western liberalism and allow our own indigenous contributions to thoughts and ideas to compete favorably in our institutions of learning.’

107. It is believed that western education is ‘not only decidedly secular but had taken a position against God and made materialism and hedonism the ultimate in life’ in contrast to the northern traditional Islamic values and replaced ‘morality, that sense of right and wrong which only consciousness of God confers,’ with a kind of ruthless materialism and lack of respect for elders. The blame on ‘western

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41 Ibid.

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education’s’ corruption of social and traditional values was echoed by a small number of PRA participants across the three sample states. It is important to note that people who maintained this belief system have never attended ‘western school.’ Even for those who used to believe in these teachings then eventually attended ‘western education’ and now understand the importance of basic literacy and numeracy, they attributed this archaic belief on the ‘teachings of the founders’ of their communities which were passed on from generation to generation.

108. Boko Haram, a radical Islamic group espouses the same beliefs. Boko Haram was formed in 2002 by Mohammed Yusuf to combat ‘western education.’ The core beliefs of the group comes from four tenets: a stricter version of Sharia law, an end to western education, death to those who do not share the same strict beliefs and death to the government they believe is corrupt. In July 13 2013, Boko Haram leaders publicly threatened to raze secular schools, and kill their teachers in front of their students, and tell the students to study the Quran, further describing western schools as a “plot against Islam.” During the fieldwork, research groups encountered community people with strong negative feelings about how ‘western education’ is corrupting their community. Further discussion is found on this topic in the report below.

109. Specific to two research communities in Jigawa, with strong traditional and cultural roots, is spirit possession and witchcraft. Spirit possession or ‘jinni’ and witchcraft were identified as one of the main driver of violence in these communities. This example points to the importance of understanding the environmental and traditional context of violence and conflict in each community, the causes and how it plays into the broader sense of security and protection of people and communities. This topic is further discussed under violence.

110. A British Council Gender Report states that one in three of all women and girls aged 15-24 has been a victim of violence whilst one in five women has experience physical violence. The acceptability of violence as a form of discipline in families and in schools has legitimatized the use of violence within the Nigerian psyche. Gender based violence is a systemic challenge in the country. Gender based violence is presently used as a tactic of war by armed groups against on women and children, on their campaign against ‘western education’ with


impunity. The fear of or actual attack on schools and the abduction of women and children associated to these attacks is a driver of conflict and violence in research communities. Gender based violence was recognised as grim problem in all sample communities. Though a law on domestic violence was passed in May 2013, the ‘Violence against Persons (Prohibition)’ Bill, its full legal execution has not been felt.

**Violence in Communities**

111. This section reports on violence happening in communities and the impact of community violence to community members.

- Election related violence;
- Bomb blasts, gunshots or armed attacks on the community;
- Clashes between farmers & herdsmen; farmers and hunters; small community factions;
- Religious violence;
- Communal clashes;
- Silent killings;
- Abduction of women and children, also used as a war tactic;
- Witchcraft and spirit possessions;

“In 2010, there was a gun attack in the famous Wudil cattle market, it happened at the peak period of the market day, many people and cattle were killed or wounded and many lost their properties, it brought confusion, chaos and fear among not only our community but even our neighbours... this led to closure of schools for many days...the curfew was imposed.” (61-year old male, PRA participant, Kano.)

112. Examples of violence in communities recorded across research states include, but are not limited to election related violence which turned into riots and physical confrontations, bomb blasts, gunshots. Also high on the list is the seasonal clashes between farmers and herdsmen, farmers and hunters and clashes between small community/religious factions which may include the military. A recent clash between the military and the Shiite group in Zaria, Kaduna resulted in the death of the three sons of the Shiite leader. This event has brought fear of revenge attacks and uncertainty in the community.
“Because of the increasing level of insecurity, members of the community are perpetually living in fear.” (Female housewife, urban community, Kaduna).

113. In April this year, the Boko Haram reportedly went to a village in Birniwa and gave community people a warning, ‘...do not bring your children for polio vaccination and do not send your children to western education...we will be back...’ Since this research was conducted summer time, it is unclear what kind of impact, this will have, if any, on the enrolment of children.

114. In Kafanchan, Kaduna the research team recorded what they termed as ‘silent killing.’ It was reported that organised armed groups of a rival religious community sneak into homes in the middle of the night and ‘kills everyone,’ thus the term ‘silent killing.’ The last incident was said to be a couple of months prior to the field research. Silent killing has reportedly been on-going for over a year; yet, no one has been charged and no arrests have ever been made. The research team reported many people from one religious group have moved away, almost homogenising community.

115. Unlike in other research areas where ‘religious conflict’ was enveloped with identity, ethnicity and access to resource, the research community in Kafanchan presented not only a historical religious/communal conflict rooted in discrimination, marginalisation and exclusion; the chronic volatile environment of violence and conflict has resulted into the most basic human instinct of survival which has led to ‘silent killings.’

116. Majority of the research communities have indicated the perceived lack of political will from the law enforcers to maintain peace and security. Communities have taken things into their own hands and organised community security groups or what they call ‘vigilante groups.’ Vigilante groups are composed of volunteer community members that help uphold peace and order in communities. The groups are officially registered with the government and reportedly liaise with community leaders and state agents such as the police, army and civil defence.47

“...um, I do not know what to say but whenever these incidence occur, I report to my superiors and the tell the police usually nothing is done about it...we prefer our own security that is the

47 Civil defense is a para-military group set up by the Federal Government to assist regular state agents. These groups have recently been granted permission to carry fire arms and they are in all the states throughout the federation. (Explanation from Jigawa research team).
YANBANGA...they are more effective way of mobilization and sensitization the people when there are false rumours circulating. We tell them when it is false or not..., if we could get more assistance from the Government especially concerning the armed bandits and also through meeting the parties involved in the fight such as the herdsmen and farmers...that would help the community...” 55-year-old male, Sarki and SBMC chairman, rural Kaduna.

117. The development of the Yanbanga came about in this community after armed bandits abducted and raped women, mothers of children who were in school at the time. It was recorded that in this community, some perpetrators of rape were caught and brought to the police station\(^{48}\) by the Yanbanga but was later released. The Sakri reported that they have developed their own coping mechanisms due to the apparent lack of interest and action by the police.

118. The abduction of women\(^ {49}\) and children, both boys and girls were a concern raised by research communities from all three states. Research data shows that the abduction of women, young female adults, girls and boys in research communities have resulted to sexual assault,\(^ {50}\) rape, and the fear of sexually transmitted decease like HIV/Aids. A lone community in Kaduna reported the abduction and sexual molestation of boys. There has apparently been a continuous abduction of both of girls and boys reported in all three states, in Kaduna and Kano it is in relation to armed groups and gangs. While in Jigawa, it is more of an opportunistic event and not perpetuated by armed warring groups.

119. Rape, abduction and sexual slavery are beyond gender-based-violence, it is a tactic of war to spread fear, violence and chaos to instil submission. Interviews indicate that this tactic has been used in communal violence; but, it is mostly related to armed attacks of Boko Haram and other armed groups. It chooses no gender; field reports show that both boys and girls have been targeted.

120. In three research communities in Jigawa, one form of violence in communities that have a direct impact on education is what they commonly called ‘jinni.’ It may be loosely translated into ‘possession’ and commonly associated with witchcraft. It was reported that this happens anytime, anywhere but children often associate it to hawking.

\(^{48}\) Vigilante groups can make a citizen’s arrests then hand over the culprits to the state agents.

\(^{49}\) Specifically mentioned in one community in Kaduna.

\(^{50}\) Though normally attributed to abducted girls, a research community in Kafanchan, Kaduna reported the sexual abuse of both boys and girls.
As a child related, sometimes, these evil spirits take the form of a man and possesses children. In one community, four children participating in the FGD stated that they used to be affected by jinni. Apparently, the possession takes awhile and during this time, children are out-of-school. They are brought to religious people to exorcise the evil spirit away from them. Community people have such a strong belief in witchcraft and spirit possessions that it often times cause conflict between community people and affects children’s education.

121. A particular story in one of the research sites was that one time, a child came home from school. In the evening, the child was ‘possessed by the evil spirit and started to scream the name of the school headmaster.’ It was then believed that it was the headmaster who ‘cursed the child’ because the ‘evil spirit was calling out his name.’ Family members of the child went to the headmaster’s home and a fight ensued. The headmaster was brought to the police station but later released. The child was brought to the religious group for prayers and exorcism and was later healed. Because of this incident, word spread that the headmaster was a warlock. It tarnished his reputation, prompting him to move to another school.

**Impact of violence in communities**

122. Examples of documented impact of violence on community people and children are listed below.

- Injury, loss of lives;
- Destruction of properties;
- Constant fear and mistrust;
- Anger and psychological stress and trauma on community members including children.
- Unrest and a sense of lawlessness;
- Polarisation of groups or communities;
- Constant rumour mongering;
- Migration to ‘safer areas;’
- Fear of abduction of women and children;
- Isolation and stigma.

123. The most palpable and immediate impacts of violent confrontations in communities are injury, loss of life and destruction of properties. In most research communities, people reported living in constant fear and
mistrust, fear of an apparent attack or abduction. Rumour mongering has increased tensions and fear resulting to the polarization of communities. In Kano and Jigawa, in-depth interviews recorded people’s irrational fear of the sound of a fast moving motorcycle and their association to armed men riding in tandem prior to an attack.

“Even if I’m home, when I hear the sound of a fast motorcycle…I stop what I’m doing…I hide and wait…to hear if something will explode…wait for gunshots…I’m waiting for something to happen…it’s really scary.” (Female, Kano researcher).

124. Internal displacement was recorded in Kaduna where people moved away from their villages due to communal violence in 2011. Informal discussions indicate that some people have ‘started coming back’ but there is still ‘resentment and deeper polarisation now than ever before.’ Amongst the three research sites, Jigawa is slowly seeing an increase of children’s application for school for this coming school year. Interviews with the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education and the SUBEB Commissioner reveal ‘several applications for school transfers…some even claiming to be indigenes of Jigawa.’ There is apparently a slow but continuous arrival of Internally Displaced People (IDP) in Jigawa, seen by many with ‘safer communities.’ The worsening conflict in Yobe is expected to bring in more internally displaced families and children in the coming months.

‘...we even have an application from someone who had a boarding school in Yobe which was bombed...he wants to open a similar school here in Jigawa...but now you need to be careful...you don’t know who these people are and what their real motives are...’ (Malam Abdullahi Hudu, Permanent Secretary in the Ministry Education in Jigawa)

125. Even in communities where there is relative peace, there is fear that violence would reach their community. Fear due to unrest, a sense of lawlessness and lack of information, rumour mongering is said to be ripe. Fear combined with rumours further fuel insecurity and destroys people’s fragile sense of peace. Insecurity in communities puts personal and children’s safety as people’s priorities with education taking a back seat. Field interviews with parents, teachers and children indicate an ‘increased student drop-out due to the insecurity.’ Teacher attendance has also suffered, especially when gang fights or communal violence occurs, ‘teachers living away from school do not report to work for fear of being caught on the ‘wrong side of the community.’
126. The impact of abduction and rape on a person as well as its impact on the family is powerfully captured in the quote below.

“...this is like a source of shame where a woman is abducted and raped by up to 5-10 men and released...this is carried out by the armed bandits who come after the (community) men have gone out...sometimes the woman is beaten if she refuses...above all the husband may not want to (be) with her...maybe she has been infected with a sexually transmitted disease...the women are taken to hospitals ...but the stigma and shame still remains...when abducted women return home she is never the same after returning from the hospital.... it affects the child because he grows up witnessing this type of violence and feels hopeless...”

(Female, in-depth interview, Kaduna).

127. There is much fear of Boko Haram, evidence suggests that though Boko Haram and its sympathisers remains active, criminal gangs have ‘adopted’ the name Boko Haram to claim responsibility for criminal acts when it suits them. An example provided was that of a man that was caught stealing in Kaduna, he was brought to the police station where he claimed he was part of Boko Haram and that other would come to release him. When the police reportedly asked what the group stood for, the man apparently had no answer. The police later assumed that this man was just using the name Boko Haram thinking that it would bring fear and he would be released. No one apparently came to release him.

**School based conflict and violence**

128. According to Burton, ‘...schools are generally seen as mechanisms to develop and reinforce positive citizens with pro-social attitudes and as sites where individuals are prepared for the role they are to play in society at large.’

51 ‘However, studies, media reports and the like suggest that despite popular discourse schools are in fact the sites of violence.’ 52

129. Schools mirror community values, relationships and social structures. School based violence is therefore not a problem confined in schools but rather a multi-faceted societal issue. Many incidences of school-based violence go unreported every year.

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130. Evidence gathered in research communities identified the most common, but not exhaustive list of, school-based violence:

- Corporal punishment and other degrading punishments;
- Bullying;
- Fighting
- Sexual violence, abuse and exploitation;
- Drug use and selling of drugs;
- Stealing;
- Direct armed attacks on schools, students, teachers and other school personnel.

“I feel afraid because if I come late I might be flogged. I hate the beatings and punishments.” (12 year old, female student, rural community Kaduna).

131. Findings reveal that a different kind of violence and conflict more frequently occurs in schools; corporal punishment such as flogging and other degrading punishments is widespread in all research communities across the three states. Students are reportedly flogged when they come to school late, when they do not do their homework or when they ‘do something wrong.’ Degrading in nature, corporal punishments use sticks, slaps on the head, assumption of uncomfortable positions or repetitive actions for long periods of time such as staring at the sun ‘until you see black spots,’ kneeling on the ground, or the squat-jumping continuously with arms crossed on the chest and each hand holding the opposite ear (frog jumps), putting one arm under a leg that is crossed while simulating a smoking position (smoking) or sitting on the ground with both legs raised and bent simulating a position riding a motorcycle (vespa), and the list goes on.

“Beating is too much. But then you are beaten only when you commit offence...It happens all the time, but sometimes we are given second chance...the beating by the teachers has led to some children not coming to school.” (13-year-old, male, semi-rural community, Jigawa).

132. Corporal punishment has both physical and psychological negative consequences on children. It results in physical injuries from bruises and bleeding to trauma or haemorrhage and can lead to death.\(^53\)


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It leads to a feeling of fear of others and fear of educational institutions, with negative impacts on concentration, class participation and performance. 55

“...a teacher once beat me at the back of my head and I was sick for three days. I could not come to school...if not for my parents I would not have returned.” (12 year old, male student, rural community, Jigawa).

133. Corporal punishments are not only administered by the teachers; students across all research sites also identified the prefects as enforcing the flogging on other children. The message being given to children then is that violence and hitting other children is acceptable. Possible violence in their own homes in addition to corporal punishments in schools brings about the normalisation of violence at a very early age.

“There was a case of a child of about 10 years old that was beaten on his private part; it swelled and was having discharge. With fury the father passed through the gate of the school, passed by me, asking the boy to proceed into the school to point to him the prefect that had inflicted on his son such an injury. Tactically, with an SBMC member with me, we were able to intervene, pleading with the father to calm down, and promised to take up the matter with the school’s authority. Early the next day, I met with the assistant headmaster, who immediately set up a committee to see to the health of the child. The prefect, knowing what he did was wrong, stayed away from school since the day of the incidence. To forestall future occurrences of such, an announcement was made during school assembly that on no account should any child beat another, again. This was also binding on every teacher in the school. The boy prefect was relieved of his duties and made to apologies to his victim and the victim’s father...teachers were not aware of this incidence until it was reported.” (54-year-old male, community member, in-depth interview, urban community, Kaduna).

134. Rendering corporal punishments have brought parents and teachers into conflict often times extending over their community life.


UNICEF.

Specific examples of excessive flogging was reported in 73.33% of schools across research states.

“...one of the parents came and insulted the teacher without finding out the reason her child was beaten...the child was beaten on his upper shoulders and it bled.” (Female, PRA participant, Kaduna.)

135. From a different perspective, there have also been reports of children accusing their teachers of indecent touching during the flogging. In the quote below, it was further explained that, ‘sometimes children use it as a trick to implicate the teacher to get him in trouble...and the Muslims do not take that lightly.

“(tou), you know if a child feels that a teacher is always punishing and flogging him or that a teacher touched them indecently while flogging them it always turns into a family issue which may end or continue outside the school.” (60-year old female, housewife, in-depth interview, Kaduna.)

136. Parents from schools often point to teacher’s lack of qualification as to why some teachers are frequently absent, why ‘teachers do not know how to discipline students correctly’ or ‘why they don’t understand children.’ In all three states, community members stated that there are many ‘unqualified teachers in school’. Further probing suggests that as part of the former government’s efforts to address unemployment in Kano and Jigawa, people, including gang members, even those with no Nigeria Certificate in Education (NCE) qualification, were recruited to teach.

“...oh, my children are not in this school but the parents of the other children being beaten always brings it to my knowledge because the children that are the most affected are those that are not fast learners!! Some children are just not fast learners, while some are playful and some are just being stubborn.” (Female, PRA participant, Kaduna).

137. There is no excuse for the indiscriminate use of corporal punishment but it is also important to look at the present context of primary school classrooms. Classrooms were originally built for a minimum of 35 to a maximum of 65 students, presently, some classrooms hold over 100 children. As explained earlier in the report, violence, such as hitting is an acceptable form of discipline in the Nigerian context. Most teachers

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56 Information was derived from informal talks with SUBEB staff.
grew up with corporal punishment in schools and violence is acceptable at home.

138. Alternative classroom management strategies and options must be presented to teachers to encourage a different approach to discipline, an example may be utilising positive forms of discipline and avoiding the use of violence. Schools and classrooms can provide the space in which people of different origins can be brought together and taught how to live and work together peacefully, in schools, the teachers are the role models.\textsuperscript{57}

139. Majority of children across the three research states complained about the degrading punishment they receive as a result of family responsibilities and expectations they need to fulfil prior to heading to school;\textsuperscript{58} a handful of parents were reportedly supportive in helping their children cope with this problem.

“When I tell my mother about coming late to school and being beaten, she makes sure that when we wake up in the morning to say our morning prayers, we do not go back to sleep rather we continue with our house chores so that we are not late for school.” (15-year-old male, urban community, Jigawa).

140. Bullying and fighting were also commonly mentioned by children in all three states, on their way to and from school perpetrated by out-of-school children and gang members in the community who do not believe in the value of education, especially for girls. Bullying was also reported in school settings between students where fighting would also ensue. The over-population of classrooms and the lack of space were mentioned by children as a possible cause of irritation and fights.

141. During an informal discussion, Ummi, a female out-of-school child mentioned that, ‘It is not important to go to western school because people who go to western school do not pray.’ Children going to and from school report that out-of-school children and other adults sometimes taunt and heckle them for going to school. Students report that some out-of-school children chant derogatory words such as they (children going to western schools) ‘will burn in hell,’ ‘they are abbots of fire from hell’ and ‘they do not know how to pray.’ One child mentioned that he was frequently called ‘a Christian’ which ‘angered him.’ These


\textsuperscript{58}Discussed more under Cycle of Violence.
incidences sometimes lead to fights. Unfortunately, some adult community members who do not believe in western education also echo these beliefs. Though small in number, it was recorded that during the fieldwork, in 60% of research communities, people who ‘believe that western education destroys their moral and religious values’ were encountered.

142. When probed what this meant, it was explained that ‘with western education children no longer have respect for their elders and women no longer listen or follow their husbands.’ It was further said that in northern Nigeria where Islam is more conservatively practiced, people believe that ‘children should listen and follow and not be heard,’ ‘women are expected to be subservient to their husbands and the husband always has the final decision.’ With ‘western education’ children are voicing their opinions instead of listening, and this is seen as a sign of disrespect to elders and their parents. Women are allegedly more involved in other things instead of just looking after their own children and their families. It is because of these changing roles that allegations of children going to western school do not pray and are seen as non-followers or non-believers, thus the perceived destruction of northern ‘tradition, moral and religious beliefs.’

“With the advent of western education came the dilution of some vital cultural practices of the people. In the north, an elder’s statement should never be contested but obeyed. The woman has rights, but her right is what the man says it should be. Western education says otherwise, as the woman has the same rights as the man.” (PRA participant, Giwa, Kaduna).

143. Though many conservative Muslim families are said to grow up with these beliefs, others have crossed the socio-religious border of ‘western education’ due to need and changing circumstances as seen in the interview below.
Case Study 1: A Change of Heart: Bridging the old and new

“The Imam in this community (Soba) has 20 children and none of them attends regular school. An interesting thing happened to him recently. While attempting to open a bank account he realised he could not fill up the bank form. (The Imam himself never attended secular school, so he is unable to read and write in English). He had to travel back to the community to get one of the schoolteachers to help him out. This he found very embarrassing, but shared his experience with the community during a sermon in the mosque and a PTA meeting, which he later attended. He shared his regret for being illiterate and for not enrolling any of his children in school. During a sermon in the mosque, he confessed that he has decided that when school opens come September, he will enrol all his children in school. Now he also helps the school teachers in mobilizing community to support school activities and gatherings.’” (Teacher, LEA Primary School Soba, Kaduna).

144. Highlighting life changing stories of community people, especially of community and religious gatekeepers who actively promote the significance and benefits of ‘western education’ would provide encouragement for others to look beyond prevailing socio-religious norms and expectations.

145. Psychological violence and bullying can lead to lifelong psychological problems for children by affecting their emotional development, undermining their cognitive development and producing long-term mental distress. In spite of the challenges, there are still some, who are more determined to learn and have a bright future.

“I am not afraid of those hoodlums. I come to school all the time regardless of their harassment.” (12-year-old female, urban community, Jigawa).

146. At times, bullying does not only affect the children, concerned parents also become involved. A case in Wudil, Kano, was reported where a mother said that her children ‘were constantly threatened by out-of-school children on their way to school almost every day and this made them scared to go to school.’ She apparently tried to find out who these children were but was advised by ‘other people’ not to probe further for the fear of possible attacks and so she allowed the case to die down and escorts her children to school daily.


Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria
Violence related to ‘gangster gangs’ known as yandaba, yandauri, yanjagaliya, zaunda in Kano and zaam gari banza in Kaduna, referred to in this report as ‘gangs,’ were mentioned as one of the primary drivers of conflict and violence in research communities. These are apparently unemployed young adults, teenagers and school drop-out-of-schools. Confrontations between gangs create instability and fear in communities. Community members reported the increased use of drugs in Kaduna and Kano, which has allegedly resulted to more violent crimes. Specifically reported in Kaduna was the use and selling of drugs by children in schools. The extent of drug use of primary aged students is unclear but a concerned mother stated children hide drugs in their school bags since this is not check by teachers.

...another thing is the issue of drug abuse. Young boys, because of the broken gate and not enough watchmen in the school...they gain access into the school to hide under the covers of empty classrooms, and out of the sight of the police, to take drugs.” (13-year-old female, urban community, Kaduna).

‘A study in Nigeria reports that girls live in fear of sexual harassment which is often combined with verbal abuse from boys and teachers. Girls are unable to relate to their classmates in an atmosphere of trust. There is a prevailing belief that victims of sexual harassment or assault ‘did something to bring it on.’ Even before the abduction of girls happened in relation to armed conflict, abduction of schoolgirls on the way to or from school already occurred, many of which often go unreported.

“On their way to school, the girl would be violently kidnapped into an unfinished building and sexually molested by boys on drugs...sometimes, these girls are lured with money, or material things like biscuits...pupils do have some teachers they relate well with and confide in them...” (Female teacher, urban community, in-depth interview, Kaduna.)

“Two months ago, a 23-year-old matured boy raped a girl that was not up to 10 years old. He lured her with biscuits...they (boys) sometimes pretended that he wants to give her a lift on his bike”. (Male, community member, PRA, urban community, Kaduna).

While everything recorded in this section of the report falls under attacks on education, the research team recorded two direct-armed school attacks out of the fifteen communities. The comparatively low number of recorded armed school attacks for this research is a direct...
result of a conscious and broader definition used for violence and conflict in education as stated earlier in the report.

150. In spite of this, interviews with SUBEB personnel, LGEAs and community members indicate that attacks of this nature are on the increase throughout the country, maybe not in the communities the research was conducted ‘but just a few kilometres away.’ During the fieldwork, ESSPIN and/or SUBEB personnel would occasionally suggest ‘to visit other schools that have experienced armed conflict’ but due to time constraints and safety considerations, it was more realistic to focus on the selected research schools.

151. The most infamous and violent case involving armed attack against education in the research sites happened in Kumbotso, Kano in March 2013. The head master and three teachers were shot by armed men who entered the school while class was in session. As related by the children and confirmed by teachers in school, a motorcycle carrying four to seven men (the number varies depending on who is relating the story) came into the school compound on a tricycle, early morning while classes were in progress and students were all in the classrooms. One of the men apparently asked the Arabic teacher where the office of the schoolmaster was. The men then proceeded to his office. Based on witness accounts, the men reportedly greeted the headmaster, shook hands, and then shot him. All the armed men reportedly started firing indiscriminately injuring other teachers, causing chaos and panic amongst students and school personnel in the school. The perpetrators left after the shooting without being caught.

152. No deaths were recorded from this attack but the trauma felt by teachers and students alike reverberated for weeks. School was closed for ‘a week’ to ‘three weeks,’ depending on who was being interviewed. Even after school re-opened, teachers reportedly did not hold classes in the classrooms, students reported teachers to be ‘sitting by the school main entrance, waiting for the return of the gunmen...they were also scared,’ this apparently went on ‘for weeks.’ Students who went to school at the time reported that there was no class and students were just ‘loitering around the school compound because the teachers were not inside the classrooms.’ At the time of the attack the school had no fence, however, the fence was immediately erected by the time this research was conducted.

153. It was unclear if Boko Haram ever officially claimed responsibility for this attack but community people are convinced this was a blatant attack on ‘western education.’ In the eyes of the community people, ‘it
was Boko Haram ‘that perpetuated the attack. ‘The armed men were carrying sophisticated weapons.’ A phrase commonly associated with Boko Haram weapons; a reason given by some community people as to why the police do not want to engage the armed group.

“...I am afraid...of what happened... the shooting of my head master and our teachers by the gun men...I don’t feel safe in school...”. (15 year old, male student, semi-rural, Kano.)

154. During the PRA and in-depth interviews with children from this school, students were asked if they felt safe in school. More than 80% of the children who responded stated that they still feel afraid. Often times, children and adults alike, invoke their faith in God in keeping them safe, though further into the interviews, reporters record contradictions in their responses which shows their real fears. Children’s fear of conflict and violence was recorded in all communities.

“I feel safe because I have faith in God...this is because those involved in drug abuse terrorise people and harass children and scare them from going to school.” (12 year old female, semi-rural community, Kaduna).

155. After this incident, teachers remind students that they should immediately report ‘new’ or ‘unknown’ people in the school premises. It was unclear what the plan was after the reporting, who and how this information was to be utilised. Field reports indicate that schools in conflict prone communities and those that have direct experience with armed attacks have either started using vigilante groups or are in the process of tapping vigilante groups to help ‘guard school premises.’ Details are unclear as to how and what this partnership entails or if vigilantes are armed or not. Though this may address security issues in some schools, caution must also be taken in ‘militarising schools’ that it may cause a backlash whereby schools are seen as potential targets.

156. In Dutse, Jigawa, a bomb was planted close to a primary school in February this year but was discovered in time. It was disarmed before it was detonated. The findings further reveal that even if there has been no direct attack on schools, the news over the radio and on television about the attacks and abduction of children in schools has driven fear in many children and their families.

157. Armed attacks against education were primarily associated with ‘armed men,’ although women were used by the Islamic radical group in the past, there seem to be an increase in using female suicide bombers
which may signify a change in tactic. Between June and July this year, four suicide bombings were recorded in Kano state alone.\textsuperscript{61}

**Impact of violence on children**

158. Recorded impact of conflict and violence on children include but are not limited to:

- Injury and death;
- Fear;
- Psychological stress and trauma;
- Increased absenteeism or truancy;
- Loss of interest in education;
- Increased number of school drop-out;
- Recruitment into armed groups;
- Stigmatisation due to abduction and/or rape;
- Isolation;
- Loss of self-esteem;
- Unwanted pregnancy;
- Drug addition;
- Joining of gangs;
- Displacement.

159. In many reported conflicts globally, children and women are the first reported casualties. Relentless conflicts and violence results to fear and leads to the demotivation of both students and teachers to attend school due to psychological trauma and stress reported during FGDs and PRAs. In spite of this, there is no support mechanism in schools to help students, teachers and headmasters cope with stress, trauma and the direct impacts of conflict and violence.

“…our school is located “inside”…you need to pass by the big market on the way to school…when there is fire, fights or gunshots at the market place…I go back home…I don’t go school…this happens a lot…” (FGD Children, rural community, Kano).

160. The recurrent disruption and closure of schools has reportedly affected teacher and student attendance sometimes leading to permanent dropout of students. In remote villages in Jigawa, one of the main problems raised by community members is the long distances and forest-like, isolated pathways children have to walk to get to school. The fear of abductions has been very real to many, the increased fear associated to conflicts and violence has reportedly amplified the dropout rate of children, especially those who live in distant places.

161. In many research communities frequent and long lapses of school closures, have reportedly resulted to children’s decline in interest in education. Children were also quoted as saying that frequent school closures and lack of productive activities in the community may result in ‘other children’s experimentation in drug use.’

“... we can’t learn as a result of school closures and teachers are afraid... like in 2011 there was fighting, killings and burnings of our neighbours’ houses and we had to travel back to our village... (back in Kaduna) this year I was sent to the market when I saw a clash between the vigilante and the Muslims that lead to killings and the army came with tear gas to calm down the situation... bombings and killings...all of these lead to (frequent) closure of schools...children become victims of circumstance becoming thugs and drug addicts.” (15-year-old male, urban community, Kaduna.)

162. Whenever widespread conflict and violence occurs, schools are automatically closed. When teachers and headmasters were asked during interviews how often school were closed last year due to violence or conflicts, no one seemed to have an idea of the exact number of days in spite of the frequent reported closures. In an interview with the Permanent Secretary in one of the states, the team was informed that schools are ‘encouraged to close schools only for a week’ but it was later said that in some areas, because of the levels of conflicts or because schools were used to house internally displaced people, ‘some schools have been closed from three to six months.’

163. Mostly affecting urban communities are the ‘gang wars’ or conflicts involving unemployed youths or teenaged dropout children. Urban communities identified gang violence as the most pressing problem in their community; this is also seen as a problem in rural communities though in a lesser degree.
“When hoodlums start fighting, it affects school because children will be afraid to go out.” (14 years old, female student, urban community, Jigawa.)

164. Even in cases where the school remains open, students and teachers may not come to school because of fear that violence might spread. Some instances were also recorded where teachers were unable to physically reach school because the road on the way to school may be blocked or unsafe to pass.

165. Especially in volatile communities, a simple personal misunderstanding between two people can immediately turn into a religious conflict involving the entire community as seen in the recent closure of a secondary school in Kano. An argument that started between friends, later turned into a bloody religious communal violence when word spread out that religious insults were the alleged cause of the argument.

166. During the research, it became apparent that there is no systematic document or reporting mechanism on the extent, cause, dynamics and other vital information on violence, conflict and its impact on education of both out-of-school children and children in school from schools, communities, and LGAs or on the state level. During an interview with the SUBEB Chairman in Jigawa, it was mentioned that unless things are formally written up and reported by the Education Secretary from the LGEA level then nothing becomes official. Based on the interview, little information on violence and conflicts from the community level reach their office. An interview with the Permanent Secretary of Education in Jigawa gave a completely different picture. This conflicting information from different government offices in the state level reveals the lack of synergy, strategy, information-sharing priority areas, coordinated planning and response on the state level. In Kaduna and Jigawa, interviews on the state level with different government personnel reveal that there is a strong need and desire for technical support in coordinating and organising an education sector-wide preparedness response to conflict and violence affecting education. Below are responses to the question, “What plan does the government have in addressing conflict and violence presently affecting primary education in your state?”

“…let me be honest with you...we know there is a problem but we don’t know what to do…”

“...what can I say, there is no plan...”
“..the government has limited resources and we have more pressing problems like the construction of more schools...”

167. Interviews with ESSPIN staff in Abuja and the three research sites also indicate that ESSPIN does not capture these incident reports in a systematic and meaningful manner from a programmatic perspective. The lack of reliable and systematic information on why and how violence and conflict impacts education prevents preparedness and conflict sensitive programme planning at all levels.

Motives for attacks

168. Reported motives and (armed) attacks of perpetrators to children, teachers and schools, in no particular order, include but are not limited to the following:

- Prevention of ‘western schools’ from teaching a curricula that is perceived to be opposed to the Islamic religion and beliefs;
- Oppose an education system that is perceived to be imposed by ‘outsiders’ and promote foreign values;
- Obstruct girl’s access to education;
- Abduction of children for use as combatants, sex (slaves) and/or to sell body part for rituals;
- Used as a tactic to spread a sense of fear and submission;
- In retaliation to government counter-offensive against armed-groups elsewhere;
- Pre-emption of a threat of an impending attack by rival a community;
- For Boko Haram to establish an Islamic state;
- ‘now...we don’t know why they attack...it used to be a religious war...now they kill their fellow Muslims.’

Motives for violence in schools

169. Extensive discussions throughout the report were made that touched upon the motives of different actors of violence in schools related to school based violence and violence due to armed attacks against schools. The story below shows a different motive of violence in schools where a school was used to recruit children for use either as combatants, or other activities related to armed conflict.

“A month ago a religious teacher from Mataragarigara abducted about 20 children for recruitment into Boko Haram and to date
the children are nowhere to be found.” (Male, civil servant, rural community, Jigawa).

**Cycle of violence - factors that indirectly contribute to school-based violence**

- Hawking or petty trading;
- House chores;
- Rumours of attacks;
- Lack of school fence;
- School location;
- Lack of water and/or school latrines;
- School classrooms are used by hunters with dog pack as housing;
- Used as a hangout place of gangs and out-of-school children.

“We don’t get enough sleep. Waking up early sometimes is hard. We do house chores and sometimes sell before coming to school so we get so tired...manual (school) labour is hated by everyone. When you are hungry it is tiring” (FGD, Kaduna).

170. Though not directly related to violence in schools but factors that contributes or results to flogging and or other degrading punishments are three innate activities children are expected to contribute to in their homes, depending on their location are: daily house chores, hawking or petty trade, and farming. Before heading for school children are expected to do household chores and hawk small items along the streets. For petty trading or hawking, a child is reportedly told to make sure that he/she has some sales before he/she heads back home or before heading to school. Children come to school late due to household chores and petty trading are flogged, a penalty for being late. Tardiness due to hawking/petty trade and domestic chores are the main contributing factors to the cycle of school-based-violence.

“um, um, we talk, but you know that because of the situation of things (poverty)...this hawking must be done so as to get money for soap and other small essential needs...you know that some parents don’t care about their child’s education because of ignorance.” (50-year-old female, woman leader, semi-rural community, Kaduna).

171. In rural communities, during the farming season, children are expected to skip school to assist in planting and/or harvesting, missing countless school days. In all three activities; household chores, petty trading and
farming, children miss classes, sometimes extensively which makes them lag behind in class and their class work. Coupled with the flogging, frequently missing lessons demotivates children from studying and/or attending class and was mentioned as a big concern since ‘teachers do not explain to you what you have missed.’ This has a direct effect on the children’s quality of learning.

“...because of hawking...we miss lessons, the teachers do not repeat them and we might fail them in exams...” 12-year-old female, urban community, Jigawa.

172. Students report exhaustion and lack of sleep from the numerous, time consuming activities they have. Both students and teachers alike mentioned that due to activities children are expected to do, children are unable to frequently accomplish their homework, which results to flogging in school.

**Impact of conflict and violence on education**

173. The following are common responses gathered from in-depth interviews, PRAs and FGDs, many of which were already explained earlier in the report or are self explanatory.

**Immediate impact of violence/conflict on education are the:**
- Destruction or damage of school infrastructures and materials;
- School closure;
- Lesser face to face time between teachers and students;
- Extension of school days;
- Loss of interest in education;
- Decrease in school supervision and inspection;
- Use of schools to accommodate internally displaced people;

**Longer-term impact of violence/conflict to children’s education are:**
- Lack of contingent budget for conflict related emergencies in education;
- Decay of school infrastructure;
- Lower learning outcomes;
- Poor quality teaching and learning input and output;
- Migration of pupils and teachers to safer communities;
- Increased number of children dropping out-of-school.
“I don’t feel safe to go to school...because of the bombing (in the community) ...so many times like two weeks ago some people were taken to the hospital.” (10-year old boy, urban community, Kano.)

“There has never been conflict or violence in the State (since 2009) that I know of. If I say it, I will be lying. But some children avoid school for fear of kidnapping or because of violence happening elsewhere. They avoid school because of Boko Haram. Some parents do not allow their children to come to school. Last month, I asked a student why she did not come to school and she said her mother asked her not to come. I asked why, she said I don’t know.” (Gender Desk Officer, SUBEB Jigawa).

174. The lack of contingent budget for conflict related emergencies in education such as school renovation or construction was mentioned. The decay of school infrastructure was directly related to this. Since there is no emergency contingency budget for schools that were destroyed, either by armed attacks or natural causes such as flooding or storm. The initially repairable problem becomes worse due to the lack of budget to immediately make the necessary repairs resulting to the eventual decay of school infrastructures.

175. Children’s access to education is curtailed in communities where there is direct or indirect experience with conflict and violence. Conventional challenges of school-based violence and dangers related to going to and from school due to unsafe school pathways are exasperated with addition fears and a sense of lawlessness. Increased school closures and lesser face-to-face time between teachers and students in a difficult environment may result to lower quality education. Working in education in such environments requires a ‘conflict sensitive education’ approach. The need for a conflict sensitive education is rooted on the belief that:

- Access to quality education is a human right;
- The right to education is not being fully realized;
- Education and conflict have a bi-directional and complex relationship;

176. Education programmes and policies in conflict-affected and fragile contexts should be conflict sensitive. Having conflict sensitive education approach means:

- Understanding the context in which education takes place;
• Analysing the two-way interaction between the context and education programmes and policies (development, planning, and delivery); and
• Acting to minimize the negative impacts and maximize positive impacts of education policies and programming on conflict.62

Key actors that fuel conflict and violence

177. As reported above, actors fuelling conflict and violence in no particular order, in research communities and schools are:

• Politicians;
• Gang members;
• Religious leaders;
• Armed groups;
• Police/military;
• Farmers/cattle herdsmen;
• Hunters;
• Motorcycle drivers;
• Teachers;
• Parents.

178. The politicians and the gangs are the top two key actors that fuels conflicts across all three states. The desire to be in or remain in political office for politicians and their political party is what makes politicians on top of the list. The selection of candidates within political parties has been identified as a trigger for violence and conflict in all research sites. The combination of politicians, gangs for hire and ardent political supporters creates an unpredictable combination during election season in all communities, which may easily be triggered.

Key actors that mitigates conflict and violence

179. Community members identified the following key actors as those working for peace and security in their community. This list is not exhaustive and is not arranged in a particular manner.

• Traditional rulers, and administrative leaders;
• Religious leaders;

62 Ibid. INEE.
• Vigilante groups/ Hisbah;
• School Based Management Committees;
• Teachers/headmasters;
• Private philanthropists communities;
• LGAs and LGEAs;
• Non Government Organistionss (NGOs) and Community Support Organisations (CSOs), otherwise known as non-state actors.

180. Communities identified traditional rulers, administrative and religious leaders as the primary people within their communities who help negotiate and address conflict and violence in communities. Specific community level conflicts are said to be reported to ward heads.

181. Religious leaders negotiate, together with inter-faith groups within their own followers. Religious leaders are said to preach in churches and during Friday prayers on cooperation, peace and tolerance. In Kaduna they have also used different forms of media to spread their teachings of peace and tolerance on the television and the radio.

182. Interviews in Kano specifically mentioned, the Hisbah Commission or Hisbah, as people who would come to address domestic and community problems. Hisbah are seen to be community volunteers therefore are more preferred by community members. On a broader scale, when conflict or violence involves the entire emirate, cases go to the office of Emir for resolutions.

183. The failure of or ‘frequently late’ police response to maintain security and safety has resulted in the formation vigilante groups in 93% of research communities. As mentioned earlier in the report, vigilante groups are registered with the government and reports to/works with other states agents enforcing peace and security such as the police, military and the civil defence. The civil defence is a para-military group in the state level, it is unclear how it links with the vigilante groups, but there is evidence to support that the police and civil defence groups in some states are at loggerheads.

184. In theory, vigilante groups should not take the law into their own hands and is not registered as an armed group. They are sanctioned to execute a citizen’s arrest but are required by law to hand over the perpetrators to the police. The reality in the field varies; in some interviews ‘guerrilla justice’ was mentioned. It is unclear if Vigilante groups are trained and who trains them. In most of the interviews these
groups work directly with community leaders, ward heads and traditional
leaders, police, the reporting structure varies depending on which
community and who one talks to.

185. At school level, aside from the headmasters, SBMCs or PTAs were
identified by close to 95% of research communities as the primary
people or group of people that mediate or help address conflict and/or
violence in their schools. An example given in the report earlier is the
peace negotiation made by SBMC members in a flogging incident in
Kaduna. Another example provided was when the SBMC from Soba
organised a dialogue with a youth group, with the meeting attended by
the chief. It was reported that the youth group was constantly playing
football on school grounds, even during school hours. This not only
disrupted classes, parents also reportedly worry about their children
getting hit by the football. After negotiations, a specific piece of land
was allocated as a football field for community use. Although it did not
completely stop the youth group from using the school premises, the
SBMC gained the community’s respect and trust.

186. Although a high number of participants mentioned SBMC’s
contributions in maintaining peace, specific responses were limited to
‘negotiations between concerned parties,’ or ‘talking to parents.’ As
stated by an SBMC head in Kaduna during the in-depth interview, ‘The
SBMC does not really have specific programmes to address peace
building. It does this by intervening in challenges as they come.’

187. Other activities of SBMCs mentioned by participants, but not
directly linked by the respondents to addressing conflict or violence are,
but not limited to: monitoring attendance of both teachers and students
which has led to increased school enrolment, the provision of uniforms
for girls, the awareness raising on girls education which in some
communities were done by conducting house to house visits, mobilising
financial resources for school renovation, providing sandbags to protect
the school from flooding\textsuperscript{63} and working with other stakeholders to
support and promote education in the community. The SBMC activities
mentioned above provide legitimacy to the group in bridging schools and
communities. SBMC activities contributed to the group’s recognition in
the community as a key actor in addressing school related violence,
even if their point of reference is not directly related to conflict or
violence.

\textsuperscript{63} SBMC activity mentioned by the sample school in Wudil, Kano where the school is located by the river which allegedly overflows yearly
during the rainy season and floods part of the school.
188. Private philanthropists were identified in less than 47% of communities in terms of providing ‘some form of support.’ Support differs from state to state; it maybe in the form of ‘a day for school feeding,’ the provision of school supplies, uniform or in a rare cases, reports of a politician providing scholarships to polytechnics. At times, these private philanthropists are politicians who are in office. Though assistance is provided to those that are in need, it also raises questions of politicising politics and vote buying for the next election.

189. As mentioned earlier in the report, Non Government Organistionss (NGOs) and Community Support Organisations (CSOs), also known as non-state actors may either help mitigate or exacerbate conflicts in communities. Without thorough understanding of the context and dynamics in communities, although well meaning, non-state actors bringing in aid and resources may unknowingly contribute to the systemic marginalisation, discrimination and/or isolation of a particular group of people in the community.

Triggers of conflict and violence

190. This section of the report presents a summary of triggers of conflict as discussed earlier in the report. The following are the recorded triggers of conflict and violence in communities and in school:

- Election season;
- Injury or death of a member of a faction;
- Stealing of cattle, cattle eating of farmer’s crops
- Rumours of an imminent attack;
- Random attacks;
- Physical marks left on children after excessive flogging

191. Attacks resulting to injury or death of members of a specific faction or religious group may incite reprisal attacks. It is well documented that an attack against a particular religious group or faction in one state may cause a ripple effect in other states where reprisal attacks may take place. For instance, three church bombings and retaliatory attacks in Kaduna in June 2012 caused rioting, which killed at least 50 people and injured more than 130 others.⁶⁴ In 2004, attacks against Muslims in Bauchi state saw reprisal attacks against Christina in Kano. Reprisal attack has been an endemic problem in Nigeria, which

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contributes to the insecurity in heterogeneous communities. In both cases, there are still reports of Muslims protecting and saving Christians from attacks or warning them in advance.\textsuperscript{65}

**Potential conflict scenarios**

192. The election season was mentioned as the main driver and trigger of conflict and violence. There is an urgent need to start looking at and preparing child protection, security and safety measures in states, communities and schools for the 2015 election with the pre-election season commencing.

“…during the 2013 local government election, there was an election crisis...there was restriction of movement and I could not go to school...the post election violence that led to police using tear gas on people...well we could not go to school because there was chaos everywhere and movement was restricted…” (12-year-old male, urban community, Jigawa).

193. The historical, communal conflict in Kaduna, remains in a highly volatile and latent state, peace building efforts and a conflict sensitive approach in all programming in this state is required. The volatility in certain communities may be triggered by anything, even unconfirmed reported of reprisal attacks. A peace-building committee in the state level equally representing various tribes would prove useful in this context.

194. The slow continuous influx of IDPs to Jigawa is an area that needs immediate attention. Preparedness planning and budget allocation from the federal and state level is vital in helping address an equitable distribution of limited resources. Preparations must also be made in the community level to accommodate the increasing number of children in schools. Considering that some of these children may have been out-of-school for awhile, catch up classes maybe one area education providers should look into.

195. A new trend that may also have an effect on the state is the recent policy in Kano against begging. Due to this policy, it was said that mallams that travel across states no longer go to Kano but instead head to Jigawa. This may eventually result to an increase in number of out-of-school children around town.

During the research, it was observed that the terminology ‘education’ and ‘out-of-school-children’ elicited questions as to; ‘why are children in almajaris considered out-of-school when they are in fact in school,’ this is usually followed by ‘who defines what education is.’ These questions were raised by a handful of ESSPIN staff, researchers and a number of participants alike. These recurring questions may shed light to some of the misconceptions of what ‘western education’ is, how education is perceived within states, and to some degree an understanding of why there is a feeling of marginalisation. There is a strong need to have an open discussion at the state level of what education truly means and develop a shared understanding that may give legitimacy to the value of education that promotes basic literacy, numeracy and the development of the logical reasoning and unbiased judgement skills.

Preparations for the opening of the new school year in Kano, Jigawa and to a lesser degree in Kaduna may see an increase of attacks in schools. School and community level preparedness plans for child protection, safety and security of school personnel and students must be put in action.

Mitigating conflict and violence

Mitigating conflict and violence requires a ‘conflict-sensitive approach, which, involves gaining a sound understanding of the two-way interaction between activities and context and acting to minimise negative impacts and maximise positive impacts of interventions on conflict.’66 Though selected examples of on-going activities below do not necessary espouse a conflict sensitive approach, it never the less contribute to mitigating conflict and violence in communities and schools:

**Government level**

**Government response**

- With the many challenges faced by the education sector from recent teacher strikes in public universities and public schools, the Government of Nigeria increased its budget allocation in education from 8.7% in 2013 to 10.7% for 2014.67 This is apparently the first time the education sector has ever topped budget allocations in Nigeria at N 655.47 billion whilst allocations for the Ministry of Defence is at N340.33 billion.68 Though this is a positive step, follow

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Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria
up on the actual disbursement and lack of clear allocations for emergency preparedness in the education sector remains a concern.

- Another historical decision made by the government in line with emergency preparedness, though not directly related to this research is the delay of the first day of school until October and to require a number of teachers to receive training on Ebola. This is a positive sign that the present government recognises the need for emergency preparedness in health, and hopefully, eventually in the education sector.

- An interview with the National Emergency Management Agency at the national level showed that the organisation had a national preparedness manual even a planned response in the event that the Chibok girls are returned. The organisation, together with key stakeholders reportedly developed a school-based preparedness manual (not yet distributed in the states), which still needs further translation into the key languages in Nigeria.

**State and local government response**

- To address the high number of ‘unqualified teachers’ in Kano, teachers without a teaching certificate are ‘required to re-enrol and undergo teacher training or an equivalent of a National Certificate in Education (NCE).’ Interviews with SUBEB indicate an estimated 60,000 teachers in Kano, approximate 50% of which are presently undergoing inservice training.

- Also in Kano, the state-wide feeding program jointly provided by communities, local government level and state level government partners has encouraged the sustained school attendance of children. The school feeding programs fosters inclusivity and equality amongst all community members.

- In Guri, Jigawa the yearly conflict between farmers and herdsmen has abated in the last three years with the local government’s involvement in clearing the seasonal cattle trails and having farmlands pulled back. Clear demarcation of the seasonal routes combined with scheduled meetings of community, tribal and administrative leaders has resulted to peace between farmer and herdmen in the last three years.

- In the state level, the State Emergency Management Agency (SEMA), with no direct reporting or management links with NEMA, was interviewed in Kaduna. ‘SEMA in Kaduna responds mostly to environmental and man made problems.’ Recognising the need to
establish centres instead of using schools to house internally displaced people, SEMA Kaduna, through the National Flood Disaster Committee is in the process of establishing three centres in the Kaduna. The organisation is also said to ‘conduct periodic trainings on emergency response.’

- In research communities, SEMA was known as an organisation that responded to flooding. Interviews in the state level with SUBEB and the Ministry of Education also showed that in the two research states where interviews were conducted, there is no coordination or relationship between these key players.

**Security Response**

- State level interviews with SUBEB and the Permanent Secretary for education of both Kaduna and Jigawa indicate that school fencing is the primary project for ‘all schools’ in their states this school year to prevent attacks on schools, teachers and students. School fencing would further address the problems of having school-drop outs and gangs easily accessing and vandalising unprotected school infrastructures and education materials.

- The Government in Kano has utilised mass media in educating people of what to do when unknown individuals approach them. When asked during interviews, the message received by most people seem to be ‘be aware about your environment and people around you and report suspicious people, movements or things to the police’ ‘when someone you do not know come to your house or want to talk to you, do not even listen to them, send them away.’ It was apparent during the interviews that there is a lack of confidence in the police and military to maintain peace and security.

- In May 2014, the Safe School Initiative was launched by Nigerian business leaders working with the UN Special Envoy for Global Education Gordon Brown, the Global Business Coalition for Education and A World at School. The Safe School Initiative aims to ensure that all schools in Nigeria are safe from future attacks by partnering with governments, schools, local communities, youth, and media in ensuring school safety, protection and security so that every child is able to go to school and learn. The Government of Nigeria agreed to match the $10 million initial Initiative funding.\(^\text{69}\)

**Community response**

- In the two Kaduna communities where people are living in harmony, traditional and religious leaders work together to preach peace,
respect and harmony. During special religious occasions people from both Christian and Muslim communities celebrate together. Weekly television talk programs with representation by both religious groups are said to air. Efforts of using the pulpit and Friday prayers by religious leaders to encourage peace and harmony amongst communities have also been mentioned in Kano and Kaduna research sites. The research reveals that though efforts in promoting peace across communities by religious, traditional and administrative leaders were highlighted in all research states, these were customarily uncoordinated, resulting to lesser impact.

- Most communities in Kaduna, Kano and Jigawa have vigilante groups or local militia groups as an immediate response to violence and insecurity within their communities due to the perceived failure of the government and the police to address chronic problems of violence and conflict in their areas. Vigilante groups are vital in remote communities where there are no police posts; they are the first responders in the community level. The groups are composed of volunteer people from the community that actively keeps peace, monitors movements of outsiders, and reports to the ward head, Sarki, Hisbah or police.  

**ESSPIN supported response**

- School Based Management Committees (SBMCs) were mentioned by children, community members and key informants from the local government and state level as providing a strong link to communities and schools. Incidences of extreme flogging in Jigawa and Kaduna were handled and negotiated with the assistance of SBMCs. Increase of student enrolment, especially of girls, and the more frequent attendance of teachers have also been attributed to SBMC work in all research states. The success of SBMCs in Kano resulted in the state sponsored roll out of the SBMCs in all schools.

- The impact of ESSPIN teacher training was mentioned by both parents and children in communities. In Jigawa, children mentioned ‘going to school just to play before ESSPIN trained their teachers who now teaches better.’ There is a prevailing consensus that ESSPIN training is said to have improved the quality of teaching and the skills of teachers though no specifics were mentioned since the question was on comparing education before and now and not specific to ESSPIN teacher training. ESSPIN teacher training focuses on improving basic literacy and numeracy. Training also focuses on improving relationships in school and in classrooms between teachers and

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70 The reporting line varies depending on the community.
students and amongst teachers and head masters. An interview with the Gender Desk Officer in Jigawa attributed the improvement in the selection process of Gender Desk Officers in the state to ESSPIN training. In the past, the basis for the selection of a new Gender Desk Officer was the number of years a teacher served, their professional experience and an interview, which culminated in the selection for the post. With the state government’s partnership with ESSPIN, it was reported that an examination was introduced in the hiring process, which has greatly improved the quality Gender Desk Officers hired.

- Islamiyya Qur’anic and Tsangaya Education (IQTE) is an ESSPIN piloted and supported program, which has been rolled out in the three research states. Discussions and in-depth interviews with adult community members in Kano mentioned how some families, preferred to send their girls to these schools ‘because they not only learn about Islam, they also learn how to read and write.’ In Kaduna, the success of the same program adapted in the Almajiri context has won the support of a number of Mullahs and Imams with ESSPIN’s training of community volunteer teachers to teach in their schools combining both Islamic teachings, basic literacy and numeracy. The IQTE, Almajiri schools in Kaduna has reached 204 schools with 295 volunteer teachers serving 6265 male students and 3,297 female students. The success of this program has been recognised by the government in the state level and has hinged the IQTE-Almajiri schools in its Inclusive Education policy.\(^7\) Highlighting the partnership and success of IQTE programs may be a milestone in addressing the misconceptions about ‘western education.’

**Selected Sector stakeholders**

199. Below is a brief review of related activities of other selected key stakeholders in the field of education, conflict and violence. Given the limited time for this research, this is not an exhaustive list of organisations rather, a small sample of those that were interviewed.

**UNICEF**

200. The United Children’s Fund (UNICEF) is highly involved in Education in Emergencies looking at three outcome areas; education policies, access and quality. UNICEF is part of the National Education in Emergency Working Group. In July 2014, the National Steering Committee for the Safe School Initiative was established. The Committee is co-chaired by the Coordinating Minister for Economy and Minister of Finance and the UN Special Envoy on Education, and former British Prime Minister, Gordon Brown. The committee was set up and

\(^7\) Data provided by ESSPIN, Kudana state team.
Education, Conflict and Violence Research

supported by other government branches, which includes NEMA, UNICEF, DFID and World Bank. The said committee is initially focusing its repose on the three emergency states of Borno, Yobe, and Adamawa.

201. It was revealed during the interview that in 2013, UNICEF provided an emergency preparedness training with ‘various stakeholders at the federal level which included NEMA. The training reportedly resulted to an emergency preparedness plan in the federal level. A school level emergency manual is said to have also been developed by the group but not yet for wider circulation. The same documents shared with the research team interviewer during the meeting with NEMA. A result of this training was also the establishment of the Education Emergency Working Group, which was still in its initial phase during the time of interview.

_Nigeria Stability and Reconciliation Programme (NSRP)_

202. The Nigeria Stability and Reconciliation Programme (NSRP) is a DFID funded initiative that aims to help Nigerians better manage conflict and reduce violent conflict. Amongst the many programmes that NSRP has that is relevant to this research is the plan to establish peace clubs in selected schools. At the time of the interview, Civil Society Organisations (CSO) just received their training on the establishment of peace clubs. During the fieldwork, in an interview conducted with a youth leader, he mentioned a ‘conflict training’ conducted by NSRP he attended a day before participating in our in-depth interview. The peace clubs is seen as an upcoming, promising program that may contribute to peace work in the school and in the community. Should the peace clubs be established in ESSPIN supported schools, exploring possible integration or links between the peace clubs with the children’s SBMC Committees is something to explore.

_Interfaith Mediation Centre_

203. Interfaith is a Non Government Organistion in Kaduna that hopes to create a peaceful society through non-violent and strategic engagements. In doing so, it promotes inter-faith understanding through the following activities: peace clubs in schools and communities targeting vulnerable groups, media dialogue promoting peace, good governance and justice, mediation between warring factions, psycho-social support for traumatized groups and communities.
While the programmes above are deemed to be successful, integrating a conflict sensitive approach in programme response will make them more relevant to the fluid changing contexts in Nigeria.

**Conclusion**

Maintaining quality education and safety of children and education providers in fragile communities requires a multi-faceted and multi-sectoral conflict sensitive environment, founded on a transparent, accountable and inclusive approach. True change may only occur if there is a link between macro and micro level initiatives.

Understanding the local context is everyone’s social responsibility in line with the ‘do no harm’ work principle. Duty bearers at all levels, gate keepers, community members, particularly women and children must be given the tools and the opportunity to be part of identifying and prioritising the most relevant or pressing challenges related to violence and conflict in their communities and in-schools. A sustainable solution lies in working with, and strengthening existing (community) structures and possibly the introduction of alternative mechanisms that will ensure the participation of all. Child protection, safety and security are fundamental requirements in promoting quality education. It is from this perspective that the recommendations below are made.

**Recommendations**

**Recommendations for the Government**

For the Government of Nigeria, in the federal and state levels, plan for a coordinated education sector-wide emergency prevention, preparedness and response from the federal, state and school level;

Plan for emergency prevention, preparedness and response in Nigeria’s education sector plan and allocate financial resources within relevant ministry budgets;

Enhance information gathering and reporting mechanisms for measuring peace, conflict and security focusing on attacks against education, child protection, school safety and security in a participatory, accountable and transparent manner from all levels;

Entrench conflict sensitive education approaches throughout the school system; within the Ministry of Education, and other relevant ministries, the Universal Basic Education Commission (UBEC), SUBEBs, and the Local Government Education Authorities (LGEAs);
211. Infuse a conflict sensitive education approach on the National School Curricula at pre-primary, primary and secondary school levels; and into teacher education and teacher training curricula nationwide.

**Recommendations for the Donor Community and other key actors**

212. Increase donor funding on ‘education, conflict and peace building’ programmes and research. Put together all donor funding into one pot and develop a joint strategy on education, conflict and peace building programmes throughout the country. Donors are further recommended to put mechanisms in place to ensure enhanced coordination of aid efforts and programmes in the community and state level. Have an inclusive, sustainable and flexible funding mechanism on ‘education, conflict and peace building’ programmes and research;

213. Incorporate a conflict sensitive approach in all programme planning, management, implementation, monitoring and program evaluation;

214. Donors, UN agencies and international organizations should advocate, campaign for, and fund programmes or activities to help establish schools as sanctuaries or Zones of Peace;

215. Invest in programmes that will build the capacity of the federal and state level government branches, together with civil society to monitor, report, and respond to attacks on education;

216. Establish the Safe School Initiative in schools to provide a safe learning environment for improved academic achievement. Tap local resources, work with or strengthen existing school and community structures in support of the Safe School Initiative whilst linking this programme to a broader education-wide emergency prevention and preparedness plan.

**Recommendations for ESSPIN**

217. Adapt an organisation-wide conflict sensitive culture throughout ESSPIN, in the administrative/management section and in programming for all outputs;

218. Weave peace education and conflict mitigation into existing programs, system strengthening, organisational development, school and community work resulting to an integrated programming from all outputs;
219. Provide ESSPIN state offices with further technical support on looking at transparent and accountable conflict sensitive management, financial, human resource and resource allocation approaches;

220. Strengthen and widen awareness raising and capacity building initiatives on conflict sensitivity within ESSPIN and amongst all partners; government institutions, in the state level and Local Government Authorities (LGAs) (various branches government and non-state stakeholders), in schools (through headmasters, teachers and teacher training institutes), in the community (through School Based Management Committees);

221. Bring all ESSPIN outputs/departments together for information sharing across outputs/departments to plan for, and develop a holistic integrated programme on the following cross-cutting themes: child protection, conflict sensitivity in management and programming, emergency prevention, preparedness and response with corresponding integrated materials development and programme implementation across the four ESSPIN outputs;

222. Strengthen general data collection systems and information sharing on data related to conflict and violence in schools and communities between ESSPIN and state government partners; and within ESSPIN;

223. Link with private schools associations to support ESSPIN states in adapting a simple preparedness manual for school/children which may be introduced during the teacher training and training with headmasters.

**State level recommendations**

224. For ESSPIN to support SUBEB to lead the plan for emergency prevention, preparedness and response for inclusion in the state education sector plans and allocate budgets for preparedness and peace building activities;

225. For ESSPIN to support the capacity building, leadership and coordination training at the LGEA level in promoting conflict sensitive education, child protection, emergency prevention, preparedness and response in the school level.

226. For ESSPIN to support the development of a state level data collection and reporting mechanism, develop a similar data collection and reporting mechanism in LGEAs and in schools on attacks on education to understand problem areas, key drivers, motivations, conflict contexts to help gauge the success of interventions, if any;
227. For ESSPIN to support the training of and strengthen the capacity of School Support Officers (SSOs) in monitoring schools, teacher competence and performance especially in times of insecurity. Simultaneously, strengthen and support the capacity building training of Social Mobilisation Officers (SMOs) in monitoring and mentoring SBMC work in schools in addressing challenges related to child protection and safety;

228. Identify and link with exiting state actors and structures in place working in peace-building; work with traditional, administrative and religious structures on peace-building/conflict mitigation approaches and advocacy work; utilise the Positive Deviance Inquiry in identifying best practices and life changing stories in ESSPIN communities for advocacy use;

229. For ESSPIN to support the creation of a forum for dialogue to discuss issues related to education, child protection and school safety scenarios or preparedness planning in the community (through School Based Management Committees), in the school (through headmasters and teachers), LGEA and state level (various branches government and non-state stakeholders);

230. For ESSPIN to support state teacher training institutes in the inclusion of the following topics in the present teacher training curricula: human rights, responsible citizenship, conflict dynamics and transformation, peace and reconciliation, non-violent alternatives; so that teachers may feel confident in leading class discussions and activities on the said topics.

School level recommendations
231. For ESSPIN to support states in utilising a conflict sensitive education approach in working with SBMCs, teachers and headmasters;

232. For ESSPIN to support SBMCs in taking a lead role in problem solving and creating safe corridors for children to walk to and from schools, and in creating local education campaigns. Provide SBMCs training on responsible citizenship, child protection and peace building/conflict mitigation issues; peace, negotiation, reconciliation and counseling skills and strategies that will support their work in helping address school based violence and other conflicts directly affecting children’s education;

233. For ESSPIN to support schools to strengthen the participation of children in the reduction of school-based violence by training students
through the Children’s SBMC Committee in detecting violence and accessing a transparent and accountable alternate reporting system, which involves the SBMC women’s group. Develop a confidential yet transparent reporting system with a clear timeline and action points;

234. Support a participatory, school-wide development of a ‘Charter for Peace’ or basic child protection guidelines; develop or strengthen existing school regulations on inclusivity and non-discriminatory school regulations. A Charter for Peace may initiate discussions on the development of reporting mechanisms on gender-based violence in schools and other school-based violence against children;

235. For ESSPIN to support states to identify entry points and introduce peace building and/or conflict mitigation activities in current teacher training support for immediate classroom use (e.g. classroom activities recognising and respecting diversity and equity, using language and dialogue in solving conflict, respect for different opinions and peaceful conflict resolutions skills, supporting teachers with training on alternative forms of positive class discipline and strategies of incorporating peace building concepts within the existing curriculum);

236. For ESSPIN to support states to identify, link and use existing relevant legal documents as platforms in addressing violence and conflict at schools and in community work. An example maybe the information dissemination of the Nigerian Teacher’s Code of Conduct in relation to corporal punishment during teacher training and/or national teacher training institution fora;

237. For ESSPIN to assist in the development of a preparedness plan for the upcoming presidential election in 2015 in the school level involving headmasters, SBMCs, teachers and key community actors;

238. For ESSPIN support school personnel, teachers and SBMCs to work with communities, religious, traditional and administrative leaders and local authorities in adapting community driven initiatives in safeguarding and protecting schools, teachers and students, which may lead to the creation of Zones of Peace;

239. Reinforce school security by prioritising school fencing, tapping and training community volunteers or vigilante group members on school preparedness and emergency security protocols;

240. Develop alternative options of providing education with the influx of internally displaced students. Examples may be a shift in school
hours, providing class in two shifts, provision of ‘school in a box,’ catch-up classes for students that have been out-of-school for a while.

**Recommendations for further research**

241. Deeper research and evidence-based data is required to understand the following:

- The extent and impact of violence and conflict on the education systems in various states taking into consideration their local contexts. Explore the medium and long term impacts of development, conflict and violence on the education systems, schoolmasters, teachers and students. Document best practices of mitigating problems in different states and taking on a ‘positive deviance’ strategy in identifying best practices;

- The extent of sexual violence against students, teachers and other school personnel going to and from school, its impact on the fulfilment of children’s education, successful community and state level mitigating activities as well as possible protection measures;

- The impact of the travelling Mallams and their followers (children who beg in the streets for food in between their Qur’anic studies) with their concentration in Jigawa in relation to the increasing number of IDPs in the state, the new policy in Kano banning begging and the state’s high unemployment rate. Research should look into present and potential conflicts and triggers as well as recommendations in mitigating conflicts;

- School based violence exploring both student’s and teacher’s experiences and perceptions about conflict and violence to provide an in-depth understanding of the issues; document ways these problems are presently addressed and how it may be prevented.
Annex 1: Education, Conflict and Violence Research Team

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The following people fully participated and provided support in the entire research cycle:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Organization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fatima Aboki</td>
<td>ESSPIN Abuja</td>
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<td>Abdulrahman Abdu</td>
<td>ESSPIN Jigawa</td>
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<td>Hadiza Umar</td>
<td>ESSPIN Kaduna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibrahim Aminu</td>
<td>SUBEB Kaduna</td>
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## Annex 2: Research Communities per State

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>State</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LGA</td>
<td>Kaduna</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Soba</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Zaria</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Giwa</td>
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<td>Kagarko</td>
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<td>Kano</td>
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<td>Fagge</td>
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<td>Kumbotso</td>
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<td>Tudo Wada</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mallamadori</td>
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<td>Jiwa</td>
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<td>Dutse</td>
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<td>Gwaram</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Guri</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Birniwa/Gomari</td>
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Annex 3: Demographics of Research Sample Communities

To understand the context of the different sample communities, the researchers prepared a brief demographic information table below.

**Figure 1: Kaduna Sample Communities**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Source of income</th>
<th>Conflict scale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Soba</td>
<td>Predominantly Muslims</td>
<td>Hausa, Fulani</td>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>Conflict prone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaria</td>
<td>Heterogeneous</td>
<td>Hausa, Ibo</td>
<td>Civil service, farming, petty trade</td>
<td>Peaceful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giwa</td>
<td>Predominantly Muslims</td>
<td>Hausa, Fulani</td>
<td>Farming, livestock</td>
<td>Conflict prone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kafanchan</td>
<td>Predominantly Christians</td>
<td>Karag, Hausa, Ninzom, Ikulu, Kataf,</td>
<td>Civil service, farming small businesses</td>
<td>Volatile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kagarko</td>
<td>Heterogeneous</td>
<td>Karag, Hausa, Ninzom, Ikulu, Kataf, Ibo</td>
<td>Civil service, farming, petty trade and women groups that help establish business</td>
<td>Peaceful</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 2: Kano Sample Communities**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Source of income</th>
<th>Conflict scale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fagge</td>
<td>Heterogeneous</td>
<td>Mixed tribes, mostly settlers</td>
<td>Trading, civil service, tailoring, petty trade</td>
<td>Conflict prone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumbosto</td>
<td>Predominantly Muslims</td>
<td>Hausa, Fulani</td>
<td>Farming, weaving</td>
<td>Conflict prone (Armed attack in school)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tudo Wada</td>
<td>Predominantly Muslims</td>
<td>Hausa, Fulani</td>
<td>Farming, hunting</td>
<td>Conflict prone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nassarawa</td>
<td>Heterogeneous</td>
<td>Mixed tribes, settlers</td>
<td>Civil service, big business and petty trade</td>
<td>Conflict prone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wudil</td>
<td>95% Muslim</td>
<td>Hausa, Fulani tribe</td>
<td>Fishing, trading, tailoring, farming</td>
<td>Conflict prone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Figure 3: Jigawa Sample Communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Source of income</th>
<th>Conflict scale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dutse</td>
<td>Predominantly Muslims</td>
<td>Hausa, Fulani</td>
<td>Farming, civil service, small business</td>
<td>Conflict prone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwaram</td>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>Hausa</td>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>Conflict prone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guri</td>
<td>Predominantly Muslims/Animists</td>
<td>Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri, nomads</td>
<td>Farming, fishing, petty trade</td>
<td>Relatively peaceful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mallamadori</td>
<td>Predominantly Muslims</td>
<td>Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri,</td>
<td>Farming, trading, businesses, petty trade</td>
<td>Conflict prone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birniwa/Gomari</td>
<td>Predominantly Muslims</td>
<td>Kanuri</td>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>Conflict prone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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