SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF VICTIMS OF TERRORISM AND THEIR COPING STRATEGIES IN ZARIA METROPOLIS, KADUNA STATE, NIGERIA

BY

Ibrahim Audu IDENYI

(Ph.D/Soc.Sci/4082/2011-2012)

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES, AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (PhD) DEGREE IN SOCIOLOGY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY
ZARIA, NIGERIA

AUGUST, 2018.

DECLARATION

I declare that this Thesis entitled "Sociological Study of Victims of Terrorism and their Coping Strategies in Zaria metropolis, Kaduna State, Nigeria" has been carried out by me in the Department of Sociology, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria. The information derived from the literature has been duly acknowledged in the text and a list of references provided. No part of this thesis was previously presented for another degree or diploma at this or any other Institution.

Ibrahim Audu IDENYI	**Date**

CERTIFICATION

This thesis entitled: Sociological Study of Victims of Terrorism and their Coping Strategies in Zaria metropolis, Kaduna State, Nigeria by Ibrahim Audu Idenyi meets the regulations governing the award of degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD Sociology) of Ahmadu Bello University, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

_____ _____

Dr Y.K. Gandu, **Date**
Chairman, Supervisory Committee

_____ _____

Dr A. S. Maliki, **Date**
Member, Supervisory Committee

_____ _____

Dr. P. E. U. Mudiare, **Date**
Member, Supervisory Committee,

_____ _____

Dr A. S. Maliki, **Date**
Head of Department

_____ _____

Prof A. Z. Mohammed, **Date**
Dean, School of Postgraduate Studies

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am most grateful to the Almighty who saw me through all the demands and trial moments of my life. I pray that His enduring blessings and provision for me will continue to increase and multiply-Amen.

This work cannot be completed without recognizing the kind assistance given to me by some individuals and institutions. First, I am indebted to my major supervisor Dr. Yohanna Kagoro Gandu for his critical comments, encouragement and advice in the course of this research. I also sincerely thank my other supervisors; Dr. Ahmadu Seidu Maliki and Dr. Patience Ediri-Ukiru Mudiare for their invaluable contributions, encouragement and friendly dispositions. Secondly, I thank my external examiner, Dr Haruna Mohammed Awaisu for his comments that have greatly improved this work. I am indebted to Professor B. F. Okeshola for her tireless inspiration, encouragement, advice and her comments as an internal examiner. I must thank my other internal examiners; Professor Bello Babaji and Dr Tijjani Haliru for their comments. My appreciation goes to the entire staff of the Department of Sociology for their friendship, constructive criticisms and advices. I equally have to appreciate Professor Mohammed Bello Yunusa who read the draft of the introduction of this work and made valuable comments and very meaningful contributions. I must thank Professor M. Y. Fatihu, the Director of Division of Agricultural Colleges and Professor. Magaji Balarabe Jahun, the Provost of College of Agriculture and Animal Studies (CAAS/ABU) Mando for their immense understanding and encouragement.

I recognize the contributions of my colleagues in the Security Division of Ahmadu Bello University. I want to particularly mention Major Abba Augustine Eduwama (Rtd) for his relentless. encouragement during trial moments I thank Malam Sanusi Aliyu, Mr. Samuel

Jerome, Malam Abdullahi Malami, Malam Sule Gwari and Mr. Mathew Ishaku for their incalculable contributions during the preparation of the final copies of this work. I recognize my able research assistants; Mr. Jerry Reni, Malam Idris Abdul, Mallam Tukur Mohammed and Idris Amade Mohammed for all their sacrifices. I equally thank Malam Mohammed Sanusi Adamu who transcribed and translated responses that were made in Hausa and Arabic. Fourthly, the Commissioner of Police, Kaduna State Command, the Area Commander Zaria, Zaria Area Command, the Divisional Police Officers Kasuwar Mata, Danmagaji, Tudun Wada and Sabon Gari have rendered immeasurable contribution worth appreciating. Fifthly, I want to thank religious and community leaders; particularly the Emir of Zazzau, the Catholic Bishop of Zaria Diocese Dr. George Jonathan Dodo for his frankness, responses and assistance in the course of data collection. The Anglican Bishop of Wusasa Dr. Ali Buba Lamido deserves special appreciation from me. I thank you for making your personal library open to me for the period of this research and for opening your house and office for me even at odd time. I equally say thank you to the Chief Imam of Sabon Gari, Malam Ibrahim Abubakar Sadiq and his Tudun Wada counterpart Malam Mohammed Sani. Finally, special thanks go to the entire members of my family whose understanding, encouragement and patience was a major source of inspiration throughout the period of this research.

Ibrahim Audu IDENYI
ABU, Zaria
2017

ABSTRACT

This research is a Sociological Study of Victims of Terrorism and their Coping Strategies in Zaria Metropolis, Kaduna State, Nigeria. It examines the harm caused by terrorism, the social and economic effects of terrorism on the individual victims and institutions, the social support systems for victims and the coping strategies of victims of terrorism in Zaria metropolis. The study adopted the Adaptation Theory was to provide theoretical orientation to the study in view of its ability to adequately explain social, economic and related psychological dislocations suffered by victims of terrorism. Data for this work were collected through primary and secondary sources. Primary data were obtained from direct victims of terrorism as well as Police Officers, community and religious leaders. The qualitative research method adopted in this study allowed the target participants to respond to the inquiry by sharing their views and feeling on the research questions and objectives of the study. The data were obtained through in-depth interview (IDI) and Focus Group Discussion (FGD). Respondents in the In-depth were selected through purposive sampling and Snow ball methods. Thirty five direct victims, six religious leaders, four Police Officers and two traditional rulers making a total of forty seven were selected for the in-depth Interview using purposive sampling method and Snowball technique. Eighty discussants comprising of forty males and forty females were selected for ten sessions of the Focus Group Discussion through the assistance of contact people in the affected areas. The demographic attributes of respondents were tabulated and analyzed using method of proportion/simple percentages (%). Data obtained were analyzed using qualitative method of data analysis. Data obtained in Hausa and Arabic were translated into English language. This was to ensure that all the relevant items in the schedules were covered. Secondary data which include Police Records/signals, church records, newspapers and hospital records were analyzed using qualitative content analysis. Findings shows that the toll of terrorism indicates nine terrorist attacks resulting to two hundred and nine deaths, four hundred and fifty injuries of various degrees and destruction of properties worth three hundred and sixty nine million, seven hundred thousand naira (₦ 369, 700, 000:00). The study equally identified key psychological, social, security and economic effects of terrorism on the victims and institutions in the study area. Findings show that victims of terrorism in the study area were initially supported by government (both the State and Local Governments), religious bodies, some politicians and immediate family members of the affected persons. The victims of terrorism adopted different coping strategies to survive the tragedy brought upon them by terrorism. These coping strategies include migration to other parts of the metropolis, health seeking behaviour, begging and solicitation and going back to their former means of survival as steps taken to overcome the unfortunate experience. In view of the above the study recommends that the people in Zaria Metropolis should be law abiding. Government should as a matter of urgency settle medical bills of victims and refund those who shoulder their medical expenses. Secondly, government should do a forensic audit of the items of victims so destroyed in the attacks and compensate the affected individuals and bodies. On the long run, youths unemployment should be seriously looked into by the government. Employment generation for the teeming population should be more aggressively pursued as a matter of priority by government at all levels. If more youths are employed, it automatically depletes the army of youths available for recruitment into various anti-social activities. Finally, individual and corporate victims of terrorism should receive fair, appropriate and timely compensation from the government.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Coping strategies are man's means and measures to overcome challenges, calamities, crises and failures. Hence, coping strategies are as old as human existence and predate recorded history. Humanity and nations have always contended with difficult situations and problems. These problems which may be natural disasters or consequences of conflicts have challenged man to adopt coping strategies as every epoch in human history make mention of one or more significant disasters - fire, floods, hurricanes, tornadoes, volcanic eruptions, snowstorms and earthquakes are commonplace. Other disasters such as terrorist related fatalities, accidents at place of work, apartment fire, are man-made, caused by people through mishap or neglect, or with deliberate intention (Kubler-Ross, 2009).

A disaster is any natural or human-induced event that causes damage to physical, social, psychological or economic structures so as to require extraordinary assistance from outside the immediate impact area. Terrorism is one major force that the world is struggling to cope with in all its ramifications. The world has evolved different coping strategies against terrorism; particularly since the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon in the United States of America in 2001. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) declared a war on terrorism which was lead by the United States of America. The United States of America also established the Homeland Security as an additional coping strategy in the face of unending threats of terrorism and its consequences (Adebayo, 2014:480). Also, countries in Europe and America have placed restriction on movements of immigrants and nations began to put in place tough immigration laws to cope with threats

of terrorist attacks. The United Nations Organization (U.N.O.) in 2011 came out with resolutions that were aimed at deterring terrorism, condemning sponsorship of terrorist organizations and promoting rights of victims of terrorism.

Accordingly, states have the obligation to provide protection for potential and actual victims of crime, including acts of terrorism. Under these circumstances, the state must put all reasonable measures in place to prevent terrorist activities and to minimize the collateral impact of counter-terrorism activities. The resolution provide for victims of terrorism and their families to have the right to an effective remedy when their rights have been violated in relation to terrorist acts. Furthermore, Victims of terrorist acts should receive fair, appropriate and timely compensation for the damages which they suffer. When compensation is not available from other sources, in particular through the confiscation of the property of the perpetrators, organizers and sponsors of terrorist acts, the State on the territory of which the terrorist act happened must contribute to the compensation of victims for direct physical or psychological harm, irrespective of their nationality.

To this end, the State on which territory the terrorist act took place should introduce a mechanism allowing for a fair and appropriate compensation, after a simple procedure and within a reasonable time. This compensation includes life pension for victims of terrorism and state sponsorship of children of deceased victims of terrorism up to university level. All the European Union (EU) countries, North America, the African Union (AU), Algeria, Kenya and Cameroon have adopted this resolution as framework of action (UN, 2012). In the same vein, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) has established a legislative framework which, though not focused solely on supporting victims of acts of terrorism, includes provisions reflecting the need for their rights to be strengthened (UN, 2011).

Nigeria has been contending with violent activities such as religious crises, kidnapping, armed robbery, cattle rustling and terrorism for years. The country has taken different measures to overcome them and to cope with the challenges of terrorism and insurgency. Insurgency is an advance stage of terrorism where those opposed to the government engage in open battle and claim territorial integrity. Government has taken military action in form of warfare, mounting of roadblocks and imposition of curfews all at different places and time. Victims have also been located to camps (Internally Displaced People's Camps) as a coping strategy to minimize casualties, outbreak of epidemic and starvation. In July 2014 the Federal Government of Nigerian constituted and inaugurated a Committee on Victims' Support Fund to source for fund in aid of victims of terrorism (Wakili, 2014:5).

The committee launched an appeal fund which it has been using to provide relief for victims of terrorism and insurgency in the north east in particular. In 2016 the Federal Government of Nigeria also inaugurated the Presidential Commission on the Northeast. The Committee is to reconstruct the region and resettle displaced persons in the area. The Federal Government has, through the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA), provided relief materials to victims of terrorism and insurgency in parts of the country and in IDP camps. The Presidency, through the Presidential Initiative for the North East (PIN) and the Office of the National Security Adviser (ONSA) also has limited programme for victim support. The Presidential Initiative for the North East incorporates the Victims Support Fund. Launched in 2014, the fund provides economic assistance to families who have lost members to Boko Haram attacks (Newspot Nigeria, 2014). The Office of the National Security Adviser is also implementing programmes to provide psychosocial support for victims of violence, focusing on the diagnosis and treatment of post-traumatic

stress disorder (PTSD) (Newspot Nigeria, 2014). Victims of terrorism in Zaria are yet to benefit from any act of assistance from all the agencies of the federal government mentioned above (Pilot study, 2015).

Yet, these victims of terrorism may have much in common with similar victims in the Northeast of Nigeria. They appear to experience high levels of distress that are, in part, due to the unique issues related to the traumatic experience associated with terrorism, and often the magnitude of these politically motivated events. Witnessing the murder of people as they go about the everyday tasks of daily life creates a sense of horror that may last a lifetime. Furthermore, it may also put people at risk for significant and long-term psychological, social and economic difficulties. How these victims of terrorism cope with their new psychological, social and economic challenges have remained their personal affairs and that of their various families. Therefore the focus of this study is on the victims of terrorism and their coping strategies in Zaria metropolis, Kaduna State, Nigeria.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Terrorism has caused serious psychological, social, security and economic problems in Nigeria; impacting negatively on the citizens and the country at large. The nation has suffered directly and indirectly from the intractable attacks. The former President of Nigeria, Goodluck Jonathan had in his address to the United Nations General Assembly (2014) reported that 13,000 Nigerians had been killed, about three million displaced, whole communities razed and hundreds of persons kidnapped. He further indicated that about 4 million Nigerians have been internally displaced while 12,000 others had relocated to Niger Republic (Ogunlesi 2014:12).

The spill-over effects of these terror attacks which never ceased in the North East of Nigeria, had affected Zaria in 2011 as it was attacked in a violent act of terrorism. Subsequent terrorist attacks in Zaria metropolis took the form of suicide bombings, shootouts and selected high profile killings which targeted worship places and recreation centers in which death toll, injuries and property loss were enormous (Akogun, Ogbu, Akinsuy, Nzeshi and Shiklam, *2012:1*).

Attacks launched by terrorism have resulted to huge loss of human lives and caused pains and misery to the victims in Zaria metropolis. Such attacks have adversely affected congregational religious worships and recreational activities as they have often witnessed low turnout due to fear of sudden attacks. The most visible targets of this group are places of worship, recreational centers, educational institutions and commercial arenas. The immediate effects of terrorism are the trauma, injuries, death or disability and indiscriminate destruction of properties. Victims of terrorism are also subjected to long-term suffering that result from terrorist attacks. Direct victims of terrorism who suffer physical injuries equally experience other social and economic pains as they have to bear the cost of treatment in the hospital as well as subsequent medical bills. Furthermore, families of dead victims may have to contend with the cost of depositing the corpses. Similarly, the victims who lost their beloved ones; especially the head of the families and breadwinners are thrown into sudden and unending agonies as it results to automatic disintegration of the affected family. Where the widow is young she is likely to marry another husband who might not welcome the children with the previous husband. Such scenario may often lead to child abuse, child labour and juvenile delinquency.

The sudden death of a breadwinner is also capable of creating problem of daily needs of the

necessity of life thereby resulting to malnutrition in children, dropouts from school or poor education. Where a child who has been trained and has become the bread winner was the victim it has led to complications such as health challenges and economic woes for the family. Moreover, individuals who are gainfully employed stand the risk of losing their jobs or earnings for the period of their absence as some employers may not condone absenteeism on medical grounds or physical injuries. The pain and anguish of the individual and corporate victims in Zaria metropolis could be further magnified by the fact that the government failed to come to their aid.

The feeling of neglect, insecurity and fear of future attacks by terrorist led to mass exodus of people out of Zaria metropolis. Non-indigenes have continued to embark on voluntary migration. In 2014, a preliminary/pilot study has shown that many who have lost their ancestral homes have equally been displaced; while many settlers are migrating to their States of origin just as a lot more are migrating to perceived safe locations. This is in tandem with Adebayo (2014:480) who had observed the massive movement of southerners from the north; many of them being professionals of small and medium-scale Enterprise (SME) operators. Similarly, several studies such as Adebayo (2014:480), Agbiboa (2014) and Onuoha (2012) have been conducted on terrorism and the activities of Boko Haram and its concomitant consequences.

The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1624, along with Resolution 1625 has expressed concern at the increasing number of victims of terrorism and the way terrorist acts are carried out (Cram, 2009:40). The Security Council has called upon all states to adopt measures that would protect the rights of victims of terrorism and violent crime (Luck, 2006:110). Hence, in the United States of America, the Office for Victims of Crime

offers five categories of assistance to respond to terrorism and mass violence as follows:- (1) crisis response, (2) consequence management, (3) criminal justice support, (4) crime victim compensation and (5) training and technical assistance. Assistance in each category targets a specific phase in the aftermath of a crisis and it is designed to meet the immediate and extended needs of the victims and the community (Victim Support, 2013).

These rights of victims of terrorism have not been domesticated by Nigerian Government in the Law of the Federation 2011 as amended in 2013. The implementation by the government is being expected.

In line with the same UN Security Council Resolution on rights of victims of terrorism, the government of Australia pays $75,000 as compensation to the families of Australian victims of terrorism overseas. Similarly, in the wake of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the US Congress established the September 11th Victim Compensation Fund to assist the direct victims of these attacks and their families (Ackerman, 2005). The U.S Congress also passed the Victims of Terrorism Tax Relief Act, which amended the Internal Revenue Code to exempt from income tax the monies obtained from the Fund (Victims of terrorism Tax Relief Act, 2001).Similarly, the Iraqi government pays compensation which ranges between 50 and 150 million Iraqi dinars ($46,000-$129,000) to citizens affected by killing, material losses, disability and displacement caused by terrorist attacks. It is worthy of note that little or not much sociological studies have been done on the victims of terrorism and their coping strategies. It is against this backdrop that this study focused on victims of terrorism and their coping strategies in Zaria metropolis.

1.3 Research Questions

The study examines the various dimensions of the sufferings that terrorism has brought on the victims and their coping strategies in Zaria metropolis. To this end, the study will answer the following research questions:

1. What are the types of harm caused by terrorist attacks on victims in the study area?
2. What are the Psychological, Social and Security challenges caused by terrorism in Zaria metropolis?
3. What are the economic challenges caused to the victims by terrorism in Zaria?
4. What are the existing social supports available for the victims of terrorism in Zaria metropolis?
5. What are the various coping strategies adopted by the victims of terrorism in the study area?

1.4 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The aim of the study is to examine the coping strategies of the victims of terrorism in Zaria metropolis, Kaduna State, Nigeria. The specific objectives are to:

1. Identify the toll of terrorism on the victims in Zaria metropolis.
2. Find out the Psychological, Social and Security challenges caused by terrorism in Zaria metropolis.
3. Identify the Economic challenges inflicted on the victims by terrorism in Zaria metropolis.
4. Identify the existing social supports for the victims of attacks in Zaria metropolis.
5. Find out the coping strategies of the victims of terrorism in Zaria metropolis with focus on the different strategies adopted by the victims and institutions.

1.5 Definition of Terms

Toll of terrorism-This is the destruction caused by terrorist attack to the immediate location of the terrorist attack. It includes property and human casualty.

Direct Victims-The direct victims of terrorism are the individuals and institutions who suffer as a result of direct contact with terrorism. The direct victims in this study include human casualties and business enterprises.

Primary Victims-The primary victims are the immediate spouses, children and dependents of the dead and the injured as well as others who depend on the enterprises that were affected in terrorist attack for their living.

Corporate Victims- Corporate victims of terrorism are worship places that were attacked by terrorism in Zaria Metropolis

Indirect Victims- They are those who were not directly affected by terrorist attack, but heard the news of it from the media or the account of eye witnesses and victims, and were traumatized.

Potential Victims-These are individuals, institutions, enterprises and organizations that are vulnerable to terrorist attacks. They stand the risk of being attacked by terrorists at any point in time; they include congregational worshipers, churches, mosques recreational centers and educational institutions.

Psychological Challenges- These are the traumatic or Post Traumatic Stress Disorder suffered by the victims of terrorism

Social Challenges- The social challenges caused by terrorism are the effects or consequences of terrorism on the day to day activities of the victims and the pattern of interaction in the location of the study.

Security Challenges- Treat to life and property that are manifestation of terrorism.

Economic Challenges- They are economic setbacks caused by terrorism to the victims and the society as a whole.

Social Support- They are the assistance, sympathy and understanding given to victims of terrorism as solidarity and encouragements to survive the effects of terrorism. They are in cash and in kind.

Coping Strategies- They are the steps taken by victims of terrorism to survive and/or overcome the challenges imposed on the by acts of terrorism.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The focus of this study is to present a sociological perspective of the victims of terrorism and their coping strategies in Zaria metropolis, Kaduna State, Nigeria. Findings from this study will add to the existing body of knowledge on victims of terrorism as it would be of immense benefit to researchers, social workers, educationists, human rights activists and policy makers. The result of this research endeavour would equally be of use to various arms of government and her agencies such as the legislative and the executive, the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) and State Emergency Management Agency (SEMA) as well as their counterparts at the local levels in the formulation and implementation of policies to address the plights of victims of terrorism.

The study would equally have policy implications as it will provide a picture on the plight of the victims of terrorism and the roles governments and NGOs have played in alleviating the sufferings of the victims of terror vis-a-vis the United Nations Charter of 2006 on victims of terrorism. The study will spur well – meaning individuals and organizations to support and assist victims of terrorism and even compel government to respond adequately

to the plight of the victims of terrorism. This would speed up legislation on rights of victims of terrorism in the country. The findings from this study would equally be useful to the public on the dangers of concealing information. It would, as well, be useful to community and religious leaders as it will serve in fighting for the well-being of victims of terrorism and in waging war against acts of terrorism as well as exposing all other forms of security threats in their domain.

Finally, at the theoretical level, the study would, to some extent, serve as a useful tool and foundation on which subsequent researchers could explore and build upon.

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study examines various dimensions of terror victimization and found out the coping strategies of the victims of terrorism in Zaria Metropolis. Though, there are numerous studies on terrorism, the main focus is on the act itself and the counter-terrorism measures. The concentration in this research is on the victims and their coping strategies. The study was conducted in the two local government areas that make up Zaria metropolis which are Zaria and Sabon Gari Local Government Areas. All the sites of terrorist attacks and many of the victims were identified through a preliminary/ pilot study. Thus, these identified victims of terrorism and others that were identified in the course of data collection in the two local government areas formed the population of the study.

This study has limitations as it is with every research endeavour. First and foremost, it was limited to the direct and corporate victims of terrorism thereby leaving other important aspects of terrorism studies out of focus. Secondly, the study focused on the victims of terrorism which took place in Sabon Gari and Zaria Local Government Areas thereby leaving out those who suffered in Giwa, Soba and Makerfi Local Government Areas.

Thirdly, the focus of the research is on the direct victims who are resident in the study area as at the period covered thereby leaving out those victims who have migrated from the study area. Finally, the study did not capture the victims of terrorism who suffered from attacks that took place outside Zaria.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, relevant literature and theories on coping strategies of victims of terrorism were critically reviewed. This aims at giving focus to the study and to situate it within academic discourse. Relevant literature on terrorism, its effects on victims and the rights of victims of terrorism as well as its adoption by nations of the world were reviewed. The aim is to unearth the level of implementation by the government of Nigeria and have a view of the predicament or otherwise of the victims of terrorism in Zaria metropolis and indeed Nigeria.

2.2 Victimization and Victims of Terrorism: A Conceptual Framework

Victimization can be seen as injury or harm done to an individual or a family as result of someone else's action. The result of such injury or harm being life threatening, traumatic and can be a harmful, life-changing experience. A person who has suffered terrorist attack directly, or threatened, physically, emotional or pecuniary harm as a result of the commission of a crime, or, in the case of a victim, being an institutional entity, can be said to be a victim. According to Hill (2004), victimization through terrorism may be experienced at direct, secondary, and community levels, all of which may vary in terms of the extent and kind of victimization. The direct level of terrorism experience are those who suffer from contact with the act. They experience bodily injuries, property loss or other forms of harm. Secondary level of terror experience are those who hear the news of attacks and are subsequently traumatized whereas the community level of terror experience are the effect of terrorism on the larger society. Staiger, Letschert, Pemberton and Ammerlaan

(2008) present a similar classification of victims of terrorism. They noted that although the term *victim* may be used to refer to all individuals that experience some form of direct injury, emotional harm and or suffering as a result of an act of terrorism, vicarious or indirect victims are individuals that were not direct targets of terrorists but, nonetheless experienced fear, anxiety and other related stressors following a terrorist attack. In the same vein, Emmerson (2012) identifies four main categories of victims of terrorism that include direct, secondary, indirect and potential victims of terrorism respectively. He specifically noted that potential victims of future terrorist acts are an important additional category; as they are the principal beneficiaries of the State's positive obligations under article 6 of the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights. The prevention of future acts of terrorism is an important part of the rationale for the State's obligation, under article 6 of the Convention, to conduct a prompt, thorough, independent and impartial investigation into any act of terrorism. The notion of direct and indirect victimization is significant because it highlights the importance of considering the needs of the public alongside the needs of victims and their families.

The UN General Assembly Declaration on the Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power (1985:35), as cited in UN (2011), states that;

> *"Victims" means persons who, individually or collectively, have suffered harm, including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, economic loss or substantial impairment of their fundamental rights, through acts or omissions that are in violation of criminal laws operative within Member States, including those laws proscribing criminal abuse of power.*

Similarly, the OAU/AU Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism (Algiers, 1999) provides the necessary framework on what an act of terrorism in the African context implies. According to Article 1 (3)(a): any act which is a violation of the

criminal laws of a State Party and which may endanger the life, physical integrity or freedom of, or cause serious injury or death to, any person, any number or group of persons or causes or may cause damage to public or private property, natural resources, environmental or cultural heritage and is calculated or intended to: (i) intimidate, put in fear, force, coerce or induce any government, body, institution, the general public or any segment thereof, to do or abstain from doing any act, or to adopt or abandon a particular standpoint, or to act according to certain principles; or (ii) disrupt any public service, the delivery of any essential service to the public or to create a public emergency; or (iii) create general insurrection in a State (Botha, 2007).

Laws of the Federation of Nigeria (2013) defined terrorism in Nigerian context as: "act of terrorism" means an act which is deliberately done with malice, aforethought and which: (a) may seriously harm or damage a country or an international organization; (b) is intended or can reasonably be regarded as having been intended to—(i) unduly compel a government or international organization to perform or abstain from performing any act; (ii) seriously intimidate a population; (iii)seriously destabilize or destroy the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organization; or (iv) otherwise influence such government or international organization by intimidation or coercion; and (c) involves or causes, as the case may be— (i) an attack upon a person's life which may cause serious bodily harm or death; (ii) kidnapping of a person; (iii) destruction to a Government or public facility, a transport system, an infrastructure facility, including an information system, a fixed platform located on the continental shelf, a public place or private property, likely to endanger human life or result in major economic loss; (iv) the seizure of an aircraft, ship or other means of public or goods

transport and diversion or the use of such means of transportation for any of the purposes in paragraph (b)(iv) of this subsection; (v) the manufacture, possession, acquisition, transport, supply or use of weapons, explosives or of nuclear, biological or chemical weapons, as well as research into, and development of biological and chemical weapons without lawful authority; (vi) the release of dangerous substance or causing of fire, explosions or floods, the effect of which is to endanger human life; (vii) interference with or disruption of the supply of water, power or any other fundamental natural resource, the effect of which is to endanger human life ; (d) an act or omission in or outside Nigeria which constitutes an office within the scope of a counter terrorism protocols and conventions duly ratified by Nigeria. This study is centered on direct victims of terrorism in Zaria Metropolis, Kaduna State, Nigeria.

Several factors have been identified to be responsible for the vulnerability of Nigeria to terrorism and violence. Governance failure is the main factor responsible for the rising incidence of violent extremism in Nigeria. Governance failure is indexed by the manifest incapacity of public institutions to deliver critical public goods, such as water, electricity, roads, healthcare, job opportunities and none the least, security. Average Nigerians lack access to these basic services that would lead a healthy, satisfying, and productive life in a society. This contributes to the emergence of a large number of frustrated population, especially the young people. According to Awogbenle and Iwuamadi (2010) over 64 million youths are unemployed and 1.6 million are under-employed. Unemployment causes frustration, dejection, desperation and dependency on family members and friends who also have their own problems to contend with. Onuoha (2011) has noted that the key challenge here is not the lack of sufficient public resources. Rather, it is the problem of widespread

corruption especially in the public sector which compounds other governance and development deficits that are bedeviling Nigeria.

Similarly, pervasive poverty, as a result of governance failure, further contributes to Nigeria's increasing vulnerability to extremism/terrorism. Marchal (2012) noted that Boko Haram can be understood in different ways that draw different recommendations on the way to tackle the problems it presents. These are outlined as follows: firstly, it refers to the long history of the region and the recurrence of radical Islamic movements. Secondly, Boko Haram has deep roots in the social and economic marginalization of a large section of the northern states' population. A third understanding of Boko Haram emphasizes the revenge dimension and questions the behaviour of the law enforcement agencies, their poor respect for the rule of law and the militarization of any response to challenges to the central state. The fourth vision sees Boko Haram as a tool used by northern Nigerian elites to express their grievances against the lack of interest showed by the central government. Lastly, because of its developing connections with al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb and possibly al-Shabaab, Boko Haram is changing the scope of its grievances and providing the ground for a lasting confrontation between radicalized Muslims and others in Africa.

According to Newman (2006), there is a causal relationship between social, economic, political and demographic conditions and terrorist activities. Sandole (2010) explains that terrorism may be a manifestation or a symptom of deep-rooted origins of political violence. Rubenstein (1988) adds that terrorist is often responses of frustrated people, in his words; an average terrorist is "the guy next door" living on the edge of despair (Rubenstein, 1988). These assertions agree with the repercussions of the denial and deprivation of basic human need (Burton, 1990). Gurr (1970) also argues that people become dissatisfied if they feel

that they have less than they should and could have, and over time, such dissatisfaction leads to frustration, anger, and rebellion. This may account for why the northern region has remained a hotbed of violent conflicts and extremism. In the same vein, large number of youth without any means of legitimate livelihood could be one of the factors that breed insecurity in Nigeria, which. Nigeria's youthful population is estimated to be between 70 to 80 million, about 55 to 60 per cent of the entire population. Yet a significant segment of the youth population remains unemployed, underemployed or unemployable. Official statistics shows that more than 80 percent of the youth are unemployed while about 10 percent are under-employed. The estimated 10 percent in employment are inundated with demands from immediate and extended family members. Consequently, growing frustration and disillusionment that accompany long-term unemployment and poverty underlie their gravitation to crimes, making them more vulnerable to recruitment by criminal cartels, extremist and terrorist groups (Onuoha, 2010). Hence, Boko Haram easily uses both voluntary and coercive strategies for recruitment. Fighters joining voluntarily may be motivated for ideological and religious reasons, but others may also join the group due to past victimization by the Nigerian military, which has been accused of human rights violations in the fight against the sect. Pate (2015) is of the view that Boko Haram also reportedly uses monetary incentives to attract recruits. He added that the uneducated, unskilled youth are a popular pool from which the group gets its fighters. Young people are among the most affected by the worsening poverty rate, and unemployment, along with other socioeconomic woes, makes the individual more susceptible to negative radicalization and indoctrination. Onuoha (2014, cited in Pate 2015) notes that surveys conducted in Borno and Kaduna states found the high unemployment and poverty in those

areas as the second most important reason why youth engage in religious-based violence. Hence, Gandu (2009:3:4) rightly noted that there is a link between poverty and terrorism. Similarly, Crenshaw (1981:4) has pointed out that poverty breeds hopelessness, frustration and terror tendency.

The existence of an ineffective national security system contributes to Nigeria's vulnerability to terrorism. The problem of a weak national security system compounds the threat of illegal cross-border migration and arms trafficking across the nation's borders. The porosity of Nigeria's land borders, especially in the northern part, has serious security implications given the activities of transnational jihadist such as the al Qaeda in the Land of the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) operating in the Sahel region of West Africa (Okereke, 2010). Mali, Niger, Nigeria and Senegal are situated in this region, and are known to have porous borders. Given her weak security system and porous land and maritime borders, Nigeria is estimated to host over 70 percent of about 8 million illegal weapons in West Africa (Bello, 2010). With this volume of SALWs circulating in an environment of worsening poverty and porous borders, it is not surprising that the nation is witnessing the outbreak of violent crimes and extremism (Onuoha, 2011).

The existence of radical fundamentalist sects exemplified by the activities of the *Boko Haram* and *Kala-Kato,* further raises the vulnerability bar in Nigeria. Although these sects, especially the *Boko Haram*, have been able to launch low-scale attacks in the past, the greatest challenge now stems from the emerging alliance between the *Boko Haram* and established transnational jihadist, particularly AQIM (Onuoha,2010). This bonding has the potentials of increasing their capacity to field more devastating attacks in the near future than they could otherwise.

Finally, poor security situation awareness among the citizens adds another dimension to Nigeria's vulnerability to terrorism. Security is one of the basic pre-occupations of any individual, community, organization and government. The idea of security presupposes a concern with 'what' is the source of danger, 'who' or 'what' is to be protected from the danger and what 'means' are available for addressing the danger. Thus, security is too important an issue to be left alone to a nation's security agencies to guarantee. Yet, it has been consistently noted that the average Nigerian, including security agents, displays very poor habit of security awareness (NTA, 2010). According to Stewart (2010:9), security awareness is the act or habit of recognizing a threat at an early stage and taking measures to avoid it. Being observant of one's surroundings and identifying potential threats and dangerous situations is more of an attitude or mindset than it is a hard skill to acquire. Therefore, security awareness is not just an act or practice that is restricted to well-trained agents or specialized security forces; it can also be adopted and employed by any individual. The idea of security awareness requires the habit of being in a state of mind (relaxed awareness) that can be maintained indefinitely without all the stress associated with being on constant alert. As noted by Burton and Stewart (2007:57), "it is far easier to make the transition to a state of heightened awareness than it is to jump all the way from complacency to heightened awareness". The habit of security awareness reduces the vulnerability of an individual to any planned attack, if he maintains a culture of alertness or consciousness over the surrounding environment.

In this light, poor habit of security awareness may have contributed to success rate of past attacks, including the level of casualty recorded. With reference to the New Year eve bomb blast in Mami market near Mogadishu Barracks, for instance, it was reported that the first

and worst victim of the blast was a young man who picked up the bag containing the explosive. He was announcing that someone had forgotten the bag at the shop when the bombs exploded. In other climes in Europe and America where citizens evince high level of security awareness, the likely action by the suspecting individual would be to alert the police. The unhealthy habit of poor security awareness amongst Nigerians denies them of the contributions they could make in assisting security agencies to prevent and combat crimes in the society or to minimize their vulnerability to imminent criminal attacks. Moreover, there is also the fear and risk of the security agent exposing informants to the enemies. With all these factors playing out in Nigeria, it becomes easier to appreciate Nigeria's deepening vulnerability to extremism and terrorism.

2.3 Manifestation of Harm caused by Terrorism to Victims

Terrorism has long been described as "theater": violence choreographed by groups or persons seeking to effect fundamental political change. The violence that terrorists perpetrate is therefore designed not only to attract attention to themselves and their cause, but also to coerce and intimidate, to create an atmosphere of fear and alarm that the terrorists can exploit. The deliberate targeting of innocent persons generally plays a central role in the terrorists' ability to "terrorize." Therefore, as the fictional vampire requires blood to survive, the real-life terrorist needs victims. The more the casualty level, the better for the terrorists, hence Dewey (2007), cited in Gandu (2009:9) succinctly noted that it has been calculated that since 3600 BC, about 14,530 wars and terrorist acts have resulted in three billion deaths and that peace is said to have prevailed for only about 292 years on earth which translate into only 5% of all the time. Teichman (1989:64) has added that terrorism is typified by violent acts that have social and/or political undertones and which

are perpetrated against innocent or randomly selected peoples using atrocious means such as killings, mutilations and torture. This study views terrorism as a new phenomenon in Nigeria that has caused serious harm and heavy casualty.

In the same vein, Wellman (1979:240) notes that every act of terrorism must be a threat that some great harm will be inflicted. Every act of terrorism is, by its very nature, an act of communication; only in this way can it sow the terror created as a means of intimidation (Wellman, 1979). Friedland and Merari (1986:234) confirm this assertion when they noted that terrorism is a psychological warfare waged on the public mind for political gains. They explained further that the terrorist aim is to paralyze the population with fear and anxiety, to intimidate and to induce worry and concern that is disproportional to and exceeds the actual damage it caused. Nnoli (2003:15) further observed that "since the Civil War, Nigeria has never recorded the amount of lost of lives and property as it has done since 1999". Krug, Dahlberg and Mercy (2000) further buttressed this argument by rating Nigeria as one of the countries where the estimated firearm deaths, based on quantitative information, were put at 2,300 per 100, 000.

Similarly, Abdu and Umar (2004) have noted that there are cases of high profile assassinations and murders in Nigeria. They added that the financial implication of these murders and assassinations include medical expenses, lost of productivity and the cost of criminal justice. Also, Okpaga, Chijioke and Eme (2012) have noted that the coordinated assaults from the *Jam'atu Alhus Sunna Lid da'awati wai Jihad,* popularly called Boko Haram sect in the Northern part of Nigeria, besides making life miserable for Nigerians, is a danger to the unity and corporate existence of the country. Continual exposure to the threats of terror elicits a sense of anxiety, helplessness and great concern. Hence, Danjuma

has pointed out that the nation is in a total anarchy where human life is cheap and impunity has become the norm. He added that the social and economic costs of terrorism are incalculable (Wakili, 2014:5).

Terrorism equally has devastating effects on the polity, the wellbeing of the victims as well as the society as a whole. It also has the potential to negatively influence mental health. According to Comer *et al.* (2008:586) "contact with terrorism is associated with psychological distress, traumatic stress symptoms, and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD)". This psychiatric disorder occurs after life-threatening events such as terrorist attacks. The victims may experience vivid flashbacks and nightmares, feel detached or estranged; have sleep or appetite disturbances that significantly affect their quality of life. According to Young (2003:219) in the wake of tragedy such as terrorism, survivors and their families often experience additional hardships not immediately central to the tragedy in question. Hence, following the September 9, 2011 attacks in the United States of America, Huddy, Feldman, Taber, and Lahav (2002:593) have observed that Americans experienced psychological distress in terms of anxiety, fear, depression and insomnia with a heightened perceived personal threat of terrorism.

In addition, a survey study conducted by Blendon and Benson (2001) found that 40% to 50% of United States adults still feared for their safety in the months after 9/11. In addition to these mental health impacts, there were a number of negative behavioural responses one of which was the avoidance of certain places or modes of transportation, generally referred to as avoidance behaviour. The above view is corroborated by Huddy *et al.* (2002) when they found that Americans had increased perceived personal risk perception of terrorism as they refused to travel overseas and to use public transport. According to Ceci *et al*. (2004

cited in Ackerman,2005), first "the September 11 attacks resulted in deaths and injuries in an unprecedented scale--a monumental scale, accentuated by the indelible televised image of the collapse of two 110-story skyscrapers. . . . It would take extraordinary measures (of which the Fund was but one) to redress this unprecedented scar on the national psyche." Similarly, Cochram *et al*. (2004 as cited in Ackerman, 2005) note that the visibility of the events of September 11th distinguished it from most tortious conduct, and even most acts of terrorism. The September 11th victims were not the cloying, overreaching demons portrayed in the tort reform crusades, people who, with the assistance of tasseled-loafered trial lawyers, had played the system to pluck the purses of hard-working Americans and productive corporations. Unlike those imagined hordes of whiners and malingerers, the September 11th victims were visible; they were real people with real injuries. People had seen it on television and shared their pain, and Congress, in the episodic, issue-of-the-moment manner of most legislatures, responded. They are of the view that the shared national trauma came in the form of a foreign attack on the community of the United States of America. Those who perished in the World Trade Center, in the Pentagon, and on Flight 93 were believed to have died on behalf of all Americans. The 9/11 attacks had indirect influences on Canada. More specifically, the destructive effects on the Canadian airline industry were documented (Fiorino, 2001:30).

The nature of harm caused in every terrorist attacks depend on the weight and magnitude of the instrument of attack, the location and time. Hence, the Oklahoma bombing of April 19, 1995 which weighed nearly 5,000 pounds killed 168 people and injured 853 others (Call and Phefferbaum, 1999:953). It is the view of Adebayo (2014:481) that the trademarks of the Boko Haram are wanton destruction of lives and property with reckless abandon,

through bombings, abduction and slaughtering of human beings like rams, especially in Northern Nigeria. This has created palpable fear and sense of insecurity in the polity. Boko Haram has created widespread insecurity across northern Nigeria, increased tensions between various ethnic communities, interrupted development activities, frightened off investors, and generated concerns among Nigeria's northern neighbours. They have been responsible for near daily attacks in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe states. Boko Haram's attacks on churches and mosques are particularly disturbing because they are intended to inflame religious tensions and upset the nation's social cohesion (Eme and Ibietan 2012:10).

2.4 The Psychological Challenges caused by Terrorism on the Victims

The first and most immediate effects of terrorism are psychological. In the words of Bleich, Gelkopf, and Solomon (2003:612), terrorist campaigns can be expected to psychologically affect a sizeable portion of the population of a targeted society, either directly, by harming a person or their family, or indirectly, through the extensive media coverage of terrorist attacks. Similarly, Crenshaw (1983:2) has observed that the greater the number of attacks and the more lethal those attacks are, the more the people that will be psychologically affected by them. It is clear that terrorism is a form of psychological warfare against a society. It is designed to strike fear into the heart of the targeted society, and it generally succeeds in doing so. According to Hoffman (2006), suicide terrorism can be particularly effective in terrifying people because it projects an aura of fanaticism, which makes the threat of future attacks seem more likely. Similarly, Ganor (2002:5) is of the opinion that peoples' fear of terrorism is both rational and irrational. It is rational in that there is an ever-present threat of a terrorist attack being repeated. But it is irrational in the probability

assigned to that potential event. Hoffman (2006) further indicates that since people tend to overestimate their chances of being a victim of terrorism, the fear of terrorism is widespread in a society. It does not, however, affect everyone to an equal degree.

Terrorism equally has devastating effects on the polity, the wellbeing of direct, primary, secondary and tertiary victims as well as the society as a whole. It also has the potential to negatively influence mental health. According to Comer (et al.2008:568), "contact with terrorism is associated with psychological distress, traumatic stress symptoms, and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)". The psychological effects of terrorism are not limited to PTSD. For example, Eshel (2003) notes that those who witness terrorist attacks but are not directly harmed are generally the last to be evacuated from the scene of the attack, since medics typically focus their attention on the casualties. These people typically replay the scenes of carnage endlessly in their heads, and many end up with "hypertension, accelerated pulse, disassociation, and the desire to flee from the slightest noise, such as a car exhaust pipe backfiring or even a slamming door." In the wake of terrorist attacks, people can become incapable of concentrating on their typical daily tasks. For example, Huddy (2002:485) has noted that following the 9/11 attacks, 52 percent of Americans polled said that they could not concentrate on their work as a result of those attacks. In the same vein, a victim of Boko Haram attack has exclaimed:

> *"I left the car at the gate and ran for my life. I and my wife ran at different directions to no specific destination. Along the way, I fell into a river where I met a man who was completely naked. Perhaps he was in a restroom when the blast occurred and he ran out. I had two pairs of trousers, so I gave one to him. I could not understand how I wore two pairs of trousers"*(Muhammad, 2016:12).

Terrorism, therefore, has a significant negative impact on people's everyday lives, whether or not they are directly exposed to it.

According to Young (2003:219), in the wake of a tragedy such as a terrorist attack survivors and their families often experience additional hardships not immediately connected to the incidence in question. Similarly, psychologists like Brandon and Silke (2006), have observed that stress and uncertainty produces social behaviors as people seek out others, perhaps for social support, or to help to affirm one's cultural view of the world and the threat. The American Psychological Association (2006:378) notes that

> *"social support is critical to managing stress. Caring and supportive relationships can provide emotional support that may buffer the impact of acutely stressful situations or crises and allow for expression of difficult emotions. Supportive social networks also can provide assistance and information relevant to managing traumatic stress."*

According to Gerrity and Flynn (1997:108), terrorism can cause a wide range of negative psychological responses. These include psychophysiological effects such as fatigue, gastrointestinal upset, and tics, as well as cognitive signs such as confusion, impaired concentration, and attention deficits. Psychological impacts include emotional signs such as anxiety, depression and grief. They also include behavioural effects such as sleep and appetite changes, ritualistic behaviour, and substance abuse. In most cases, the observed effects are mild and transitory-the result of "normal people responding normally to a very abnormal situation" (Gerrity and Flynn 1997:108).

In reality, only few have experienced terrorism at first hand. Most people know terrorism only by secondhand accounts framed by media reports. According to Comer, Furr, Beidas, Weiner and Kendall (2008:568)"technological advances and new trends in mass media

provide a stage unlike any in history: a stage from which terrorist acts and threats can reach a truly wide audience". As broadcasting corporations and print media try to have respectively high audience ratings and high circulation, they often tend to exaggerate and show emotionally laden pictures to their audience. Moreover, the amount of content referring to terrorism from Islamic extremists is disproportionate to its actual occurrence. Since 9/11, TV viewers are yearly faced with horrible pictures of the attacks and emotional interviews of survivors and victims, losing family members and friends. According to Altheide (2002), the media present terrorism in ways similar to crime news and disproportionately underline possibilities of becoming a direct victim of terrorism instead of realistic probabilities. Consequently, a huge amount of TV exposure is associated with developing distorted perceptions of the world wherein life is more dangerous and threatening than it actually is (Comer *et al*., 2008:572).

The youth, a group spending much time on media, is also exposed to a huge amount of media coverage of terrorism-related news (Hoven, Duarte, Lucas, Wu, Mandell, Goodwin, Cohen, Balaban, Woodruff, Bin, Musa, Mei, Cantor, Aber, Cohen and Susser, 2005:545). Especially for children and the youth, horrific news representations of rare terrorist attacks can have detrimental effects on threat perception and perceived vulnerability. As Comer *et al*. (2008) have noted that "media-based contact with terrorism has great effects upon children's emotional functioning, for example, PTSD symptoms, behavioral withdrawal, anxiety, and sleep problems". Through the ongoing coverage of actual attacks in real time, through subsequent news reviewing the consequences of attacks as well as through continually raising the prospect of future terrorist attacks, the media close the distance between viewers and actual directly affected victims, thereby increasing identification with

them (Johnson, 1996:201). Consequently, it is not surprising that the rapid circulation of such intimidating portrayals of terror, war and violence have the power to raise anxiety reactions and other negative consequences. Hence, the psychological effect of terrorism is central to the understanding of social consequences.

2.5 The Social and Security Challenges caused by Terrorism on its Victims

Terrorism has tremendous social effects on Nigeria as a nation and on the citizens in numerous ways resulting to different social challenges. These challenges vary according to the enormity of impacts caused by the attacks. According to Waxman (2011) the social effects of terrorism can be far-reaching, influencing many different aspects of a society. Justino (2012) said, conflict and violence impact on the lives and livelihoods of individuals, households and communities directly and indirectly. Nigel (2002) adds, "acts that are synonymous with terrorism destroy livelihoods, either directly through causing death and destroying property, or indirectly by limiting freedom of choice and adaptive behavior, thereby hampering the pursuit of successful survival strategies." Justino (2012) further note that direct effects of terrorism include changes in household composition and economic status; whereas indirect effects include changes in local and national markets and social relations. In line with this position, terrorism in North Eastern Nigeria and the attacks on Zaria metropolis has caused the fleeing of people to other locations in the North West and North Central states in Nigeria.

With regards to poverty, Collier (2007) asserts that the violent conflict creates cycles of conflict and poverty. Thus, it can be deduced that violence can have direct or indirect consequences on livelihoods, as well as short and long-term effects. However, irrespective of the nature of the impact of conflict, Justino (2012) conclude that violent acts such as

terrorism kill and disable people, destroy productive assets, and block individuals and households access to their sources of livelihood and economic survival. The impact of Boko Haram's insurgency is a testimony of violent extremis in the country. The UN Security Council report (2014) acknowledges the increasing insurgent attacks targeting civilians and livelihoods in the northeastern states of Nigeria, seizing towns and compelling large numbers of people to flee to neighboring countries of Cameroon, Chad, and Niger. The Human Rights Watch report (2014) adds, the Boko Haram attacks have been on the increase since the beginning of this year, with almost daily killings, bombings, kidnappings, thefts, and the destruction of livelihoods, Churches, Mosques, schools, homes, bridges and businesses. The Human Rights Watch also asserts that the effects of violence are more pronounced in local communities in Borno, Yobe, and Adamawa States. The social effects of terrorism on the victims can be pronounced and far-reaching, affecting different aspects of the society.

The starting point for the impact of terrorism on society is the effect that terrorist attacks have upon people's beliefs and attitudes. According to Sharvit *et al* (2005:4), major events influence people's beliefs and attitudes. They further explained that: "terror attacks are negative, threatening events. They also further asserted that considerable evidence from psychological studies has shown that negative information tends to be more closely attended, better remembered, and have a stronger impact on evaluations and judgments than positive information. Thus, since terrorist attacks are events of a highly negative nature, they can lead to changes in people's beliefs and attitudes. One such belief concerns how people view other societies, especially that in which the terrorists belong to. Hence, Labin (2001) has observed that in a situation of inter-group conflict, terrorist attacks

increase negative beliefs and hostile attitudes toward the opposing group the terrorists claim to represent. Similarly Shavrit (2004:5) has noted that a sense of victimhood is common to a society experiencing terrorism. Civilians are not expected to be victims of political violence (whereas military casualties are expected). Hence, a public feels victimized when it is the target of political violence. The more the civilian population is targeted, the more this sense of victimhood increases. No longer is the opposing group believed to have rational objectives and/or justifiable grievances; instead, the worst views become 'common sense,' especially those concerning its propensity towards violence. In the same vein Huddy, Feldman, Capelos, and Provost (2005:485) have noted that the threat of terrorism increases a group's reliance on stereotypes, leading to more negative stereotyping by members of the targeted society. There have been numerous instances of this such as the rise of *Islamophobia* in the United States following the 9/11 attacks, and the increase in anti-Arab sentiments in Spain in the wake of the 2004 Madrid train bombings, (Pedahzur, 2005:184).In line with this argument, there has been a rise in anti Muslim and anti Hausa/Fulani in Nigeria.

Huddy *et al* (2005:488) also observed that another major social effect of terrorism is a rise in ethnocentrism and xenophobia. Hence, identification with, and support for, the in-group rises as a result of terrorism, while identification with, and support for, any out-group decreases. This was apparent in Russia in the wake of terrorist attacks carried out by Chechen militants: when ethnic Russian identity became more salient, while xenophobia rose (Padahzur, 2005:184). This also took place in the United States in the aftermath of 9/11, when there was a surge of patriotic sentiment became more evident, for instance, in the numerous American flags that adorned windows in New York City-a place where such

overt displays of American patriotism are generally less common than elsewhere in the country. So too, in Israel during the second *Intifada,* repeated Palestinian terrorist attacks led to a renewed sense of national unity among Israeli Jews. A public opinion survey taken in March 2002, for example, posed the question: "In your opinion, have recent events, including terrorist attacks and operation 'Defensive Shield,' strengthened or weakened the sense of national unity in the Israeli-Jewish public?" Eighty-six percent of Israeli Jewish respondents answered that the events strengthened national unity (Herman, 2002). Landau (2001:7) added that one Israeli commentator succinctly put it thus: "Israeli (Jewish) society in Israel has returned to a state of cohesiveness." This social impact which are twofold are immediate and long term, manifested in the form of insecurity, internal displacement, mutual suspicion, apathy and poverty thereby resulting in various forms of pain or suffering.

Amato (1990) views suffering or pain in a broad sense as an experience of unpleasantness and aversion associated with the perception of harm or threat of harm in an individual. He further added that suffering is the basic element that makes up the negative valence of affective phenomenon. Suffering may be qualified as physical or mental. It may come in all degrees of intensity, from mild to intolerable (Halpern, 2002). Similarly, Price (2002) notes that pain-unpleasantness is often, though not always, closely linked to both the intensity and unique qualities of the painful sensation. Synonymous with suffering, are distress, sorrow, unhappiness, misery, affliction, woe, ill, discomfort, displeasure, disagreeableness, and chagrin. Similarly, Kleiman (1996) sees social suffering as collective and individual human suffering associated with life conditions shaped by powerful social forces all of which affect social development in a very negative ways. Social development is the process

by which the well- being of any society and its people is ensured through collective action visa-a-vis the changes taking place in policies, economic and social life of the people (Uzoegbunam, 1999 cited in Ifeanyi, 2015). Ifeanyi (2015) notes that the typical social development programmes jeopardized by the activities of terrorists in Nigeria include family welfare services, health, housing, community development, youth service and women development. He specifically notes that the major target of the Boko Haram is to frustrate western education which, to them, is a sin. Educational institutions have become a dreadful area as the group's main target is western education. This explains the high security alert in tertiary institutions in Nigeria. Hence, he observes that a practical impact of it is that notices of impending attacks were sent to some major higher institutions in the country. He added that many people have been traumatically molested all in the name of search in the University of Ibadan. He noted further that people in their cars, have to queue up at the gate for searching, just as academic activities have been jeopardized and lecturers live in fear.

Agriculture and food supply is also affected in many ways. Land which is very essential for agricultural production has become battlefield or it is occupied by this group. Most parts of Borno state and other parts of the Northern Nigeria which formed the major food supply to the country have been deserted by the people. Hunger and squalor therefore are imminent in Nigeria. Also threatened is individual security of the citizen. One of the "basic needs" of man, according to Igbo (1997, cited in Ifeanyi,2015) is security, freedom from poverty, want, diseases, hunger and danger.... and terrorism brings all these. The attacks and bomb explosion cause not only death of the soldiers but also of innocent civilians. Life is full of insecurity and uncertainty under terror. Fear has become part of the people as everyone

thinks of the next targeted area of attack. Similarly, social amenities like schools, houses, hospitals, markets, electricity etc have been greatly affected by these activities. Family welfare services which include pre- marital counseling, services for neglected and abused children and elderly human psycho- physical stability and development of individual and family unit have been seriously distorted and battered. Okoli and Iortyer (2014) have observed that the enforcement of curfews and emergency rule had restricted movement and communications in a manner that hampered economic activities, adding that the fear of attacks by the insurgents has often driven communities into hiding. Furthermore, counter-insurgency measures, such as the ban on the use of motorcycles, have resulted in loss of means of livelihood and subsistence for some households. In effect, the whole trend points to debilitating livelihood cum human security crises. This trend has been put in perspective by Salkida (2011) thus:

> *"It is, of course, a truism that terrorism in the Northern Nigeria has had a devastating effect on families and livelihood of many economic groups. The massive destruction of infrastructure, the destruction of telecommunication facilities, frequent attacks on markets and businesses, short business hours, have made many relocate to other safer parts of the country, bringing down incomes and increasing poverty levels"* (Salkida, 2011:42).

The social cost of terrorism is evidently enormous. How victims surmount this tragedy is the paramount concern of this research.

Terrorism menace has become Nigeria's national security nightmare. It has become increasingly difficult for the government to successfully evaluate the scope of its threat in order to come out with the most fitting and proper countermeasures. Nigeria's effort to defeat Boko Haram in what ought to translate to improved military and intelligence coordination has not yielded the expected results, despite allocating approximately 25% of

its budget for 2012 to the security sector (Herskovits, 2012). The group has grown increasingly active and deadly in its attacks against state and civilian targets in Nigeria (Ploch, 2012). According to a (BBC) report, the Boko Haram group has carried numerous attacks in northern Nigeria, killing hundreds of people since 2009 (BBC, 2012). Under such circumstances, the national strategy does not seem to be working because the strategy has lacked credible human intelligence. The magnitude of havoc the group is capable of wrecking on imaginary enemies, said The Punch (2012), have also exposed the seeming helplessness of the Nigerian state and its feeble approach to stopping these terrorists. The cause of the group, it said, has been advanced by the grass-roots support it has been enjoying from the local people. Rather than freely offer information, the people have tended to identify with the group because the tactics is not human intelligence-driven. At some point, President Jonathan had admitted that Nigeria's security and intelligence community, under his watch lacked the required intelligence capacity to carry out their basic duty of identifying the enemies of the State:

> *"Some [of the Boko Haram members] are in the executive arm of government, some in the parliament/legislature arm, while some are even in the judiciary. Some are also in the armed forces, the police and other security agencies. Some continue to dip their hands and eat with you and you won't even know the person who will point a gun at you or plant a bomb behind your house. That is how complex the situation is"* (Adetayo, 2012:1).

In addition, terrorism causes long term health challenges for its victims. The fact that the need for treatment can continue for a long period of time has been confirmed by several experts who stressed that victims often suffer from physical injuries and psychological trauma years after the attack. Thus, for example, a victim, who was severely injured in a bomb attack in the 1980s, explained how, after refusing a leg amputation, she had had

sixty-six surgeries. During the first of these, she contracted HIV/AIDS from an infected blood transfusion. Another victim told how, even a decade after a terrorist bombing, she and many of her colleagues continued to require medical attention and psychological treatment. She underlined that this had serious implications for victims in developing countries, like her own, where public health insurance does not exist. In such instances, she said survivors are, in effect, served a death sentence: they lose their jobs, their livelihoods and are ultimately reduced to destitution.

2.6 The Economic Challenges Caused by Terrorism on the Victims

The economic effects of terrorism on the victims can be broken down into: its direct costs, associated with the destruction caused by an act of terrorism, and its indirect costs, which affect nearly every aspect of the state's economy. The most direct economic effect of any terrorist attack is the damage caused to life and property at the site of the attack. This can assume many forms including: human casualties, destroyed buildings, a heightened anxiety level, and other myriad economic costs. According to Waxman (2011), the direct economic impact of a terrorist attack is damage to the infrastructure of the building and other products around the vicinity. Second, for a business outfit the business would probably have to shut down, at least temporarily. With no income generated by the business, national economic output would be negatively affected. Third, if the terrorists attack killed people, one must also take into account the lost lifetime earnings of each individual killed. Fourth, if the terrorist attack results in many casualties, then the wounded would both lose their earnings and also pay the medical bills. The attack on the World Trade Centre (9/11), the most devastating terrorist attack in modern history, had a direct cost of roughly $27 billion. Kunreuther, Michel-Kerjan, and Porter (2003), have calculated that the

attacks on September 11, 2001 (9/11) had significant costs that have been estimated to be in the range of $80 to $90 billion when subsequent economic losses in lost wages, workman's compensation, and reduced commerce are calculated.

Dauda (2014:251) has noted that besides loss of job occasioned by business closedown, insecurity in Adamawa, Borno, Yobe, Kano has cost the Nigerian economyN1.3trillion ($6 billion) as a result of attacks by the Boko Haram group. Similarly, Durotoye (2015:2147) has observed that since 2012 the Federal government of Nigeria had to increased the defence budget from 100 billion naira in 2010 to 927 billion naira in 2011 and 1 trillion naira in 2012, 2013 and 2014. The increase, he noted, was targeted at the acquisition of weapons to boost the capacity of the military and other security agencies in order to effectively combat Boko Haram.

The indirect economic costs of terrorist attacks, however, are potentially more significant. The indirect economic effects of terrorism are many and varied. Yet, they are very difficult to accurately calculate. Terrorism can affect an economy in numerous ways. A long-running terrorist campaign can have negative impact on the GDP of a state. Moran (2006), has shown that it happened to Israel during the second *Intifada*. Similarly, Morag (2006) said Israel's GDP growth dropped sharply following the outbreak of the second Intifada. The Country's GDP growth slowed from an average of 5 percent in the two years prior to the uprising to -0.8 percent in the first two years of the Intifada. He further observed that it was only by the fourth year of the Intifada that Israel's GDP growth rebound. A terrorist campaign can make an economy more unstable, which, in turn, increases risk in the economy. With a higher risk and the same or slightly lower potential return, foreign direct investment in the targeted country's economy could experience some decline. Frey *et al*.

(2004) confirm this position that since foreign investors have a large choice of countries to invest in, any kind of uncertainty, even one resulting from minor terrorist acts, could lead to a drop in the inflow of foreign funds. Finally, the perceived risk of future terrorist attacks can lower confidence in the economy which, in turn, affects consumer spending, an integral part of an economy.

A country's tourism industry is particularly hard hit by terrorism since tourist destinations can be easily substituted, and dangerous ones usually become instantly unattractive to foreign tourists. Frey *et al.* (2004) have also noted that many countries warn their citizens to avoid or even leave countries where terrorism is raging just as the government of United States of America warned its citizens to avoid Northern Nigeria at the height of the Boko Haram campaign. Even a small risk of terrorism leads potential tourists to travel elsewhere. Thus, the more reliant a country's economy is on tourism, the more it will be affected by terrorism.

Terrorism can equally impose costs on a targeted country through a number of avenues. Terrorist incidents have economic consequences by diverting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), destroying infrastructure, redirecting public investment funds to security, or limiting trade. If a developing country loses a lot of revenue through FDI, which is an important source of savings, then it may also experience reduced economic growth just as there could be capital flight from a country plagued by civil war (Collier *et al.* 2003). A sufficiently intense terrorist campaign may greatly reduce capital inflows (Enders and Sandler 1996:331). Terrorism, like civil conflicts, may cause spillover costs among neighbouring countries as a terrorist campaign in a neighbour dissuades capital inflows, or a regional multiplier causes lost economic activity in the terrorism-ridden country to resonate

throughout the region (Murdock and Sandler 2002:92, 2004:138). In some instances, terrorism may have negative impacts on specific industries as 9/11 did on airlines and tourism (Drakos, 2004:436; Ito and Lee, 2004).

Another cost is the expensive security measures that must be instituted following any widespread attacks. An example is the massive road blocks and check points mounted on Nigerian roads during the Boko Haram crisis. Terrorism also raises the costs of doing business in terms of higher insurance premiums, expensive security precautions, and huge salaries paid to at-risk employees. In addition, the North is endowed with a lot of tourist attractions and these have been a source of revenue in the past. But with the spate of insecurity, investors had to relocate to other peaceful, alternative locations. For example, the popular Yankari Games Reserve, which enjoyed high patronage by foreigners, has ever since, remained a shadow of its former self. Boko Haram's activities is significant both in the ways it has set a precedent, and how it has strengthened attempts by previous militant conservative Islamists at imposing a variant of Shari'a philosophy on Nigeria, and how it has negatively affected sustainable development in the North. Therefore, the government owes it as a duty to Nigerians to deal with Boko Haram's threat effectively so that the disrupted economic fortune the region has suffered, due to the insurgency, will be improved for the sustainable development of the country.

As a developing country, Nigeria is apt to exhibit some macroeconomic consequences to a particularly vicious attack or a sustained terror campaign. The ultimate economic impact of terrorism on a nation depends upon the disposition of the damaged assets. Some of these assets are not replaced, their loss would cause a reduction in consumption (and, thus, a decrease in the quality of life) or a reduction in investment (and, thus, a decrease in

economic productivity). Economic consequences of terrorism also include the disruption of farming and fishing activities in the North Eastern Nigeria. These have resulted to escalating cost of food stuff and dry fish. Lifelong savings, treasures and investments are shattered and totally destroyed in an attack. Waziri (2014) has confirmed this when he said that every economic activities in the North East has come to a standstill. He notes further that the pain that the people are going through is unimaginable.

2.7 Impact of Terrorism on the larger Nigerian Society

One major aim of Boko Haram terrorists is to overthrow the government in Nigeria. In the process they mercilessly deal with western education; schools and teachers (Nigeria Union of Teachers, 2015). Hence, they plant their flags in captured territories as a symbol of an established caliphate. In so doing the terrorist group is set to inflict maximum pain on the society. In Nigeria, terrorism has visibly become a deadly reality affecting its citizens in one locality or another on a regular basis Danjuma pointed out that "as terrorists seem to be having the upper hand in their fight against the state" (Wakili, 2014G3). Between 1999 and 2015, the security situation in Nigeria has deteriorated in profound ways. Out of the thirty six States of the federation, sovereign control of about eleven is somehow undermined by terrorist upsurge. Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Kaduna, Kano, Kogi, Niger, Plateau, Yobe, Taraba States and Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) had been battling with the sect's terror activities.

If, at least, one neighbouring state that has been made insecure as a result of probable overspill is added, there are about twenty two States that are adversely affected by Boko Haram's terror machine. It means that government's unrestrained control of the Nigerian territorial space is incomplete. Yet, there is no civil war. Most Nigerians have got to that

point where they think Nigeria's security agencies are corrupt, incompetent or deficient in intelligence gathering. The suggestions regarding the latter betray a very refined imagination: a real problem that is frustrating governments' efforts towards sustainable development. Perhaps, Ogedebe and Jacob (2012:124) were right when they stated that Nigeria's security forces, in their present state, do not appear to be in a position to defeat the terrorists and kidnappers. Their ubiquitous roadblocks, token arrests, reactive soldiers neither frighten Boko Haram nor other contestants (kidnappers and armed robbers) for superior fire power. The Federal government has tried to remain undamaged by the growing Boko Haram menace, but it has several significant weaknesses to overcome: seize the momentum and put the group's elusive leadership under intense pressure, build capacity of the rural villages where the sect finds support, provide economic development, partner with communities and encourage neighbourhood watch groups.

The bottom-line is that government's strategy has failed, and indiscriminate bombing that has become almost a daily occurrence in parts of Nigeria are ample illustrations of this claim. President Jonathan has been criticized for not being decisive enough on terror and national security. But government has tried to neutralize the criticisms with the counter-charge that it inherited the problem. Granted, Boko Haram predated Jonathan's presidency except that under his watch, a sect that started as an anonymous Islamic group metamorphosed into an evil force ready to destabilize Nigeria.

During the past eighteen years (1999-date) when Nigeria returned to democracy, thousands of civilians and even members of the armed forces have been killed and injured in terrorist Terrorism has impeded peace and progressive development in Nigeria. It hinders political development, it affects rapid economic growth and it distorts socio-cultural equilibrium and

leads to environmental deterioration. Terrorism carries out its deadly strikes at the heart of the civilian population, both in central areas and in isolated communities. In its effort to contain and cope with this trend Nigeria has embarked on counter terrorism fight. Hence, the Federal Government has budgeted about one trillion naira annually for fight against terrorism and insurgency in the last three years (2012-date). It has also been noted that the Federal Government of Nigeria has spent well over 6.5 trillion Naira fighting terrorism (Wakili, 2015). It is worth noting that the huge sum of money budgeted annually to fight terrorism has not made any impact on the ferocity of terrorist in Nigeria.

It is a fact that successive Nigerian governments have rolled out various policies against terrorism and sectarian disturbances. For instance, the 1983 and 1987 incidents of sectarian crises that started in Kafanchan and later spread to Kaduna, Zaria, Funtua, Malumfashi, and Katsina, were addressed by the government. Apart from setting up the Justice Donli Commission, the government also formed the Karibi-Whyte tribunal to try suspects and sentenced those found guilty to prison in accordance with the existing law. That action checked religious fanaticism to some extent. Documents in the Senate between February 2005 and sometime in 2006, showed two different anti-terrorism bills: SB 192 "Nigerian Anti-Terrorism Agency Bill" and SB 193, "Anti-Terrorism Bill." Yar'adua presented another anti-terrorism bill before the National Assembly. The bills were meant to signal Nigeria's response to the war on terror. According to Ajani (2010), the primary aim of the bill was for an "Act to Prohibit Terrorism". It sought to: (a) Prohibit all forms of terrorism; (b) Prohibit all forms of financial transactions aimed at aiding terrorism; (c) Prohibit conspiracies in Nigeria to commit terrorism abroad; (d) Provide federal jurisdiction to

prosecute acts of terrorism carried out within Nigeria; and (e) Provide for appropriate penalties for offenders.

The Anti-Terrorism Agency Bill sought to reduce the risks of terrorism by: (1) Preventing terrorism through actions to tackle the factors which encourage and facilitate recruitment; (2) Pursuing terrorists and those that sponsor them by better understanding terrorists' networks in order to track and disrupt their activities and bring them to justice, and (3) Enhancing Nigeria's ability to withstand terrorist attack by protecting Nigerians and preparing thoroughly to respond to any attack so as to reduce the consequences if one occurs(Law of the Federation of Nigeria,1999-2016 Enactments). It is worth mentioning that Nigerian Government has not demonstrated courage and political will to enforce the policies and the bills. Hence, these bills suffered a setback due to lobbying and party politics (Ukpai, 2011).

In the words of Adejumo (2012), terrorism and insecurity, especially internal insecurity is not a problem that is unique to Nigeria. He notes that the US, the UK and many other countries face the challenges of insecurity within their borders on a daily basis. The difference between the countries and Nigeria is how they manage the threats; how knowledgeable and prepared they are; how they deploy resources against the threats; how effective they are; how patriotic and united the people are against threats of insecurity. Yet, as the pains and sufferings experienced by the victims increase, the concerns of the government, that of the communal and even individual concerns wane. Hence, Malkinson, Rubin, and Witztun (2005) and Neira (et al.2007) have noted the complicated grief reaction seen in victims of terrorism. Montclos (2014) further captures the enormity of the inherent Boko Haram activities more broadly when he concluded that in a pluralistic society, the

jihad of Boko Haram raises many fears regarding Shariah, freedom of religion, the clash of civilizations, and the prospect of a civil war with Christians. Onuoha (2013) further added that the professionalization and the radicalization of the sect now pose significant threats to sub-regional security, beyond Nigeria. In his view, the audacity of Boko Haram reflects the weakness of the Nigerian state and its inability to build government legitimacy, to deliver public goods, to strengthen moderate Islam, and to implement a robust programme on countering ideological support for extremism and terrorism.

2.8 Social Supports for Victims of Terrorism

Victims of crime and terrorism often feel out of sorts (Casarez-Levison, 1992:46) as they may seek others for support (Greenberg and Beach, 2004; Greenberg *et al.,* 1992; Leymann *et al.*, 1992; Norris *et al.* 1997; Steel *et al.*2004). Nolen-Hoeksema *et al.* (1999) and Steel *et al.* (2004), in separate researches, have indicated that people who get positive social support show better adjustment. Further, it appears that even the belief that they have support can make victims feel better (Green and Diaz, 2007), especially if they are dealing with anger (Green *et al*. 2007). Both natural and professional supports can offer help to the victim. Although the decision regarding where to go for support lies with the victim, those who use natural supports are also more likely to seek professional help, especially if they feel positively supported (Norris *et al.* 1997). Supportive people may provide information, companionship, reality checks, emotional support, and money or a safe place to live (Everly *et al.* 2000). Support also seems to reduce the victim's anxiety (Green *et al.* 2007). A Canadian survey indicates that 60% of victims of violent crime and 80% of victims of non-violent crime seek out family support (AuCoin *et al*. 2007). Norris et al. (1997) have noted that some victims benefit from talking to other people about their experience and

feelings. Telling their story seems to help make sense of what happened and of their emotions (Greenberg *et al.* 1992).

The United Nations Conference on Supporting Victims of Terrorism (2008) has highlighted certain recommendations for member states in respect of victims of terrorism as follows: (1)the importance of giving victims a face and a voice; (2) protecting their dignity; (3) giving victims legal status and defending their legal rights; (4) providing victims with medical, psycho-social and financial support; (5) building solidarity with victims; (6) improving media coverage for the plight of victims; and (7) focusing on the link between victims and counter-terrorism efforts more generally. Social support for victims of terrorism is routed in the United Nations Act on Counter-Terrorism which is a product of the Resolution 1624 of the United Nations Security Council that was adopted in 2005. According to Cram (2009), the council condemned acts of terrorism and incitement and glorification of terrorist acts. It expressed concerns that such actions pose a threat to human rights and the peace, stability and the economic development of all states. It equally expresses concern at the increasing number of victims of terrorism, the nature of terrorism and the role of the United Nations in combating terrorism. Finally, it called on all countries to become party to international conventions regarding counter-terrorism and the International Convention for the Suppression of acts of Nuclear Terrorism.

According to Luck (2006), the Security Council has called upon all states to adopt measures necessary to prohibit incitement to terrorist action and to deny a safe haven to persons where there is credible evidence that they had been involved in such conduct. Similarly, Joseph (2010) has noted that a Counter-Terrorism Committee was constituted and instructed to engage in dialogue with states on how they could implement the

resolution, promoting the best legal practice and information exchange. The idea of solidarity with victims of terrorism can be read also in the Preamble of the UN General Assembly resolution 59/191 of 2005 on "Protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism." Also during the 2005 World Summit, Heads of States stressed "the importance of assisting victims of terrorism and of providing them and their families with support to cope with their loss and their grief." At the regional level, Article 13 of the CoE Convention on the Prevention of Terrorism (2005) reads: "Each Party shall adopt such measures as may be necessary to protect and support the victims of terrorism that has been committed within its own territory. These measures may include, through the appropriate national schemes and subject to domestic legislation, inter alia, financial assistance and compensation for victims of terrorism and their close family members." A budget line has been included in the 2005 European Community budget for a pilot project to support the financing of projects which are intended to help the victims of terrorist acts and/or their families to recover from the tragic situation they have experienced, by means of social, medical, psychological, legal and material support provided by organizations and/or their networks, as well as to support the financing of projects which raise the awareness of the European public against terrorism. Finally, the Madrid Agenda, adopted at the International Summit on Democracy, Terrorism and Security (2005), refers to:

> *"a moral and practical necessity to address the needs of victims of terrorism (and) therefore recommend member nations to explore the possibility of creating a high commissioner for victims both at the international and the national level, who will represent the victims' right to know the truth, as well as obtain justice, adequate redress and integral reparation."*

In 2002, the Commonwealth Secretariat published the *Commonwealth Guidelines for the Treatment of Victims of Crime*. (Law 5233) on the Compensation of Losses Resulting From Terrorist Acts and the Measures Taken Against Terrorism. According to the UN Declaration (1985, para.14): "Victims should receive the necessary material, medical, psychological and social assistance through governmental, voluntary, community-based and indigenous means". The 2005 CoE Guidelines on Victims of Terrorist Acts adopted a more detailed formula. The right to assistance may be interpreted as a facet of the State's duty to protect the right to life. The right to protection of health and to enjoy from social welfare services is mentioned, at the European level, also in Articles 11 and 14 of the European Social Charter.

The UN International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism adopted in New York on 9 December 1999 (entered into force in 2002), Article 8 (4) reads: "Each State Party shall consider establishing mechanisms whereby the funds derived from the forfeitures referred to in this article are utilized to compensate the victims of offences referred to in article 2, paragraph 1, sub-paragraph (a) or (b), or their families." In UN Security Council Resolution 1566 (2004) of 8 October 2004, the Council "decides to establish a working group consisting of all members of the Security Council to consider the possibility of establishing an international fund to compensate victims of terrorist acts and their families, which might be financed through voluntary contributions, which could consist in part of assets seized from terrorist organizations, their members and sponsors, and submit its recommendations to the Council". Finally, the possibility of establishing an international fund is explicitly mentioned also in UN General Assembly resolution 59/195

of 22 March 2005 on "Human rights and terrorism", para. 15, and in UN Commission on Human Rights, Resolution 2002/35 on Human Rights and Terrorism, para.11.

The EU Council Directive 2004/80/CE of 29 April 2004 relating to compensation to crime victims, also reads: "A system of cooperation between the authorities of the Member States should be introduced to facilitate access to compensation in cases where the crime was committed in a Member State other than that of the victim's residence." And that: "States should establish effective facilities and procedures to investigate thoroughly cases of missing and disappeared persons in circumstances which may involve a violation of the right to life", Human Rights Committee, General Comment No. 06: The right to life (art. 6) of 30 April 1982. The Inter-American Court of Human Rights has stated that: "the State has a legal duty to take reasonable steps to prevent human rights violations and to use the means at its disposal to carry out a serious investigation of violations committed within its jurisdiction, to identify those responsible, to impose the appropriate punishment and to ensure that the victim gets adequate compensation". Where "the Court recalls that, according to its case-law, the obligation to protect the right to life under Article 2, read in conjunction with the State's general duty under Article 1 to "secure to everyone within (its) jurisdiction the rights and freedoms defined in (the) Convention".

This requires that, by implication there should be some form of effective official investigation when individuals have been killed as a result of the use of force. This obligation is not confined to cases where it has been established that the killing was caused by an agent of the State. Nor is it decisive whether members of the deceased's family or others have lodged a formal complaint about the killing with a competent investigation authority. The mere fact that the authorities were informed of the killing of the applicant's

husband gave rise, *ipso facto,* to an obligation under Article 2 of the Convention to carry out an effective investigation into the circumstances surrounding the death. The nature and degree of scrutiny which satisfies the minimum threshold of an investigation's effectiveness depends on the circumstances of each particular case. It must be assessed on the basis of all relevant facts and with regard to the practical realities of investigation work". In the same vein, the fundamental importance of the right to protection of life, Article 13 requires, in addition to the payment of compensation where appropriate, a thorough and effective investigation capable of leading to the identification and punishment of those responsible for the deprivation of life and including effective access for the complainant to the investigation procedure. The UN Resolution of 1999 which took effect from 2002 has been domesticated in Nigeria via the Law of the Federation of Nigeria 2011 as amended in 2013. However, this law has not been enforced by the government most probably due to lack of political will.

The United Nations (2005) has acknowledged the power of civil societies in playing a key role in the initiation, development and implementation of policies and services that empower victims of terrorism. While States should, in no way, abdicate their responsibilities for what concerns assistance and compensation, civil society can play an active part in supporting victims by providing spiritual care and psychological support to them. Especially, support from past victims can play a vital role in recovering from the trauma of a terrorist attack. An active non-governmental sector may have a very important function in shaping policies aimed at enhancing the support for and protection of victims. This requires an inclusive approach aimed at involving all actors and relevant stakeholders.

This range of activities may include councelling, advocacy and supplementary therapies for victims, such as the creation of self-help groups.

Civil society could, in this vision, represent a significant network of support for victims complementing the state's activities in this field. Victim's associations also have a vital role to play in sensitizing all societal actors to the needs of those affected by terrorist attacks and could take part in public discourse on their behalf. The Bring Back Our Girls (BBOG) was formed as an aftermath of the abduction of Chibok schoolgirls and has been in the fore front in the pressure for the release of captives in terrorist custody in Nigeria. The group also works hand in hand with the parents of the adopted school girls to give the psychological strength to withstand the trauma. The United Nations through the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Red Cross and Centre for Caring, Empowerment and Peace Initiatives (CCEPI) are non-governmental organizations that are actively involved in ensuring the welfare needs of victims in Internally Displaced Peoples Camp in different parts of Nigeria. In the United States of America, the Federal Bureau of Intelligence Office for Victim Assistance in Washington, DC is responsible for providing information and assistance to victims during an investigation.

The Terrorism Victim Assistance Unit in the Office for Victim Assistance (OVA) offers immediate assistance to families of victims with information about the repatriation process, autopsies, return of personal effects, emergency travel, documentation for insurance and other benefits, as well as other crisis intervention services. The OVA assists by providing information on coping, referrals for counseling, information on victims' compensation and other sources of financial assistance. In addition, the OVA serves as a point-of-contact for

victims and their families and may facilitate briefings between victims and FBI officials responsible for the investigation. In Nigeria the Victims Support Fund had the mandate to

> *"identify sources and ways of raising sustainable funding to support victims of terror activities; develop appropriate strategies for the fund raising; ascertain the persons, communities, facilities and economic assets affected by terror activities; assess and determine the appropriate support required in each case; manage, disburse and/or administer support to the victims as appropriate; address related challenges as may be appropriate; and advise government on other matters necessary or incidental to support victims of terror activities"(Wakili,2014:1).*

Victims of terrorism in Nigeria have not experienced such robust commitment and prompt action. Hence, Ali (2013) notes that the increasing challenges of insecurity in Nigeria have been linked to failure of leadership to deliver good governance and secure the welfare of persons on the principles of freedom, equality and justice. He observed further that the ruling elite in Nigeria in both the military and democratic dispensations are dependent, parasitic, and very corrupt in nature amidst mal-administration.

2.9 How Victims Cope with Terrorism Victimization

The affected population is the generality of inhabitants who are direct, primary and tertiary victims of terrorism. They also include all those who were traumatized by the events of terrorism. When one considers the huge number of Nigerians affected by terrorism between 1999 and 2015, the ability of Nigerian society to cope with this terrorism is quite remarkable. Waxman (2011:9) used the example of Israeli society during the second Intifada to illustrate chronic exposure to terrorism. Although it is not the only country to have experienced endemic terrorism—Sri Lanka and Northern Ireland are two other examples—no country has endured more acts of terrorism over a prolonged period than Israel. Before the establishment of the state of Iarael and thereafter, Israelis have been the targets of terrorist attacks, both within Israel and around the world. Indeed, the history of

modern terrorism is linked to the history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as Arab militant groups have pioneered new terrorist tactics (notably, airplane hijackings and suicide bombings) and carried out some of the best known terrorist attacks in history (such as the hostage-taking of Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Olympic games). The threat of terrorism has long been a fact of life for Israelis. Thus, Israeli society's experience with terrorism can potentially offer many insights into the impact of chronic terrorism on societies. Hence, Sharkansky (2007) has shown how Israelis cope with ongoing terrorism despite suffering enormously from it. There are no doubts that many factors are responsible for this, but three are particularly worth noting here. First, acclimatization to chronic terrorism. In other words, the Israeli society has basically become accustomed to terrorism and has adapted accordingly. Kirschenbaum (2005:15) notes that the threat of chronic terrorism simply became part of normal life in Israeli Society during the Intifada (uprising), just as Boko Haram terrorism has become in Northeastern Nigeria. Second, media attention given to terrorist attacks need to decline during chronic terror. In other words, repeated terrorist attacks should receive less social media and television coverage and less television viewing. Liebel *et al* (2007), has indicated that this occurred in Israel during the second Intifada. Thus, Slone (2000) has shown that since exposure to media coverage of terrorist attacks has been shown to generate symptoms of anxiety and distress, as the media pays less attention to terrorism, this helps the society to become less affected. Finally, and most importantly, social resilience got stronger. Resilience is a characteristic of both individuals and societies. Friedland *et al* (2005:5), have observed that like individual resilience, social resilience involves the "ability to withstand adversity and cope effectively with change." Thus, with regard to terrorism, social resilience prevents

terrorism from seriously disrupting the normal functioning of a society. It means that a targeted population is able to cope with the threat of terrorism and not to be intimidated or demoralized by it. The concept of social resilience, therefore, helps explain why Israeli society and other societies were not demoralized by repeated terrorist attacks, despite the serious effects these attacks had on them.

Elran (2006:81), shows that the Israeli-Jewish society, in particular had demonstrated a high level of social resilience during the second Intifada. In the same vein, Ben-Dor (2007:3), has observed that one factor that contributes to social resilience is social cohesion. He has observed that Israeli-Jewish society is still very cohesive, notwithstanding its serious political, cultural, and social divisions. There is a strong sense of social solidarity among Israeli Jews. Although this sense of solidarity has declined over the years, it rises during times of external conflict. Hence, war and terrorism bolster social cohesion in Israel, which helps it to cope with these violent episodes. Ben-Dor (2007:1) has added that social trust is another factor behind social resilience. In Israel's case, the high level of trust that Israeli Jews have in the country's army and security services boosts their social resilience. During the second Intifada, the Israeli-Jewish public had confidence in the Israeli military and believed that quick and effective actions were being taken against Palestinian militant groups that were carrying out terrorist attacks (at least during the tenure of the government of Sharon). In this respect, Israel's counter-terror actions helped prevent Israeli society from becoming demoralized. Waxman (2011), equally observed that Israelis Jews are very patriotic-this is most apparent in their high level of willingness to perform military service-which also contributes to their social resilience (Ben-Dor *et al*.2007:50). In sum, the case of Israel during the second Intifada suggests that societies can become inured

to prolonged terrorism and that the more resilient a society is, the less it will be demoralized by terrorism. Although terrorist attacks do succeed in causing mass fear and anxiety, they do not necessarily undermine a society's morale and willpower. Terrorism tests a society's unity and resolve. According to Elran (2006:81), Israeli society essentially passed that test in the second Intifada due to its social resilience. As such, it offers a useful example that other societies faced with the threat of terrorism can potentially learn from. Whether the case of Israel is typical or exceptional of societies living with chronic terrorism should be the subject of further study.

Understanding social resilience has important implications for how people think about terrorism and how they deal with it. It may even ultimately help them to win the 'war on terror' that they are currently engaged in—not because they stop all terrorist attacks (perhaps an impossibility), but because they are not greatly affected by them. In the same vein, Ademowo and Ojo (2012) have suggested that to overcome the problem of insurgency and overall violence in Nigeria, a culture of peace should be popularized within and outside of the classroom. In the classroom, the ideals of culture of peace should be included in the Citizenship Education curriculum for the primary school. At the junior secondary level, the Social Studies curriculum can be developed further to incorporate the same ideals. At the tertiary level of, efforts must be made to promote peace education as a General Studies course. Outside of the classroom, the National Orientation Agency should be mandated to develop activities that will engage and educate the leaders and the led (the civil populace) on the need to imbibe the culture of peace by all and sundry.

The victims of terrorism face many different challenges: (i) the shock of being victimized; (ii) dealing with the police and the courts; (iii) the reactions of others; (iv) returning to

"normal life;" (v) feeling unsafe; and (vi) self-blame among others. Researchers have noted that victims do not seem to return to pre-crime levels of stress, although they can manage to function relatively well (Hagemann, 1992; Norris *et al.* 1997; Resick *et al.* 2002). Although the passage of time may give a victim the opportunity to return to "normal" life, victimization appears to have long-lasting effects (Gilboa-Schechtman and Foa, 2001; Norris *et al.* 1997). Boccellari *et al.(*2007) found that victims of crime who are employed are at increased risk of using poorer coping strategies. This is because added work stress interferes with effectively choosing healing strategies.

A survey conducted by The Gallup Organization (2005) in the United States of America during the three months following 9/11, has revealed that 10% of their respondents reported voluntary alterations concerning travel plans, avoidance of crowded places and stocking of goods. This survey also found that 40% of their respondents opened their mail more cautiously. Overall, more than a third indicated changing or planning to change their behaviour as a result of the 9/11 attacks. This precautionary behaviour was also found among Americans with a heightened personal risk perception of terrorism (Huddy *et al.* 2002:485).

The threat of terrorism contains various factors of stress. Therefore, it may have different negative effects on the psychological, physical and social well-being of the individual. The purpose of coping is to reduce or avoid psychological stress (Fleishman, 1984:229). Lazarus and Folkman (1984:141), have defined coping as "constantly changing cognitive and behavioural efforts to manage specific external and /or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of a person". In other words, coping is a never-ending quest for balance between the demands imposed by the stress factors in our

life and the mental resources available to withstand them. Each cognitive or behavioural act that helps an individual to restore or achieve the balance between what sometimes seems as infinite stream of stress catalysis and the limited resources available may be considered coping (Lazarus, 1974:170).

Coping is a vital mental skill required in order to be able to adapt to stressful situations. The different strategies applied in the attempt to reconcile the continuous conflict between the negative life events and one's mental well-being can have a crucial impact on the end result (Parker and Endler, 1992:321). The general population uses three main coping strategies: problem-focused, emotionally-focused and avoidance coping. The aim of all of the above strategies is to eventually reduce stress levels. Yet, the means each one uses in order to reach the same goal diffe200rs (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). Problem-focused coping centres on the problem that causes the stress. It attempts, using a wider array of supporting techniques and complimentary strategies, to alter the source of the stress so that it no longer violates the self's cognitive and behavioural balance. One could say that problem-focused coping directs available resources inwards towards the stressor in an effort to overcome the obstacle it presents. Contrary to problem-focused strategy, the emotional-focused strategy directs resources and attention away from the problem. Emotional coping equally reduces stress by utilizing cognitive processes that lower and relieve distress using various strategies such as minimization and distraction (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984).

The third coping style is a radicalization of the emotional coping style. Lazarus and Folkman (1984) termed it as avoidance coping. This coping style occurs in situations in which an individual is unable to cope efficiently with the problem or with its emotional

byproducts. Avoidance, denial and distraction are used in order to ignore the stressor and its affects, or to avoid coping with the situation directly. The psychological effects of terrorism on the victims is, however, outside the scope of this study.

Communication is an effective coping strategy for victims of terrorism. When an area is under siege, victims communicate to one another for safety. Tinti (2015:1) confirms this assertion from a victim who said "my friend whispered in my ears that the town had been taken over by Boko Haram. Before I knew it, my wife had called me and asked me to stay wherever I was and not to come home. I had to enter the bush crawling like a wild animal". Similarly, in their quest to survive, some victims removed their cloths that could expose them to danger. The Police, in particular, were noticed to have removed and thrown away their uniforms thereby escaping in their nakedness in one terror attack. A victim confirmed this in the following words: "I gave a policeman my clothes so that he can escape. I saw a lot of them (policemen) naked, climbing trees; some were crawling on their stomachs like reptiles. There were many of them without their uniforms where we were hiding" (Tinti, 2015:5). It has been reported that victims devise several means of survival. Shoe (2015) has explained how victims, especially children, fed on grasses, sand and even drink their own urine. She recounted the experience of young victims in the following words: "When these children were brought here from the North East, they came with different sicknesses; many had been feeding on grass, muddy water, their urine".

One group that had grown accustomed to fighting Boko Haram is the Civilian Joint Task Force, a Vigilante outfit that has been formalized into a quasi-militia by the Nigerian government in 2013 when military leaders came to appreciate the value of working with the local population. They formed a communal army of volunteer forces that provided

information, guide and even led offensives against the terrorists. In the same vein, some communities resorted to open confrontation and warfare to protect their territories at the peak of attacks by Boko Haram. When the terrorists approached, local inhabitants often faced them in fierce fighting. A local fighter in Baga recounts his experience while fighting Boko Haram as he cradles his most trusted weapon; a slingshot, made from the split end of a tree branch, thick rubber bands, and layers of tape and fabric. He indicated that normally he would also be carrying his cutlass and several homemade arrows, adding that "during previous attacks on his village of Doron Baga, Boko Haram came in small numbers, and usually fled if they faced any stiff resistance, even if only from a Civilian JTF armed with artisanal weaponry" (Tinti, 2015:3). On the day of the Baga massacre, an eye witness said, the Nigerian soldiers dropped their guns and ran away when they saw that Boko Haram fighters had come in unprecedented numbers. The Civilian JTF picked up those weapons and fired until they ran out of bullets, but they too fled once it was clear that Boko Haram could not be repelled. This fighter has noted that the Nigerian military was afraid to fight and die, but that, "the Civilian JTF is not because we are defending our home and defending our families"(Tinti, 2015:5). The courage of the Civilian Joint Taskforce in confronting terrorists is a communal effort aimed at checking their onslaught.

Relocation, closing down and shortening of hours of operation have been adopted by companies and commercial organizations as coping strategies in terror-stricken environments (Gosh, 1994). Schools have been closed in several places that are exposed to terrorism. This trend is prevalent in terror prone environments like Borno and Yobe States in Nigeria and in Afganistan and Pakistan. For example, Ghosh (1994) has noted that one coping strategy adopted by the government in Kashmir is keeping schools closed for most

of the year to protect children from terrorism. This trend is what Shettima (2015) has noted when he said: "Boko Haram crisis is a calamity that befalls us as the insurgents do not discriminate whether somebody is a Christian or a muslim nor (do they consider) tribal affiliation".

Gender differences play a prominent role in coping with unexpected situations. Women tend to use emotionally-focused coping styles more often in stressful situations, whereas men largely rely on problem-focused style coping (Stone and Neale, 1984:892). Men usually tend to use strategies that are directed towards the stressful situation in order to change it, while women frequently look for relief through emotional and social support (Hauser and Bowlds, 1990:388). In the same vein, Gandu (2011) has noted that in the oil enclave in the Niger Delta of Nigeria, men and women adopt different coping measures. "That men employ tactics that enable them to directly generate and make a living from the oil operations through theft, sabotage, oil theft, kidnapping of oil expatriate workers and asking for compensation payments. For the women, it is very difficult to adopt these methods because of their gender". There are individual Coping Strategies just as there are also family coping strategies (Tinti, 2015:7). There are equally Communal, state and national measures that are aimed at combating terrorism and mitigating the effects. Coping with terrorism just as every other disaster may be through positive or negative coping strategies. Thus, Ahmed (1996) differentiates between positive and negative coping strategies. Positive coping strategies focus on changing oneself or dealing directly with the problem; for example, forming the Civilian Joint Taskforce to assist the military in exposing and fighting terrorism is a communal as well as a positive coping strategy.

2.10 Theoretical Framework

For the purpose of this study, the Social Adaptation theory was reviewed and adopted in explaining the coping strategies of the victims of terrorism in Zaria metropolis. The Social Adaptation theory helps to explain the compulsory burden that terrorism impact on victims and over the time Coping Strategies that the victims adopted to survive. Despite its intertwined roots with Biology, Sociology seldom uses the concept of adaptation, preferring the terms Integration, acculturation, deviance or even socialization. Nevertheless, the concept of adaptation exists by social adaptation which dwells on changes in the individual at the origin of the development of aptitudes, to integrate and acquire the feeling of belonging to a group (Boudon, 2002:250).

The Social Adaptation Theory

Adapt comes from the Latin *apere* (to bind, to attach). Its past form, aptus (apte), when added to the locution ad (to, towards) created the verb adaptare (to adjust to, in prevision of) (Rey, 2006). The present use of *to adapt* emerged in the 16th century, along with a few other derived meanings (aptitude, to appropriate or to adhere) (Rey-Debove and Rey, 2007; Simonet, 2010). Also, "Adaptation" derives from a Medieval Latin word adaptatio, testified in the 13th century, but generalized in French and then in English in the 16th century to designate the action of adapting, the sense of adjusting. Rhetorically, the term expresses suitability to a situation. In the 19th century, due to the expansion of Biology, adaptation included the idea of modification. Finally, it gained its present full semantic dimension through trans-disciplinary appropriation, notably by psychology, and its transposition to Sociology (Taché, 2003).

Adaptation equally takes its conceptual glory from the theory of evolution, a subject that for a long time has been skimmed over and that poses the question "What is life?" (Smit and Wandel, 2006:282; Lambert and Rezsöhazy, 2004). One of the first writings to suggest the notion of the evolution of life by adaptation to the milieu is attributed to Anaximander (Obenga, 2005). There were a few other references in Empedocles and Democritus. Then, Aristotle dealt with "The influence of climate on animals" and "The influence of the milieu on the behavior of animals" and defended a teleological vision in which all biological development takes place within a final, pre-established perspective: "The very form that nature imagined for the hand is adapted to the function of seizing and holding" (Labarrière, 2005; Aristotle quoted in Piveteau, 1991).

In the early middle-ages, Aristotelian philosophy rediscovered and translated, was mixed with the precepts of the Catholic Church by Thomas Aquinas. His fixist influence prevented any debate regarding the sciences of life to emerge until the scientific renewal in the 17th century. The bonds between natural and living circles were limited to observing the appearances of illnesses under certain environmental conditions (Moran, 2000). The arrival of the first evolution theories during the 19th century clashed with the established concept of a life that was descended from a divine creation. This generated an epistemological fracture and, from this, adaptation was born. The idea of an evolutionary adaptation comes from the notion of adaptation to the natural environment, the backbone of Lamarck's theories (1809) and who (was) influenced by Buffon and Maupertuis. Lamarck saw in living beings the capacity to stick to "influent circumstances" in developing certain organic functions, according to need. This transformist adaptation was perceived as a continuous effort of the living to benefit from the milieu in which it evolves.

The ideas of resistance and survival preponderated. The Darwinian explanation of a natural selection as an evolving, driving force eclipsed the Lamarckian adaptation, which was then perceived as a simple result of evolvements and not a process, before the former also came to a dead end when faced with the rediscovery of work in genetics and the notion of organization. Rabaud's work on biological adaptation (1922) and, subsequently, Cuénot's (1925) marked the beginning of a prosperous era for the enrichment of the notion of adaptation. In the second half of the 20th century, contributions were made by new sciences, such as cybernetics, and the advancements in information theories, as well as thermodynamics of open systems. First defined on an individual level, the concept was then studied on a collective human scale (Orlove, 2005:589). The research in the 1990s on auto-organization, complexity and systemics contributed to the refinement of adaptation thus creating a concept.

Nevertheless, the concept of adaptation exists in sociology by social adaptation. It is found in changes in the individual at the beginning of the development of aptitudes to integrate and acquire the feeling of belonging to a group (Boudon, 2002:258). Socialization requires an individual to have internalized and integrated the models, values and symbols of the milieu to the structure of his personality in order to communicate and evolve with ease. Social adaptation, however, does not signify "conformity" as the adaptation to a milieu can introduce the notion of innovation or modification (Rocher, 1992:684). Furthermore, the sociological theories of adaptation and the sociological analysis of integration are complementary and participate in the enrichment of adaptation in a more general sense. The sociology of the 19th century, influenced by biology, saw the appearance of evolutionism, which searched for laws at the source of social transformations in time. At

the beginning of the 20th century, evolutionist sociology was criticized by functionalism, sociology of conflict and individualism. This influenced new waves through the concept of change. In turn, this enabled the concept of adaptation to be re-born (Taché, 2003).

The contribution of new sciences created epistemological ruptures. From this emerged the concept of interdependence, the premise of the complex and systemic sociology that was instigated by Morin and in which adaptation draws the essential from its conceptualization. Morin's work, sometimes closer to epistemology than to sociology, connects social anthropology to the sciences of nature using the concepts of systems and organization, thus redefined (Durand and Weil, 2006:816). Adaptation is therefore conceived as the process central to change by which a complex system can raise its complexity by lowering its constraints. Morin (1985:50) emphasizes that the concept is wired to a conceptual loop mixing auto-organization that integrates an eco-organization, thus participating in Evolution. The notion of adaptation is itself subject to change and transformation. Thus, Taché (2003) proposes a generic definition of the adaptation of the complex systems that integrates a wide range of notions. He ends his work on the sociologic implication within the complex process of adaptation on a theoretical level, as well as a level of intervention, notably within the existing global or institutional context that is characterized by numerous changes and uncertainties.

The concept of adaptation has been at the heart of psychological modelling since its origin in psychological adaptation. It is defined as the process of unceasing interaction between Man and the ever-changing world within which he evolves. It is like a complex dynamic that articulates the different actions of the subject, as well as the different processes that enable the emergence of transformation perspectives (Jakubowitcz, 2002). These are

updated by the process of information processing and decision making, to act recursively on the internal organization of the subject, giving it the possibility to adapt to new situations (Taché, 2003).

Talcott Parsons: The Social System

In the 1950s, using his general theory of action, Parsons developed the function of adaptation in the context of the action system represented by social actors and defined by the interdependence of the under systems and the system of action with its environment. He conceptualizes voluntarism as the subjective decision-making process of individual actors, but he views such decisions as the partial outcome of certain kinds of constraints, both normative and situational (Turner, 1978:51). For Parsons, adaptation involves the problem of securing from the environment sufficient facilities and then distributing these facilities throughout the system (Parsons and Kroeber, 1958:582). Parsons visualized an overall action system, with culture, social structure, personality, and organism comprising its constituent subsystem. The organism is considered to be the subsystem having the most consequences for resolving adaptive problem, since it is ultimately through this system that environmental resources are made available to the other action subsystems. Hence, the manner in which social systems react to their environment is center to Parson's adaptation theory. Any system – a nation-state, a corporation, or a family-must adapt to its environment, or it will break down. Adaptation is a component of Parsons' theory of social system survival.

Robert K. Merton: Social Structure and Anomie

Merton's theory of "anomie" seeks to answer the question: What causes deviance, its rate and type in a society? To him deviance is to be seen as a response or "adaptation" of

populations in a society to a state of anomie, while anomie is the result of malintegration within and between culture and structure. While he rejects the view that deviance represents an expression of uncontrolled biological needs, he implicitly attempts to understand how culturally induced psychological needs operate to produce deviance in individuals. In keeping with his concern over functions/dysfunctions and the "net balance of consequences," Merton implicitly analyzes the consequences of deviance for different social units: the social whole, the subgroup revealing high rates of deviance, and the individual deviants themselves. For the social whole, the implication is that deviance is dysfunctional, although he implies certain positive consequences of "innovative" deviance. For the subgroups involved, deviance represents an "adaptation" and hence appears to have some positive consequences for resolving their position in a malintegrated system. For the needs of the individuals, the deviance resolves many of the frustrations, anxieties and motivational conflicts, with the result that it can sometimes be viewed as functional. To Merton adaptation is not deviance, but its opposite, conformity (Turner,1978:83).

Merton's particular concern appears to be on (a) the conditions under which cultural goals are accepted by all segments of a population ie how they are internalized and become a part of their individual psychological needs and (b) the conditions under which institutionalized means are unequally available to the members of a social system. This situation is anomie for some segments of the population and sets into motion efforts to adapt or cope with the disjunction between means and ends.

Callista Roy: The Adaptation Model of Nursing

The Adaptation Model of Nursing was developed by Roy in 1976. After working with Dorothy E. Johnson, Roy became convinced of the importance of describing the nature of

nursing as a service to society. This prompted her to begin developing her model with the goal of nursing being to promote adaptation. She first began organizing her theory of nursing as she developed course curriculum for nursing students at Mount St. Mary's College. She introduced her ideas as a basis for an integrated nursing curriculum. The factors that influenced the development of the model included: family, education, religious background, mentors, and clinical experience. Roy's model asks the questions: Who is the focus of nursing care? What is the target of nursing care? When is nursing care indicated? Roy explained that adaptation occurs when people respond positively to environmental changes, and it is the process and outcome of individuals and groups who use conscious awareness, self-reflection, and choice to create human and environmental integration.

Assumptions of the Adaptation Theory

The assumption/ function of adaptation is a principal of organization that enables one to understand the relation between parts of the system, as well as the system as a whole. It deals with all the means that the system and its members must use in the pursuit of goals or coping with challenges that emanate from man- made disaster. In this way, adaptation becomes an endogen process that enables the system to either assimilate the innovation, or to modify its internal structure in order to assimilate this innovation. The subject of adaptation is also treated in the sociology of organizations. Faced with change (social, economic, technological), there exist organizations that are resistant to adaptation, but which must transform to avoid disappearance by accepting a gradual and permanent change, rather than an endured and brutal change. Henceforth, the collective apprenticeship notion of the actors of new ways of being and doing constitutes social adjustments that represent the system that is changing with time. In this vein, the study of the relations of

power by the strategic and systematic analysis developed by Crozier and Friedberg (1977) enabled them to show that the actor is free to take a step back from expectations in choosing a group of possibilities, rather than passively adapting to his structure.

The Social Adaptation theory explains the adjustment of individual and group behaviour to social and economic distortions. Social adaptation occurs in the process of socialization which, in this case is coping with the toll of terrorism. It might be with the aid of mechanisms of social control, which include social pressure and state regulation. According to Bononno (2005:207), adaptation helps people to cope with challenges and adjust better over a long term. This, to him, may be emotional or behavioural adaptability. Tugade and Fredrickson (2007:311) also added that adaptation means finding the positive meaning in negative events.

Social adaptation becomes increasingly significant when social change affects important aspects of life over comparatively short periods of time (Lakovlev, 1972). Such changes include migration, changes in age, and calamity such as terrorism which cause shifts of the population and internal displacement. Adaptation theory therefore helps to explicitly justify the choice of victims of terrorism in adopting certain coping strategies over the other or combining different strategies to survive the tragedy. According to Kasperson, J.X., Kasperson, Turner II., Schiller and Hsiel (2005:245), adaptations are victim or systems responses to perturbations or stress that are sufficiently fundamental to alter the system itself, sometimes shifting the system to a new state. Adaptation refers to actions that operate upon the system itself and mitigation, or actions that operate upon the origin and attributes of the perturbation. This concept of adaptive capacity is clearly limited to coping with changes that manifest as an aftermath of crisis such as terrorism.

In a crisis situation such as terrorism which causes social and economic dislocations, the individual victim would be compelled to adopt the available and efficient strategy for coping with life and netting the culturally approved means of sustainability. Gallopin *et al.(*1989:375) have noted that "adaptation goes far beyond ''being able to live and reproduce''; it includes the viability of social and economic activities, and the quality of human life. To them, adaptability or adaptive capacity of human systems can be defined as the capacity of any human system, from the individual to humankind, to increase (or, at least, maintain) the quality of life of its individual members in a given environment or a range of environments. Hence, Duntley and Shackelford (2007) have noted capacity of the evolution of adaptations to prevent victimization and adaptations capable of defending against new cost-inflicting strategies. It is therefore useful to adopt the social adaptation theory as a theoretical framework for this study –as a guiding theory in understanding and presenting the coping strategies by the victims of terrorism.

Weaknesses of the Adaptation Theory

The Adaptation theory laid too much emphasis on environment as a strong influence on livelihood. The concept of adaptation consists of pertinent viewpoints for clarifying adaptation to climate change or even for the environment sciences in general as environment, interdisciplinarity and adaptation can be easily linked. Indeed, today the notion of adaptation capacity includes numerous interdisciplinary aspects of the theme of the environment. It is because of this interdisciplinarity that the concept of adaptation becomes a means for reflecting upon the link between the environment and society in a systemic perspective of reciprocal actions (Reghezza, 2007). There is, therefore, a growing interest in the study and research of solutions to the problem of multifactorial origins

descended from actual acceleration of global environmental and socio-economic changes. Hence, the entire challenge lies in the implementation of the theoretical aspects of the concept of adaptation. This is a delicate stage, in light of adaptation's complex dual etymological history that entwines it with other concepts. Following his study in biology, Cuénot qualified adaptation as "a frightening question" because of the philosophical and metaphysical considerations that it presupposes (Cuénot, 1925).

2.11 Conclusion

This chapter reviews the range of academic literature that has previously discussed issues that relate to terrorism. Issues on effects and coping with terrorism were also discussed. This chapter serves two broad purposes. Firstly, in the tradition of literature review of previous research works, it provides the context into which this study fits and to which it responds in the discussion of the effects of terrorism and victims' coping strategies. Secondly, issues reviewed in this chapter allow this study to identify some of the ways in which previous scholarly works have constructed ways of thinking about and dealing with terrorism. In other words; the chapter critically reviewed the literature to find explanations or major discourses on the potential for the victims to cope with the challenges caused by terrorism. Finally, the Social Adaptation theory has been found to be suitable for as a guiding theory in understanding and explaining the coping strategies by the victims of terrorism in this work.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a systematic description of the techniques adopted for the collection and analysis of data on the coping strategies of the victims of terrorism in Zaria metropolis. The period and location of the study are explained in this section. Also, the sampling techniques and sample size as well as techniques of data analysis are fully presented and discussed. Lastly, this chapter examines the methodological problems and difficulties encountered during the course of the study.

3.2 Research Design

This is a sociological study of the victims of terrorism in Zaria Metropolis. It is a qualitative study of direct victims of terrorism which took place between 2011 to 2014. The research focuses on the Coping Strategies of the victims. In-Depth Interview method of data collection was adopted to elicit information from direct victims. It was also used to obtain information from religious leaders and traditional rulers who are familiar with the victims, the social institutions and the study area for further clarification. Focus Group Discussions were also conducted to further obtain information that would buttress the data obtained through the In-Depth Interview. Purposive sampling method was used to assess respondents while snowball method was used to locate the Direct Victims of terrorism.

3.3 Location of the Study

This study was conducted in the area referred to as Urban Zaria by geographers. Sociologically, it is a metropolis in view of its characteristics and influence in Kaduna State, Nigeria. Zaria metropolis is the densely populated part of Zaria and Sabon Gari

Local Government Areas linked as an urban centre. According to Squires (2002), a metropolitan area is a region consisting of a densely populated urban core and its less-populated surrounding territories, sharing industry, infrastructure, and housing. Hence, surrounding less populated local government areas of Soba, Kubau, Makerfi, Kudan and Giwa Local Government Areas with the selected Urban Zaria is a metropolis. Mark *et al*. (2008) observed that as social, economic and political institutions have changed, metropolitan areas have become key economic and political regions. Metropolitan areas include one or more urban areas, as well as satellite cities, towns and intervening rural areas that are socio-economically tied to the urban core, typically measured by commuting patterns. Zaria metropolis is located between Latitude 7.37'30'E and Latitude 7.45"0'E and Longitude11'1'30'N and Longitude 11'10'30'N with land area of 826.75 square kilometers Zaria is an ancient town in Kaduna State in Northern Nigeria. It is located about eighty kilometers north of Kaduna Metropolis along the Kuduna–Kano road. It was a center of learning long before the colonial era.

The indigenes are Hausa and are predominantly farmers and traders. However, it is home to crafts such as leather works, dying and embroidery. Zaria metropolis is made up of two clusters: Zaria Cikin where the secretariat of Zaria Local Government Area is located. The Local Government extends to Tudun Wada, Gyellesu, Dekaci and Wusasa which is the settlement of the first missionaries that came to Northern Nigeria. The Anglican Bishop of Wusasa and the Catholic Bishop of Zaria have their offices and residents in this location. It also hosts ten other different church denominations. These locations were vital spots for the collection of data for this study. The second cluster is Sabon Gari Local Government Area/Zaria Waje. Sabon Gari Local Government area is an area that has witnessed six

terrorist attacks. Sabon Gari is a major Hausa and non-Hausa settlement in Zaria metropolis. It is densely populated and the commercial centre of Zaria. Sabon Gari Local Government comprises of Sabon Gari itself, Muchia, Bassawa, Hanwa, Dogarawa and Samaru. Sabon Gari Local Government Area is very crucial and relevant to this work in view of the fact that it had witnessed several disturbances in the past and also recorded serious cases of terrorist attacks. Victims of terrorism in Zaria metropolis are many and its social and economic consequences on them and their coping strategies are relevant for study and analysis.

Kaduna State is a heterogeneous state with multiple ethnic groups which include the Hausa, Gbagi, Jaba, Baju and Fulani all with their varied cultures and religions. The northern part of the state is populated by Hausa Muslims, while the southern part of the state is predominantly Christian populated. It was the administrative capital of the Northern Region and became North Central State with the creation of twelve states in 1967 and Kaduna State with the carving out of Katsina State in 1991. The state has twenty three Local Government Areas, out of which Zaria and Sabon Gari Local Government Areas have been selected for this research. The two local government areas that make up the study area are cosmopolitan in nature in terms of religious affiliation, ethnic diversity and settlements.

3.4 Population of the Study

The population of the study comprised of the direct and primary victims of terrorism in Zaria metropolis, Kaduna State, Nigeria. It is made up of individual and corporate victims. This is not the generality of victims of terrorism in Zaria metropolis. Accordingly, thirty five direct victims were identified and interviewed. The respondents are victims who either

sustained various degrees of bodily injuries or lost their properties and businesses in the terrorist attacks in the study area. Six clergymen; two imams, one Catholic Bishop, an Anglican Bishop, a Catholic priest and a pastor from the ECWA as well as two traditional leaders participated to provide information on the corporate victims and the society on the subject matter of the research. All the direct victims (individuals and institutions) of terrorism in Zaria metropolis form the population of the study.

3.5 Method of Data Collection

Qualitative method of data collection was adopted for this study. According to Crossman (2012), qualitative research methods are tools for gathering information that do not take a numerical form, that can be counted and, otherwise, manipulated mathematically. Similarly, Gyong (2011) sees qualitative technique as a "research method that emphasizes the study and analysis of the nature and character of social phenomenon based on everyday experiences of the being studied." Parker (1998) defines qualitative research method as "an array of alternative approaches to those in the mainstream". He adds that "qualitative research can be defined first in a simple, but quite loose, way", because it is "the interpretative study of a specified issue or problem in which the researcher is central to the sense that is made". Sidi *et al.* (2009), cited in Gandu (2008), consider qualitative method of study to mean "an inquiry process of understanding a social or human problem, based on a complex, holistic picture, formed with words and reporting in a natural setting". The qualitative research adopted in this study is a semi-structured interview schedule that allows the target respondents to respond to the inquiry by sharing their views and feelings in "a conversational format".

The research employed qualitative research techniques that assisted the interviewer to delve deeper into respondents' psyche, with the objective of uncovering their underlying opinions and feelings on the research objectives and questions which would not have been readily apparent in a more structured quantitative data collection process. Qualitative techniques therefore became valuable tools that encouraged and made respondents relatively more comfortable to discuss issues, air out their opinions and provide more insights on the problems and questions within the research (Gandu, 2008). The primary data were obtained through in-depth interview (IDI) and Focus Group Discussion (FGD). Results are therefore based on in-depth interview, personal accounts, Focus Group Discussion and Secondary Data. In-depth Interview is a qualitative research technique which involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular phenomenon. It is an interaction between an interviewer and the interviewee in which the interviewer has a general plan of inquiry, including the topics to be covered, but not a set of questions that must be with particular words and in a particular order (Babbie, 2010).

Primary data were collected from different types of respondents that include: (1) direct victims of terrorism composed of worshippers that were present in the two churches during the attack. (2) Residents of Yoruba Street opposite the CKC Cathedral. (3) Traditional rulers and religious leaders. (4) Members of the public within the location of the terrorist attack. (5) Secondary data was collected from the Police records, hospital records, churches and News papers. Such leaders also know the victims and are conversant with the happenings in Zaria metropolis. All the worshipers that were present in the two churches on the day of the attacks and the residents of Yoruba Street opposite the CKC are direct

victims. Similarly, all those customers that were at recreation centers at the time of the terrorist attacks are direct victims. However, customers at the recreation centers could not be located and as a result were excluded. The direct victims of terrorism were interviewed. Traditional rulers and religious leaders selected were also interviewed to provide additional data. Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were conducted in the areas of attacks to corroborate the responses of victims. Two sessions of Focus Group Discussions, one each for male and female discussants were conducted in five locations where all the attacks took place totaling ten sessions. The five locations are; Tudun Wada, Wusasa, King's Road Mucia, Yoruba Street and Uche Road respectively. Discussants were purposively selected with the assistance of contact men within the location of terrorist attacks. Secondary data for the study were collected from the police records, hospitals, churches and newspapers.

3.6 Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

The selection of the victims was based on purposive sampling and snowball sampling method. In order to achieve the objectives of this study, these non-probability sampling methods; purposive sampling and snowball sampling methods were therefore used to assess the unit of response. The snowball sampling method was used to locate the victims of terrorism in the study area. According to Goodman (1961), a snowball sample is a non-probability method that is appropriate to use in research when the respondents are difficult to locate. Snowball sample is one in which the researcher collects data on few members of a target population he can locate then asks those individuals to provide information needed to locate other members of that population whom they know. This involved locating victims through specific agencies such as worship centers, religious and community leaders as well as the police.

The second method, purposive sampling method, is a deliberate selection of sample unit to confirm some predetermined criteria which are the analysis of coping strategies of victims of terrorism. It involves identifying all cases which are judged as appropriate for this study. Thirty five direct victims who either sustained various degrees of injuries or material losses or both were identified and interviewed. All the key informants were selected through the snowball method. Choice of the respondents is based on the knowledge of the subject matter of the research. The two traditional leaders that were interviewed are the representative of the Emir who granted us audience in Zaria City, Zaria Local Government and the Iyan Zauzzau, the District Head of Sabon Gari, who is the most senior traditional leader in Sabon Gari Local Government Area. Six religious leaders that were interviewed are the Chief Imam of Sabon Gari and his Tudun Wada counterpart. We met them at their houses at Dogon Bauchi area of Sabon Gari and ABU Kongo Campus respectively. The Catholic Bishop of Zaria Diocese, the Anglican Bishop of Wusasa Diocese and the Resident Pastor of ECWA Bishara, Wusasa were all interviewed at Wusasa. The Vicar General of the Catholic Diocese of Zaria was interviewed at Basawa in the premises of the Saint Joseph Minor Seminary. All these respondents were purposively sampled for the research.

Ten sessions of Focus Group Discussions (FGD), made up of eight discussants each, were conducted at five different locations of attacks. Two sessions of Focus Group Discussion were conducted at Tudun Wada. The discussants at Tudun Wada were selected by a research assistant, who is an indigene of the area. One session made up of eight discussants each for male and female discussants took place at each location. Two sessions of FGD, made up of eight discussants, were conducted each for males and females in Wusasa. The

discussants at Wusasa were selected through the help of the Reverend of ECWA Good News. Two FGD sessions were conducted at Yoruba Street, one for male and the other for female discussants. Each of the sessions comprised of eight discussants were selected by the rescue officer in the local government. Two sessions of FGD were also conducted along Uche Road for eight male and eight female discussants respectively. The discussants were selected by the area head (*"mai ungwa")*. The final two FGD sessions were conducted at Mucia with male and female discussants in separate sessions made up of eight discussants. They were selected through an indigene of the place and a security staff of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. The pastor, Rescue officer, Mai ungwa and ABU security staff did the selection because of their knowledge of individuals that could provide useful information as participants in the discussion.

The FGD group composition is homogenous in terms of age, education, residence and/or religion. The FGD sessions were plural and multiple interaction in which there were agreement and disagreement. Every session was a group interview in which answer and explanation could come from any participant. The interviewer was the moderator. The note taker also used a tape recorder to record the discussions with the consent of discussants. Each session lasted for one and a half hour and all the discussions took place in the evenings and the weekends.

3.7 Method of Data Analysis

The demographic attributes of respondents were tabulated and analyzed using method of proportion/simple percentages (%). The data gathered for this work are amorphous in nature and were analyzed using narrative approach of data analysis which took the following forms: first, the set of data collected through the use of English Language were

transcribed verbatim. Secondly, data collected by interviewing participants who spock Hausa and Arabic were transcribed and translated into English Language. This is because some of the respondents are either more fluent or preferred the use of Hausa Language and equally made some quotations from the Holy Quran. Thirdly, thee transcribed data was arranged in a thematic order. This was to ensure that all the relevant items in the schedules were covered. This involved the reorganization of data in relation to the variables contained in the relevant research objectives. The fourth step in the analysis of data involved the interpretation of research participants' responses. Finally, the implications of the findings were identified and explanations advanced.

Secondary data which include Police Records/signals, church records, newspapers and hospital records was analyzed using qualitative content analysis. This involved a thorough and critical examination of data obtained from the police. Documents from churches give detail accounts of loses, harm and damages caused and the cost of reconstructing their structures and refurbishing of victims' cars were also obtained. Finally, the hospitals where the victims were admitted and treated were visited and information obtained from them based on existing records. The cost of and duration of such treatments and modalities of payments for treatment received by victims of terrorism were also sought in the study area.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

Ethical standard for conducting studies were maintained in this research. A letter of introduction was obtained from the Department of Sociology to the Commissioner of Police, Kaduna State Command who approved and directed it to the Area Commander, Zaria Area Command. The Area Commander, in turn, sent signals to all the thirteen Divisional Police Officers (DPOs) to make all the relevant documents on the subject of this

study available to the researcher. A copy of the letter of introduction and five copies of the research proposal were also sent to the Commissioner of Health, Kaduna State. The receiver, in turn, forwarded them to the Ethics Committee which approved it for all government hospitals in the state to provide the necessary information to the researcher. The letter of introduction and five copies of the proposal were also sent to the Ethic Committee of Ahmadu Bello University Teaching Hospital, Shika for data collection. Copies of the letter of introduction were equally made available to churches, community leaders as well as respondents as a prelude to the conduct of the study. Respondents were briefed in detail about the research and their responses were voluntary. Hence, the right of self-determination and voluntary response was guaranteed. All respondents gave verbal consents. The study did not cause any psychological, social or economic harm to respondents. Respondents were treated with high esteem and their rights to privacy and anonymity was observed with utmost confidentiality.

3.9 Field Research Constraints

In a research of this nature, one is bound to face some difficulties. The first difficulty encountered was assess to the victims of terrorism and sources of secondary data. In this regard, a letter of introduction was obtained from the Head, Department of Sociology, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. This letter was presented to the Assistant Commissioner of Police; Area Commander, Zaria Area Command. The Area Commander asked the researcher to obtain the approval of the Commissioner of Police, Kaduna State Command. He also pointed out the fact that they were not allowed to give any information on the subject of this research without the consent and approval of the Commissioner of Police in all the State Commands in the country. The letter of introduction was forwarded to the

Commissioner of Police who, in turn, gave an instant approval and directed the Assistant Commissioner of Police (ACP) Intelligence and the Area Commander, Zaria, to provide the needed data for the research. The Area Commander took his time to highlight the situation and listed the spots of attacks in his area of jurisdiction. He then sent out signals to the Divisional Police Officers (D.P.Os.) in all the Divisions under his command to cooperate and provide the needed information to the researcher. The researcher received needed cooperation and encouragement from the Police in all the Divisions as they made available the incident diaries, crime diaries and signals that were sent to the Commissioner of Police on all incidences of killings in the study area. The data corroborate the information supplied by the Area Commander, Zaria.

The second problem encountered was that of meeting with the victims. Most of the victims try to avoid discussions on their encounter with terrorism. In view of this they continue to give appointments. They even complain of time and other commitments. The researcher had to overcome this problem by accepting changes in time schedules. It was equally not easy to interview the religious leaders and traditional rulers. After several efforts made to interview the Emir had proved abortive, the researcher was referred to the Palace Administrative Secretary, Dukajin Zazzau who was interviewed. It was a childhood friend of the Iyan Zazzau and District Head of Sabon Gari who assisted me to get access to him at his residence in the Government Reserved Area (GRA). It is worth noting that only St. Luke's Anglican Hospital, Wusasa made their records available to the researcher. At the Ahmadu Bello University Teaching Hospital, Shika, the researcher was told that available records are mainly on accident and emergency and that there were no separate records on victims of terrorism. Limi Hospital (now Major Abdullahi B Ibrahim Memorial Hospital)

Aminu Road, Sabon Gari, Zaria requested for ethical clearance from the Ministry of Health, Kaduna State before they could provide the required information. This was done as the ethical clearance was obtained, but the records were not provided. Ladiya Hospital Benin Street, Sabon Gari, Zaria where some of the victims were treated, also claimed that they did not keep record of victims of terrorism separate from those for accident and emergency cases. The researcher had to rely on records obtained from the Police and St, Luke's Anglican Hospital Wusasa for secondary data.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the dynamics of the phenomenon of terrorism as it affects Zaria metropolis and the victims in the study area, the demographic attributes of respondents, the toll of terrorism in Zaria Metropolis, the social and economic effects of terrorism on the victims, the social support for the victims of terrorism, measures put in place to avert future attacks and the coping strategies the victims of terrorism have adopted. Respondents were asked questions as a way to ascertain what factors they thought were responsible for the phenomenon of terrorist attacks in the study area, the social and economic effects of terrorist attacks on individual and the institutions and their coping strategies. Data derived from qualitative interviews and Focus Group Discussions conducted with research participants and secondary data are also presented. The specific focus is on the toll of terrorism, social and economic challenges caused by terrorism, the existing social supports for the victims of terrorism and the coping strategies of the victims of terrorism in the study area.

4.2 Socio-Demographic Attributes of the Respondents for IDI

The bio-data of respondents for the In-depth Interview is presented in a table and analyzed in percentages to give a scientific outlook to data obtained**.** The range of the age of the participants, their sex and their statuses were enumerated.

Table 4.1: Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents for IDI

	Bio-data	**Category of Respondent**	**Number of Respondents**	**Percentage (%)**
1	Sex	Male	42	85.7
		Female	7	14.3
		Total	**49**	**100**
2	Designation	Traditional rulers	2	4.1
		Clergymen	6	12.2
		Direct victims	35	71.4
		Rescue Officer	1	2.0
		Police Officers	4	8.2
		Medical Officer	**1**	2.0
	Total		**49**	**100**
3	Age Range	20 – 29 years	2	4.1
		30 – 39 years	7	14.3
		40 – 49 years	14	28.6
		50 – 59 years	19	38.8
		60 years and above	7	14.3
	Total		**49**	**100**

Table 4.1 shows the demographic attributes of respondents in the in-Depth Interviews conducted to elicit information for this study. The demographic attributes of participants in the in-Depth interviews indicate that 85.7% of the respondents were males and 14.3% of them were females. The table shows that 4.1% of the respondents were traditional rulers while 12.2% were religious leaders. The table also indicates that 71.4% of the respondents in the In-Depth Interview who were direct victims. The rescue Officer from Sabon Gari Local Government made 2.0% of the respondents and Police Officers made up the remaining 8.2% and medical personnel is 2.0%. All the traditional and religious leaders interviewed are males. The table further shows that 4.1% of the respondents in the IDI were within the age bracket of 20-29 years while 14.3% of the respondents were in the age bracket of thirty to thirty-nine years old. In the same vein, 28.6% were aged forty to forty-

nine years old. The table equally indicates that 38.6% of the respondents were between the age bracket of fifty to fifty- nine years and 14.3% of the participants were sixty years and above.

4.3 Socio- Demographic Characteristics of Discussants for FGDs

The demographic attributes of discussants in the ten sessions of the FGD and the place of discussions are presented in a table to make it easy for presentation.

Table 4.2: Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Discussants for FGDs

Bio-data	**No. of Discussants**	**Place of Discussion**	**No. of Sessions**
Sex: Male, Female	40, 40	Muchia	2
Age: Male, Female	40-45, 34-36	Uche Road	2
Marital Status	All are married	Yoruba Street	2
Educational Background	All are literate	Tudun Wada	2
		Wusasa	2
Total	**80**		**10**

Table 4.2 shows that there were forty male and forty female discussants that participated in the FGDs that were conducted. There were a total of eighty discussants that took part in eight sessions of the FGD. All the male discussants were between the aged of forty to forty five year old while the female discussants were aged between thirty four to thirty six years old. All the discussants are married with families and literate. The table also indicates that ten sessions of FGD were conducted in five different locations; one each for male and female discussants.

4.4 The Toll of Terrorism in Zaria Metropolis

Terrorist attacks on Zaria Metropolis were in different forms and patterns; targeting different segments of the society. Table 4.3 presents the enormity of the terrorist episode in Zaria Metropolis.

Table 4.3: The Toll of Terrorism in Zaria Metropolis

Date of Attack	Nature of Attack	Place of Attack	No. of the Injured	No. of Deaths	Value of Property Destroyed
29/5/2011	Dropping of IED	White House, Recreation center	**5**	Nil	Not calculated
17/6/2012	Suicide Bombing	CKC Catholic Cathedral	**112**	**47**	**₦ 200m**
17/6/2012	Suicide Bombing		**300**	**2**	**₦ 70m**
26/7/2012	Gun battle	VP's Resident	**Unknown**	**3**	**No Record**
3/10/2012	Dropping of IED	Recreation center, Uche Road	**Many**	**Nil**	**Not calculated**
06/10/2012	Gun Attack	Recreation Center Muchia	**Unknown**	**2**	**No available record**
15/11/2012	Gun Attack	Recreation Center Uche Road	**Many**	**2**	**Not calculated**
12/2/2012	Gun Attack	T/Wada	**3**	**3**	**₦ 10m**
7/7/2015	Suicide Attack	Sabon Gari Local Government Secretariat	30	50	~~₦ 90m~~
Total	9	Zaria Metropolis	**450**	**109**	**₦ 369, 700, 000:00**

Source: Fieldwork (2016); Secondary Data.

Table 4.3 above shows the toll of terrorism in Zaria Metropolis as it presents the frequency of attacks and harm caused by terrorists to direct victims and institutions in Zaria metropolis. The table shows that there were nine terrorist attacks on Zaria Metropolis during the period being studied. Four of the attacks were perpetrated in act of sporadic shootings at targets. Two attacks were by dropping of Improvised Explosive Devices (IED)

at designated recreation centers. Two attacks were carried out by suicide bombers driving in cars. The third suicide attack was twin bomb attacks at the Sabon Gari Local Government Secretariat. In these nine terrorist attacks the casualty level indicate that one hundred and nine people died and four hundred and fifty others sustained injuries of various degrees. Also, properties worth more than three hundred and sixty nine million seven hundred thousand naira (**₦ 369, 700, 000:00)** were destroyed. Two suicide attacks were coordinated attacks on the Christ the King Catholic Cathedral and the Evangelical Church Winning All in separate suicide attacks. The human casualties were forty seven deaths, four hundred and twelve injuries of various degrees and material damages worth over two hundred and seventy million naira (₦ 270, 000, 000:00). The third suicide attack was twin attacks which occurred at the Secretariat of Sabon Gari Local Government Area during the screening of primary school teachers. All the buildings at the secretariat were damaged, fifty people died and thirty others sustained various degrees of injuries (All Africa, 2015). The cash value of properties destroyed outside the churches and in the recreation centers were not calculated. One of the targeted killings took the life of an Islamic Preacher, Sheik Mohammed Auwal Albali and two others, while three sustained injuries of various degrees. The monetary value of the Citron jeep in which Sheik Auwal Albani was driving when he was killed along with his wife and a son which was destroyed was nine million, seven hundred thousand naira (₦ 9,700,000.00).

Respondents in in-Depth Interview revealed that they are aware of all the nine different terrorist attacks that took place in Zaria Metropolis. The two suicide attacks were on churches during Sunday service at the Christ the King Catholic Cathedral located at 80, Yoruba Street, Sabon Gari Zaria. Respondents who witnessed the incident explained that

the suicide bomber drove in a Honda car fitted with capital letter "L". A respondent in the IDI explained that the bomber attempted to trick the guards at the entrance gate of the Cathedral in these words:

> *"the attacker claimed that he had a message for the Priest to deliver. He was told that vehicles are not allowed into the Church premises. The cadets were firm and abandoned him. When his ploy failed to yield any result, he made a reverse, came in full force and rammed into the gate. Immediately, there was a heavy explosion which caused human and material losses of immense proportion".*

The Catholic Bishop also mentioned that the extent of the damage caused by the bomb attack on CKC was huge because the roof of the church was completely destroyed. The Parish had to replace the whole sheets of the church then anything that was glass on that compound both the church and the priest's residence, the catechist's house and the pre-nursery school, every glass was broken except the grotto of the Blessed Virgin Mary that had just been built. Most of the frames holding the glasses of the church and the houses were damaged as well being aluminum frames. Half of the fence in front of the church came down. There was an open hall that was made up of zinc and iron holding it, half of it came down. There was another building, a sacramental shop which was also brought down. All the respondents in the In-depth interview mentioned that the gate gave way and there was flame and smoke all over the Cathedral. The ceiling and roof of all the buildings in the compound fell. The walls of all the buildings within the compound cracked and all the louvers in the church premises were broken. On the whole, twenty-three cars were damaged. The capacity of the blast was so much that the bomber car exploded and became devastating missiles which caused very serious damages. All the buildings on Yoruba Street, from Cemetery Road to Camp Road, suffered some damages. The desolation at the

scene shows that all the mud houses opposite the Cathedral were brought down. The clergyman further mentioned this when he said:

> *"I know that the losses we suffered that day was not only us the Catholics in particular and some other Christians but some other Muslims were badly affected because those of them who had buildings directly opposite the cathedral, ... were affected. I understand that even some people also died as a result. Many of the mud buildings are yet to be reconstructed up till today".*

Many respondents in the in-depth interviews conducted along Yoruba Street where Christ the King Catholic Cathedral is located disclosed that there was a high death toll in the attack. A respondent during the in-depth Interview mentioned that children used to play football in the open space in front of the church every Sunday. These children usually come from different parts of the town and their specific number could not be ascertained. There were beggars and hawkers who stay in front of the church to beg and to hawk every Sunday. Many of these and some commercial motorcycle riders also died in that incident. Respondents explained how some of the corpses were badly mutilated that they were just packed in particles and that only seven corpses could be identified. A respondent in the IDI put the death toll at approximately fifty and majority, he said, were killed outside the church premises. One participant pointed out:

> *"You can see our houses- they are all in ruins. Look at my foot, I was injured by an object that struck me here at home. There is a boy with a metal in his head, he needs second surgery and we have no money".*

An interviewee disclosed that he was a vulcanizer whose stand was opposite the Cathedral. He was sitting down with his three-year old daughter on his lapse when the explosion occurred. He revealed that an object struck and killed the daughter, while he too lost his left eye. Official report on this incident indicated that seventeen people died in that attack. Secondary data at the Kasuwa Mata Divisional Police Headquarters indicate that eight

people died at the spot, while two others died later at the ABUTH. The Chief Medical Director of Saint Luke's Anglican Hospital, Wusasa disclosed that sixty victims of those attacks were brought the medical facility out of which thirty four were admitted and twenty six were treated as out- patients. Twelve of the patients were reported to have died in the course of treatment in the hospital. Available secondary data in the hospital showed that the medical bill for treating the victims was one million, three hundred thousand one hundred and fifty naira (₦1,300,150:00). The chief medical director said the hospital suffered loss as government which pledged to settle the bill had failed to meet its obligation in that regard.

Respondents in the In-depth Interview disclosed that there were about three thousand worshippers in the congregational worship at the Cathedral on that fateful day of the attack that were traumatized. Respondent revealed that the suicide attack on the Evangelical Church Winning All (ECWA Bishara) Mission Road, Wusasa equally caused trauma to many. In that ugly incident hundreds of worshippers sustained injuries of various degrees mostly caused by the explosive device, broken louvers, falling asbestos ceilings, wood, zinc and pieces of metals from the car. There were about six hundred worshippers in the main church building and an approximately two hundred children in the Sunday school and another sixty people were in the adult Sunday school. An interviewee in the IDI who was a victim of the attack on ECWA Wusasa explained that it was

> *"terrifying and horrible, but then you know it happened in a place of faith. So, I think you would probably think I won't come back next Sunday but next Sunday, people came there in large number to glorify God for saving their lives. Then we continued thereafter believing that then we probably increase the security measures. It's difficult for me to tell you how emotional it would be for everybody because everybody's experience is(sic) not the same".*

A respondent pointed out that the IED that was used to attack the Cosmopolitan Hotel was dropped by two men who entered as costumers. It exploded within minutes after their departure thereby causing damages and injuries. The blast was reported to have caused severe damages to the building, shattered glasses, traumatized and injured customers thereby causing pandemonium, fears and confusion in the neighbourhood. This was also corroborated by discussants in the Focus Group Discussions conducted in the area. Secondary data, however, showed that five people sustained injuries in the attack (Police Record, 2012). In-depth interviews indicated that the second terrorist attack on the hotel was a sporadic shooting by unidentified gunmen who went there on motorbikes. Two people died and many others sustained injuries which were inflicted by bullets or by shattered glasses. Respondent in the in-depth Interviews disclosed that the trauma and confusion that followed the attack went beyond those present in the hotel. Discussants in the Focus Group Discussions corroborated the horror that the attack caused and even indicated further that the gun attack took place on the day that there was an international football match and many people were there in the Hotel to watch the live transmission of the game. Respondents in further disclosed that terrorist attacks on the hotel had induced fears in their minds and raied the suspicion that there are insiders in neighbourhood.

Respondents disclosed that the Trusted Friend's Joint was attacked by terrorists who came on two motorcycles about 10:00Pm. The men opened fire and shot at customers killing two and injuring a few others. Stray bullets were said to have injured some people in their homes. Discussants in the FGD said the attacks on the two recreation spots took place in the late evenings and on days that people were there to watch international football

matches. There was also minority views which indicate that the owner of one of the hotels was a target of attack and has migrated to the Eastern for safety.

Respondents revealed that the Tudun Wada residence of Architect Mohammed Namadi Sambo, former Vice President of Nigeria, was attacked by gunmen suspected to be terrorists in broad daylight. They mentioned that there was exchange of fire between the men and the Mobile Police on Guard and that led to the death of three people. Respondents revealed that a Muslim Cleric Sheik Mohammed Auwal Albani was waylaid by gunmen about 9:30Pm on his way from the Danja Mosque, Tudun Wada where he went to preach. His wife and his son who were with him also died on the spot while three others in the vehicle sustained injuries from gunshots. His Renault jeep was damaged.

4.5 Challenges Caused by Terrorist Attacks on the Victims in Zaria Metropolis

Data obtained through in-Depth Interview and Focus Group Discussion have indicated that terrorist attacks in Zaria metropolis had caused psychological, social, security and economic challenges for the victims. The effects on social institutions, government agencies and the society are equally enormous.

4.5.1 Psychological Effects of Terrorism

Respondents revealed that terrorism caused pandemonium and confusion at all the scenes of attacks and traumatized Zaria metropolis. Interviewees at Yoruba Street pointed out to the researcher that the terrorist attack on the Christ the King Catholic Cathedral caused an upset and confusion. All the respondents mentioned that worshippers and residents of the area were traumatized. Recounting his experience during the attack, a respondent explained that:

> "*My experience was terrible because since I was born, I have never seen such an incident. It was like my heart was going to come out of my mouth. Any time I remember that day, I will just be crying because it was terrible. If you were not there, you can't understand what I am saying. It was too painful, as if the world had already turned upside down. In fact if you were there, you won't ask this question because you are going to be so much sympathetic with people".*

A respondent in the Diocese informed the researcher that the Diocese sponsored a traumatized victim whose son was among the cadets that died to a psychiatric hospital in Jos, Plateau State for counseling. He was also treated for two weeks and was still incapacitated. One respondent in the in-depth interview narrated that "It is four years after the incident, but nobody wants to talk about it. It was terrible. I wished you saw what actually happened yourself". One other respondent in the IDI said some victims died of trauma weeks after the arrack while the woman who runs the sacramental shop had not fully recovered from the effects of the incident. This view is in line with the Bishop who explained that:

> *"It turned out at some points that some members did not even want to come to church. Others started coming en mass because of their belief that it is better to die in the church. While some people were dying, others became more prayerful, more committed. Yet, the trauma of every Sunday, people looking into internet and newspapers, how many churches had been attacked, how many people had died and government did not come to the aid of the victims. It will just come out with a position! We are on top of the situation, only twenty people have died. Now it puts people in a kind of trauma and psychological problems thinking about how long they will live in Nigeria. So, you find people relocating from one place to another".*

Discussants revealed that the trauma that the terrorist attacks caused went far beyond the immediate environment of each attack. They pointed out that terrorism also caused desperation. A discussant revealed that in their bid to escape, worshipers at CKC Cathedral pulled down the fence behind the Parish house and turned it into an escape route.

4.5.2 The Social and Security Challenges Caused by Terrorism in Zaria Metropolis

Respondents pointed out that terrorism had caused multiple social dislocations in Zaria metropolis. It had caused far reaching challenges in the lives of direct and primary victims as well as on the entire Urban Zaria. Respondents revealed to the researcher that many able bodied victims have become dependants and unproductive due to the incapacitation resulting from terrorist attacks. Some of the respondents explained that they have been contended with regular and recurring health challenges while many others are faced with permanent disabilities and handicaps. Respondents also disclosed that many of them have been forced to relocate from their places of birth to become tenants and squatters. Some respondents also revealed that they were forced to relocate from the environment where they have lived for decades due to fear of future attacks. A respondent disclosed that he was sitting in his compound opposite the Christ the King Church when the bomb blast took place and suddenly an object gorged out his two eyes. Tears have continued to pour out of his eye holes none stopping. His house also collapsed due to the impact of the blast at the CKC. As a result, he had to relocate to stay with relatives in Tudun Wada. A respondent also explained how terrorism had truncated the harmonious relationship that had existed between the CKC and the neighbourhood. Many respondents also pointed out that there was near break down of law and order on the day of terrorist attack on the CKC. They disclosed that irate youth from the church went on rampage in a reprisal attack that targeted Muslim and Hausa residents in the area. They revealed that the reprisal attack caused death and injuries of varied degrees. Discussants in the FGD mentioned that the close neighbours had benefited immensely from the benevolence of the Church, but such goodwill had seized to come from the Priests. They disclosed that the priests used to visit, shear their

joyful moments such as births, offer assistance during naming ceremonies and when they are bereaved.

A female discussant along Yoruba Street disclosed that they used to fetch drinking water from the Cathedral, but now the gate is always locked as they are no longer allowed into the premises. Discussants in the FGD sessions conducted at Yoruba Street pointed out that the area used to be very busy and lively. They disclosed that business activities along the Street had collapsed. A discussant pointed out that a particular compound opposite the Cathedral which housed some Hausa commercial sex workers used to be a scene of drama, traditional dancing, performances by praise singers. All such popular entertainments had ceased. Discussants at Uche Road said the usual night activities in the area had stopped. They pointed out that insecurity and violence have heightened in the area. Discussants revealed that theft cases, sexual harassment, teenage pregnancies and incidences of rape which had not been prevalent in the area are manifesting. A respondent disclosed that Boko Haram has recruited members in Zaria who are likely responsible for some of the attacks in Zaria Metropolis. He pointed out that many young men have left Zaria Metropolis to enlist into the Boko Haram fighting force in the Sambisa Forest. Discussants have pointed out that the gun attacks in Zaria were perfect and accurate which is an indication that they were being carried out by experts. Discussants mentioned that there could be an existence of a terrorist cell in Zaria Metropolis. They pointed out the knowledge of the environment and timing of gun attacks as worrisome. Respondents disclosed that attacks often take place at scenes that are busy and when there were large number of people. Discussants in two sessions of the FGD at Yoruba Street further confirmed the validity of the argument that Boko Haram has a cell in Zaria through the identity of the dead bomb carrier as someone

who lived at Dogon Bauchi in Sabon Gari. The Chief Imam of Sabon Gari buttressed this argument further when he said that about fifteen young men who are members of restive youths in Dogon Bauch alone have left to Sambisa Forest to join Boko Haram. He said there are facts that this trend is similar in other parts of the town and many of them may still be around. A female discussant at Yoruba street pointed out that the military has hand in the attacks in Zaria. She pointed out that the leader of Boko Haram had disclosed it in an interview. In line with this narrative, Adebayo (2011) disclosed that within hours of Goodluck Jonathan's presidential inauguration in May 2011, Boko Haram carried out a series of bombings in Bauchi, Zaria and Abuja. He concluded that a spokesman for the group told BBC Hausa that the attacks had been carried out, as a test of loyalty, by serving members of the military hoping to join the group.

Many respondents revealed that security lapses are factors that had aided terrorist attacks in Zaria Metropolis. Many respondents disclosed that the government and security agents of having the prior knowledge that Boko Haram bombers were in Zaria to carry out attacks on churches without taking measures. A respondent disclosed that the Pastor of ECWA Church, Wusasa was making announcement that there was a security meeting the previous day in which the Chairman of Sabon Gari Local Government cautioned them to be brief in their activities that Sunday as security reports have indicated the presence of "Boko Haram elements" in town. Some respondents mentioned that the security agents withdrew from their usual beats when government knew that terrorist attackers were in town. Many respondents pointed out that the withdrawal of security operatives from strategic locations in the town that faithful day to the awareness of the security agents of danger of imminent attacks. This fact has also been corroborated by discussants in the FGDs sessions

conducted at Wusasa and Yoruba Street who attributed terrorist attacks on Zaria to poor security network.

> *A discussant in the FGD said "In fact that very evening there were security before they were shifted and in the morning, the thing happened before the security came back. In several times you find that the security have failed*".

All the respondents pointed out that the attacks on Zaria Metropolis also aimed at destabilizing the general populace in the area. It was equally to do so by creating an atmosphere of rancor which would eventually instigate the people against the government, and various religions against one another. Their activities have equally undermined religious harmony. A Chief Imam buttressed this narrative further thus:

> *"All I can say is, there are some groups of individuals who want to achieve their nefarious motive through killing innocent souls. Similarly, they want to trigger both the Muslims and Christians to react and fight each other especially in the northern Nigeria. They believe that Muslim and Christian northerners can die for their religions. Through this they can create disunity amongst people and kill ourselves in order to achieve their motive. In fact, this is pathetic and is un-Islam."*

The Chief Imam further said:

> *You can imagine the so-called people go to the Mosque and pray five times a day, and they are killing innocent souls. Islam values the soul of a believer and is more valuable than the Holy Ka'abah. How many souls have they eliminated? Why? With the above explanation, you can believe with me that the bomb blasters have a motive they want to achieve. Islamically, this is not Jihad.*

4.6. The Economic Challenges Caused by Terrorism on the Victims

Respondents disclosed that economic activities had dwindled in Zaria metropolis since the terrorist attacks took place. They pointed out that there has been mass movement of people which has negative effects on the financial fortunes of individuals. It has also caused a lull in retail business in the area. A respondent at Uche Road said:

> *"Since that time, a lot of people have relocated. You know Zaria is no longer like before; people have packed. It has affected my business.*

> *This area used to be busy, but people have left. We are suffering the effect of the bomb blast because I don't think that any agency has helped so much".*

Many respondents explained how they lost their means of income. A compound that housed commercial sex workers *gidan karuwai,* a backery, shops, welding machines, and vaulcanizing instruments were all destroyed along Yoruba Street. The estimated cost of the cars that were destroyed in the blast was eleven million, five hundred thousand naira (₦11,500,000:00). In the same vein, thirty one motor cycles were completely destroyed. The cost implication of the motor-cycles had been conservatively put at two million, one hundred and eight thousand naira (₦ 2,108,000.00). A bus was burnt to ashes in the inferno that accompanied the blast. The bus went for six million, three hundred thousand naira (₦6,300,000.00). This was corroborated by secondary data (church inventory, 2012) which also showed the cost of replacing the damaged property at four million, four hundred and sixty-seven naira (₦ 4,467,000:00) making a total of twenty-four million three hundred and seventy-five thousand naira (₦ 24,375,000:00). All the damaged structures were comprehensively insured. The document contains details of repairs made by the victims on their cars and those that were destroyed beyond repairs with receipts and invoices. According to the Bishop the Diocese documents containing these statements and inventories were sent to the government of Kaduna State and NEMA. Respondents said the attacks led to the closure of small and medium scale businesses that attract large gathering of people. Football viewing centers lost patronage due to fear of attacks. Interviewees in the in-Depth Interview also disclosed that patronage recreation centers had shifted to mammy markets where soldiers provide security. A respondent pointed out that some of the small business holdings have rapport with the Police and their premises were kept

under strict surveillance. The Trusted Friend's joint *Mucia* was destroyed in the terrorists' gun duel which killed the proprietress. A male discussant in FGD in Wusasa disclosed that terrorism is a source of empowerment for some idle youth in Zaria Metropolis. According to him:

> *"Recently, if any one will be recruited into the Police Force or the Nigerian Army, he has to pay, bribe his way ranging from N250,000 to N500,000. As for terrorist Boko Haram, when they will recruit, they will first settle the person with heavy money, settle his family and then recruit him. So maybe unemployment is one economic factor that drive people into Boko Haram which seems to be a lucrative job. What is the difference between being a soldier of Boko haram and being a Nigerian soldier? After all, all of them go for war and it is more lucrative to be a Boko haram fighter than to be a Nigerian army".*

The narrative of poverty is corroborated by Usman ((2014) who based his observation on 2013 population estimation said Nigeria is Africa's biggest economy, but 60% of its population of 173 million live on less than $1 a day. Ekeremadu highlighted the issue of corruption further when he explained that:

> *"Corruption, both financial and political, is responsible for the poor state of the nation. WE are already reaping from the dangers thereof in the forms of terrorism, militancy, kidnapping etc. But even worse is that our future is even more gravely endangered should the trend be allowed to persist"* (Hassan, 2014:3).

4.7 Challenges Caused by Terrorist Attacks on Institutions\ Places of Worship

Respondents disclosed that there were over three thousand worshippers present in the premises of the CKC on the day of the attack. They pointed out that the church attendance had fallen drastically since the incidence of terrorist attack. The respondents revealed that they attend services on Sundays with fear in their minds. They equally informed disclosed that family members have resorted to attend different church services or worship in

different churches due to fear of any calamity that might befall them. Interviewees have also pointed out that several activities in the church that usually lasted into the night had shortened.

Respondents also disclosed that certain annual church rituals had suffered due to the reluctance of worshipers to turn up en mass. These views were corroborated in the four sessions of FGD conducted at Wusasa and Yoruba Street who agreed that the churches and Central Mosques had suffered and attendance and participation in most of the social and spiritual activities had reduced while worships are conducted under heavy security guard. A clergyman disclosed that the finances of the church had dwindled due to poor turn out of worshippers. He also revealed that the Diocese had spent over ten million naira (₦10m) in replacing damaged items since the incidence. This is in addition to the initial four million, four hundred and sixty-seven thousand naira (₦ 4,467,000.00).

The data obtained through both in-depth interview and Focus Group Discussion revealed that the blast shook the main church auditorium of the ECWA Church to its foundation. The asbestos ceiling all fell in pieces thereby injuring virtually everyone under the roof. The doors and all the nineteen windows were all damaged and the roof caved in. The old church hall which served as Sunday school venue for children and the pastor's resident fell; just as the generator house did not withstand the blast. Respondents further disclosed that the gate melted instantly due to flame as the bomber's car caught fire.

Respondents mentioned that the properties of ECWA Church are not usually covered by insurance. Hence, the buildings and other church properties in the premises of ECWA, Wusasa were not insured. Respondents disclosed that the car used for the attack got scattered and flew in all directions thereby inflicting very severe injuries and damages. This

fact was equally confirmed by discussants in the two sessions of the Focus Group Discussions. Respondents disclosed to the researcher that the church on the opposite side of the road, Ye Are the Light Gospel Church, was badly damaged. They even pointed at some of the holes on the wall that were caused by the explosion. Data had indicated that the ceiling fell in pieces, the building cracked and the roof was affected and that the roof of Christ Apostolic Church which is adjacent to the ECWA was also completely damaged. There were no cases of casualties in the two churches because the attack took place earlier than their time of worship. All the buildings within the area were affected including the Cathedral of the Anglican Church and the residence of the Catholic Bishop of Zaria which is about five hundred meters away from the scene of the blast. Seventeen motorcycles were confirmed damaged. The degree of this damage in terms of money equivalent was conservatively put at one million, one hundred and fifty six thousand naira (₦1,156,000:000:00). Forty-nine cars were affected in the blast. The cost of overhauling forty nine cars that were repairable was six million, six hundred thousand naira (₦6,600, 000:00). Other five cars were totally destroyed. The conservative cost of these cars was Fifteen million naira (₦15, 000,000:00).

The respondents revealed that there were about eight hundred worshipers in the church on the day of the attack. The capacity of the bomb was heavy that its impact caused damages beyond the target. Many respondents in the ECWA, Church Wusasa, revealed that there were mass injuries and two deaths that resulted from the suicide bomb attack on the Church. A respondent who sustained injury along with his wife, sister in-law and children narrated that the injury of the wife and the sister in-law was severe because they were sitting by the window. He explained that:

> *"all our backs were wounded by particles, glasses or whatever that were there because it was louvers that were shattered around us. As such we have continued to experience re-occurrence of pains around such area".*

A respondent who sustained injuries and lost his Toyota Camry car disclosed that there was nobody in the church that day that did not sustain injury. The only difference being the severity and seriousness.

Mosques in Zaria metropolis were not attacked by the terrorists. Respondents revealed to the researcher that the news of the presence of the attackers in Zaria metropolis scared the *Muslim Umma*. Many respondents revealed that Muslim worshippers were disturbed by attacks on places of worship, particularly mosques in many places. They disclosed that the attacks terrified and caused fears in the minds of worshippers, but did not affect the turnouts for *Jummat* prayers. Muslim Clergy respondents pointed out that the fear of imminent attacks was a source of worry that triggered reactions from believers. They revealed that as the fear of attacks raged, financial contributions to various Jummat Mosques from well meaning members of the Muslim Community towards enhancing the security of worship places and worshippers increased.

4.8. The Existing Formal Social Support for Victims of Terrorism in Zaria

Respondents in the research disclosed that formal social support agencies or institutions do not exist in Zaria Metropolis. All the respondents in the in-depth interview and all the discussants in the ten sessions of the FGD were unanimous in saying that the victims of terrorism received social support in line with the toll of terrorism. All the respondents and discussants disclosed that all those that died in the terrorist attacks in Zaria Metropolis were given burial rites in accordance with their religious belief. The Catholic Bishop explained

the roll the Church that raised the sum of one million three hundred thousand naira (₦1,300,000:00) that was used to sponsor the burial here in Zaria. He revealed that when the bodies were in the mortuary, the Church paid and provided the caskets as part of burial arrangements. The Church equally sponsored the transportation of the corpses that were taken to the East with the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand naira (₦120,000:00). At the end of the burial, the church gave each of the five families the sum of one hundred and eighty thousand naira (₦180,000:00). The respondent disclosed that the family of the ECWA lady who was killed in the terrorist attack on CKC was also given the sum of sixty thousand naira (₦60,000:00) by the Catholic Church. Respondents pointed out that during the one year remembrance celebration, the five families were given twenty five thousand naira each by the church. The Bishop mentioned that this assistance was an obligation in the Catholic Church. That indeed it is the fourth cardinal work of mercy of the church to assist members in distress and sorrow.

All the respondents and discussants at Wusasa disclosed that their members who died in the terrorist attacks were given befitting burials. The Church took charge of all the arrangements and was able to raise enough funds for the burial activities. Respondents mentioned that there was money left over after the burial which was given to the parents of a deceased, but the family did declined from collecting the money. A male discussant in Wusasa said the assistance was within and internal. He added by explaining that:

> *"We the church raised money to support these victims because they could not wait for government".*

Respondents pointed out that those who died outside the places of worship were buried by their family members and sympathizers. Respondents and discussants equally pointed out that several corpses were transported to their places of origin for final internment.

Respondents indicated that certain aspects of the treatments given to the victims of terrorism in the medical facilities were given at expenses of the government.

> *"Initially, those of us who were injured received free medication from the local government. But, thereafter, those who had continued checkups after sometime were asked to pay".*

An interviewee who was rushed to the hospital unconscious narrated that those who were rushed to the Ahmadu Bello University Teaching Hospital (ABUTH), Shika, did not pay for treatment received at the Accident and Emergency Ward. They were charged for drugs administered on them while on admission in the ward. The interviewee mentioned that nine of the victims had the money they spent on drugs while on admission refunded to them by a group of foreign missionaries. He explained that:

> *"The cost of treatment actually for the admission I did not pay a dime. The government paid according to what I was told. But you know the cause of this bomb blast, we had visitors that came from abroad from about six countries. They teamed up themselves and invited us to Jos. First of all, they invited us to Kaduna and we went. The name of the first body is Christian Martyrs. They came from the University of Massachusetts in the United States of America and gave us a helping hand. They invited us to Jos and we went and met them. We had a meeting with them and they interviewed us and we gave them the necessary information they needed. The Christian Martyrs said whatever one had spent for treatment he should make sure that he has his receipts for treatment intact and most of us did so. When they came asking for those receipts the calculated the amount we spent and paid us".*

Respondents disclosed that there were donations for the victims of terrorism in form of cash and also in kind. A male discussant mentioned that

> *"we had the support of some concerned people who send some money here and there about four or five people and I think. The national headquarters of ECWA sent some money to care for those who were injured".*

An interviewee revealed that the sum of ten thousand naira (₦10,000:00) was given to each of the victims by a member of the Kaduna State House of Assembly representing Sabon

Gari Consistency, Hajia Amina. This assistance was for the victims of the attack on CKC Cathedral that were still at the Accident and Emergency Ward when she visited the ABUTH. A respondent disclosed that the churches that were directly affected by the bomb blasts received the sum of one hundred thousand (₦100,000:00) naira each from the donation of five hundred thousand naira (₦500,000:00) assistance made by Senator Ahmed Mohammed Makarfi. Interviewees disclosed that the victims of attacks at the White House, Trusted Friend's Joint and Cosmopolitan Hotel did not enjoy the benefit of free medical treatment at the Accident and Emergency ward of ABUTH. A respondent at the white house disclosed to the researcher that it was soldiers from the Chindit Barracks who came to their rescue. They were the ones that helped in carrying the victims to their barracks, gave them first aid after which they moved to ABUTH Shika. The victims were treated in the Accident and Emergency for three days before they were referred to the male and female surgical wards respectively. The respondent pointed out that they were the ones that catered for themselves in the wards until they were discharged.

Respondents and discussants are of the views that the victims of terrorism in Zaria Metropolis did not receive enough assistance, attention and publicity. A participated disclosed that there was no compensation or anything coming from government to these victims, particularly those who lost their beloved ones and any other person who had suffered any loss. The Bishop pointed out that their insurance company did not give any compensation to the church and the victims who lost their vehicles because terrorism was not covered in the agreement. He pointed out that in other states where such incidences of terrorist attacks took place the story was different from that of Zaria. He disclosed that in some states government compensated the families of the victims. He then cited the example

of Madella where the Niger State Government donated the sum of one million naira (₦1,000,000:00) for each soul that was lost. The church was also compensated. The funeral for the victims was like a national event. The one that happened after that of CKC, the attack on St. Rita's, Malali, government was represented at the funeral; it had much publicity and coverage. That of the CKC there was no representation of the government, even when the church sent an invitation to them. A respondent corroborated this by explaining that: "I think we were able to manage it even though no help came from government up to this day". Another interviewee mentioned that they felt at one point that the government was not caring. Discussants in the FGD corroborated the assertions and discussant sighted the endemic corrupt nature of Nigeria was part of it.

Respondents pointed out that such important services as trauma management are not available in Kaduna State. A respondent who shared his experience in the United States of America said:

> *"We don't have post-trauma management of victims to calm them down psychologically; we don't have it. I have never seen it. All you have if they ever come they just do like this pack you to the hospital and that is all. Nobody follows you home to say this and this and manages you. We don't do that here. It is very important. We don't have that system here. So apart from the physical provisions, there is this psychological thing you are saying, for a very long time, the slightest they hear, that thing is heavy on them. But we that had the minor ones we've since forgotten it. If you lost your husband, for example, or you are seriously injured, the response will be different. So, I think fundamentally that is what is not being done here and I think our system should do it".*

Respondents disclosed that victims of terrorism in Zaria Metropolis can be assisted to overcome their new challenges. Some respondents in the in-depth Interview mentioned that love is the greatest weapon that can heal the wounds and injuries inflicted by terrorist

attacks on victims in Zaria. A Bishop re- echoed love further when he explained with a quotation that:

> *"I am going to pray that let everybody see the next person as his immediate younger or elder brother or as his father or mother. If we do that, then we will be able to be cautious about what we do either as criminals or as victims. So, I will advice that all of us should pick up this word love and live it to its essence. With that, we will be able to secure ourselves and secure our brothers and sisters".*

Discussants in FGD sessions advocate love as a weapon of unity and progress. They see love as the way forward out of the present predicament. There is minority views among discussants which say that people should know their differences and what bind them together to be able to live in peace.

Respondents have advocated that victims should imbibe the spirit of forgiveness. Many interviewees are of the view that if there is genuine love, people will be their brothers' keepers and not barbarous destroyers and killers. The clergyman is also of the view that everybody must be his brother's keeper and must ensure that no harm was done to the next person irrespective of differences in ethnicity, religion or culture.

A Chief Imam and a Bishop pointed out that religious leaders have very serious work to do by giving correct doctrinal teachings to their adherents. They revealed that terrorism, as it was being perpetrated was based on wrong indoctrination. To them, the most dangerous person in the world today is somebody who is wrongly indoctrinated. They pointed out that if people have the correct religious knowledge and they are able to interpret the sacred texts accurately, and if they know that God is a God of peace, Love, and that the two major religions proclaim and teach, they must hate and avoid violence. An Imam pointed out that religious education should rank paramount in all activities in Zaria. He disclosed that Zaria is known for religious education and indoctrination which is contrary and superior to that

of Boko Haram. Discussants in FGD sessions have disclosed that charity begins at home. They pointed out that the best religious doctrines are taught in the family and that parents should rise up to the challenges of proper up- bringing of their children. Families too must watch the activities of their members and be able to call any erring member to order.

Respondents pointed out that resilience is very important for adjustment by the affected population. Many respondents pointed out that people should settle down and then work hard so that they can recuperate and continue with life. They suggested that everyone in Zaria should work as if nothing had ever gone wrong. They advocated that the society should assist the victims of terrorism to push ahead to see that their children make progress in life. Their children are the most affected they should ensure that they resettle them in schools. An interviewee who is also a clergyman advised the victims of terrorism to make a case legally to government. To him, the case they should make is not just writing to government or making noise in the newspaper. He mentioned that the victims of terrorism have to involve legal parties to work for them. Another respondent disclosed that:

> *"if I were one of the victims truly speaking it is better to go to court with the government, demand for compensation and rehabilitation by government. If the government cannot immediately come you have to tell the government its functions".*

Discussants in the Focus Group Discussions were not happy with the neglect of the victims of terrorism in Zaria metropolis. They pointed out that government's inability to provide the basic necessities of life over a long period of time had culminated in the present state of events. For this reason, well- to-do individuals and lawyers should challenge the government to fulfill its obligations and be sensitive to the plight of the masses.

Many respondents mentioned that victims of terrorism should be given adequate publicity and honour. They pointed out that acts of terrorism receive high publicity while little or no attentions are often given to the plights of the victims. Some of the respondents who were victims of the attack on the CKC explained their sadness on publicity that was accorded the members of cadet on guard at the CKC who died while neglecting the injured and those who died outside the church premises. The mentioned that the cadets were buried as martyrs with the highest honour by the church. A respondent in the IDI who was a victim of attack on ECWA Church, Wusasa said the assistance was within and internal. He added by saying that: "We the church raised money to support these victims because they could not wait for government".

Respondents maintained that those in authority should remember that they have a responsibility of securing lives and property of the people. As such, they should intensify efforts in providing regular checks on activities of the citizens. This should not just be restricted to Jumat prayers and church services alone it should be round the clock. They should also be able to sieve out miscreants from the society. They should be interested in all that goes on among their citizens, either Christians or Muslims, because terrorist attacks are not limited to places of worship. So, the security agencies should be up and doing in circumstances and in times like these. Respondents and discussants mentioned that when such things terrorist attacks take place the government should be quick in responding to them. They pointed out that since this is a societal problem, government should come to the aid of direct, primary and potential victims. To them government owe it a duty to provide the victims of terrorism with succor to replace what had been damaged and for those who were injured government should take responsibility of their medical treatments.

The Chief Imam of Sabon Gari Central Mosque pointed out that government should assist the youth by providing them with free education and job opportunities. He disclosed that this would minimize the chances of to participate in any act of community destruction, political thurggery or religious crisis. Discussants in all the sessions of FGD made contributions that corroborated the views of respondents in IDIs.

4.9 The Coping Strategies of Victims of Terrorism

Terrorism has permanently impaired the lives of some of the victims I Zaria Metropolis. Various alternatives have been devised by the victims to meet the challenges induced and hardships caused in their lives. Direct, primary, indirect and potential victims as well as social institutions and agencies adopted different coping strategies

Coping with the Psychological Challenges

Many participants in the IDI pointed out that every individual at all the spots of terrorist attacks struggled to escape from the scene. Interviewees disclosed that escaping from the scene is often the most paramount for those who witness terrorism and are traumatized. Respondents disclosed that there were commotions and confusion all over as terrorism rocked the study area. Participants in the IDI revealed that the scene at Yoruba Street was that of people running to different directions to escape from objects that were flying and harming people indiscriminately. Discussants in all the sessions of the FGDs corroborated the fact that the scene of terrorist attacks was that of people running to escape without minding any danger ahead of them.

Shedding of tears as a coping strategy. Many respondents in the IDI and discussants in FGD disclosed that they cried and shed tears uncontrollably. A respondent in In-depth Interview disclosed that anytime he remembered the ugly incident, tears run down his

cheeks. Respondents pointed out that crying is one of the typical ways of expressing love for someone in danger and for the dead. The Catholic Bishop mentioned that many non-Christians were crying helplessly suspecting that he had been killed in the attack on Christ the King Cathedral in view of the enormity of injuries, deaths and destructions caused by the attack. Focus Group Discussion in all the areas where terror attacks took place corroborated this trend of sympathy, crying and shedding of tears at scenes of terrorist attacks. A female discussant at Tudun Wada pointed out that it was unimaginable for such thing to happen here and that surprise, disbelief and grief forced people to cry even more. A male discussant at Yoruba Street mentioned that the pain that accompanies the sudden death of an individual you are staying and talking with and the instant mutilation of his body was a factor that can only be expressed through crying. A female discussant at Yoruba Street disclosed that crying helps to regain courage, overcome grief and keep healthy during agony.

Hope as a coping strategy. Many interviewees in the IDI disclosed that the hope that government would come to their aid has helped them to overcome the trauma that followed the terrorist attacks in Zaria metropolis. Some respondents revealed that they have been assured that government will come to their rescue and compensate them. Respondents disclosed that comprehensive document on the toll of coordinated terror attacks on the two churches have been sent to the government. Discussants in the FGD sessions at Yoruba Street and Wusasa maintained that they are aware that a comprehensive report on the nature of harm caused them has been submitted to the government and something positive is likely to come out of it soon. A respondent disclosed that he goes to General Hassan Usman House Kaduna on weekly basis to follow up the issue of compensation.

Coping with Social and Security Challenges caused by Terrorism

Relocation and intra- city migration as coping strategy. Many respondents in IDI disclosed that they have relocated from their old places of residence that are prone to attacks and violence. Some respondents pointed out that they have realized the dangers that are prevalent in staying in certain parts of the town. Interviewees pointed out that they have relocated to the parts of Zaria where they are sure of collective social security and protection. Discussants in the FGDs corroborated the trend of unending migration since the events of terrorist attacks. Discussants pointed out that certain activities such as street fighting by restive youths in the town are signs of treat that were being considered in the decision of accommodation and safety. Respondents and discussants also disclosed that there had been an unending migration of people from Zaria to other parts of the country. Participants pointed out that there is massive movement of southerners from the study area, many of them SME operators and professionals. This has further impacted on the pattern of settlement in Sabon Gari and Tudun Wada respectively. An interviewee who sustained injuries in one of the attacks on Cosmopolitan Hotel and whose business had suffered a setback explained the trend as:

> *"Since that time, a lot of people have relocated. You know Zaria is no longer like before. People have packed".*

A male discussant discussant in Focus Group Discussion at Yoruba Street corroborated the trend of migration by victims further when he pointed out that the mother of one of the dead victims has moved to Kajuru in Kajuru Local Government Area, Kaduna State. The other two Ibo Chaps, the father of Ifeanyi has relocated to Oweri in the East.

Health seeking behavior as a coping strategy. Respondents in the IDI mentioned that terrorism had created new health challenges that many victims had to contend with. Respondents mentioned that these challenges are recurring health challenges and permanent disabilities. Many interviewees revealed that they have been accessing health facilities on continuous basis. Many respondents disclosed that they were either rushed to hospitals under emergency or went on their own to seek for medical attention. Some respondents disclosed that they went through complicated surgeries that lasted for several hours. A respondent who was operated on the head revealed that he had to continue physiotherapy for a long period of time. The respondent explained that:

> *"This is about three years now that this thing happened I am regaining my strength gradually as I try to engage myself in some exercises and some of the things that will help me regain my strength fully".*

The implication of this finding is that regular exercise is very important in the recovery process of a victim. A respondent pointed out that since the attack, his family had experienced unusual, recurrent health challenges. He explained that:

> *"In fact, even my wife till today we use to go to Shika. She will complain of her back, most especially the area she had the scar (the cuts). She goes to ABUTH Shika and St. Luke's Hospital here for medication. Sometimes, she would say she is feeling back pain and they will go to examine her. She does not have malaria, she does not have anything but such pains keep re-occurring. She was not having such experience when that attack had not occurred; but now she is having such challenges. He said they had to cope with the challenge through continuous process of medical attention, exercises and medication".*

The continuous health seeking behaviour by the victims who sustained high degree of injuries was corroborated in all the Focus Group Discussions and equally corroborated by secondary data.

Self protection as a coping strategy. Many respondents in IDI disclosed that they had taken precautionary measures to protect themselves from future attacks. Some respondents revealed that their eyes are wide open as they maintain vigilance and are prepared to defend themselves. Many respondents in the In-depth Interview pointed out that the nation as a whole and the north of Nigeria, including the study area is going through a period of emergency which calls for caution and vigilance. A clergyman pointed out that being careful and cautious is very important during emergencies such as this. An interviewee mentioned that being watchful, law abiding, listening to the government and the security is key to survival. Male discussants at *Mucia* pointed out that anything unusual and detrimental to peaceful coexistence and the safety of lives and property should be reported to the security agencies. Discussants in all the Focus Group Discussions further disclosed that people have compromised in reporting acts of lawlessness for long. Discussants pointed out that everyone has to take whatever preventive measures that is possible provided it does not violate the law of the land. A male discussant at Uche Road pointed out that

> *"there is no human law in this world that stops one from self protection and self defence especially when things are happening in a negative way".*

A discussant corroborated this view and added that self protection is a natural instinct and is done from natural law. The Catholic Bishop buttressed his narratives with a quote from the Biblical version which reads:

> *"When I sent you out that time without purse, bag, or shoes did you lack anything? "Not a thing", they answered. Jesus then said "whoever has a purse or a bag must take it; and whoever has no sword must sell his coat and buy one". In his words, basic commentaries will tell you why Jesus told them not to carry any purse or sandals or spare clothes because there was a lot of hospitality, charity and love. But now, he is leaving them in a changing world; changing in a direct opposite of the*

> *world mentality to which he had already sent them. So the commentaries will tell you the purse to provide for daily needs, the clothes to keep yourself warm when the weather is cold and the sword is for self-defense".*

Belief and faith as coping strategy. Many respondents revealed that it is their faith in the Almighty God that had sustained. In-depth interview narratives had indicated that surviving the terrorist attacks was a miracle and an act of God. A respondent who worships at ECWA mentioned that "those who sustained serious injuries may probably have a different experience, but by and large everybody who was in that church actually felt that for the grace of God all of them would have died". A discussant corroborated faith and the role of religion further by mentioning that if is not for the sake of faith, probably, people would stayed away from worship places. But faith propels people to believe that it is God who protects. A female discussant at Wusasa revealed that at some points some members started coming en mass because they believe that it is better to die in the church than to die outside there. A Bishop corroborated the faith issue and added that in addition to faith the power of prayer by believers is important. Many respondents pointed out that prayer is an important coping strategy in the time of agony and pain which crises and terrorism imposed on the victims. According to them, churches prayed concerning this and they are still praying concerning it because there is nothing that is above God. An interviewee mentioned that the religious factor was re-echoed by the white missionaries when they visited them. He explained his encounter with the white men who came from the United States of America, who asked him if he had forgiven the people that bombed his church. He responded that he had forgiven them for the calamity their action has caused him and they were happy with his openness of heart. The Anglican Bishop explained the power of prayers that:

> "*The victims are innocent; they are victims of circumstances. They should take the bomb blast as a trial from God. The entire community members should be committed to prayers both in Mosques*

and Churches. The Almighty God promise us a better change in our life provided we change our attitudes".

Coping with the Economic challenges caused by Terrorism

Many respondents revealed that they obtained loans from commercial banks and their employers to enable them rebuild damaged business premises, offset medical expenses incurred as a result of terrorist attacks or establish other sources of income. Some of the respondents in the In-depth pointed out that they borrowed from money lenders and cooperative societies to settle medical bills and to feed their families. A respondent who is a personnel of the Federal College of Education, Zaria explained his appreciation for the loan he obtained in these words:

> "*thank God my provost is a listening person. Apart from the leave or relief granted to me, he graciously granted me a soft loan of five hundred thousand naira (₦ 500,000:00) to enable me fix my car and be able to relieve myself of some other bills and some other expenses incurred".*

A respondent disclosed that he obtained an interest free loan from Ahmadu Bello University to refurbish his car that was damaged by bomb attack on ECWA Church, Wusasa, Zaria. Borrowing and obtaining of loans as means of sustaining and rejuvenating businesses have also been corroborated in all the sessions of the Focus Group Discussions. Discussants were however, of the view that interests charged on loans were too high and exploitative. A discussant pointed out that most of the loans are short-term facilities and attract high interest rates.

Many respondents in IDI who have been physically incapacitated by terrorist attacks disclosed that they have taken to begging for survival in view of the devastation terrorism had caused to their lives. Respondents also mentioned that social institutions also assist in solicitation for assistance on behalf of the victims to enable them to cushion the effects of

terrorism. A respondent who lost his two eyes in the suicide attack on CKC disclosed that he stays at the spot where the researcher met him in Tudun Wada on a daily bases to beg for alms. He mentioned that some servants of Allah who were touched by his cry render him some assistance. A respondent revealed that he goes as far as Kaduna to solicit for assistance to meet family obligations as he lost his job due to ill-health caused by the terror attack on the ECWA church in which he and his wife were victims. A religious leader further elaborated when he said:

> *"We raise money to support these victims because we can't wait for government. We felt at one point that the government was not caring…the endemic corrupt nature of Nigeria was part of it. If you go to that store, you will see huge bags of clothes gathered for Boko Haram victims".*

A Chief Imam further revealed that the victims of terrorism and others who are in need often come for assistance and the Muslim *Ummah* gave support. He added that aids and other forms of assistance for the victims also came from individuals and organizations for such victims and the destitute, particularly during the month of Ramadan. Discussants in the FGD sessions also narrated how men who had lost their ability to fend for themselves, women and children go about begging and telling their unfortunate stories. There is minority view which identified those who took to begging to be mostly women and children. Discussants in one of the FGD sessions conducted near the CKC Catholic Cathedral, Zaria requested the researcher to assist in solicitation for fund or sponsorship for a young boy who was a direct victim who needed to go for second surgery on his head. A discussant also disclosed that a lot women are often seen solicit for financial assistance at Ahmadu Bello University Teaching Hospital, Shika where they would pretend to be looking for money to buy drugs.

Many respondents in IDI disclosed that innovation, entrepreneurial ability and perseverance have helped the victims of terrorism in Zaria metropolis to cope. Some interviewees in the In-depth Interview have pointed out that positive entrepreneurial ability, resilience and perseverance are important factors in the coping ability and survival of the victims of terrorism. Respondents explained how some of the business premises that were attacked have been rebuilt and revived while others have diverted to other sources of income. Some respondents disclosed that they have engaged themselves in unskilled jobs such as teaching in nursery schools, nanny, rendering domestic service at houses of the well-to-do, salesmanship and daily paid site labour. A respondent disclosed that he has converted the estate that was used as cosmopolitan hotel at Uche Road to a model nursery/primary school which is a more acceptable enterprise in the environment. Another respondent in the In-depth Interview disclosed that he took to trading in food stuff between Zaria and Okene, Kogi State. Many respondents explained how they have shifted their businesses from one location to another. An interviewee who runs the white house disclosed that she had strove hard despite a lull in business. She pointed out that customers' confidence is being renewed through procurement of security gadgets and hiring of guard services by business concerns. Discussants in the Focus Group Discussions also disclosed that many of the victims have ventured into distant trade since they lost their original businesses. A female discussant at Uche Road said the business environment has not been favourable since the terrorist attacks took place in Zaria. Discussants also informed the researcher that many business enterprises have relocated from Sabon Gari and Tudun Wada to Kwangila and Palladan since the incidence of the attacks.

Many respondents have indicated that austerity measures in form of self denial and lifestyle adjustment have been adopted by many of the victims. Respondents mentioned that self imposed austerity measure is one factor that has kept victims alive and striving. An interviewee in the In-depth Interview disclosed that the quality of food that is served in their homes had reduced in view of their present condition. Many respondents disclosed that they cannot afford three square meals per day since they lost their sources of income in the terrorist attacks. Some respondents mentioned that they could only afford to fill their stomachs with whatever is available. A respondent revealed that his family which used to engage the services of domestic staff before the unfortunate incident can no longer afford it.

Many respondents disclosed that farming and agriculture have sustained many of the victims. In-depth Interview revealed that a substantial number of the victims had gone into farming as their source of livelihood**.** Respondents who had ventured into agriculture are those who have lost their jobs and those whose businesses had suffered. Some respondents disclosed that they rent farmland to cultivate, while others give out produce to land owners after harvest. A respondent disclosed to the researcher that he had gone into aquaculture to stay afloat economically. He took the researcher to his fish pond for sightseeing. Another interviewee revealed that she had gone into poultry farming; rearing chicken and turkey. A respondent mentioned that he had ventured into agriculture and engaged in mix-cropping that include cultivation of beans, Guinea Corn and maize. Some respondents pointed out that agriculture is the largest employer of labour and a major source of income and sustainability for the less privileged. Many respondents decried the cost of labour and high breed seeds. Many respondents mentioned that the major agricultural practice engaged in

by the victims was subsistence and small holdings which they attributed to lack of capital and grant. A respondent disclosed that he lost his business in one of the incidents had depended on his wife who fries bean cake and corn drinks for sale.

Discussants in the Focus Group Discussions corroborated the narrative that a substantial number of individuals; including the victims of terrorism in the study area have ventured into agriculture farming. Discussants further added that there are instances where entire family engages in farm labour when children are on holidays and sometimes children go to the farm to meet the parents after school. Some respondents disclosed that they buy corn in large quantity which they ground and measure sale in powdery form. Some respondents mentioned that they own grinding mills for this purpose while a few of them have small engines which they use to grind tomato, beans and soaked corn.

Coping Strategies adopted by Institutions and Civil Community in Zaria

Some the respondents said the government had strengthened the security agencies to curtail the menace of terrorism in Zaria Metropolis. The Police Officers and Community Leaders disclosed that Divisions had been created by upgrading Kasuan Mata, Danmagaji and Tudun Wada Police Stations to Divisional Headquarters with senior officers and more personnel. Respondents pointed out that operational vehicles were provided to all the Divisions for anti-crime patrol at the peak of the terror attacks and to fight the rising trend of crime in the area. A respondent disclosed that the Police in some of the Divisions in Zaria do not have competent DPOs that can fight crime and terrorism. A respondent disclosed that contrary to what obtains in countries like Saudi Arabia where Police Generals lead patrol, here in Nigeria the officers only stay in offices to collect bribes and

returns. Respondents pointed out that roadblocks were mounted at strategic locations by the Nigerian Army and Operation Yaki as part of the strategies to contain the situation.

A respondent disclosed to the researcher that the Governors of the nineteen Northern States had set up a Peace Committee to find solution to the Boko Haram menace in the region. As a member of the Peace committee, he revealed that:

> *"Terrorism, healing and reconciliation formed by northern governors forum. My committee was the first to go to Maiduguri in the heat of the crisis. We met with some of the Boko Haram boys physically and had fruitful discussion. They gave us gift of two AK47 and the list of their sponsors for further discussion. When the Chairman of the Northern Governors Forum wanted to submit the report to President Jonathan the president refused to accept it".*

A respondent disclosed to the researcher that Zazzau Emirate Council has taken measures to suppress and cope with trend and to ensure that ugly incidences of terrorism attack do not occur in future. The respondent revealed that the Council has embarked on serious campaign from one worship place to another in an effort to avert reprisal attacks and to assure both Muslims and Christians that peace will continue to reign in Zaria. Respondent pointed out that the Council has continually made it clear that it does not support fanaticism and terrorism, and as such Zaria would never be a safe heaven and breeder of terrorism. Respondents disclosed that the Council has created administrative units in all the wards and appointed ward heads (*Hakimi*) in charge of each ward with his own council. Discussants in FGDs disclosed that all the ethnic groups within a ward were represented by their selected leaders in the councils of ward heads. They pointed out that these ethnic representatives are encouraged to form their cabinets which should meet periodically to review the security situations in their various domains and report to ward heads who, in turn, report to the Emir. A respondent pointed out the fact that ward heads were members

of the Iya's council. Discussants disclosed that the chiefs often invited private business operators for meetings where the invited persons would be briefed about the security situation of the town.

Respondents disclosed that the Chairmen of Zaria and Sabon Gari Local Government Areas have improved the security architecture of their areas of jurisdiction. Respondents pointed out that these measures include recruitment of young men to provide intelligence and patrol services as well as recognition and empowerment of vigilante groups. Respondents disclosed that these steps had helped to reduce the activities of hoodlums and other mischief-makers. A clergyman further disclosed this narrative when thus:

> *"Go to Kofar Doka here, you will see a van parked with young men holding big sticks. They are paid by government to do it".*

Respondents disclosed that Churches and mosques have established security and safety committees which were pro-active in overseeing security arrangements aimed at protecting such places during service. Many respondents pointed out that men of the Nigerian Police Force are visibly present on guard around mosques during Jummat prayers on Fridays to provide security cover for Muslim faithful while they observed the prayer obligation. Clergymen revealed that heavy guards were provided twenty-four hours for mosques from Thursday evenings till the end of Jumat prayers every Friday by mosque guards known as *yan ageji*. These respondents pointed out that all the central mosques in Zaria metropolis have acquired security gadgets that can detect danger signals. Discussants in FGD sessions corroborate the adequate security measures in all the mosques. These measures have been put in place to avert reprisal and attacks from Boko Haram bombers. They are full of praises for Muslim leaders and voluntary donors who made sacrifices to make places of

worship conducive in this era of terrorism. There is minority view which sees the contribution to mosques as an obligation for well-to-do Muslims. Respondent and discussants all pointed out that all the Jummat Mosques in Zaria metropolis have been fenced and cross bars provided to barricade the premises. Respondents have pointed out that churches have taken similar measures to minimize the exposure threat of terrorism. A respondent explained in these words:

> "*You see we are supposed to be protected by government but we are not. It is not enough to put soldiers to make road blocks and check points. When the attacks were heavy, even the soldiers could not defend themselves because they were incapacitated. Now, you see churches resorting to security checks. Everyone that will go to worship will have to be screened. People started creating barriers, like irons bars on their gates and so on and people started learning how to defend themselves because the security outfits have failed us. Organizations also began to get government license to provide security for themselves".*

Many respondents pointed out that the Catholic Cathedral in Zaria Dioceses had taken several measures to overcome damages inflicted on them by terrorists. Such measures include construction of high perimeter fences, fitting of security gate with cross bars, stationing of sand filled drums in front of the fence and the gate and cross bars at the end of Yoruba Street at the Cemetery and Hospital Roads linking the CKC Cathedral. Respondents revealed that the Dioceses had reduced the population of worshippers at the CKC Cathedral by creating a parish at the Grace Land and an outpost at Jushin woje. Some respondents pointed out that all major events and celebrations in the church calendar that could attract large gathering of faithful have been shifted to the minor seminary at Basawa. Discussants in the FGD sessions at Yoruba Street disclosed that the Church has engaged the services of security personnel who provide guard services round the clock. Discussant revealed that the church also has members of the cadet who are at work from Saturday

afternoon to Sunday evenings to compliment the security arrangements put in place. The Bishop disclosed that the church was spending between eighty to one hundred thousand naira every month for Police cover. The respondent pointed out that worshippers were always properly screened while filing into the church, while hand bags and phone calls have been prohibited in the church premises. FGD sessions conducted at Yoruba Street corroborated these narratives.

Respondents revealed that there are ten different churches along the Mission Road Wusasa where the ECWA Church was attacked. Respondents disclosed that all the churches have taken a joint step to secure the route. Respondents explained that part of the measure taken by churches were stopping women from carrying bags into the church congregations, gate checking before entering any of the church premises and a common cross bar had been erected at the junction from the main road to Mission Road. Respondents mentioned that the cross bar was usually locked in the morning on Sundays and reopened between 12:00 noon and 1:00PM when almost all churches would have closed. Respondents revealed that nobody would be allowed in the premises on motorcycle or in a car during church service. They disclosed that worshippers had always parked their cars along the main road. A discussant who corroborated said “these are some of the measures have beefed up the security. Discussants also disclosed that the police were usually on guard during service in case of anything eventuality. A discussant explained that the police stay around the church premises with the boys’ brigade of the church and cover the physical security that can be visibly seen. A respondent pointed out that the ECWA Church Wusasa had built a high perimeter fence to protect the Church and the worshiper and had constructed security gates

to further control assess. A respondent confirmed the above narratives adequately in these words:

> *"We have done the needful, not only us alone but there is general surveillance by the police. You see them every Sunday. Few of them are armed and then there is a barricade we put on the road leading to the church. So, every Sunday we block it such that you cannot come in or out until we finish service. A possible attack through the same means of driving in a car may not be able to repeat itself I mean within the context of coming to the church. It might happen around, but driving to the church now is not possible except through other means, may be gun attack or any other thing. But driving in a car with a bomb to come directly into the church I think we have, to a large extent, ensured that it will not happen".*

Discussants corroborated the narratives of the respondents and further disclosed that churches have equally embarked on intelligence gathering which according to them is a key element in fighting difficult battles such as terrorism. Secondary data indicated that the measures are in view of Boko Haram's attacks on churches and mosques (Eme, *et. al*, 2012).

4.10 Discussion of the Major Findings

It is of relevance to present a discussion of the major findings in any research endeavour. This research on the victims of terrorism in Zaria Metropolis and their coping strategies is not an exception. Hence, the discussion of the findings are as outlined below.

The first objective of the study was to identify the toll of terrorism in Zaria metropolis. There were nine different terrorist attacks in Zaria Metropolis. Three of the attacks were suicide bombings in which death toll, injuries and destruction were high. Four of the attacks were open shooting at targets which also caused deaths, injuries and destructions. Two of the attacks were by dropping IEDs at recreational centers which caused injuries and destructions. Terrorist attacks in the study area caused the death of one hundred and nine

victims, four hundred and fifty injuries of various degrees and destruction of property worth three hundred and sixty nine million seven hundred thousand naira (₦ 369, 700, 000:00). Similar findings of large destruction of property, high death toll and injuries had been reported in other studies. For instance, in a study on the activities of Boko Haram in North East Nigeria, Adebayo (2014: 484) concluded that

> *"there are no criteria to quantify the loss to the economy. Many children have died, and many have become orphans due to the Boko Haram onslaught that killed their parents and guardians, while such children continue to suffer deprivation. Many families have been scattered, and their ambitions cut short. While the scenes of each bomb blast present a scenario of massive waste and destruction. As such, some have concluded that any figure that is thrown up from any source may be a scratch on the surface".*

The merciless bravery of suicide bombers, killings and destruction caused through suicide terrorist attacks have been explained by Shettiman (2014) who argues that:

> *"For me, there are two major factors that drive the Boko Haram sect, which are spiritual belief and economic desires. Those with spiritual beliefs are led into believing that when they kill, they obtain rewards from Allah and the rewards translate into houses in paradise. When they are killed, they automatically die as martyrs and go to paradise straight away. In other words, death is the beginning of their pleasure. Then, whoever they target to kill is an infidel and will go to hell. They mostly target security personnel, government officials and politicians. They also target residents who they assume support government and security agencies or do not share their ideology of being opposed to western education… One dangerous thing about their ideology is their belief that when they attack a gathering or a community, any righteous person in the sight of God, who dies as a result of their attack, will go to paradise, which means they would have assisted the person to go to paradise in good time by their actions, and any infidel killed by their attack will go to hell, which to them is what he or she deserves and no regret for his death".* (Abah and Idris, 2014:7).

Three terrorist attacks in Zaria metropolis were carried out by shooting at targets which included the then Vice President of Nigeria at his Tudun Wada residence in Zaria, Sheikh Mohammed Auwal Albani and two recreation places in which ten people were killed. Such killing are often a way of eliminating perceived enemies by Boko Haram in North East and

North Central Nigeria. Onuoha (2013:165) had reported that the sect had adopted this method of elimination when it is after a person listed as an "enemy". According to him

> *The usual mode entails the assigned operatives trailing the target to a place where the individual is most vulnerable to being successfully killed. Boko Haram members usually use cars or motorbikes in going after such targets and shoot at a very close range (usually at the head, chest, or abdomen) to ensure that the chances of the victim surviving are very slim. In this way, Boko Haram has been able to kill several civilians, politicians, religious leaders, security agents, and community leaders that were outspoken against its ideology and activities.*

Similarly, Boko Haram claimed responsibility for targeted killings in the Zaria Metropolis with justifications. In the words of Shekau as he claim responsibility for the killings of Sheikh Albani and other outspoken clerics of the sect said:

> *"we don't kill a Muslim; if you hear that we have killed a Muslim, we must have found out that he was collaborating with the unbelievers… We are just fighting those who are fighting us, soldiers and police and the rest; and anybody, even if he is a learned Muslim teacher, if we confirm that he exposes us to the government, his children will become orphans and his wife will become a widow, in God's name. That is our way. But the ordinary people in town, we seek your forgiveness; I swear we will not harm you".* (Sheme, 2011)

The toll of terrorism in Zaria Metropolis shows that terrorism caused serious human and material damages within moments. In line with the findings is the view of Lakovlev (1972) who observed that social adaptation becomes increasingly significant when social change affects important aspects of life over comparatively short periods of time. The destructions, killings and injuries are equally expressed in the proposition of Buss and Duntley (2004) noted that humans possess adaptations for murder. In their Homicide Adaptation Theory, they had noted that over the long expanse of human history, there were recurrent sources of

conflict between individuals, such as conflict over status and conflict over resources which often result to casualties. Terrorism caused all these in the study area.

The second objective of the study was to find out the Psychological, Social and Security challenges caused by terrorism.

The direct, primary, indirect and potential victims of terrorism and even the institutions in Zaria metropolis have suffered from the psychological challenges caused by terrorism. The fear induced on the general populace by the terrorist attacks in view places of attacks and the destruction caused has continued to hunt them. Hence, in a study on public opinion on terrorism in Israel, Friedland and Merari (1986:228) had found out that terrorism is a

> *"psychological warfare waged on the public mind. Its aim is to paralyze the population with fear and anxiety, to intimidate and to induce worry and concern that is disproportional to and far exceeds the actual damage it caused".*

Terrorist attacks psychologically affected many people in Zaria Metropolis either directly by harming an individual or his family or indirectly, through discussion and media coverage. This is also in line with the findings of Bleich et. al.(2003:11) in Israel. Similarly, Crenshaw (1983:1) found out that terrorism is designed to stick fear into the hearth of the targeted society and it generally succeeds in doing so. Hoffman (2006:142) further corroborated this finding in a study in Israel that suicide terrorism can be particularly effective in terrifying people because it projects an aura of fanaticism.

Fears that had resulted from terrorism remained in many minds in Zaria Metropolis thereby resulting to Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). According to America Disorder Association (2008) psychological effects of terrorism that is easiest to quantify is the prevalence of PTSD. Hence Mathewson (2009) has noted that the battlefield is not the land upon which the attacks take place, but rather, it is the mind - the psychology - of those who

survive. Pedahzur's findings in Israel (2005:183) that one of the major symptoms of PTSD is avoiding people or situation that remind one of the traumatic experience as it can change the way people behave at home and at work. Hence, neither the private nor the public sphere is immuned from the harm caused by terror attacks confirms this finding. Lindell and Perry (2000: 461) noted that the estimation of personal risk and vulnerability to terrorism may act as a key motivator to behavioral adaptations, including avoidance of usual activities or increased adoption of protective behaviors. Furthermore, Kirschenbaum (2006:1) found out that those who believe they are particularly vulnerable to a risk may be motivated to perform risk reduction.

Terrorism had affected the belief and attitude of the people in Zaria Metropolis. The social effects of terrorism can be pronounced and far-reaching, influencing many different aspects of a society. The starting point for the impact of terrorism on a society is the affect that terrorist attacks have upon people's beliefs and attitudes. Major events influence people's beliefs and attitudes. Shavrit et al.(2005:4) explain that:

> *"terror attacks are negative, threatening events. Considerable evidence from psychological studies has shown that negative information tends to be more closely attended, better remembered, and have a stronger impact on evaluations and judgments than positive information."*

Thus, since terrorist attacks are events of a highly negative nature, they have lead to changes in people's beliefs and attitudes. One such belief concerns how people view other religions and ethnic groups, especially the religion and ethnic group which the terrorists belong to. In a situation of inter-religious conflict, terrorist attacks increase negative beliefs about and hostile attitudes toward the opposing religion the terrorists claim to represent.

A sense of victimhood is common as the society experiences terrorism in which civilians are the target. According to Mosher (2005:16) Civilians are not expected to be victims of political violence (whereas military casualties are expected); hence, a public feels victimized when it is the target of political violence (i.e. when it experiences terrorist attacks). The more the civilian population is targeted, the more this sense of victimhood increases. Hence, Bar-Tal and Shavrit (2004: 15) have observed that this sense of victimization in turn leads to a de-legitimization of the terrorists and the people they claim to represent. Consequent upon which the targeted group becomes unwilling or unable to consider the other side's grievances and objectives. No longer is the opposing group believed to have rational objectives and/or justifiable grievances; instead, the worst views become 'common sense,' especially those concerning its propensity towards violence.

The threat of terrorism increases a group's reliance on stereotypes, leading to more negative stereotyping by members of the targeted groups such as the growing anti Muslim, anti Hausa and anti Fulani sentiments. This finding is in line with Huddy et al. (2005: 486) that there have been numerous instances of this such as the rise of "Islamophobia" in the United States following the 9/11 attacks and the increase in anti-Arab sentiments in Spain in the wake of the 2004 Madrid train bombings. Likewise, in Israel during the second Intifada, Israelis held extremely negative stereotypes of Palestinians, viewing them as dishonest, violent, and having little regard for human life (Bar-Tal and Shavrit 2004: 2).

Another major social effect of terrorism is a rise in ethnocentrism and xenophobia as a group increases its solidarity in the face of violence. This finding is in line with that of Huddy et al. (2005: 386.) that identification with, and support for, the in-group rises as a result of terrorism, while identification with, and support for, any out-group decreases.

This was apparent in Russia in the wake of terrorist attacks carried out by Chechen militants, when ethnic Russian identity became more salient, while xenophobia rose. According to Pedahzur (2005: 184) this also took place in the United States in the aftermath of 9/11, when there was a surge of patriotic sentiment (evident, for instance, in the numerous American flags that adorned windows in New York City—a place where such overt displays of American patriotism are generally less common than elsewhere in the country). So too, in Israel during the second Intifada repeated Palestinian terrorist attacks led to a renewed sense of national unity among Israeli Jews (Waxman 2011:7) Terrorism undoubtedly exacerbated the already tense relationship between the Muslims and Christian communities as well as between the Hausa and other ethnic nationalities in many states in Nigeria. Similarly, the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights (2005) had reported that Muslims in the United States and Europe have complained about suffering from intolerance, harassment, and discrimination in the aftermath of recent terrorist attacks (most notably 9/11).

Social repercussions of persistent attacks are the stress that terrorism creates which manifests itself in a rise in violent crimes and a general brutalization of the society. Boko Haram terrorist group had radicalized youths in Zaria Metropolis through its recruitment policy which centers on exhibition of violence tendencies and brutality. This has in turn increased the level of insecurity in the society. Hence Igbo (1997) in a study of political violence in Nigeria concluded that:

> *"one of the basic needs of man is security, freedom from poverty, want, diseases, hunger and danger.... and terrorism brings all these. The attacks and bomb explosions caused not only death of the soldiers but also of innocent civilians. Life is full of insecurity and uncertainty under terror".*

Similarly, Okunola (2012) argues that security is an imperative for Nigeria, as is the case for any society and is one of the major needs of a population, particularly following physiological needs. According to him security makes it possible for individuals to grow, engage in lawful and productive activities, and contribute to meaningful development. As such, the primary duty of the Nigerian state is the provision of security to its citizens. This finding is also in line with that of Ifeanyi (2015) in North East Nigeria who found out that:

> *"the typical social development programmes such as family welfare services, health, housing, community development, youth service and women development have been jeopardized by the activities of terrorists in Nigeria. He specifically pointed out that the major target of the Boko Haram is to frustrate western education which, to them, is a sin. Educational institutions have become a dreadful area as the group's main target is western education".*

Similarly, Landau (2003:30) reported that In Israel's case, it has been argued that the stress that terrorism creates manifests itself in a rise in violent crimes (homicide and robbery), and a general "brutalization of Israeli society." This is in line with Ogulesi (2015) who stated that the Boko Haram group has denounced the members of the Sufi, the Shi'ite, and the Izala sects as infidels. While claiming responsibility for the attack on the residence of the Vice President the sect warned:

> *"We wish to reiterate that our crusade is meant to ensure the establishment of an Islamic state (in Nigeria)…We wish to strongly warn people to desist from collaborating with security agents…we only kill government functionaries, security agents, Christians and anyone who pretends to be a Muslim but engage in assisting security agents to arrest us… we are aware of the activities of some women who have been recruited to spy on us. Whenever we catch any woman spying on us, we would slaughter her like a ram"* (Ali and Akowe, 2012).

According to Hobbes (1996) security is the prime responsibility of the state. Hence, the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria specifically states that "The security

and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government". Terrorism equally erodes inter-communal trust and destroys the reservoir of social capital that is so vital to building harmonious societies and pooling together community energies for national development. Furthermore, terrorism exposed the inability of the Nigerian State's apparatus to manage crises and protect its citizens. It equally erodes the confidence of the common citizen in Zaria Metropolis in the ability of the government to protect him. This finding of inadequacy in protection of Nigerians by the government had been admitted by Olonisakin (2008:19) who confirmed that:

> *"the police-population ratio in Nigeria is 1:450 which falls below the standard set by the United Nations. The implication of this is that Nigeria is grossly under policed and this partly explains the inability of the Nigerian Police Force to effectively combat crimes and criminality in the country".*

The Bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Maiduguri further highlighted the security challenges when he voiced out that:

> *"What is very worrying and discouraging in the whole scenario, is the attitude of the military whom we mortgage and depend on for security. In the face of these attacks they flee and ask civilians to do the same."*

Perhaps Ogedebe and Jacob (2012) were right when they stated that the Nigerian security forces in their present state do not appear to be in a position to defeat the terrorists and kidnappers. Their ubiquitous roadblocks, token arrests, reactive soldiers neither frighten Boko Haram nor other contestants (kidnappers and armed robbers) for superior fire power. At some point, President Jonathan inadvertently admitted that Nigeria's security and intelligence community, under his watch lack required intelligence capacity to carry out their basic duty of identifying enemy of State:

> *"Some [of the Boko Haram members] are in the executive arm of government, some in the parliament/legislature arm, while some are even in the judiciary. Some are also in the armed forces, the police and other security agencies. Some continue to dip their hands and eat with you and you won't even know the person who will point a gun at you or plant a bomb behind your house. That is how complex the situation Is"* (Adetayo, 2012).

Justino (2012) said, conflict and violence impact on the lives and livelihoods of individuals, households and communities directly and indirectly. Nigel (2002) adds, "Conflicts destroy livelihoods, either directly through causing death and destroying property, or indirectly by limiting freedom of choice and adaptive behavior, thereby hampering the pursuit of successful survival strategies."

Terrorism has created economic crises in Zaria metropolis through the damages it caused. The most direct economic effect of a terrorist attack is the damage caused to life and property at the site of the attack. First, it damaged the infrastructure of the building and destroyed products. Sources of income mainly small scale businesses, have been destroyed. This had left the owners of such properties with the costs of rebuilding or repairing the building and restocking goods. Secondly the businesses had to shut down, at least temporarily. Low patronage due to fear of sudden attacks have also forced recreation centers to close down. With no income generated by the enterprises, national economic output would have fallen. This is in line with Collier (2007, in Ogbozor, 2016) who asserts that the violent conflict creates cycles of conflict and poverty. Thirdly, the terrorist attacks killed people, resulting to lost lifetime earnings of each individual killed. Fourthly, the terrorist attacks in Zaria Metropolis results in many casualties in which the wounded both lose earnings and need to pay for medical procedures. Owners of some of those enterprises have been permanently incapacitated by fatal injuries that they sustained during terrorist

attacks. In line with this finding Justino (2012:3) conclude that violent conflict kills and disables people, destroys productive assets, and block individuals and households access to their sources of livelihood and economic survival. Let's examine the impact of Boko Haram's insurgency in Northeast Nigeria. Similar findings had been presented by Salkida (2012 cited in Okoli and Iortyer, 2014) that

> *"it is, of course, a truism that terrorism in the Northern Nigeria has had a devastating effect on families and livelihoods of many economic groups. The massive destruction of infrastructure, the destruction of telecommunication facilities, frequent attacks on markets and businesses, short business hours, have made many to relocate to other safer parts of the country, bringing down incomes and increasing poverty levels".*

There is no formal social support for the victims of terrorism in Zaria Metropolis. The victims of terrorism in Zaria Metropolis received social support from individuals and organizations in accordance with the toll of terrorism they suffered. The United Nations has, for some time, spearheaded the fight for the rights of victims of terrorism. Member nations have been urged to recognize victims of terror and to accord them honour, respect and meaningful assistance. This was succinctly captured by the Secretary General of the United Nations in these words:

> *"Terrorism can affect anyone, anywhere... It attacks humanity itself. And it is for the sake of humanity that we must create a global forum for your voice and listen to you, the victims. Your stories of how terrorism has affected your lives are our strongest argument why it can never be justified. By giving a human face to the painful consequences of terrorism, you help build a global culture against it. You are the real heroes in the global struggle against terrorism. You humble the world by your strength and courage. You deserve support and solidarity. You deserve social recognition, respect and dignity. You deserve to have your needs addressed. You deserve to have your human rights defended. And you deserve justice". (*Ban Ki-moon, 2008:35)

In compliance with the United Nations Resolution on Rights of Victims of terrorism, many countries have made laws specifying the rights of victims of terror (UN, 2011). According

to the American Psychological Association (2006), social support is critical to managing stress. Caring and supportive relationships can provide emotional support that can greatly lessen the impact of stressful situations or crises and allow for expression of emotions by the victims. Supportive social networks can also provide assistance and information relevant to managing traumatic stress. This aspect of management of situations has not been developed to manage victims in the study area.

The National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) is mandated under the 1999 National Emergency Management Agency Act to provide emergency relief to victims of "natural or other disasters" and to assist in their rehabilitation. It is mandated to oversee the provision of assistance during the first two to four weeks of displacement (IDMC interview with NEMA, May 2013). This body has not responded to the plight of victims in the study area. Similarly, Gressly the head of the UN Humanitarian Services in the Sahel Region (2012) has said: "We cannot attend to all expectations of Nigerian in disaster because the country has more resources than the UN". The size and robustness of Nigeria's economy has contributed to donor reticence about contributing to the strategic response plan. Contributions to humanitarian financing instruments and bilateral programming remain low (The Internal Displacement Monitoring (IDMC) interviews, October 2014). The country's roles as a regional power and Africa's leading oil exporter have also made foreign governments reluctant to exert meaningful pressure. Funds raised by the Nigerian government, the business community, the Nigerian Diaspora and civil society organizations have not been added to those collected through humanitarian financing instruments. There is little or no information on how Nigerian funds raised for emergency relief have been used. The attitude of Government towards the victims of terrorism in the study area is contrary to

the world standard recommendation and practice. The United Nations (2005) has acknowledged the power of civil society organizations in playing a key role in the initiation, development and implementation of policies and services that will empower victims of terrorism. While States should in no way abdicate their responsibilities for the area of offering assistance and compensation, civil societies can play active parts in supporting victims and in providing spiritual care and psychological support to them. In line with the UN Declaration (2005), the victims of terrorism in Zaria metropolis have been neglected by the government. This finding is not peculiar to this research as other studies had confirmed the neglect of victims in Nigeria (Gyong, 2010) found that victims of common crime in Kaduna State are neglected. Alemika, Igbo, and Nnorom, (2005) concluded that victims of crime in Nigeria suffer in the hands of the criminal justice administration. Akinbayo (2013) further highlighted the neglect of victims when he said:

> *"I am absolutely astonished, appalled and dismayed by authorities in Nigeria and their nonchalant attitude and blatant disregards for the life of its citizens. When I say authorities, I mean the government, law enforcement agencies and medical facilities. I have read in several newspaper articles about victims of violent crimes such as armed robbery or any victims for that matter being denied medical treatment at hospitals. As such, the victims bleed to death".*

When one considers the huge number of lives that terrorism took from 2011 to date, in Zara Metropolis the ability of the society to cope with this terrorism is quite remarkable. There are no doubts many factors that are responsible for this, but three of such factors are particularly worth noting here. First is the acclimatization to terrorism. This is possible by imbibing the culture of love and tolerance. Love is the greatest weapon that can heal the wounds and injuries inflicted by terrorism on the victims. Sande (2011) supported this finding when he noted thus:

> *"But none of these things means we should also seek to forgive the offender and reconcile with the offender. One of the points in my talk at the U.N. was that we, as Christians, must develop a will to embrace and be reconciled with our enemy. This will to embrace is absolutely unconditional. There is no imaginable deed that should take a person outside our will to embrace him, because there is no imaginable deed that can take a person out of God's will to embrace humanity" (Volf, 2001).*

Second, media attention to terrorist attacks need to decline as repeated terrorist attacks should receive less social media, newspaper and television coverage. Liebel *et al.* (2007) have indicated that this occurred in Israel during the second *Intifada*. Thus, Slone (2000) has shown that since exposure to media coverage of terrorist attacks has been shown to generate symptoms of anxiety and distress, as the media pays less attention to terrorism, this helps the society to become less affected by it. Finally, and most importantly, social resilience got stronger in Zaria metropolis. Leaders of taught in the society embarked on campaign of solidarity to assure residents of protection and safety. Thus, with regards to terrorism, social resilience prevents terrorism from seriously disrupting the normal functioning of the society. Fasan (2010) captures social resilience in the following observation:

> *"Apart from the economic and social problems, we are bedeviled constantly today with fear of one attack or the other by one extremist group or another. Hostage taking, bomb throwing and violent crimes are now part of our daily life that we only stake our heads to acknowledge the events and move on as if nothing has happened. With all these troubles of daily living, food to eat and paying of bills in the midst of direct attacks by those propagating one extreme view or another. There is no word for it but that we are in a troubled time".*

It means that a targeted population is able to cope with the threat of terrorism and not be intimidated or demoralized by it. The toll of terrorism and its consequences on the victims can be explained using Merton's last mode of adaptation; rebellion. Rebellion involves the

rejection of both means and ends as well as efforts to substitute new means and ends. As it is with terrorism in Nigeria, is the frustration and perceived deprivations over the failure to realize goals. This has created psychological, social, security and economic challenges that can be likened to anomie.

The threat of terrorism contains various stress factors, and therefore it may have different effects on the psychological, social and economic well-being of an individual. The psychological, social, security and economic effects of terrorism was enormous on the victims and the society. Coping with these effects of terrorism is a vital challenge that required divergent of strategies. Hence, various coping strategies were adopted by the victims. Crying and shedding of tears as a coping strategy. The most immediate reaction noticed in all the scenes of terror attacks was crying. This show of emotion was seen in sympathizers. It is often said that crying is one of the most immediate response to traumatic situations and has been said to be an efficient coping strategy that is universally adopted by victims, eye witnesses and sympathizers at the scene or all places where there are grief, sadness and sorrow. This is in line with Borreli (2015) whose research found that crying is a vital instrument in coping with ugly and helpless situations. In the same vein, Martin (2012), cited in Borreli (2015), said we have all had a good cry, whether it is the end of a close relationship, frustration at work, or even a movie. Amid the stream of salty tears sliding down our cheeks, blurring our vision, and making our eyes puffy, we wonder what benefits this state of vulnerability could have on our fragile and delicate psyche. These tears can either be basal tears, reflex tears, and lastly, psychic, or tears produced by emotion. Although emotional tears do contain higher levels of stress, they have the ability to calm the iris down and signal the emotional state to others. Frey II in Barroli (2015) also

found out that like other exocrine processes, including exhaling, urinating, and sweating, toxic substances are released from the body when we cry. However, crying and shedding of tears is an immediate and short-term coping strategy which has a long-term healing power.

Health Seeking Behaviour as a Coping Strategy. Health seeking is a positive coping strategy adopted by victims of terrorism in the study area. The popular saying that Health is Wealth is displayed in the ability of the victims of terrorism in Zaria metropolis to access health facilities. The proprietor of the St. Luke's Hospital Wusasa said the facility treats accident and terrorist victims before asking for payment to save life that is in danger. A similar finding in Tanzania by Steen and Mazonde (1999) indicates that there is an increasing tendency to use modern medicine as a quick fix solution. They added that health-seeking behaviour can potentially reduce delay to diagnosis, improve treatment compliance and improve health education strategies. Uzma (et al, 1999) have observed that health-seeking behaviour is not just a one off isolated event. Rather, it is part and parcel of a person's, a family's or a community's identity, which is a result of an evolving mix of social, personal and cultural factors. Victims access health facilities even when they do not have the financial capacity. The government of Kaduna State like other states, has ordered hospitals to treat victims of terrorism free of charge. SEMAs, however, have failed to reimburse hospitals, leading them to refuse to accept the organization's letters in lieu of payment.

Resilience as a Coping Strategy of the Victims of Terrorism. Resilience is related to the capacity of response to vulnerability. Hence, it manifests in the form of vigilance, courage, self-denial and adjustment in lifestyle by victims of terrorism in the study area. Vigilance, courage, self-denial and adjustment in lifestyle have equally been said to be a major tool in

withstanding the effects of terrorism in the Zaria metropolis by those who did not fall victim of terrorism in view of the prevailing economic hardship. The most effective strategy for dealing with a violent such as the effects of terrorism is to avoid it all together. Human adaptation to form alliance may provide one form of deterrence against violent rivals. Adaptations that lead to the avoidance of contexts likely to make one the target of violence may provide another kind of protection against being injured in a violent confrontation and terrorism. Hence, Daly and Wilson (1988) have noted that humans may possess adaptations designed to attempt to reason with the attacker.

Migration as a Coping Strategy was used in Zaria Metropolis. One of the strategies adopted by the victims of terrorism and others who perceive danger is migration. The trend of terrorism induced migration has been reported in many parts of Northern Nigeria. Migration and relocation by people whose lives and livelihood are threatened is a common phenomenon. Similar migration by individuals during attacks and war situations are common. Afolayan (1988) disclosed that during the Nigerian civil war of 1967 to 1970 many Nigerians migrated from the North to the East, Lagos and even Sao Tome and Principe. Mahdi (1989) stated that during the Jihad of Uthman Danfodio many people migrated from the North to the Middle Belt to avoid Islamization. Similarly, Adebayo (2013) has noted that for most of the north, the ongoing insurgency has had a significant negative impact on the regional economy. He added that Lebanese and Indian expatriates who have established businesses in Kano going back decades had relocated to Abuja and other places in the south. He observed that a good number of them have left the country altogether. In Kano alone, an estimated one hundred and twenty six industries have recently closed down. Adebayo further notes the massive movement of southerners from the north,

many of them SME operators and professionals. Gandu (2011) in a study of the oil enclave in the Niger Delta, Nigeria observed that where sources of sustainability are threatened, people migrate out to where they can earn their daily living. Durotoye (2015) has observed that the rush to escape from the north is also affecting the profitability of business establishments in that region as banks were reported to be closing down their outlets due to a decrease economic activities in the area. The massive departure from the northern region constitutes a depletion of economic affairs in the north as well as throwing those who are departing from the north into financial and psychological problems. Adapting the strategy of fleeing from a danger zone may change in ways that will decrease the likelihood of being killed. One strategy may be to leave the area they share with the intended killers. Richerson and Boyd (1998) have confirmed this assertion when they concluded that one explanation for human migration out of Africa, across Europe and Asia, and into the Americas was to avoid hostile confrontations. Religions, Faith in God as Coping Strategies. Faith been identified as factors in coping with the painful effects of terrorism in the study area. Faith has helped Victims to withstand the devastation caused by terrorism in Zaria metropolis. They believe that they were saved by the Almighty has been a source of inspiration by many in Zaria metropolis. It is in line with this finding that the view of Thomson (2003), that "religions are very effective at guiding in-group morality and out-group hatred. They permit the take-over of groups by disenfranchised young males, they minimize the fear of death by spreading the belief in an afterlife reward for those who are dying in a holy war, etc." is a reality in the study area. Wilmot (1985) further strengthens the roles of religion in a crisis situation that it plays certain roles in the social-psychological sphere which occasioned Marx's celebrated but little understood phrase that religion is "the

opium of the people". He notes that religious belief enables a victim to bear the pain or loss with grief, with a measure of stoicism, dignity and equanimity. It gives hope, purpose, objectives, completeness and finality to lives without hope, purpose to lives which are empty. In the same vein, Munzihirwa (Cited in Allen 2013) notes that "Despite anguish and suffering, the Christian who is persecuted for the cause of justice finds spiritual peace in total and profound assent to God, in accord with a vocation that can lead even to death".

Loans and Borrowing as Coping Strategies in Zaria Metropolis. Obtaining of loans and borrowing by the victims have been identified for healing the pains of destruction in Zaria metropolis. Victims show determination and resilience in sourcing for fund to either support their existing business or to start new ones. In doing so, they have obtained loans from various sources to support their businesses that were ruined by the attacks, to seek for medical treatment and to solve other problems that resulted from the attacks. Loans from financial institutions, cooperative societies and private individual money lenders have been identified to be a source of coping with devastation caused to individuals and private businesses in the study area. Credit agencies that lend to victims and individuals who are in need can be classified into formal and informal agencies. Formal institutions include banks and cooperative societies, while informal agencies may be family members, kinsmen and farmers credit associations. Martin (1996) has observed that credit can improve productivity, incomes and welfare of people. This is because short-term credit has the capability of alleviating seasonal needs for the family or unexpected social commitments. This trend is not peculiar to the study area alone as it is a means of lending support to a falling colleague and part of being a brother's keeper. Bank loans can equally be accessed by customers but with collaterals.

Begging and Solicitation as Coping Strategy**.** Some direct victims of terrorism in Zaria metropolis with high degree of injuries which had caused them permanently incapacitation had taken to begging for alms. Begging, Seeking for Assistance and Solicitation by victims and religious institutions on behalf of the victims of terrorism has helped in alleviating the plight of victims in the study area to cope with the effects of terrorism. Some of these victims embark on street begging for all their needs and for survival. They do this for the purpose of securing material benefits. Tilde (2016) has classified the disabled victims of terrorism as beggars of necessity. Beggars of necessity, he said, are those who are victims of circumstances that are beyond their control and require the intervention of other people or government for survival. The circumstance could be urgent, on a large scale, mostly an emergency that engulfed a nation or a town, like war, flood, hunger, fire, epidemic, etc. In this case, we will designate this form of beggars of necessity as group or collective beggars. Nwaubani (2016) has stated how victims in several IDP camps in Maiduguri started with begging and now feed from the investment made through that means to send their children to school.

Innovation, Entrepreneurial Ability as Coping Strategy. Perseverance had helped the victims of whose properties and business premises were destroyed in terrorist attacks in Zaria Metropolis to cope with the vagaries of life. Positive entrepreneurial ability has yielded results in the lives of some victims of terrorism in the study area. Victims of terrorism have bounced back to overcome the effects of terrorist attacks through perseverance and innovation. Some of the victims whose business premises were attacked have rebuilt them, while others have ventured into other enterprises. Commercial motorcycle riders who lost their bikes were able to get motor cycles which they ride to

make ends meet. Some of them have been able to buy second hand bikes which they have used to earn their living and through which some have been able to buy new and stronger ones. It has been revealed that victims of terrorism in the Internally Displaced People's Camps have shown determination and perseverance which has been helpful in coping with the challenges of life (Nwaubani, 2016). Victims of terrorism have displayed such courage in striving to overcome the social and economic effects of terrorism with enormous success (Waxman, 2011; Ahmed, 2014 and Tummers, 2016). Hence, Reiss (2010) views the entrepreneur as the person that recognizes and pursues opportunities without regard to the resources he is currently controlling, with confidence that he can succeed, with the flexibility to change course as necessary, and with the will to rebound from setbacks.

Farming and Agriculture as Coping Strategy was used in Zaria Metropolis. Agriculture and acquarculture have sustained many who have lost their jobs and businesses in Zaria metropolis. It is an occupation adopted by victims to cope with terrorism. This is aptly captured by Sawio (1993), who has observed that women do most of the urban agricultural work and receive most of the financial benefits from it. Urban agriculture has gained importance because it has been discovered to be a viable intervention strategy for the urban poor to earn income and reduce their reliance on cash income for food by growing their own food. Nelson (2011) has hinted that agriculture is one of the several tools of making productive use of urban open spaces, treating and recovering urban solid and liquid wastes, saving or generating income and employment as well as managing fresh water resources more effectively. Agriculture is the largest employer of labour in Nigeria with a lot of arable land and much room for agro-business. It is also a legitimate way for victims to feed themselves and earn some income. There is market for surplus and excess agricultural

products just as there is cheap labour for production. Other individuals, among them civil servants are also venture into agriculture as a hobby, occupation and as a career. Maize, which is the most commonly grown crop by victims of terrorism in the study, area is an important food crop.

Different measures have been put in place by various social groups and localities to avert future attacks. One major step is the message of peace that is constantly coming from community and religious leaders. Muslim and Christian Clerics in Zaria metropolis had used every forum to condemn violence, extremism and destruction of properties. Different church denominations opened new branches in a bid to reduce the concentration of worshippers. Security outfits with complete intelligence to report any suspicion have been put in place by worship religious bodies, mosques and churches as well as the traditional monarchs in Zaria Metropolis. Government introduced roadblocks that were manned by soldiers at strategic locations in the study area and provided patrol vans for the various Police Units to dominate the study area. Roadblocks were also mounted along the major roads linking Zaria to other parts of the Country. In addition, new Divisional Police Headquarters were created to increase the efficiency of the Police in combating crime and terrorism.

Government owned tertiary institutions and research institutes in Zaria metropolis raised the standards of their physical security measures, engaged more security personnel, acquired sophisticated security gadgets and conducted various forms of trainings aimed at averting attacks by terrorists groups. Thorough checks were being conducted at the entrance gates into virtually all the tertiary institutions and other important places such as the Emire's palace, military cantonment and barracks, the Area Command of the Nigeria

Police Force and the Divisional Police Headquarters in the study area. The military and the other security agents had equally intensified intelligence and under cover operations since the incidences of terrorism started in Zaria metropolis. Hence, Hoffman (2002) was right to suggest that intelligence, investigative and, most importantly academic research issues needed to be addressed before appropriately designed preventive or deterrent, measures can be considered. Terrorist groups fall in the category of what Hoffman (2006) described as an *"amorphous and diffuse"* group of highly nomadic characters whose objectives remain elusive without credible human intelligence.

Findings from the study suggest that there are direct and multiple links between the effects of terrorism and the distortions of the survival net of the victims and the tendency for them to adopt some coping strategies for survival. In order to understand the social and economic basis of this nexus, the study sought theoretical explanation from the *Social Adaptation Theory*. According to Parsons (1958) adaptation is a survival theory. Hence, we find meanings in the coping strategies of the victims of terrorism in the Parsonian theory of adaptation. The coping ability of the victims of terrorism is explained in the findings of Gallopı´n (et al.1989) who are of the view that adaptation includes the viability of social and economic activities, and the quality of human life. Adaptive capacity of human systems also can be seen as the capacity of any human system from the individual to humankind to increase (or at least maintain) the quality of life of its individual members in a given environment or range of environments. According to Kasperson (et al.2005) Adaptations are system responses to perturbations or stress that are sufficiently fundamental to alter the system itself, sometimes shifting the system to a new state such as alteration of attitude and belief, retardation, disability, destitution. Rocher (1992) notes that adaptation to a milieu

can introduce the notion of innovation or modification. This observation is in line with Crozier and Friedberg (1977) who observed that the actor is free to take a step back from expectations in choosing a group of possibilities, rather than passively adapting to his structure. Bononno (2005) said that adaptation helps people to cope with challenges and adjust better over the long term. This to him may be emotional or behavioural adaptability. While Tugade and Fredrickson (2007) also added that adaptation means finding the positive meaning in negative events.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENTATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The research problem examined in this study is the coping strategies of the victims of terrorism in Zaria Metropolis. The study was specifically designed to look at the toll of terrorism, the psychological, social, security and economic effects of terrorism on inhabitants of Zaria metropolis. The study also assessed the existence of formal social support for the victims of terrorism and measures put in place to avert future incidences. The coping strategies adopted by the victims and institutions were also studied. In this concluding chapter, efforts are made to summarize major findings and make appropriate recommendations.

5.2 Summary of Major Findings

The first objective of this study was to examine the toll of terrorism in Zaria Metropolis. The findings from the study in this regard indicate that nine different terrorist attacks took place in the study. Three of the attacks were suicide bombings; two of them targeted churches and they were detonated during Sunday worship. The third bomb was detonated at the Sabon Gari Local Government Secretariat during staff audit and screening of primary school teachers from local governments outside the study area. Four attacks were on-site shootings at targets, while two were dropping of explosive devices at designated recreation centers. The harm caused in these attacks include forty-nine deaths, four hundred and twenty-three serious injuries of various degrees and destruction of property valued at more than two hundred million naira (₦200,000,000:00). Many of the victims lost their ancestral homes as they have been displaced and have continued to depend on others as squatters,

dependants and as tenants in rented homes since the incidence of terrorist attack took place. Findings have also shown that there are victims who live in the state of permanent disability and destitution. Findings from the study have shown that there are no statistics of minor injuries in view of the number of the victims. The number of deaths presented in this research represent those who died on the spot and those that died in the hospitals. Agencies such as the National Population Commission (NPC) and the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) which should have carried out survey to obtain vital statistics of the victims never showed up at any of the places of attacks.

The second objective of the study is to investigate the psychological, social and security challenges caused by terrorism on Zaria metropolis**.** Findings show that terrorism had created public fear, panic, anxiety and sadness by killing Muslim leaders who were opposed to their ideologies and others whom they refer to as 'infidels'. Findings also show that the victims face socio-psychological predicaments resulting from the direct impact of terrorist attacks which include helplessness, desperation, lost of dignity and frustration in the lives of victims..

Secondly, the study has shown that terrorism had affected the people's beliefs and attitudes. Participation in religious activities and worship have been affected. Attitude towards other religion and belief about other ethnic nationalities have been altered. Many religious obligations are performed with reservation and under guard.

Thirdly, the study has shown that a sense of victimhood is common among the victims of terrorism. Some of the victims of terrorism are occasionally subjected to derogatory remarks that further aggravate their social and psychological injuries. This situation was witnessed when victims were calling for help at a scene of attack and also from the police

whose responses to emergencies were poor and, even, in some instances, demand for material and financial gratification from victims in order to influence the outcome of investigation in their favour. The Police keep very scanty information on the victims of terrorism. Vital information of victims and cost of damages are neglected in all the cases of terrorism in Zaria metropolis.

Fourthly, findings have revealed that terrorist attacks in the study area had caused reliance on stereotypes. The victims believe that the attacks on them were premeditated and as such point accusing fingers at religious and ethnic groups. They are of the view that certain socio-economic factors led to terrorist attacks on the study area.

Fifthly, findings from the study have indicated that the attacks had caused a rise in ethnocentrism and xenophobia; a kind of group solidarity in Zaria metropolis. They had heightened suspicion, ethnic and religious tension in the study area. Successive attacks in Zaria metropolis created, near breakdown of law and order to some extent and greatly affected mass gatherings and public functions. Social vices such as thefts, vandalism and violence have increased in the study area.

The third objective of the study is to examine the economic challenges inflicted by terrorism on victims in Zaria metropolis. First, findings have revealed that terrorism destroyed accumulated fortunes, wealth and enterprises of direct victims. It equally retarded economic activities in the study area.

Secondly, the study has revealed that the victims of terrorism incurred enormous financial burden in form of damages caused, medical expenses arising from treatment of

bodily injuries, burial expenses which, in some cases, include the cost of depositing corpses

in mortuaries, of caring for orphans and widows, loss of income for business owners and provision of additional security measures.

Thirdly, findings have shown that damages to sources of income and small-scale businesses have increased hardships and poverty in the study area. The destruction of recreation centers and places that hosted commercial sex workers have caused both economic and social difficulties to many.

Fourthly, findings show that terrorism caused financial losses in the form of burial rites for those killed, treatment of the injured, rebuilding and restocking of damaged businesses. Commercial activities have also slowed down in Zaria Metropolis.

The fourth objective was to examine the formal social support for the victims of terrorism in Zaria Metropolis. Findings from the study have shown that there is no formal social support agency that assisted the victims of terrorism in Zaria Metropolis. Secondly, finding have shown that the victims of terrorism in Zaria received assistance from religious bodies and few individual politicians ostensibly meant for those that sustained injuries from attacks on worship places. Thirdly, government took partial responsibility for the treatments given to the victims in medical facilities. Also, agencies of the government such as the Nigerian Army, the Nigerian Police and the Federal Road Safety Commission were often at hand to render services. Fourthly, findings show that measures to promote unity and discourage future attack is the message of peace that is constantly coming from community and religious leaders. A special sponsored television programme titled: *Abin da Baba ya hanga…* has been broadcasting a jingle condemning religious intolerance and

extremism on Arewa Television. It is in line with this that the nineteen Governors in Northern Nigeria set up a Peace Committee to find solutions to the Boko Haram menace.

Fifthly, findings from the study have show that the Zazzau Emirate Council has equally taken measures to renew the confidence of the citizens that such ugly incidences of the past would be averted in the future. The Council has also embarked on serious campaigns from one worship place to another in an effort to assure both Muslims and Christians that peace will continue to reign in Zaria. The Council has continually made it clear that it does not support the incidence as Zaria will never be a safe haven for breeder of terrorism. The Council has created administrative units in all the wards and appointed ward heads (Hakimai) in charge of each ward with his own council. All ethnic groups within a ward are represented by their selected leaders in the councils of ward heads. These representatives are encouraged to form their cabinets which meet periodically to review the security situations in their various domains and report to ward heads who, in turn give situation report to the Emir. Sixthly, findings show that the Nigerian Police Force Headquarters Abuja, had transferred all the senior officers of the Command and provided vehicles for anti- crime patrol. This resufflement has continued as a routine in the state command.

Seventhly, the study has revealed the need to develop alternative ways of facilitating most effective adjustment by the affected population. The affected population is the generality of inhabitants who are direct, primary and tertiary victims of terrorism. The fifth objective was to find out the coping strategies of the victims of terrorism in Zaria metropolis with focus on the different strategies adopted by the victims and institutions.

The study found that victims of terrorism in the study area had adopted several coping strategies that have helped them to withstand the pains inflicted by terrorism on them. The

first coping strategy adopted by many direct and primary victims was crying and shedding of tears. This show of emotion, which is very important in overcoming trauma, was witnessed in all spots that attacks took place as tears flew down the chicks of victims, sympathizers and eye witnesses profusely. The second coping strategy that was found to be widely adopted by direct victims of terrorism who sustained various degrees of injuries is health-seeking behavior. All the victims were either rushed to hospitals in critical conditions under emergency or went on their own to seek for medical attention. At the hospitals, the victims and their families bore the burden of treatment and medication. However, the Kaduna State Government made a pledge to settle the cost of treatment incurred at the Accident and Emergency Ward of the Ahmadu Bello University Teaching Hospital while the victims were responsible for the cost of treatment in the wards. Similarly, the Kaduna State Government pledged to pay for treatment of the victims that were attended to at St Luke's Hospital. Thirdly, absolute care at all time has been adopted in coping with the entire situation. The implication is that people are becoming more law-abiding and do what government and security agencies have always been saying. Certain activities that are detrimental to peaceful coexistence and the safety of lives and property are being reported to the appropriate authorities without hesitation. Customer confidence has been renewed through procurement of security gadgets and hiring of guard services by business concerns.

The fourth coping strategy adopted by the victims and potential victims is migration. People have migrated from areas that are perceived to be unsafe or prone to terror attacks to areas where they feel more secured. Such movements are both within Zaria and, in some cases, outside the study area. Fifthly, religious belief and faith in the power of the

Almighty Creator have been identified as a coping strategy that has sustained the victims of terrorism and indeed the study area. Muslim and Christian clerics share the same view of faith as the driving force to overcome pains that accompany terrorism as both the victims and the perpetrators must reap the reward in the Hereafter. Faith make people take it for granted that it is God who protects His worshipers and those who trust in Him. Adherents of both religions equally believe that the souls of those who died in the incidents will rest in eternity.

Sixthly, Victims obtain loans from banks and, in some instances, borrow from family members and friends to either reactivate or support their existing business or to diversify to new ones. This is more evident among those whose business premises or means of sustainability were affected or destroyed by bomb blasts. It is also peculiar to those who need money to undergo continuous medical treatment.

Seventhly, begging and solicitation for assistance to meet up with challenges and obligations have been adopted as a coping strategy by some of the victims of terrorism in the study area. These are mostly women and children who are incapacitated or those who sustained high degrees of injuries in the attacks. Churches and mosques also raise money to support these victims. Wealthy individuals also donate money, clothes and food to needy victims through religious institutions.

The eighth coping strategy adopted by the victims is to use or develop their entrepreneurial abilities. The victims of terrorism showed resilience and perseverance in their determination to surpass the aftermath of the attacks. Some of the business premises that were attacked and destroyed have been reconstructed and revived while some premises

have been diverted to other sources of business enterprises. The ninth coping strategy adopted by victims of terrorism in the study area is austerity measures and adjustment in their lifestyles. Victims have made serious sacrifices in their quests to cope with their new realities of life.

The tenth coping strategy adopted by victims in the study area is farming and agro-allied business. Many of the victims have gone into agriculture; farming, poultry, aquaculture and food processing.

5.3 Conclusion

This research focused on the victims of terrorism and their coping strategies in Zaria metropolis. The study explores the coping strategies as fallout from the psychological, social, securiity and economic challenges caused by terrorism. It argues that the coping strategies have direct relationship to the toll of terrorism in Zaria metropolis. The recommendations contained in this chapter are centered on the need to intervene and bring about sustainable economic and social development of the communities in the study area.

Findings from the study suggest that there are direct and multiple links between the effects of terrorism and the distortions of the survival net of the victims and the tendency for them to adopt some coping strategies for survival. In order to understand the social and economic basis of this nexus, the study sought theoretical explanation from the *Social Adaptation Theory*.

The study found out that terrorist attacks on Zaria metropolis caused psychological trauma as well as social, security and economic dislocations. The study also found that the victims of terrorism in Zaria metropolis have suffered psychological, social and economic misfortunes that ranges from deaths and bereavements to various degrees of injuries and

wanton destruction of businesses and property. The attacks exposed the weak security system in Zaria Metropolis which is a major contributory factor to the level of insecurity in the study area. This factor can be attributed to a number of failures which include inadequate funding of the Police and other security agencies, lack of modern equipment; both in weaponry and training, poor welfare of security personnel and inadequate personnel.

Secondly, the enormous social and economic setbacks caused by terrorist attacks were not gazetted as such agencies of the government that would have taken censuses of destructions never showed up. Thirdly, Government directed hospitals in Zaria not to charge victims of terrorism for treatments given at the emergency wards, but failed to settle such medical bills. This development has made follow-up treatments impossible for victims. The cries of individual and institutional victims of terrorism in Zaria metropolis fell on the deaf ears of the government. Fourthly, the study found that there are no formal social support agencies for the victims of terrorism in Zaria metropolis. Fifthly, the individual victims and the institutions that were attacked by terrorists in Zaria metropolis have been neglected by the government.

The social and economic effects of terrorism were proportionate to the toll of terrorism in Zaria metropolis. The victims adopted different coping strategies to withstand the challenges imposed on them by terrorism.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

The conclusion from this study clearly suggests that the disposition of the government and the society towards the plight of victims of terrorism in the study area has forced them to adopt various coping strategies. This conclusion suggests that the social welfare of the

citizens which should be the cardinal objective of the government has been neglected. This issue can be addressed by the citizens and the government both on short term and long term bases.

1. O**n their part the people should:**

a. The people in Zaria metropolis should be law abiding citizens.

b. They should respect the law of the land and respect their leaders.

c. They should love one another irrespective of ethnicity and religious differences.

d. They should try as much as possible to know one another in their respective communities.

e. They should be conscious and committed to the security of lives and property at all times.

f. Their children should be educated in order for them to be better leaders in future.

g. Defaulters in their midst should be exposed and be punished.

2. **On its part,** government must take urgent measures to address the needs of the victims of terrorism in Zaria metropolis as it is the primary responsibility of the government to protect life and property of citizens.

a. Government must as a matter of urgency settle medical bills of victims and refund those who shoulder their medical expenses.

b. Government should take forensic audit of properties that were destroyed where that was not done in addition to the available ones to compensate owners of such properties.

c. Government should provide children of school age who have lost their parents with free education and scholarship up to university level.

d. Government should employ the victims of terrorism who have lost their jobs to make life meaningful to them once more.

e. Government should provide the victims who have lost their means of livelihood with interest and collateral free loans to re-establish.

f. Government should provide widows and others who lost their bread winners with jobs or include them in the list of poor people earmarked for monthly stipends by the federal government.

g. The researcher recommends that all the three tiers of government and the Emirate Council need to join hand and rise to the challenge of moving Zaria forward.

3. On the long run government should:

a. Employment generation for the direct and primary victims of terrorism who have lost their bread winners and the teeming population should be more aggressively pursued as a matter of priority by government at all levels. If more youths are employed, it automatically depletes the army of youths available for recruitment into various anti social activities. From all indications, the reduction of youth unemployment will translate into reduction in crime, and engender sustainable national development. The youths are an important part of the society, who should be encouraged to channel their energies to national development by being positively engaged in the system, and discouraged from activities that could be detrimental to the growth of the country. Therefore, every action taken towards youth employment is an action towards vulnerability and crime reduction as well as promoting national development.

b. Government should embark on veritable poverty alleviation programmes that will impact positively on the lives of the people. The physical, social and psychological quality of life of a society and its members both in domestic setting and within the larger regional and global system will give the citizens a deeper sense of patriotism. Accordingly, national security policy must include the capacity to provide the citizens with social, economic and political conditions conducive to happiness and relative prosperity. Thus, tranquility and well-being of a society are necessary and important.

c. Effectively coping with the phenomenon of terrorism requires local and international action on two levels – addressing both terrorists' motivation and their operational capabilities. It is a state's responsibility and duty to protect its citizens, and so it must work to reduce terrorist organizations' operational capabilities through preventative and offensive action based on intelligence resources. With the development of modern terrorism and its continuing international reach, the physical and moral damage incurred by terrorist acts has increased to such an extent that it arguably threatens the proper functioning of open society and the maintenance of humanitarian and liberal values.

d. Government at all levels must eschew corruption in the fight against criminality and insecurity. The billions of naira voted for security both at State and Federal levels for inexplicable reasons are not made available to combat these problems. Meanwhile citizens continued to pay their taxes and fulfilled other obligations to the government of the day amid this state of insecurity, fear and siege. There must

be sincerity on the part of government functionaries to ensure judicious use of funds meant for security of lives and property.

e. Individual and corporate victims of terrorism should receive fair, appropriate and timely compensation, which is easily accessible. The need for reparation in the broader meaning could be more apparent for victims of large-scale terrorist acts such as the one under study. Especially the various forms of satisfaction may be important, for instance, in the form of a public acknowledgement of the facts and acceptance of responsibility and commemorations and tributes to the victims. f. Government should provide a virtual networking, communication and information hub for victims of terrorism, government officials, experts, service providers and civil society organizations**.** Such a virtual platform or web portal could be used to share information, resources and best practices on supporting victims of terrorism; function as a networking tool to connect victims of terrorism with service providers and experts in the field; raise public awareness about victims' rights and needs; and bring violations of victims' rights to the public eye. The site could be hosted by a non-profit organization, a foundation, a national organization such as NEMA, or by an international organization like Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and United Nations Commission for Refugees.

g. Civil Society Organizations should rise up and play a key role in the initiation, development and implementation of policies and services that empower victims of terrorism. While States should in no way abrogate their responsibilities for what concerns assistance and compensation, civil society organizations can play an active part in supporting victims and in providing spiritual care and psychological support

to them. An active non-governmental sector may have a very important function in shaping policies aimed at enhancing the support for and protection of the victims. This requires an inclusive approach aimed at involving all actors and relevant stakeholders. This range of activities may include counseling, advocacy and supplementary therapies for victims, such as the creation of self-help groups. Civil society organizations could, in this vision, represent a significant network of support for victims complementing the state's activities in this field. This crusade should go beyond bring back our girls.

h. Government should strengthen legal instruments at both the federal, state and local government levels, providing victims of terrorism with legal status and protecting their rights**.** At the national level, the federal government should consider adopting legislation that would provide victims of terrorism with legal status and protect their legal rights. This way government should domesticate certain UN and AU Resolutions on the rights of victims of terrorism which Nigeria is a signatory. Furthermore, they could establish ad hoc structures such as independent panels or commissions of inquiry to complement national investigative work on terrorist cases; ensure that Government and independent inquiries share their findings regularly and in a timely fashion with all the concerned victims of terrorist attacks; and facilitate the participation of victims. In addition government should publish the names of sponsors of terrorist groups in the country and prosecute such individuals without delay.

i. Government should as a matter of urgency establish easily accessible health services that can provide victims with comprehensive support over the short,

medium and long term**.** Relevant government ministries should work with health professionals and civil society organizations to institutionalize assistance to victims. This would include establishing mechanisms that would provide information as well as psychological and physical treatment and support to victims over the short, medium and long term. It would also include establishing programmes that would provide all professionals working with the victims of terrorism specialized training for dealing with victims of traumatic events and establishment of trauma centers in all the tertiary health facilities. It is equally of paramount importance to provide financial support to the victims

j. Government should develop comprehensive support packages to victims of terrorism. These would need to be governed by fair and transparent compensation policies.

k. Improved media coverage of victims of terrorism should also be encouraged. Journalists should receive training on phenomena like shock, trauma and post-traumatic stress to assist them in responding in both a professional and humane way. This would significantly improve the quality of media coverage of victims in general and victims of terrorism in particular.

5.6 Contributions to Knowledge

The study has made the following contributions to the existing knowledge in the area of victimology and victims study

a. The study has enumerated the toll of terrorism and the manifestation of its consequences on the study area and in Nigeria in a documentary.

b. The study finds out that large military budgets and the heavy presence of security agencies do not transform to protection of lives and properties of Nigerians.

c. The study has analyzed different coping strategies that have been adopted by the victims of terrorism in the study area which can be adopted as a model in other parts of Nigeria that are in the same situation.

d. The study has provided a platform for evaluating the commitment of the Nigerian Government to the welfare, needs and survival of the victims of terrorism in Zaria Metropolis and, indeed, the country as a whole.

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APPENDIX 1

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR VICTIMS

Dear Respondent,

As part of the requirements for the award of PhD Degree of the Department of Sociology, I am conducting a study on the **Coping Strategies of Victims of Terrorism** in Zaria metropolis, Kaduna State, Nigeria. I assure you that whatever information provided will be treated with utmost confidentiality. This study is strictly for academic purpose. Thank you.

Ibrahim Audu Idenyi

1. Kindly introduce yourself to us

Probe for:

Demorgraphic attributes; age, sex, occupation, designation

2 Kindly narrate your experiences during and after terrorist attacks on this community.

Probe for:

- Describe what happened to you on the day.
- When the attack took place
- After the attack.
- What did you do?
- How many members of your family did it affect?

3. How did the attack affect you?

- Your family
- Your friends
- The people in your community

4. What are the problems resulting from Terrorism in general?

5. How are you coping with socio-economic challenges caused by terrorism?

Probe for: How the attack affect

- The way you earn income
- The ways and ability to provide for the family

- Your religious activities
- Your feeling of safety

6. What sort of assistance have you received since the attack?

Probe for:

- Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs)
- Religious Organizations
- Family/friends
- Government (federal, state and local), agencies, others

7. What is the nature of help you received?

Probe for:

- Compensation for victims
- Provision of relief materials
- Soft loans
- Scholarship for children rendered orphans by terrorism
- Compulsory and qualitative education
- Life pension for disabled victims insurance

8. To what extent are they sufficient?

9. Are you still receiving this assistance? If yes state the source.

10. What do you think can be done to alleviate challenges of victims of attacks in Zaria metropolis?

Probe for:

- Relief materials from government
- NGOs and religious organizations
- The needs that affected families cannot meet.
- Their idea on way forward for victims.
- What victims are doing to attract the attention of the government.
- How the community has responded to the plight of victims of terrorism.

11. In what ways do you think government can alleviate the plight of victims of terrorism in this locality?

APPENDIX II

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR COMMUNITY AND RELIGIOUSLEADERS

I am a student of the Department of Sociology, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria undertaking a study aimed at investigating the Coping Strategies of Victims of Terrorism in Zaria metropolis. Information is required from victims who sustained bodily injuries or loss of any kind. I would greatly appreciate your kind cooperation in conducting this interview. Please be assured that your responses would be used for the purpose of the research only and would be treated with utmost confidentiality. Thank you.

Ibrahim Audu Idenyi

1. Kindly introduce yourself to us; name, sex, age, designation and occupation.
2. What are the major security challenges in this community?

3. Could you please share your experience of terrorist attacks in this community?

Probe for:

- Frequency of occurrence
- Dimension
- Target

4. Why do you think terrorist are attacking people?

Probe For:

- Cultural factors
- Economic factors
- Political factors
- Group dynamics and rational choice.

5. What do you think were the causes of terrorist attacks in Zaria?

Probe For:

- Ethnicity
- Education
- Religion
- Gender
- Unemployment

6. Who do you think were behind the attacks?

Probe For:

- The nature of terror victimization.
- Type of disability

7. Impact on Direct/ Primary victims.

- The place of attack
- Effects on income
- Effect on children education
- Effect on nature of accommodation
- Effect on family up-keep.

8 a. What are communal responses to the plight of victims of terrorism victims in Zaria metropolis?

Probe for:

- The role international organizations
- The role Aids Agents
- The role of religious organizations
- The role of community based associations and community leaders.

8 b. Government response to the plight of victims of Terrorism in Zaria metropolis.

Probe for:

- Compensation from the government
- The role of government agencies
- Insurance policy
- Scholarship for orphans
- Pension for disable victims.

9 a. Please educate us on the existing strategies of crime management in this community.

9 b. What about security measures?

Probe for:

- The effectiveness of existing security measures

- Police alertness, regular patrol, road blocks and surveillance by the military, vigilant group, in residential areas, places of worship etc.

10. What are the communal/government efforts towards averting future acts of terrorism in Zaria metropolis?

Probe for:

- What the society can do to identify and promptly report intruders
- Innovative welfare packages for the poor
- Poverty reduction
- Economic empowerment
- Almajiri schools
- Religious tolerance
- Information and intelligence gathering, prompt reporting of suspected individuals
- Protection of informants
- Information dissemination and management.
- Reward for informants.

11. What is your advice for victims of terrorism?

Robe for:

- Those who lost their loved ones.
- Those who sustained injuries.
- Those whose properties were affected/damaged.
- Those who are contending with health challenges.

APPENDIX III

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION (FGD) GUIDE

I am a student of the Department of Sociology, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria undertaking a study aimed at investigating the Coping Strategies of Victims of Terrorism in Zaria metropolis. Information is required from victims who sustained bodily injuries or loss of any kind. I would greatly appreciate your kind cooperation in conducting this interview. Please be assured that your responses would be used for the purpose of the research only and would be treated with utmost confidentiality. Thank you.

. Ibrahim Audu Idenyi

1. Where were you on the day this community was attacked?

2. Could you please share your experience of the attack please?

Probe for:

- Number of time attacks occurred
- Type of weapon used in the attack
- Target of attack
- Casualty or damages caused

3. Why do you think terrorists are attacking people?

Probe For:

- Cultural factors –religion, recreation, western education etc
- Economic factors
- Political factors
- Group dynamics and rational choice.

4. What do you think were the causes of terrorist attacks in Zaria?

Probe For:

- Ethnicity
- Cosmopolitan nature
- Commerce
- Traditional Centre of Learning
- Envy

5. How did the attack affect the victims and this community?

Probe For:

- The nature of terror victimization.
- Type of disability

- Impact on Direct
- Primary victims.
- Effects on income
- Effect on children education
- Effect on nature of accommodation
- Effect on family up-keep.

6 a. What are communal responses to the plight of victims of terrorism victims in Zaria metropolis?

Probe for:

- The role international organizations
- The role Aids Agents
- The role of religious organizations
- The role of community based associations and community leaders.

7. Government responses to the plight of victims of attacks in Zaria metropolis?

Probe for:

- Compensation from the government
- The role of government agencies
- Insurance policy
- Scholarship for orphans
- Pension for disable victims.

8 a. Please educate us on the existing strategies of crime management in this community.

8 b. What about security measures?

Probe for:

- The effectiveness of existing security measures
- Police alertness, regular patrol, road blocks and surveillance by the military, vigilant group, in residential areas, places of worship etc.

9. What are the communal/government efforts towards averting future acts of terrorism in Zaria metropolis?

Probe for:

- What the society can do to identify and promptly report intruders
- Innovative welfare packages for the poor
- Poverty reduction
- Economic empowerment
- Almajiri schools
- Religious tolerance
- Information and intelligence gathering, prompt reporting of suspected individuals
- Protection of informants
- Information dissemination and management.
- Reward for informants.

APPENDIX D

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Faculty of Social Sciences

AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA, NIGERIA

Vice-Chancellor: Professor Abdullahi Mustapha B.Sc. (Hons) Pharm (A.B.U), PhD(London), FPSN
Head of Department: Dr. Abdullahi Labo *B.Sc.,M.Sc(ABU), PhD(BUK)*

Telephone: 08173917192
Telegram: UNIBELLO
Fax: 069-50891

Our Ref: SF/STM/12 Date: 16/10/2014

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Dear Sir/Madam,

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

Name of Student: IBRAHIM AUDU IDENYI (PhD/Soc.-Sci/4082/2011-12)

The above is a postgraduate student of this Department conducting research in the area of COPING STRATEGIES OF VICTIMS OF TERRORISM IN ZARIA METROPOLIS.

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Any assistance you can give will be much appreciated.

Thank you.

Yours Sincerely,

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY Ahmadu Bello University Zaria – Nigeria

Dr. B.F. Okeshola
Ag. Head of Department.

APPENDIX IV

APPENDIX V

POLICE WIRELESS MESSAGE

NO:171100/06/2012

FROM: SUPOL KADUNA NATA

TO: COMPOL 'B' OPS KADUNA

INFO : COMPOL 'A'/DCCID/ PRESSPOL KADUNA/ACPOL/ARIA

C.:4101/KIS/ KM/ VOL.1/44 X INCIDENT REPORT X GREATEFUL BE INFORMED THAT X ON THIS 17/06/2012 AT ABOUT 0845HRS X A VERY LOUD EXPLOSION WAS HEARD AT CHRIST THE KING CATHOLIC CHURCH (CKC) X LOCATED ALONG NO 80 YORUBA STREET S/GARI MIND. X IMMEDIATELY EXPLOSION WAS HEARD MINE X OYS LED A TEAM OF POLICEMEN MINE TO THE SCENE X ON REACHING THE SCENE X IT WAS DISCOVERED THAT X AN EXPLOSION LADEN GOLF CAR RED IN COLOUR X HAVING UNKNOWN REGD NUMBER X DRIVEN BY UNKNOWN PERSON (S) ON AN APPARENT SUICIDE MISSION X EXPLODED WHILE ATTEMPTING TO FORCEFULLY GAIN ENTRY X AGAINST THE CLOSED GATE OF THE SAID CHURCH X WHILE FILLED TO CAPACITY WITH SUNDAY WORSHIPPERS X AS A RESULT X FOUR OF THE SUSPECTS SUICIDE BOMBER S INSTANTLY DIED ON THE SPOT X TWO CHURCH CADET BOYS MANNING THE GATE ALSO DIED ON THE SPOT X FORTHERMORE X IMPACT OF OF THE EXPLOSIVE BLAST RESULTED IN DAMAGES AS FOLLOWS X THE SAID CHURCH FENCE WAS SHATTERED X A BIG HOLE ERUPTED ON THE EXACT SPOT OF THE CAR EXPLODED X BUILDING WITHIN THE SAID CHURCH PREMISES WERE CRACKED X WHILE THEIR ROOFS AND WINDOWS WERE SHATTERED AND BROKEN X ABOUT FIVE OTHER HOUSES SURROUNDING THE SAID CHURCH X WERE ALSO AFFECTED IN SIMILAR FASHION X THE SUICIDE CAR AND ONE OTHER PARKED VEHICLE WERE BURNT TO ASHES X 16 OTHER MOTOR VEHICLES WERE ALSO DAMAGED X 25 MOTORCYCLES X AND ONE BICYCLE WERE ALSO BURNT / DAMAGED X MEANWHILE X IMMEDIATELY IPO AND TEAM ARRIVED AT SCENE X THE SCENE WAS CORDONED X AFTER ASSESSMENT OF SITUATION AT HAND X PHOTOGRAPH OF THE SCENE WAS SNAPPED X 29 CASUALTIES WERE RUSHED TO ABUTH ZARIA FOR TREATMENT X 3 OTHER CASUALTIES WERE ALSO RUSHED TO [illegible] HOSPITAL DEPOT NA MINE FOR TREATMENT X. THE DEAD BODIES INCLUDING THE SUSPECT SUICIDE BOMBERS WERE EVACUATED TO ABUTH ZARIA MORTUARY X FOR POST MORTEM EXAMINATION X WITH THE JOINT ASSISTANCE OF THE MILITARY X FIRE SERVICEMEN X RED CROSS OFFICIAL X

ON OTHER SECURITY AGENCIES X SUBSEQUENTLY X UPON THE ARRIVAL OF THE POLICE ANTI BOMB SQUAD X SOME UNEXPLODED BOMBS WERE DETONATED AND REMOVED FROM ONE OF THE SUSPECTED SUICIDE BOMBER X LYING DEAD ON THE SCENE X INVESTIGATIONS REVEALED THAT X 14 PERSONS INCLUDING THE FOUR SUSPECTED SUICIDE BOMBERSS DIED AT THE SCENE X 32 PERSONS WERE RUSHED T HOSPITALS FOR TREATMENT X AND TOTAL VALUE OF DAMAGED/BURNT PROPERTIES ARE YET TO BE ASCERTAINED X NO ANY SUSPECT WAS ARRESTED X INVESTIGA TION IN PROGRESS X FURTHER DEVELOPMENT WILL COMMUNICATED YOURS IN DUE COURSE PLEASE XXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX XXX XXXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX XXX XXXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX

"IMMEDIATE"

SUPOL KASUWAN MATA ZARIA 17/6/12

APPENDIX VI

54

"POLICE WIRELESS MESSAGE"

DTO:040840/10/2012

FROM : SUPOL KASUWAN MATA
TO : COMPOL 'B' OPS KADUNA
INFO : COMPOL 'A' / DCCID/PRESSPOL KADUNA/ACPOL ZARIA

CJ :4161/KDS/KM/VOL.1/55 X INCIDENT REPORT OF I.E.D BLAST X GRATEFUL BE INFORMED THAT X ON THE 03/10/2012 AT ABOUT 2100HRS X THERE WAS AN I.E.D BLAST AT COSMOPOLITANT BEER PALOUR X AT NO 16 UCHE ROAD SABON GARI MINE X WERE UNKNOWN PERSON CAME AND DROPPED A POLYTHENE BAG WHICH LATER EXPLODED X INJURED FIVE PERSONS X THREE MALE X AND TWO FEMALE X THEY ARE X (1) JOSEPH ANTONY 'M' X (2) LAWAL MUNKAILA 'M' X (3) UNARU ISIGI 'M' X (4) POULINA AKPANK 'F' X AND (5) ELIZABETH ABAKA 'F' X THEY ARE TREATED AND DISCHARGED AT LADIYA HOSPITAL MINE X THE INCIDENT HAPPENED AT AN AREA WHERE THERE IS HIGH CONCENTRATION OF BEER PALOURS X MEANWHILE THE SCENE IS CONDONED TO DETER INTRUDERS X THE DESTRUCTION OF THE BLAST IS MINOR X WHICH ONLY AFFECTED CEILING AND SOME WINDOW GLASSES X BOMB DISPOSAL UNIT HAVE INSPECTED THE SCENE OF INCIDENT X INVESTIGATION IS IN PROGRESS X FURTHER DEVELOPMENT WILL BE COMMUNICATED IN DUE COURSE X ABOVE FOR YOUR INFORMATION X PLEASE XXXXX XXXXX XXXX XXXXX XXX XXXX XXXX XX

'IMMEDIATE'

SUPOL KASUWAN MATA, ZARIA

APPENDIX VII

~~54~~ 60

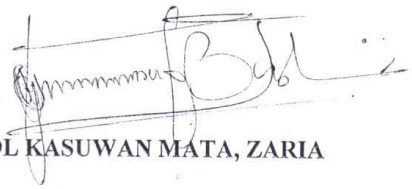
"POLICE WIRELESS MESSAGE"

DTO:070921/10/2012

FROM : SUPOL KASUWAN MATA
TO : COMPOL 'B' OPS KADUNA
INFO : COMPOL 'A'/DCCID/PRESSPOL KADUNA/ACPOL ZARIA

CJ:4161/KDS/KM/VOL.1/56 X INCIDENT REPORT X GRATEFUL BE INFORMED THAT X ON THE 06/10/2012 AT ABOUT 2130HRS SOME TWO UNKNOWN GUN MEN ON A MOTORCYCLE STORMED X AT GOOD FRIENDS BEER PARLOUR X ALONG KINGS ROAD SABON GARI MINE X AND OPEN FIRE AT THE PEOPLE DRINKING OUTSIDE THE SHOP X THEY EVENTUALLY SHOT THREE (3) PEOPLE X TWO MALE AND ONE FEMALE X ONE DIED ON THE SPOT BY NAME X DR. AGWU MARTINS 'M' OF RAILWAY HOSPITAL ZARIA X WHILE THE OTHER X PETER OGBONNAYA DIED ON THE WAY TO HOSPITAL X THE LADY BY NAME X DORCAS CHRISTOPHER 'M' OF JUSHI WAS SHOT ON HER LEG X SHE IS CURRENTLY RECEIVING TRATMENT AT ABUTH SHIKA ZARIA X ACCORDING TO THE OWNER OF THE BEER PARLOUR X MR FRANCIS OKAFOR X THAT EIGHT OF THEM WERE DRINKING OUTSIDE X WHEN HE EXCUSED HIMSELF TO ESCORT TWO (2) OF HIS CUSTOMERS WHEN THE UGLY INCIDENT OCCURRED X THE REMAINING TWO (2) PEOPLE SEATED X SURVIVED THE GUN SHOT X AND TOOK TO THEIR HEELS X

MEANWHILE THE TWO (2) CORPSES HAVE BEEN DEPOSITED AT THE MUTUARY ABUTH SHIKA X INVESTIGATION IS IN PROGRESS X FURTHER DEVELOPMENT WILL BE COMMUNICATED YOURS IN DUE COURSE X ABOVE FOR YOUR INFORMATION X PLEASE XXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXX XXXXXXXX XXXXXXXX



'IMMEDIATE'

SUPOL KASUWAN MATA, ZARIA

APPENDIX VIII

REPORT ON A CASE OF ACTS OF TERRORISM

On the 17/6/2012 at about 0840Hrs a suicide bomber dressed in suit drove one Honda civic black in colour with a speed to gain entrance into ECWA Church Wusasa Zaria through the locked gate, police checking few metres from the gate made effort to stop him but, the suicide bomber accelerated his vehicle and hit the church gate. Immediately the explosive devices exploded.

The brief facts of the case is that on the 17/6/2012 at about 0840Hrs while the church service was going on un-identified suicide bomber dressed in suit accelerated his Honda civic accord without registration number and hitted the ECWA Church gate tried to gain entrance into the church, immediately the explosive device (IEDs) loaded in the car exploded as a result 3 persons died on the spot namely (1) Bitrus Bahago 'M' a student of St. Luke's School of Nursing, Wusasa Zaria (2) one year old Samuel Nagai (3) the suicide bomber; 32 persons sustained various degree of injuries and the following properties destroyed. 1. The church windows got broken, 2. Ceiling destroyed, 3. 39 assorted cars had their windscreen broken, 4. 11 cars badly damaged and 5. 16 motorcycles burnt.

During the cause of investigation, the following facts and findings emerged, below:

1. That a case of acts of terrorism was reported.
2. That there was an explosion
3. That improvised explosive devices (IEDS) exploded at the gate of ECWA Church Wusasa Zaria
4. That two church members died as a result of the explosion.
5. That the suicide bomber died on the spot.
6. That 50 vehicles were badly damaged.
7. That 16 motorcycles burnt during the incident
8. That the suicide bomber vehicle scattered into pieces.
9. That the victims were taken to St. Luke's Hospital Wusasa Zaria and ABU Teaching Hospital for treatment.

CI:4161/KDS/TW/ZZ/VOL.1/130 X INCIDENT REPORT X GRATEFUL BE INFORMED THAT X ON THE 14/11/12 AT ABOUT 1935HRS X INFORMATION WAS RECEIVED THROUGH PHONE THAT X ONE MR. ANDY OKAFOR "M" OF WHARF ROAD SABON GARI ZARIA X WAS SHOT AT HIS SHOP SITUATED AT KOFAN DOKA MINE BY UNKNOWN GUNMEN ON A MOTORCYCLE X ACTION TAKEN X EYE PERSONALLY MOBILIZE PATROL MEN MINE AND RUSHED TO THE SCENE X THE INJURED VICTIM WAS SEEN LYING DOWN ON THE GROUND X WITH GUN SHOTS ON HIS LEFT LEG AND RIGHT ABDOMEN X HE WAS IMMEDIATELY RUSH TO ABUTH SHIKA FOR TREATMENT WHERE HE IS STILL RESPONDING TO TREATMENT X HIS CONDITION IS STABLE BASED ON THE DOCTORS ASSERTION X ADDITIONALLY ONE OF HIS EMPLOYEE ONE ABDULRAZAK USMAN 'M' STATED THAT X THE VICTIM WAS SITTING IN A CHAIR OBSERVING THEM UP LOADING NEW MOTORCYCLES BROUGHT TO THE,SHOP X WHEN SUDDENTLY TWO YOUNG MEN CAME ON A MOTORCYCLE AND STARTED SHOOTING AT THEIR BOSS WHO WAS SITTING DOWN X THEY IMMEDITELY CLAIMED THE MOTORCYCLE AND RAN AWAY X AND THAT IS WHEN THEY CALL THE POLICE TO INFORMED THEM OF THE INCIDENT X THE VICTIM MR. ANDY OKAFOR IS STILL RESPONDING TO TREATMENT X AND HIS CONDITION IS STABLE X IN THE SAME VEIN X EFFORTS HAVE BEEN INTESTIFIED TOWARDS THE ARREST OF THE FLEEING SUSPECTS X SURVEILLANCE/PATROL IN THE AREA HAVE BEEN STRENTHENED X FURTHER DEVELOPMENT WILL BE COMMUNICATED YOURS SOONEST X ABOVE FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND NECESSARY ACTION PLEASE XXXX XXX XXX XXXX XXX XXXX XXXXXXX XXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXX

CJ:4161/KDS/TW/ZZ/VOL.1/145 X INCIDENT REPORT X GRATEFUL BE INFORMED THAT X ON THE 01/02/2014 AT ABOUT 2210HRS X UNKNOWN GUNMEN ATTACKED AND SHOT ONE **MALALM AUWAL ADAM ALBANI ZARIA** MINE X WHEN HE WAS RETURNING FROM PREACHING AT TUDUN-WADA MOSQUE TO HIS RESIDENCE AT GASKIYA LAY-OUT TUDUN-JUKUN MINE TOGETHER WITH HIS FAMILY X HE WAS DRIVING HIS CAR CITRON COLOUR GREEN REG. NO. NOT YET KNOWN X AS A RESULT HIS WIFE ONE **HAJIYA UMMAH ABDULLAHI 'F' X HIS SON ONE ABDULLAHI MUHAMMAD AUWAL ADAM 'M'** ALL DIED AT A SPOT X WHILE MALAM AUWAL ADAM ALBANI DIED AT ST. LUKE HOSPITAL WUSASA ZARIA WHILE RECEIVING TREATMENT X HIS SONS ONE **ABDULBAR MUHAMMAD AUWAL ADAM 'M'** 12 YEARS OLD X ONE **MUHAMMAD BELLO NAKAKA 'M' 35 YEARS OLD X ONE FARUK RABIU 'M'** WERE INJURED X THEY ARE RECEIVING TREATMENT AT A.B.U.T.H SHIKA ZARIA X THE FAMILY OF THE DECEASED APPLIED FOR NON POST MORTEM EXAMINATION X THE CORPSES WERE RELEASED X BURIED ACCORDING TO ISLAMIC RITE X **ACTION TAKEN** X EYE IMMEDIATELY MOBILIZE PATROL TEAM MINE TO THE SCENE X NO ARRESST WAS MADE X EFFORTS HAVE BEEN INTENSIFIED TOWARDS THE ARREST OF THE FLEEING SUSPECTS X MEANWHILE SURVEILLANCE/PATROL IN THE AREA HAVE BEEN STREGHTENED X FURTHER DEVELOPMENT WILL BE COMMUNICATED YOURS IN DUE COURSE X ABBAH FOR HQ

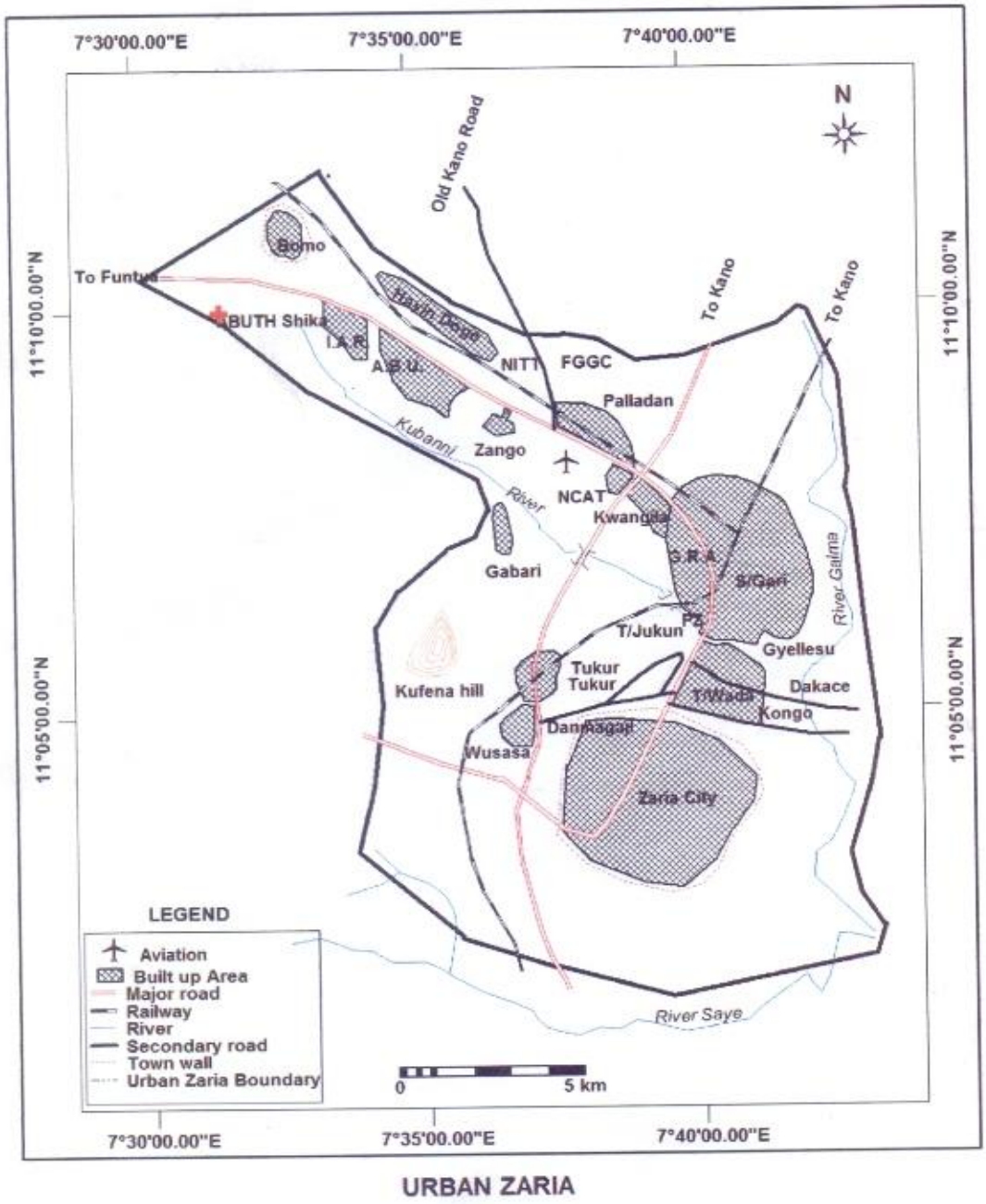


Figure 3.1 Map of Urban Zaria showing the study area. Source: Legend



Picture 4.1, Picture showing damage caused by terrorism to CKC. Source: Daily Trust June 17,2012



Picture 4.2, Destructions and Desolation Opposite CKC
Source: Fieldwork, 2015.



Picture 4.3. Damages on ECWA Bishara Wusasa Church caused by the Bomb Blast

Source: Church Record, 2012.



Picture 4.4a, The Reconstructed Gate of CKC Cathedral, Yoruba Street, Sabon Gari.

Source: 2015 Fieldwork



Plate 4.4b, The fence of the Central Mosque, Sokoto Road, Kwangila

Source: 2015 Field work



Plate4.4c, Main and pedestrian gates of the Central Mosque, Aminu Road, Sabon Gari

Source: 2015 Field work



Plate 4.5, The former cosmopolitan Hotel now a Nursery/Primary school

Source: 2015 Field work