AN INVESTIGATION OF THE FORMS, FACILITATORS AND EFFECTS OF TERRORISM ON RESIDENTS OF ABUJA MUNICIPAL AREA COUNCIL (AMAC)

BY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this Dissertation titled“AnInvestigation of the Forms, Facilitators, and Effects of Terrorism on Residents of Abuja Municipal Area Council” is my own research effort. It has not been presented anywhere by any person, institution or organization or used for any previous application. All sources have been duly acknowledged by means of references.

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…… …….

Victor Itodo Godwin Date

CERTIFICATION

This Dissertation entitled An Investigation of the Forms, Facilitators, and Effectsof Terrorism on Residents of Abuja Municipal Area Council by ITODO VICTOR GODWIN meets the regulations governing the award of the Degree of Masters of Science (M.Sc) A.B.U. Zaria and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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DEDICATION

This Dissertation is dedicated to God Almighty for His immeasurable kindness and blessings upon me throughout my years of study and to my late loving mother (Mrs. ReginaOnyocheItodo) for her wonderful advice to me within the short time we had together. May her gentle soul rest with the Lord Amen

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AD: Anno Domini

AMAC: Abuja Municipal Area Council

ANC: African National Congress

EFCC: Economic and Financial Crime Commission

FCT: Federal Capital Territory

FERMA: Federal Road Maintenance Agency

FRELIMO: Franc *de LibertacaodeMocambilique*

FRSC: Federal Road Safety Corp

IMF: International Monetary Fund

JTF: Joint Task Force

LP-GC: Liberation of Palestine –General Command

MASOP: Movement for the Survival of the Ogony People

MEND: Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta

NAFDAC: National Agency for Food and Drug Administration Control

NSCDC: National Security and Civil DefenseCorps

PTSD: Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

USCDC: United States Center for Disease Control

USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republic

ABSTRACT

Thisdissertation titled ‘An Investigationof the Forms, Facilitators, and Effects of Terrorism on Residents ofthe Abuja Municipal Area Council(AMAC) was conducted among residents and victims of terrorism in hospitals and residents of Wuse and Nyanya districts of the Abuja Municipal Area Council. The objectives of the study are to investigate the forms of terrorism in Abuja; to identify the facilitators of terrorism in Abuja; to examine the effects of terrorism on residents of Abuja, and to suggest ways of ameliorating the plight of victims of terrorisms in Abuja. In pursuit of the above objectives, the researcher adopted the political economic theory. The data forthe study were collected from the victims of terrorism who were receiving treatment in Nyanya and Wuse hospitals, the caregivers of the direct victims in the hospitals of the two study areas and the residents of the two districts. Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected, where the quantitative data were collected from the residents through a survey.The researcher in the bid to collect the quantitative data employed the multy stage cluster sampling technique. Qualitative data were collected from the victims through in-depth interviews and personal observation of the researcher. The researcher administered 251questionnaires to the residents, conducted14 in-depth interviews with the victims and personal observation with the view of ascertaining the forms, facilitators, and effects of terrorism on the Abuja residents. The data wasanalyzed using SPSS version 20. The findings revealed that terrorism in Abuja involves the use of deadly explosives planted or thrown at targets, armed robbery, and kidnapping. It was also revealed that poverty, unemployment, corruption, the failing family system (family’s inability to adequately cater for the economic, social, educational needs and control their ward’s use of social media, peerinfluenceetc) bad governance, ignorance, and religious fundamentalism are the major causes of terrorism in Abuja. The data revealed that so many lives have been lost, properties destroyed, people live in fear, persons displaced and incapacitated by terrorism in Abuja. It was gathered from the findings that education, good governance, provision of employment, especially for the teaming unemployed youth, moral re-orientation of Nigerians can go a long way in reducing terrorism. The study recommends that victims of all forms of terrorism should be provided palliatives’ throughout their lifetime to act as compensation with the view to cushioning the effects of terrorism on victims in Abuja.There is the need for adequate funding for the security agencies to be able to carry out their programs of security work effectively. This will help the agencies in their efforts toward mounting security checks around all major roads, worship centers, government facilities, markets, and other places the public perpetrates in the nation.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

The term terrorism had its first English usage in 1795. It could be defined as a process in which an organized group tries to achieve their aims through the use of systematic violence. Similarly, the concept could refer to the systematic or ferocious form of violence, a form of guerrilla alternative to conventional warfare. According to Bockstette (2008), terrorism refers to a political violence in an asymmetrical conflict that is designed to induce terror and psychic fear (sometimes indiscriminately) through the violent destruction and victimization of non-combatant targets, such acts are meant to send a message from an illicit clandestine organization. The purpose of terrorism is to exploit the media in order to achieve maximum attainable publicity as an amplifying force in order to influence the target audience. The above definition also seems logically incorrect as terrorist may be motivated by other factors like religious, social and psychological factors.

Section 2656 (F) of the United States Code provides a definition of terrorism. According to title 22, terrorism is defined as premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub national or clandestine agents usually intended to influence an audience (United States Code, 2004)

Section 4 of the terrorist (prevention) act 2012, defines and prescribes punishment for an act of terrorism: it defines terrorism as the calculated and extreme use of violence or threatened violence, perpetuated by malice, to cause serious harm or violence against individuals, governments and their assets with the intention to attaining political,

religious or ideological goals, through intimidation or coercion or instilling fear on civilian populations.

For the purpose of this study, terrorism refers to an act ofviolence, which is politically, religiously, or ideologically motivated and perpetrated against both combatant and non-combatants' in order to achieve a particular goal. Specific emphasis will be laid on the terror act of bombing, armed robbery and kidnappings.

Terrorism has beeninexistence for a long time. Its history goes back to *Sicarii Zealots* that is, the Jewish extremist group who were active in the Judea province at the beginning of the first century, when some prominent collaborators with Roman rule were killed (Hoffman, 1998). According to contemporary historians, Josephus, in 6 AD, Judas of Galilee formed a small and more extreme offshoot of the Zealots, the*Sicarii*. Their terror was also directed against Jewish collaborators, including temple priest, Sadducees, Herodias and other wealthy elites (Chaliand, 2007). The term "terrorism" was originally used to describe the action of the Jacobin club (an active social organization of young men of Jewish origin). During the French revolution, terror was described as justice, prompt, severe, and inflexible (Maximlien, 2009). In 1885, Italian patriot Felix Orseni attempted to assassinate the French Emperor, Napoleon 111. The result was that eight (8) bystanders were killed and one hundred and forty-two were injured. The incident played a crucial role as an inspiration to the development of earlier Russian terrorist groups. (Maximlien, 2009).

The history of terrorism in Africa can be traced to the period of colonialism. According to Suberu and Osagie (2010), ethnic and violent clashes in Africa can be traced back to colonialism and its attendant policies. This assertion is debatable as prior to colonialism there existed ethnic rivalries on the basis of land ownership among the tribes. However, Colonialism brought about socioeconomic inequality through the institutionalization of

classes and thereby class struggle. Hubschle (2005) asserts that prior to colonialism; there had been evidence of violent clashes among various groups within African states fighting for one cause or the other especially on land related matters. However, terrorism was more evident during the colonial period.A past liberation agreement that fought for independence in their countries such as "African National Congress (A.N.C), The African National Union-Patriotic Front (Zanu-pf), who fought apartheid in South Africa, Francde*LibertacaodeMocambilique* (FRELIMO), who fourth against the Portuguese rulers in *Mozambique is* labeled as terrorist organizations. Terrorism in Africa was largely facilitated by globalization, pre-modern globalization ushered in the period of colonization in Africa, Asia and the Middle East. In Africa, this historical epoch was the beginning of modern terrorism. The Nigerian state has its story to tell about colonial terror and other terrorist activities which were mobilized as a result of colonial policies. This came about as a result of revolutionary movements and violent inter-ethnic and religious crises(Osagie, 2010)

The history of modern terrorism inNigeria can be traced back to 18th December, 1980 when a so called religious leader, known as MallamMohammadMarwa, alias Maitatsine and his band of militant followers used their own brand of Islam to cause disturbances in Kano State. According to the report of Tribunal of inquiry in Kano disturbances, what initially looked like a minor civil commotion quickly escalated into a full-scale rampage resulting into inestimable loss of lives and properties. (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1981).

Another incidence that also appeared like an act of terrorism was the skyjacking of a Nigerian Airways passenger planewith a political group known as the Movement for the Advancement of Democracy (MAD) led by Mallam Jerry Yusuf in 1993. The plane took off from Lagos to Abuja with 146 passengers on board. The plane was made to land in

Niamey instead of Nigeria. In an interview, the group leader, Yusuf stated that his mission was to terrorize the few people who have terrorized us politically and economically to recover the money stolen from us (United States citizenship and immigration Services (USCIS, 1998)

Militancy in the Niger Delta was predicated on the environmental degradation through petroleum exploration by oil conglomerates. There have evolved ways of self-determination, development and emancipation. Prominent among them is the Movement for the Emaciation of the Niger Delta (MEND) it is more of an umbrella organization for several armed groups, which it sometimes pays in cash or guns to launchattacks. MEND has been linked to attacks on petroleum operations in Nigeria as part of the conflict in the Niger Delta, engaging in actions including sabotage theft, property destruction, guerrilla warfare and kidnappings. Other groups, including Niger Delta Peoples Volunteer Force(NDPVF), Federated Niger Delta Ijaw Community(FINDIC), Ijaw Youth Movement (IYM)Ijaw Monitoring Group(IMG), Pan Niger DeltaResistant Movement (PNDRM), Environmental Right Action (ERA), Movement for Reparation to Ogba (MORETO) ETC. (Apata, 2011). In Nigeria, a state of mutual suspicion existed among the major ethnic groups. According to Hubschle (2005), violent clashes among these various ethnic groups existed as a result of an economic undertone especially among the ruling class. This characterized the political spectrum in the 1960s (the various coups were a reflection of the struggle to control power and economy). The major ethnic groups are keen to control the central government due to the fact that all the resources are centralized, thus making positions at the governmental level very lucrative and competitive.Falola (2011) argued that the root cause of violent activities in Nigeria today, such as Jos crisis, the Niger Delta violence, and all forms of violence in the Northern and Southern parts of Nigeria respectively, can be traced tothe eraof

colonialism. At that time the natives challenged colonial rule through violence. Therefore, a "public culture" was created in the Nigerian polity, in which the citizenry is now inclined to commit acts of violence at any sense of exploitations from colonial policies. Major notable violent protests in the colonial era were the Aba women riot of 1929 and the Ekumeku wars between1897-1914 in western Igbo and Anioma comprising warriors from areas stretching from Onitsha through Asabain which the guerilla form of resistance was used against the British occupation of Nigeria. Further more, the austerity measures, a policy program adopted in the 1980s by the federal government to contain the economic crisis that characterized the era was also a contributing factor. For example, in May and June of 1989, several towns such as Lagos, Ibadan, Benin city and Port Harcourt revolted against the International Monetary Fund (IMF) plan which resulted in the loss of hundreds of lives and properties worth millions of Naira.

In all of the above scenarios, certain issues are common to them, crime was alleged to have been committed, people were alleged to be victimized, fear of crime increased, economic activities were distorted, social lives disorganized and security systems of the nation were threatened. In Abuja a number of law abiding citizens have been killed, robbed and some kidnapped with others injured and some losing their source of livelihood. Most disturbing is the fact that people are living in constant fear. Thus, this study aims at investigating the form, facilitators, and effects of terrorism on the Abuja residents.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

There is no gainsaying that economic development is predicated on peaceful coexistence and there can be no sustainable development in a chaotic atmosphere. This is true of Nigeria and Abuja Municipal Area Council given the terrorist groups incessant deadly attacks onindividuals, public and worship places, which have led to the

destruction of lives and properties. Abuja residents who are supposed to be the most secured in the country giving the fact that it is the Capital of Nigeria however, have been subjected to a series of attacks for some time now including armed robbery, car snatching, kidnapping, and most of all bombing, which is the most devastating. People now live in constant fear, especially given the type of publicity the insurgents are enjoying from the media. Terrorism and indeed victimization appears to pose a serious threat to many law abiding citizens in the country and the inhabitants of the federal capital territory are not an exception.

The attacks on mobile phone stations have paralyzed telecommunication in the North, causing a lot of economic damage since 2003.Moreover, bomb blast, armed robbery, abductions, and assassinations, seems to have become common occurrences in Abuja in particular and the country at large. Such pervades the social and cultural lives of the people and can massively affect their mental health. Similarly, the country's image in the global community is gradually being destroyed, security of lives and properties threatened and investment reduced. As a result, much of the nation's annual budgets, since 2012, have been allocated to security as opposed to other developments.

The chronicle of incidencesof terrorism in Nigeria, mostly bomb blasts, has shown that many Nigerians have lost their lives to the mayhem. For instance, on 31st May, 1986, a bomb explosion occurred at a stadium during the launch of the family support program in Ilorin. Similarlyasuicide bomber blew himself alongside with others in Kaduna State on January 18th, 1996 at Durbar Hotel; and two days later, 20th January, 1996, another bomb explosion occurred at the Aminu Kano International Airport, Kano were some casualties were recorded. Apart from attacks on persons, many government agencies and institutions like Schools, Police Stations, and ArmyBarracks have suffered from the

same fate. Thus, the recent bombings and suicide missions embarked on by terrorist groups have great effect on thenation (Adeyemi; 20013).

The activities of the terrorist sect (Boko Haram) have affected production greatly, especially agriculture, as the North producesfoodstuffs such as Rice, Sorghum, Millet, Onions, Maize and others. Besides, many of the companies are closing shop by the day. Terrorism has affected the operation of the various companies in the country. Many of them have not just closed down; some can't take their products to the affected areas. For example, the distribution of cement and petroleum to Bornu state has been hampered in recent times. Themanufacturing andextractive sectors, the capital market are all affected one way or the other as some workers threaten to desert their jobs and some companies shot down operations for fear of attacks. People have become economically handicapped as a result of the activities of terrorist groups across the country. For instance, the Unilever, Nestle, Con oil, Mobil, and all the other Companies operating in the North East, especially in Bornu in particular have not only shut down operations but moved their staff out of the area (Timeline of Boko Haram attacks in Nigeria.Wikipedia, 2012

Government efforts like banning the use of motorcycles popularly called 'Okada'in city centers like Abuja, Kano, Port Harcourt etc., mounting of security checkpoints by military personnel and the restriction of the operationsofcommercial motorcyclists, which are geared toward counteringterrorism have not yielded the desired results. The ban on commercial motorcycles has rather displaced so many and consolidated poverty as the majority of these motorcycle operators are not being provided alternatives. On another scene, the government has been holding a series of meetings on security related issues and a lot of resources have been committed towards curtailing the incidences of terrorism; yet its wave seems to be on the increase as reports of acts of terror is being recorded, regularly. It is a known fact that the budget allocation for security in most

states in Nigeria and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) in particular is more than all other sectors of the Nigerian economy since the upsurge of terrorism. This to a large extent reduce development of the other critical sectors of the economy (Obassy, 2014)

Nigeria is known as the giant of Africa; however, this status is being undermined by the series of bomb blast, kidnapping armed robbery, hostage takings particularly those in the heart of the Federal Capital Territory Abuja. This is also evident in the recent attack on the United Nations Secretariat in Abuja on August 26, 2011and the bombing in 2010 the day Nigeria was celebrating her 50^{th} independent at the eagle square. This singular act of terrorism has added to increase pressure on the government to tackle terrorism. It seems that the short-term solutions of heavy military deployment as a response to terrorism has little or no effect and seems to undermine the cohesion of the state. Similarly, the fear of being attacked by terrorist has limited people from exercising their fundamental human rights such as freedom of expression, worship, movement, association, etc. Individual and societal aspirations for democracy, development, human rights and high standard of living have been undermined by terrorism. Terrorism has affected social activities like marriages, naming and funerals as well as, religious activities. People as a result have become more individualistic and suspicious of the other. In the word of Falola (2005): 12 "The general insecurity in the nation seems to have reached a point that people are afraid of reporting crime to avoid being vulnerable to secondary attacks" (Falola, 2010).

Terrorism seems to be growing as an industry involving all levels of the societies and motivated by so many reasons.Although, studies on it have been a relatively recent phenomenon, in Nigeria and much of the literature are foreign most of the literatures come from Asian, American and European continents. Scanning through the literature on terrorism, there is a very little empirical work done on terrorism and victimization

especially in Africa and in Nigeria in particular. Althoughthere are series of media reports of daily incidences of terrorism in most Nigerian societies and other parts of Africa, not much work has been done in terms of empirical work. In view of the above, there is a need to understand and document the social, political and economic implication of terrorist activities on the residents of Abuja. Studies on the plight of victims of terrorism and possible remedies to their plight are scarce in Abuja. Consequently, little or no attention has been given to the victims in terms of compensation, restitution and rehabilitation in Abuja. Victims of terrorism, according to (Ngozi (2012), suffer from psychological effects like shock and acute stress reactions. Others include, sleeping problems, increased level of arousal, cognitive confusion, poor concentration, memory difficulties, distressing dreams,intrusive thoughts, or images, behavioral withdrawal or isolation, increased compulsiveness etc.

This research addresses the forms, facilitators, and effects of terrorism on Nigerian in general and on Abuja residents in particular.

1.3 Research Questions

In view of the above, this study will seek answers to the following questions:

1 What is the form of terrorism that is prevalent in Abuja Municipal Area Council?

2 What are the facilitators of terrorism in Abuja Municipal Area Council?

3 What are the effects of terrorism on residents of the Abuja Municipal Area Council?

4 How can the effects of terrorism be curbed in Abuja Municipal Area Council?

1.4 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study isto analyze the form, facilitators and effects of terrorism on people. The specific objectives of the study are:

(1) To investigate the form of terrorism that is prevalent in Abuja Municipal Area Council.

(2) To identify the facilitators of terrorism in Abuja Municipal Area Council.

(3) To examine the effectsofterrorismon residents of the Abuja Municipal Area Council.

(4) To suggest ways of curbing terrorism among residents of the Abuja Municipal Area Council.

. 1.5 Significance of the Study

This study has theoretical and practical significance. In terms of theory, this study provides a basis for theory formulation to scholars on terrorism. It will help students and scholars who want to advance knowledge on terrorism. Concerning the practical aspect, the study will provide a body of information to the government and also serves as an aid to policy makers in policy formulation. The study will also contribute to the existing body of knowledge, particularly in the area of terrorism as well as serves as a source of literature for future studies.

1.6: Scope of the Study

It is not possible to study a particular phenomenon in all its ramifications, this study is no exception. Thus, this study is limited to the forms, facilitators, effects, and ways of ameliorating the effects of terrorism on residents ofthe Abuja Municipal Area Council. The forms of terrorism this study concentrated on are bombing, armed robbery, and kidnapping. These terrorist activities are prevalent and also have devastating effects on the resident of Abuja. It is also limited to Nyanya and Wuseneighborhoods in Abuja Municipal Area Council (AMAC) of the FCT. The study was carried out among adults

who are 18 years and above. In the same vein, the study was carried out between 20th April 2014 and 10thSeptember; 2014. The research started immediately after the first bomb bast in April, 14th and covered the victims of the second bomb blast in June, 2014 respectively alongside with other terrorist victims in the study location.However,the research covered the period of five months.

1.7 Definition of Terms

Armed Robbery: is an act of taking money or goods in the possession of another, from his or her person or immediate presence in which the robber is armed with a dangerous weapon.

BokoHaram: A movement of Islamic sect which originally was known as JamaAlhlusSunnahLiddaAwatiwaJihad, (meaning –people committed to the propagation of the Prophet's teaching and Jihad). Their activities involve bombing attacks in Nigeria. The term literally means western education is a sin or forbidden.

Bomb blast: The explosion of an explosive, which has been planted, carriedand thrown at targets by terrorist to either kill people or destroy properties when an explosive is detonated.

Bombing: Is the use of improvised explosive to kill. Similarly, it is the act of using bombs or explosives to cause harm, destruction and death.

Effects: The consequences of an event over a phenomenon which include death, body deformity, displacement of businesses, jobsetc.

Facilitator: Something that motivates the occurrences of a particular event such as unemployment, poverty etc.

Kidnappings: is the act of abducting someone and holding him/her captive typically to obtain a ransom.

Terrorism: The use of violence or threatened use of violence in order to achieve a set objective or goals such as armed robbery, kidnappings, bombings etc.

Terrorists: person, usually a member of a group, who uses or advocated terrorism and instills fear.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with review of literature in relation tothe study. The chapter comprises of two major components: literature review, which is done according to the objectives of the study, and a theoretical framework, which explains the reasons for engaging in terrorism. The essence of the chapter is to provide a precursor for understanding terrorism.

Under this section, the literature is reviewed according to the major concepts and objectives of the study, which are presented in themes. These themes are: concept of terrorism, forms of terrorism, facilitators of terrorism, and effects of terrorism.

2.2. Concept of Terrorism

The word 'Terrorism' is shrouded in a lot of controversies. There have been questions of what constitutes terrorism. Terrorism comes from the French word '*terrorisine*', and originally referred specifically to state terrorism as practiced by the French government during the reign of terror. The French word *terrorisine* in turn derives from the Latin verb*terreo* meaning "I frighten" (Campbell, 2001). The terror*Cimbricus* was a panic and state of emergency in Rome in response to the approach of warriors of *Cimbri* tribe in 105 BC (Geoffrey, 2001). According to Mackey (2009), terrorism refers to the killing of innocent people by a non-government group in such a way as to create a media spectacle. Terrorism is the systematic use of terror often violent, especially as a means of coercion. This definition is to some extent deficient as terrorism is politically and emotionally charged and this greatly compounds the difficulty of providing a precise definition. Thus, for the purpose of this study; the definition of terrorism can be

seenfrom two schools of thought. The first school is termed the idealistic conception of terrorism, and the second school of thought is termed the realist conception of terrorism.

The idealist school of thought stresses the fact that every act that produces fear, terror, or death, whether legitimately carried out or not by an individual, group or State, is an act of terrorism. Among the proponents of this school of thought are Spiegel and wheeling. They define terrorism as "violence across international boundaries intended to coerse a target group into meeting political demands" (Spiegel and Wheeling, 1999).

The realist school of thought, on the other hand, sees terrorism essentially as an attack by clandestine groups on non-combatants or civilians in order to draw attention by imbuing fear in the public to coerce a State actor into carrying out an action for their political objectives. One of the proponents of the realist school of thought is the United State Government (Peters, 2010).

2.3Forms of Terrorism

According to Ogbu, (2005), different forms of terrorism have been defined by lawmakers, security and professional scholars. Forms differ according to the form of attack, an attacker use (biologists, for example) or by what they are trying to defend (as in eco-terrorism). Here's a comprehensive list of forms of terrorism, with links to more information, examples and definitions will be offered. The first types of terrorism identified are State terrorism. State terrorism refers to a government committing acts of violence against its citizens. Joseph Stalin's purges in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR), where thousands were executed or imprisoned for apparent anti-communist activities and sentiments are good examples. The authoritarian government of these nations created clandestine death squads to eliminate members of opposition groups and anyone else who expressed dissent, including members of the clergy.

The United States government maintains a list of nations which it considers to be sponsors of international terrorism (Obafemi, 2011). Nations that support, tolerate or engage in international terrorism are considered state sponsors of terrorism. Seven Nations are currently listed as supporting terrorism by funding, training, supplying or providing safe heaven to known terrorists. They include Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, Sudan, and Syria (Wilkinson, 2010).

According to Wilkinson (2010) Iran is the most notorious and prolific sponsor of terrorism utilizing its own agents and a variety of Islamic terrorist groups it supports and sometimes directs. Iran has been accused of assassinating dissidents abroad and funneling money, weapons and intelligence to Middle Eastern terrorist groups like, Hezbollah, Hamas and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine –General Command (PFLP-GC). These groups have committed numerous attacks against Americans, and Israeli targets. It has also been argued that States participate in international terrorism, often by proxy. The United State considers Iran the most prolific sponsor of terrorism because Iran arms group such as Hezbollah, help carry out its foreign policy objectives. The United States have also been calledterrorists, for example through its covert sponsorship of Nicaraguan contras in the 1980s (Ogbu, 2005)

The second form of terrorism brought to the limelight is bio-terrorism: it refers to the intentional release of toxic biological agents to harm and terrorize civilians, in the name of a political or other cause. The US Center for Disease Control (USCDC) has classified the viruses, bacteria and toxins that could be used in an attack. These included Anthrax (Bacillus anthrax),*Botullsm (clostridlumbotullnum*toxin), the plague*yersiniapestis*), Smallpox (*variola* major),*hemorrhagic* fever, due to Ebola or Marburg virus (US Centre for Disease Control, 2009).

Zalman, (2010), described the third form of terrorism as cyber terrorism: cyber terrorist uses information technology and communications, such as computer systems or telecommunication as a tool to orchestrate a traditional attack. More often cyber terrorism refers to an attack on information technology itself in a way that would radically disrupt network services. For example, cyber terrorists could disable networked emergency systems or hack into networks, housing critical financial information.

Murphy (2002) described the fourth form of terrorism as eco-terrorism. It is coined to describe violence in the interests of environmentalism. In general, environmental extremists sabotage property to inflict economic damage on the industries or actors they see as harming animals or on the natural environment. These have included fur companies, logging companies and animal research laboratories for example.

According to the Department of Homeland Security, Nuclear terrorism refers to a number of different ways nuclear materials might be exploited as a terrorist tactic. These include attacking nuclear facilities, purchasing nuclear weapons, or building nuclear weapons or otherwise finding ways to disperse radioactive materials (Homeland Security, 2010).

Jeremy (2001) argued that religious terrorism is that performed by groups or individuals, the motivation of which is typically rooted in faith based tenets. Terrorist acts throughout the centuries have been performed on religious grounds with the hope to either spread or enforce a system of belief, viewpoint or opinion.

2.4Forms of Terrorism in Nigeria

Kidnappings, armed robbery, abduction, arson and murder are other forms of terrorism in Nigeria, but the most prevalent ones in Abuja are armed robbery and lately bombing (Clottey, 2014).

Haque (2006:5-8) identified the following forms of terrorism and strategies for terrorist attacks these include:

(a) Bombing: which are the most common forms of terrorist act. Typically, improvised explosive devices are inexpensive and easy to make. Modern devices are smaller and harder to detect. They contain very destructive capabilities; for example on 7th august 1998, two American embassies in Africa were bombed. The bomb claimed the lives of over 200 people, including twelve (12) innocent American citizens and injured over 5,000 civilians. Terrorists can use materials that are readily available to the average consumer to construct a bomb. They are the main tools of terrorists. More than half of all terrorist incidents involve the use of improvised explosive devices (IEDS) and as with other tactics; bombs are used to kill more and more innocent people. The vehicle bomb detonated at the Police Headquarters, Abuja on June, 2011 is a prime example of this technology (Timeline of Boko Haram attacks in Nigeria.Wikipedia, 2012).

(b) **Kidnapping:** is another form of terrorism. Turner (1998) defines kidnapping as all situations where a personis forced, seized and transported to a destination where they are held against their will in an unlawful confinement. It also describes incidence when a personis lured away and then hidden illegally. This terrorist tactic is dominant in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. This is one of the expensive tactics employed by terrorists; the terrorists guard the victim and

secure the area where he or she is being held which requires a large number of people than is usually found in a single tactical cell. For example, Professor (Mrs.) Okonjo was kidnapped on December 9 and released December 13, 2012 (Channels Television News on Monday December 10, 2012).

Pharaoh (2005:23) classified kidnappings into the following. These include criminal kidnappings (hostage taking for ransom), political kidnapping (to settle political scores or further some political objectives) and pathological kidnapping (parental kidnapping and kidnapping for sexual purpose). To further simplify the classification, Turner (1998) listed out four key rationales for kidnappings as follows: kidnapping for money, butnot for political motives, kidnapping without any political or monetary motives, kidnappings for money and political motive and kidnapping for political motives but no monetary agenda. From these classifications, it seems that kidnappings have criminal, political and economic reasons. This may involve force. Terrorists use kidnappings and hostage taking to establish a bargaining position and to elicit publicity. Kidnapping is one of the difficult acts of a terrorist group to accomplish; but if a kidnapping is successful, it can gain terrorist money, release of jailed comrade, and publicity for an extended period. Here the victims are ceased and taking to criminal hideouts and ransomed placed on them. Most times the kidnappers may threaten tokill their victim if the ransom is not paid. In 2014, a Methodist priest was kidnapped along Kogi/ Abaji express- way on his way from a religious function. The priest who is serving in the Nyanya Diocese was asked to pay a ransom of five million Naira. The family members were contacted but could not afford the money, hence, contacted the church which spread the amount amongst hermembers within the Diocese and the amount was realized and paid before the priest was released (Ameh, 2014).

(c) **Hostage taking**: Are acts that have been fine-tuned by international terrorists operating in the world today. They have learnt to create spectacular events that are guaranteed to capture the attention of the media. Most of today's hostage taking has been converted into a single tactic.

Hostage taking involves a seizure of a facility, location, or people as a security for the fulfillment of a condition. Unlike kidnapping, hostage taking provokes a confrontation with the authorities. It forces authorities to either make a dramatic decision or to comply with the terrorist demands. It is overt and designed to attract and hold a media attention. The terrorist's intended target is the audience affected by the hostage's confinement not the hostage. The seizure of about 200 students of chibock in Borno State and keeping same either as wives or as shed is an example of hostage taking. Armed attack and assassination are other forms of terrorism, which include raids, dispossessing victims of their valuables. Lyingof ambushes bya terrorist like armed robbers posing as passengers and subsequently throwing their victims into confusion by threatening with their arms before dispossessing them of their valuablesis common techniques. Assassinations are the killing of selected victim, usually by bombing or small arms. Shooting is a common technique employed by unsophisticated or loosely organized terrorist groups (Atu, 2007).

(d) Assassination: this was the earliest tactics used by terrorists. In fact, the word 'assassin' is derived from "*Hashshasin*", meaning- the society of assassins, the Islamic terrorist who operated in the Middle East during the tenth century. Diplomats and politicians have always been favorite's targets of assassins, with military and police personnel coming the second. Today's terrorists, however, also assassinate business and cultural leaders' high ranking government and

military personnel's. The death of late Bola Ige is a high case of assassination in Nigeria.

Historically, terrorists have assassinated specific individuals for psychological effects (Homeland Security, 2010). Arson and fire bombings are another form of terrorism, it involves, incendiary devices which are cheap and easy to hide. Arson and firebombing are easily conducted by terrorist groups that may not be well organized, equipped, or trained as a major terrorist organization. Arson or firebombing against a utility, hostel, government building or industrial center, portrays an image that the ruling government is incapable of maintaining order.

Hijacking and skyjacking is the last form of terrorism identified by the Homeland security. Hijacking involves the seizure by force of a surface vehicle, its passenger, or its cargo. Skyjacking is the taking of an aircraft, which creates a mobile hostage barricade situation. It provides terrorists with hostages from many nations and draws heavy media attention the September 11, 2001 in the USAis a case of hijacking and skyjacking.

Skyjacking also provides mobility from the terrorist to relocate the aircraft to countries that supports their cause and provides them with a human shield, making retaliation difficult. Terrorist organizations also conduct robberies and extortion when they need to finance their acts and they don't have sponsorship from sympathetic nations (Homeland security 2010).

In the early hours of Monday, April 14th, 2014 the residence of Abuja were thrown into mourning as there was a bomb blast which claimed about seventy-two lives and injured so many others. Before this incidence they were reported cases of car theft at gunpoint, successful cases of unexplained killings and armed robbery in Abuja. This has brought to mind the question of security of lives and properties in Abuja. (Clottey, 2014)

(e) Arson: This is another form and tactics of terrorism that has been a favorite of certain terrorist groupsover the past twenty years, almost 14 percent of all terrorist incidents have been arson, and in most cases an incendiary device was used to start the fire (Armstrong, 2013) An example is the burning of the campaign office of the All Progressive Congress in 2015 in Rivers State believed to be orchestrated by thugs of a major political party. Political thugs are sponsored to set ablaze campaign offices of their master's perceived opponents to instill fear. TheBoko Haram sects use it as part of their subversive campaign.

(F) Armed attacks

Armed attacks by terrorists have become increasingly lethal in the past few years. Armed robbers have stopped a bus load of people on numerous occasions. The victims usually include children, women, who are indiscriminately slaughtered by their attackers. Abuja residents have been under armed attacks in recenttimes, especiallyduring the night hours. In 2014 a couple returning from vigil was reportedly attacked along jukwoyi- Karshi axis of the Abuja municipal area council.

According to Thurston (2010), Boko Haram is the dominant terrorist movement in Nigeria poses the major threat to the unity of the country. The sect has rejected the western style of education, and seeks a stronger role of Islam in law and politics, while viewing the Nigerian state as illegitimate and as an enemy. Thurston further argues that, since 2010, Boko Haram and other terrorist groups like the Movementfor the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND) has caused havoc in Maiduguri and elsewhere in the North east and north Central including the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. (They have assassinated police, politicians, and rival Islamic leaders), and carried out numerous bombings (including Democracy Day-May 29, 2011, during the inauguration of

President Goodluck), and raids on Police Stations, Churches, Schools and Media houses. It is worthy to mention that the 2011 attack in Abuja was carried out by MEND not Boko Haram. In addition, Alex, (2010) opines that Boko Haram kills Muslim leaders where the assassins murdered Imams and religious personages of various theological stripes, from relatives of the Shehu of Bornu (a symbol of Islamic establishment), to headline reformist clerics who are themselves anti-establishment. The common thread in these killings is a Boko Haram's desire to silence all its critics and dominate the field of Islamic discourse in the North-East and in Nigeria at large.

Most of the Imams Boko Haram had shot had publicly spoken out against the group's use of violence (Adeola, 2011). Increasingly, Boko Haram's violence risks triggering broader Christian –Muslim violence. Recently, anti-Christian violence in the North such as an attack on a Christian Pastor and several Churches has ratcheted up the rhetoric's in the South (Thurston, 2011). An Anglican bishop, Rt. Rev. Owen Nwaokolo has motioned religious fundamentalist in the North that Christians in the South will begging a reprisal attacks against Northerners in their midst if the spate of killing of innocent Southerners and Christians' in the North continues. The pattern terrorism has taken in the world, in Africa and Nigeria in particular, has become a source of great concern, as groups have devised means and methods for reaching their targets, including military strongholds (Falola, 2010).

2.5: Chronicles of Terrorist Bomb Blast in Nigeria and Abuja

TheTimelineofBoko Haram attacks in Nigeria extracted from the Wikipedia, (2014) showsa review of the incidence of bomb explosion linked to terrorism below:

1. On31stMay, 1986, bomb explosion took place at the Ilorin stadium at the launch of the family support program.

2. OnOctober 19th, 1986, Dele Giwa an editor of a popular newspaper was killed by a letter bomb in Lagos.

3. Another suicide bomber blew himself alongside with others in Kaduna state on January 18th, 1996 at Durbar Hotel

4. On20th January, 1996, another bomb explosion occurred at the Aminu Kano International Airport, Kano were some casualties were recorded.

5. November 14th, 1996 is also remembered for another bomb explosion at the MurtalaMuhammed International Airport, which claimed the life of the chief security officer

6. On December 16th, 1996, another bomb explosion was targeted at the convoy of Retired Brigadier General BubaMarua.

7. December 18th, 1996 also is remembered for the bombing of a Bus belonging to the Lagos State Task Force on Environmental Sanitation (Tribune, 2011).

8. On January 17th, 1997 a Nigerian army bus was hit by a bomb

9. On April 22, 1997, a bomb blast killed three at the Evans Square in Lagos,

10. On May 12, 1997, there was a bomb blast at the front of the Federal Ministry of Works and Housing on Eleyele Road, near Jericho Hospital, Ibadan, Oyo State.

11. On December 13, 1997 Lieutenant General OladipoDiya narrowly escaped death by a bomb blast at Abuja Airport.

12. January 27, 2002, marked a bomb blast at the Military Cantonment with more than 1,000 dead, on March 15, 2010, there was a bomb blast during an amnesty dialogue in Warri, Delta State, people were wounded and Cars damaged.

13. There was also a bomb blast on October 1, 2010, during Nigerians 50th anniversary celebrations in Abuja, some casualties were recorded.

14. On January 1, 2011, there was a blast at an Army mammy market, killing about six persons and wounding others in Abuja, also is the bombing of the office of the "This Day Newspaper on June 16, 2011, also in Abuja.

15. On April 18, 2011, the Independent National Commission Office in Suleja, Niger State was bombed, the North East State especially Borno, Yobe, Adamawa States are the most hit with the state of emergency declared in those States by President Jonathan on 15th, May, 2013.

16. Borno was hit by a bomb blast on April 26, 2011, leaving many dead and properties destroyed.

17. Similarly, on May 29th, 2011, there was a bomb blast at the Army barracks in Bauchi, another bomb blast occurred at the Louis Edet House, Headquarter of Nigerian Police Force in Abuja On June 16, 2011 with Boko Haram claiming responsibility

18. On August 26, 2011 there was a car bomb blast that hit the United Nations (UN) building in Abuja claiming many lives with Boko Haram, again claiming responsibility. The latest is twin bomb blast that rocked Nyanya which claimed about two hundred lives. The list is endless, however, in all of these, thousands of lives were lost, Properties destroyed and people displaced, (Tribune, 2011).Similarly, several armed robbery cases were reported to the police across the F C T between May and September 2014 when the research was carried out. Having had a chronicle of terrorist activities in Nigeria, the subsection below will focus on some known factors that promote or facilitate global terrorism with the view to showing its trend.

2.6Facilitators of Terrorism

Following the explosion of publication on the subject in the 1970s, terrorism research has produced steady growth in the number of publication, but according to some, the quantity has not reflected improvements in quality (Silke, 2003 cited Transnational Terrorism, Security and the Rule of Law, 2007:7).

Despite the proliferation of academic studies, and political discussion calling for a closer look at the root causes, there has been no improvement in the area. As silk (2003) in a recent research work foundout that only about 20% of published articles on terrorism are providing substantially new knowledge on the subject. Today, the temptation to focus solely on certain forms of religious inspired terrorism is immense. Investigating the balance between different sets of factors may also contribute to the nature of the phenomenon.

Annan (2003) noted, we should not pretend that the decision to resort to terrorism is unrelated to the political, social and economic situation in which people find themselves. But we are also mistaken if we assume, equally, that terrorists are mere products of the environment. The phenomenon is more complex than that"

Borum (2003:3) noted that rapid modernization and urbanization in the form of high economic growth has also been found to correlate strongly with the emergence of ideological terrorism, but not with ethno-nationalists terrorism. This may be particularly important in a country where sudden wealth (e.g.From oil) has precipitated a change from tribal to high –tech societies in one generation or less. The wave of a global form of terrorism that began in the second half of the 20th century is rooted in specific economic, social, and political grievances. The validity of these grievances is of course debatable. A better understanding of the Social, Political history of Nigeria will be of immense

benefit. According to Okereke (2012), Nigeria is essentially an artificial creation, which like most other African states is a product of colonialism. This fact is central to understanding the country's government and politics, which have been conditioned and bedevilled by the problem of accommodating several diversities; ethnic, linguistic (there are between 250 and 500 distinct languages) geopolitical, religious (there is a depending cleavage between Christians and Muslims) and class.

The historical antecedents of political violence, civil wars, revolution, dictatorships or corruption may lower the threshold for acceptance of political violence and terrorism, and impede the development of nonviolent norms among other segments. The victim role as well as longstanding historical injustices and grievances may be constructed to serve as justification for terrorism. A good example is the Niger Delta struggle that started as early as 1960s, which was predicated on environmental degradation through oil exploration, petroleum and its allied products by oil conglomerates (Apata, 2012)

Okereke (2012), identifies some remote and immediate facilitator of terrorism in Nigeria, among them is corruption. According to Okereke, an individual steals, embezzles billions of Naira without regard to the welfare of others. It would seem that there is a competition for who wins the highest award for corruption. This definitely sets a bad precedent. The rich criminal can bargain their way out of jail, whereas the poor criminals have no choice. Corruption exists in various strata of the Nigerian government-ward, Local Government, State, to Federal government levels. This stirs up the minds of helpless Nigerians to try to make it at all cost, thereby indulging in crime like kidnappings, hostage taking, and even suicide bombings. Hence frustration, zeal for materialism and greed are some facilitators of terrorism.

Similarly, Ochonu (2005), identifies the premature integration of Nigeria into the world's market as another facilitator of terrorism. He argued that Nigeria was placed on the web of uncertainties, volatile and exploitative world market. These economic policies of the colonial authorities, affects the income of the colonial subjects and stirs up all forms of violence and domestic terrorism against the colonial authorities. Hence colonialism and its policies in Nigeria can be said to be a cause of terrorism. In the same vein, Ogundiya and Amzat (2008), posit that certain attempts made in suppressing economic policies, of the military government, by some Nigerian were visited with diverse acts of state terrorism. For instance, Ken Sarowiwa, the leader of the Movement for the Survival of the Ogony People (MASOP) was executed by the then military ruler General SaniAbachaThe assassination of KudiratAbiola and the death of MoshoodAbiola in 1999and 1998 respectively are indications of state acts of terrorism.

Chambliss, (1979), argued that social exclusion and the neglect of some persons in the area of employment predispose them to poverty which in turn pushes them to commit acts of terrorism.

For Solomon (1999), however, ignorance and not poverty are more of the problem. According to him, in the history of all terrorist acts, the sponsors neither use themselves, nor members of their families to perpetrate the acts, but use the less privileged that have been brainwashed under religious, social or other grounds to blow up themselves. Harington (2012), in his "Unchecked Massacre", argued that the structural issues of Northern Nigeria have allowed acts of terrorism to thrive in recent years. Although inequality, unemployment, and industrial stagnation have exacerbated the perception that the North has been marginalized by the liberalization of the Nigerian economy, such argument has no substance as the north has been in power or leadership for the most part.

Rather, it is the shift of power from the North to the South that has given rise to reactions like the Boko Haram Bombings (Felix, 2008).

Failure or unwillingness of state to integrate dissident groups or emerging social classes may lead to their alienation from the political system. Some groups are excluded because they hold views or political traditions considered irreconcilable with the existing value of the state

Thus political grievances in the North were compounded by the election of a southerner, Goodluck, Jonathan, as president in 2011.Electoral malpractices, the denial of political mandates, and the struggle for political power, generates tension which can degenerate to acts of terrorism (William, 2009). This argument is baseless as one will ask to know what the Northern leaders did to the number of years they spent in the Government of this country. In the area of security, the administration has treated Boko Haram and other terrorist related activities as a security issue rather than tackling the divisive subject of poverty in the North and other vulnerable areas(Felix,2008).The failed attempt to destroy the group completely in 2009 was the greatest recruitment drive Boko Haram could have hoped for, especially the controversial extra-judicial killings of the leader Mohammed Yusuf (Jack, 2011).This argument to some extent seems illogical as poverty is spread around in most part of Nigeria. One will imagine reasons why the rate of terrorism seems to be on the increase in most part of the north and in Abuja.

According to Ettang (2013), the link terrorist groups in Nigeria have with other notable world terrorist groups like Hamas, Al-Qaida; Hezbollah, etc. cannot be ruled out of this argument as evidence shows that the said local terrorist groups receive aid in the form of training, funding and equipment from other international terrorist groups. On 30th of May 2013, the Joint Task Force(JTF) a formation of the Army, Air Force, Police and

other law enforcement agencies, specifically assigned to contain terrorism in Nigeria arrested four foreign nationals believed to come from the Middle East over a large cache of arms and ammunition uncovered in their mini-warehouse located in the Bompai area of Kano. Following the shock discovery, the owner of the complex, where the dangerous weapons were impounded, simply identified as a Lebanese National. Security sources disclosed that items recovered from the extensive operation included 40 Air-to-Surface Missiles, 50 Cluster Bombs, 200 Rocket-Propel Launchers, 8 AK-47 Riffles, 200 Military hand Grenades and some Military hard Ware capable of destroying Armored Personnel Carrier. It was also learnt that preliminary investigation shows that three countries have been indicted and the Military High Command is working to ascertain the culpability (Vanguard newspaper May, 30th, 2013).

The crisis in Mali and some countries of the Middle East cannot also be ruled out of the argument, as the porous nature of our boarders gives terrorists running for safety from such places to come and take refuge in Nigeria and perpetrate their acts alongside with their domestic allies (Otedola, 2008).

Ogbeche (2012), noted that the facilitators of terrorism in Abuja may include soaring unemployment, greed, dysfunctional society, shrink unprecedented corruption, culture of impunity, poverty, hopelessness/frustration, whittling radical religious fundamentalism by run-of-the-mill Clerics, our porous borders and a move to draw the attention of the central government to the aforementioned. Also, Okereke (2013) argues that beyond the guise of religion and politics, there must be some compelling forces that can galvanize an individual to waste his life and that of others as a suicide bomber or as a terrorist. Poverty, hopelessness, frustration and joblessness have the potential to do this. They say a hungry man is an angry man. It will take an amazing brainwashing dexterity to convince a gainfully employed young man or somebody with a thriving career to

abandon the frills of his endeavor and be a slavish stooge for terrorism. He further argued that the Boko Haram attacks and the spate of armed robbery in Abuja is the effect of dysfunctional society. Other factors included the unprecedented corruption, acute poverty, our extensive porous borders and the approach of treating the symptoms not the causative agents.(Crenshaw, 1981).

Adetumbo (2014), stressed that insincerity on the part of the political leaders and the security agents is the reason for the lingering acts of terrorism in Abuja. It seems that the current spate of terrorismhas some political undertone. Similarly the current case of mutiny against some soldiers at the forefront of the fight against Boko Haram will force one to believe that the army has been infiltrated by the sect. The above argument is logically poorer as the reality shows that the main cause of the inefficient performance of the Nigerian security personnel's waging war against terrorism is the lack of adequate security gargets

A large group of highly educated young people with few prospects of meaningful career within a blocked system will tend to feel alienated and frustrated.

2.7Effects of Terrorism

There are widespread worries over the resurgence of terrorist attacks on citizens. The effects include human rights abuses, extra-judicial killings which results in loss of lives and properties. The formation of the so-called Civilian Joint Tax Force by the host communities has given the people the opportunity to provide nuggets of information to security agencies.However,the recent Amnesty International reportin 2013alleges death of hundreds of people in detention facilities runs by the Joint Tax Force. These poorlytrained and ill-equipped personnel are at the forefront of the fight against terrorists/insurgents in their localities. The use of these personnel is an anomaly, risky

and has far-reaching consequences (Razarq, 2014).Some of the effects are discussed hereunder.

a) Under development

Okereke (2013) argues that Nigeria's military campaign against terrorism and insurgency may have gulped over one trillionNaira-caging terrorism. Caging acts of terrorismhave hitherto proved cagey due to the unconventional (Guerrilla-war nature) of their operation with a trend towards "lone wolf" terrorism – maximizing the use of surprise terror by a loose network of individuals or groups sympathetic to a common cause. The budget on terrorism in Abuja has been on the increase over other sectors of the economy hence affect general development. According to the report from the budget office in 2014 security engulfed 968.127 billion out of the total budget of 4.962 trillion (about 20 %) while another additional 9 billion was added to counter insurgency in Nigeria that same year. The Table 2.1 below shows the budgetary allocation for the defense and security sector between 2008 and 2014.

Table 2.7.1: Analysis of Budgetary Allocation of the Defense Sector; 2008-2014

Year	Budgetary allocation in Billions
2008	444.6
2009	233
2010	264
2011	482
2012	921.91
2013	1055 (1.055 trillion)
2014	2450 (2.450 trillion)
Total	**5850.51 (5.85051 trillion)**

Source: Budget Office, Abuja, 2014

The Table 2.7.1 above shows that about N5.85 trillion has been spent on security related matters between 2008 and 2014.

Another consequence of terrorism is the retardation of development. Patrick (2004), posited that the resources which ought to be invested in the viable sector for development is diverted to service, security, living critical sectors of the economy like roads, hospital, education and other viable aspect of the economic sector to suffer. Similarly, Babalola (2008), maintains that acts of terrorismlead to impoverishment, fear and migration, In the Northern part of Nigeria, because of the fear of being attacked, some businesses are forced to close down. The economic sector suffers a great deal, as there are incidences of people moving from crisis prone areas to areas they perceived as safe.Babalola also maintain that terrorism in the part of the Niger Delta has led to incidences of oil spillage, affecting agriculture and aquatic life. On his part, Bayo (2002) opines that bombing weakens the functioning of government and reduces the reputation of a Nation- State in the international community. It scares away investors and reduces investment.

(**b) Loss of Lives and Property**

During terrorists'attacks, many people are killed or injured while properties are capriciously wasted. The direct consequence of terrorism is victimization. According to Barcas (1978), a victim is one who has directly or indirectly suffered as a result of a specific illegal act considered to be a crime. Accordingly, in every form of terrorism, there is bound to be the loss of lives, people are being injured and displaced, and properties lost, which leads to victimization with the victim having little or nothing to fall back on. According to Green and Pemeroy (2005), the victims in most circumstances are left to suffer from the shock of victimization and most time suffers from fear, mistrust, anxiety and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). Obasi (2007) asserts that where death is involved, the dead becomes the direct victim, while the dependents become the indirect victims with a lot of vacuums needed to be covered. On the other

hand, Jimoh(1988) opines that where properties are involved, the victim loose out and needs to replace them.

Table 2.7.2: Bombed Objects by Terrorists in Nyanya, Abuja 2014

Hospital	No of Injured	No of Deaths	No of Vehicles
Abuja Clinic	4		12 Long Bus
Nyanya General Hospital	1	-	17 Mini Buses
Customs Hospital Karu	14	1	12 Motorcycles
Asokoro General Hospital	25	27	-
Maitama Hospital	27	14	-
Wuse General Hospital	10	15	-
National Hospital Abuja	25	14	-
Garki Hospital	1	-	-
Mararaba	7	-	-
Total	**114**	**71**	**37**

Source: Tribune 29 May, 2014.

The table above shows the record of the bombed objectsin the Nyanya Motor Park in 2014. The record shows that one hundred and fourteen people were reported injured and deposited in the various hospitals across Abuja, seventy-one deaths were officially recorded, and thirty-seven vehicles were badly damaged and destroyed this to a large extent affects the bereaved, the income of the injured and economic life generally.

(c) Human Right Abuses

Human rights abuses are another unintended effect of terrorism. Innocent citizens might be arrested, detained and killed in a bid to combat terrorism by the law enforcement agents. Productive time and energies are wasted in constituting committees for tackling terrorism. In Abuja so many law abiding citizens have been dispossessed of their

belongings, displaced of their source of livelihood, denied their fundamental human rights, lost their lives while others continue to live in fear of insecurity and productive time wasted as a result of terrorism (Chimaroke, 2013)

Apata(2012) posited that the impact of terrorism may be felt both physically and psychologically with both domestic and international implications. This may be direct or indirect, and the cost may be incalculable as it involves loss of lives and properties that are immeasurable.

(d) Threat to National Security: bombing and sporadic shootings that are a common occurrence during terrorist attacks may create national embarrassment and shame. Terrorism may pose a great threat to national unity and also affect the cooperate existence of the country. For instance, due to the terrorist attacks byBokoHaram and other terrorist cells across Nigeria people are unwilling to accept national assignment on major parts of the north and south-south due to fear of insecurity. For example between 2010-2014, about 6,696 Corps members deployed to the north attempted to seek for redeployment to their home state or to less volatile states for fear of Boko Haram (Daily Trust Newspaper, 2 October, 2014).

(e) Political Instability

Terrorism may lead to a situation of uncertainty, unsteadiness, wavering and volatility in a nation's political arena. It may lead to rise in tension, insecurity and instability. It may lead to formation of parallel militants, counter violence reprisal attacks and relocation of people. For example, it was reported that Christian youths killed Muslims in reprisal attacks at Gonin-Gora, Kaduna State on18 June, 2012 (Naira land. Com).

(f) Mutual Suspicion

A situation of terrorist may lead to suspicion and counter suspicion on the part of the security and the citizens; ethnic group's religious groups and even within individuals. It may also have a negative impact on cohesiveness and the interrelationship of security agents and thereby leadingto accusations and counter accusations in the ranks of these security agencies over security issues. The documented documents of Joint task Force (JTF) personnel randomly killing civilians in the north without proper verification of their identity and without due process, do not endear the public to the security agencies (Editorial comment, Daily Trust, 6 December, 2012:5).

(g) Loss of Confidence in the Government and Security Agencies:

Frequent attacks may make people lose confidence in the ability of the authority to provide security and thus constitute various committees to provide such. This may make people take over security matters through engagement of the vigilante's community army and others for self-protection

(h) Effect on Foreign and Diplomatic Relationship: Terrorist attacks may affect the relationship and safety of foreigners in the country and negatively affluence foreign investment as no nation will wish to invest in a crisis-ridden environment. It may also affect the profile of a nation internationally. Boko Haram is considered a major potential terrorist threat affecting Nigeria and other countries and U S officials believe it is potentially allied with Al-Qaida. US, Africa, Commander General Carter F Ham stated in September 2011 that three African terrorist sub-groups- El-Shabab of Somalia, Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb across the Sahel regionandBoko Haram have very explicitly voiced an intent to target westerners and the U S specifically (Boko Haram, Wikipedia, 2012)

(i) Social Effects

Terrorism may affect the social life of people in terms of interpersonal relationship, socialization and others. It may create the psychological feelings of fear, worry, panic, anxiety and apprehension. In cases, people are subjected to extra-screening and some other treatment that are embarrassing on their account of their nationality. Apprehension of terrorism may heighten public fear and place burden on security personnel with time consuming effects. It may also lead to elongate security process and procedures in the country. The terror - environment may have negative effects on the quality of education by pushing children out of schools, while many materials may be destroyed in the process. It may lead to student drop out as a result of students' inability to return to school due to fear. Many pupils of school age tend to take to the streets as urchins, beggars or made to engage in social vices. It may lead to psychological feelings of apprehension, fear and worry after resumption which may affect the learning process while parents may keep their children at home when they were supposed to be in schools.

(j) Financial Implication:

Terrorism and violence may have both present and future implication on the economy. Terrorists always target government and private establishment with the aim of crumbling socio-political and economic activities. Sometimes, bank and financial institutions may be affected with effect on deposit. For example, bombing of Gaza (Aljazeera News)

2.8 Theoretical Framework

For the purpose of this study, Political Economy Theory was adopted to explain the form, facilitators, and effects of terrorism in Abuja. The emergence of Political, Economic Theory is credited to Jevons, and is dated back to the 1970s. First published in 1971, the classical

work of the theory was concerned with the re-channeling of how to solve the central problems of economics regarding how to minimize overall utility with a set amount of the means of production. The Political Economy theory assumes that:

-The working class is exploited under capitalism and the capitalist society works with reference to such phenomena as wages, prices, and profits. Capitalism is the stage in the development of human society characterized by class monopoly of the means of production, with Wage-labor and commodity-production. (Timimi, 2010).

-The history of all existing societies is that of constant class struggle between the haves and the have not's

-The haves are the owners and controllers of the means of production

-They can only sell their labor in the form of labor power

-The relationship between these opposing groups is unequal

-The haves continue to exploit and appropriate the labor of the have not to enrich themselves

-The exploitation of the working class and the alienation of the worker from his object of production is the root cause of the conflict

-To curtail the conflict, however, the haves try to use wealth to purchase power to protect themselves from attacks by the have not's,this they made possible through state apparatuses like the police.

-The unequal relationship between these opposing camps increases the gap between the have and the have not with the former getting richer and the latter poorer

-The poverty and the limited access to wealth is the cause of the crises which, if not resolved, can lead to revolution.

-Laws are instruments of the state to regulate the powers of the working class

-The appropriation and exploitation of the poor working class to maximize profit is capitalism which is a colonial ideology

It helps in explaining the link between politics and economics in relation to how the interest of the state and the capitalist could plague the society by situations such as hunger, unemployment, endemic wars, energy shortages, widespread corruptions, deep seated worker dissatisfaction, and general sense of loss or failures – of something gone wrong(Brenner et al, 1974).

The theory bears reference with colonial ideology. According to the theory, the civilization of the natives entailed, among other things, bringing them western education, western technology, stream of human history, getting them to discard their barbaric culture and generally redeeming way of life captive to ignorance, poverty and disease. This justification of colonialism was full of contradictions. The first is the question of reconciling the idea of the civilizing mission with the barbarism of colonialism. As is well known, the colonization of Africa was a particularly brutal process: the military expeditions to liquidate dissident indigene, and sometimes whole villages, such as happened during the MajMaj and Mau Mau rebellions in East Africa, the merciless disruption of a people's culture, the use of force to make people toil under inhuman conditions sometimes leading to their death, the pillage of the resources of a powerless person, the devastation of their environment (Ake, 1989)

In the colonial era, the political mobilization of the African masses by the nationalist leadership rest simply on the antipathy against colonial domination. When political independence was won, anti-colonial naturally lost much of its force and something else had to be found. Eventually, most African countries settled for the idea of development, although development has been often a cover for the pursuit of capitalism. Equally they have been socialized into expectations which cannot be met in a manner compatible with the maintenance of the existing relations of production. The failure of the development

effort, which desires the leaders of Africa even the opportunity to buttress their legitimacy with the material betterment of the masses, has deepened the contradictions caused by the ideological thrust of the nationalist movement. During the days of the nationalist agitations there was much talk about the possibilities of material betterment for the masses once the colonial yoke was removed. This made expectations of material betterment more than just a matter of the promises of politicians.

According to Ake (1989) Africa was colonized because European Capital was seeking better opportunities to maximize capital accumulation. So in the final analysis, the African population was not helped but exploited. The ideology of colonialism had presupposed that Africans were somewhat less human than human, and being somewhat less than human they could be brutalized and denied their right to govern themselves. This presupposition was implicitly racist. Quite often this racism stated implicitly for instance, Lord Luggard argued that the Africans lacks the power of the organization and is conspicuously deficient in the management and control alike of man or of business. This racism was a source of contradictions. The colonizers indoctrinated the Africans with the ideals of the whole marks culture and yet expected him to remain compliant; they forget that the ideals promised equal opportunity for those who strove and achieved, while the logic of the colonial system excluded Africans from such opportunities and frustrated their legitimate ambitions. Colonial racism only dramatized and forced on the popular consciousness the contradiction between social production and private appropriation. The racist isolation of Africans in the miserable slum of the native reserve areas only brought home to him his alienation from the fruits of his labor and the parasitic character of the colonial ruling class. The Missionaries and the colonial administrators hoped that Africans would be content with spiritual and would tolerate the divergence in the physical and material. They might have remembered that the enormous

physical and material divergences were bound to register on the consciousness. Such were the contradictions which generated and gave impetus to the wave of nationalist movements and liberation in colonial Africa. They created the leadership of this movement and also created the conditions which enabled them to mobilize the masses and politicized their grievances. The failure to achieve a reasonable measure of economic growth is contributing to the development of the contradictions and consciousness in African socio-economic formations.

For the colonizers, this was not really a problem. For this claim was that the colonized was uncivilized. By brutalizing the colonized, depriving him of a sense of self and pride and reducing him to utter wretchedness, the colonized became more of what he had been to justify being colonized, with all that his colonization entailed. In other words, the brutalization of the colonized reduced him to wretchedness and his wretchedness became the justification for treating him as an inhuman creature. At the same time, the barbarity perpetrated on the colonized was shrugged off as a means to the civilizing mission.

In conclusion, colonialism is a mission of civilization and development, which has within it contradictions that created room for nationalism and mass mobilization to fight against the ills of colonialism. But, after the attainment of independence, the nationalist leaders took over powers and started putting into practice worst ideologies that they inherited from their colonizers dashing the expectations of the masses, thereby generating unabated tension, hence the cause of unending expression of grievances like suicide bombings and other related vices. It is pertinent to emphasize here that this colonial ideology inherited by our leaders is being passed from regime to regime and the present regime is not an exception, hence the reason for the spate of crimes like the bombings in Nigeria.

Application of the Theory to Terrorism

Terrorism in Nigeria and in Abuja in particular, is motivated by a lot of factors (social, political, religious and economic). This is clearly spelt out in the terrorists' activism like kidnapping, bombing, and armed robbery, which are deemed to be a means of achieving goals. Many youth in Nigeria are unemployed and have little access to quality education. These situations infuriate some people to seek alternative ways of drawing the attention of the government towards the needs of the people, and to seek alternative means of meeting their needs. Terrorism has, therefore, become their mode of propagandas. The intensive propagation of the ideology of development organized and focused expectations on fairly clear criteria of regime performance, and the failure to fulfill the much advertised expectations bred disillusion, critical attitudes and prepared people's mind for induction into more radical political attitudes. The nationalist movement itself promoted not merely the politicization of the masses, but also the radicalization of their consciousness.

As soon as the political independence was won the ideas which aided the politicization of the masses by the nationalist leadership became fetish to the purposes of this very leadership for the demands of equality, freedom, self-determination, and freedom from poverty and oppression which they had taught the masses to make on the colonial government. Thus was inevitably directed at them, now that they were at the helm of affairs. The difficulty was that the nationalist leadership was interested in inheriting the colonizers' powers and not implementing the progressive ideas which had helped it to come to power. And this has created a serious contradiction between the nationalist leadership and the African masses. The masses have been socialized into the ideas and expectations which seems subversive now that the nationalist movement, having brought its leadership into power, has moved into its reactionary phase. The point of immediate

interest is that African ruling class had to embark on a course of de-politicization, and that the process of effecting and maintaining a state of de-politicization aggravates the tensions and develops the contradictions of the socio-economic formation. The process of de-politicization made the post-colonial state even more involved in the class struggle; it tried to pre-empt the political expression of contradictions between the ruling class and the subordinate classes. Although the theory does not explain why terrorist are capable of such sensationalist cruel acts of violence against targets that are not directly responsible for their frustration, it explains a means of expression of grieve over the denial of certain privileges.

The Political Economy Theory cannot effectively explain the problem of crime; it needs the cooperation of other theories to do this (Edgeworth, 1925).

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter bears the explanation of the procedures the researcher took to be able to carry out the study. It is presented in themes as follows: Location of the study, population of study, sampling technique/sampling size, and variables. Other themes are the types and sources of data, method of data collection, and techniques of data analysis.

3.1Location of the Study

The Abuja municipal Area Council is one of the six Area councils of the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), the other Area Councils include Abaji, Gwagwalada, Kuje,Bwari, and Kwali.This study was conducted in Nyanya and Wusedistricts of Abuja Municipal Area Council in the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) of Nigeria.Abuja Municipal Area Council is made up of the following towns these are: Lugbe, Nyanya, Giri, Karhi, Gausa, Aviation village, Deidei, Karu, kurudu, Oronzo,Gude, Odu,Kuruduma, Kpaduma, Kugbo, Wasa, Jikoyi, Jiwa, Apo, Tayi, Kyam, Wawa, Kpegyikurku and Wuse. Abuja officially became the capital of Nigeria on 12th December, 1991, replacing Lagos. Abuja hosts the State House, the Senate and House of Representative chambers, the Supreme Court, United Nations building and virtually all the headquarters of government institutions like the police, national security and civil defense (NSCDS), Immigration, etc. and the power that controls the affairs of government. It hosts people of different ethnic, socio-cultural, political and religious backgrounds, from Nigeria and beyond.The rapidgrowth in population is due to its position as the FCT of Nigeria. By implication, Abuja is a cosmopolitan area. The influx of people into the city has led to the emergence of satellite towns such as Karu urban area, Suleja urban area, Gwagwalada, Lugbe, Kuje and other smaller settlements which the planned city is sprawling towards. The

2006Census indicates that Abuja has the total population of about 2,198,808. (Obasi, 2012, Abuja Census Board 2014)

Nyanya: is a satellite town in Abuja located in the suburb of the Federal Capital City. Nyanya is densely populated with a hive of business activities. It is located at the entrance of Abuja through the southern part and the boundary between Nasarawa State and the Federal Capital Territory. It has a major bus station, which serves as a major terminus for commuters coming from satellite towns. According to the 2006 population census, Nyanya has a total population of about 164,000.Nyanya is divided into areas – Areas A to F, and has continued to witness an influx of people as many see it as a melting pot. Areas A: includes the market, last road and Area "A"extension. Area B: Have landmarks like the Nyanya General Hospital, Ecobank, Custom and Immigration Quarters. While Area C plays host to Customs, Immigration, Agriculture ministry and Mobile Police Quarters (Brinkhoff, 2015). The choice of Nyanya district was premised on the fact that in 2014,two bomb blasts claimed about 300 lives (the highest number of lives since the history of terrorist activities in Abuja in 2010). Although the official report mentioned 203, security sources and other eyewitness accounts reveal that the number of deaths could be over 400(Nnamdi, 2014)

Wuse: is another district in Abuja, it falls in the Phase One Development plan of the Federal capital territory. Wuse district is divided into zones (zone 1to7). Notable places in Wuse include, Wuse Market, AP plaza, BenexPlaza, Emab Plaza, General Post Office, Federal Road Safety Corp (FRSC), National Agency for Food and Drug Administration Control (NAFDAC), Federal Road Maintenance Agency (FERMA) offices, Sheraton and Rock View Hotels, Silver Bird Cinema, Economic and Financial CrimesCommission (EFCC) offices. Wuse is very close to Maitama and also shares its exclusivity. According to the 2006 population census, Wuse has a total population of

about 89, 000.The choice of Wuse is also premised on the fact that another terrorist attack was recorded in the area in 2014 shortly after the Nyanya bombings and lives were lost and properties destroyed, hence its relevance to the study(AbujaCensus Office)

3.3 Population of the Study

The study population comprises of residents of Nyanya and Wuse, the total population of Abuja extracted from the census office in 2014 shows that Abuja has the total population of about two million. The breakdown shows that Kwali has 154,800 inhabitants, Abaji, 93,360, Abuja MunicipalCouncil Area, 1,235,880, Bwari, 365,010, Gwagwalada, 252,520, and Kuje, 97,233.(National Population Commission of Nigeria (Web) 2014)

In Abuja, there are different populations too numerous to mention, given the fact that it is the capital city of Nigeria. Notable among the populations are the politicians, civil servants, military and paramilitary personnel, farmers, artisans, and traders. There are also contractors, legal practitioners, town planners, medical personnel, security personnel, and others with unidentifiable personalities. Each of these populations functions in one way or the other to make the FCT a community. People who engage and depend solely on criminal activities for their livelihood are also found in the FCT. So to mention all the populations by functions is difficult. Thus, the population for this study consisted of the residents in the selected areas. They included the victims of terrorists' attacks and other residents in the selected districts of the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. The victims are in two categories. The first category is made up of direct victims; they include people who were physically affected by the terrorist attacks. People who sustained various degrees of injuries like deformity or wounds and are receiving treatment in hospitals are found in this category. The second categories are made up of indirect victims, and they include the relatives who may be friends, parents,

children,wives and husbands of the first category of victims also called care givers accidentally found in the selected hospitals; these victims might be intersected with the first category but had mild injuries. These victims are also categorized as primary andsecondary victims respectively. It is also worthy of mention that the Abuja Municipal Area council where the research was conducted has the largest populationwhich explains probably why more acts of terrorism were carriedout.The spate of suicide bombings and other acts of terrorism in Abujathus are terrorists' attempts to achieve their goals. The choice of Abuja as the study location is anchored on the premise that terrorists have been driving home their demands in Abuja through a series of attacks.For instance, on the 3rd of November 2014, victims of bombing converged at the Millennium Park Fountain protesting their neglect after seven months of being attacked by Boko Haram.

3.4 Sampling Technique and Sample Size.

To sample the populations for this study both probability and non-probability sampling methods were adopted for the quantitative and qualitative data respectively. Doing it so enabled the researcher easy access to the respondents and the informants who partook in the study. The researcher purposively selected two general hospitals, one from each of the selected districts. The victims were selected for the qualitative data, while the residents constitute the population for the quantitative data. It was not possible to access the whole population of the districts, so the residents in the two districts were sampled in the process as shown below.

3.4.1 Sampling of the Quantitative Data.

The Yamane formula for population sampling was applied for clarity. Hence population sample: n=

$$\frac{N}{1 + N \times (e)^2}$$

Where n= the sample size

N= the size of the population

(e) = level of significance $(0.25)^2$

Nyanya has a total population of 164, 000 while Wuse has a total population of 87,000

Substituting the formulae with the total population to get the sample size therefore:

n =. $\frac{251{,}000}{1+251{,}000\times(0.25)^2}$ = 251

To get the sample size for Nyanya therefore:

n =$\frac{164{,}000\times251}{1+251{,}000\times0.25}$ = 164 and Wuse ±$\frac{87{,}000\times251}{1+251{,}000\times0.25}$ =87

Using the Yamane formulae therefore, Nyanya with about 164, 000 population accounts for 164 questionnaires while Wuse with the total population of about 87,000 accounts for 87 questionnaires giving a total of 251 respondents. The simple random sampling technique was used to sample the residents from the areas.

In the second stage, respondents were selected from each of the selected clusters using 10% of the population. According to the National Population Census result (2006), Nyanya and Wuse have a combined population of about 251,000, out of which 10% of the population were selected respectively. Therefore, out of about 87,000 populations accounted for 87 questionnaires hence:

Nyanya = 164, 000 (164) = 10%

+

Wuse = 87,000 (87) =10%

Total population is 251,000 therefore; the 10 % of these populations is 251.

Furthermore, a multi stage cluster sampling technique was used. In the first stage the Council Areas were identified. These include Abuja Municipal Council Area, Abaji, Gwagwalada, Kuje, Bwari, and Kwali out of which AMAC was purposively selected because of the spate of terrorist attacks it has suffered.

2. The various towns in AMAC were sampled, they include Lugbe, Nyanya, Giri, Karhi, Gausa, Aviation village, Deidei, Karu, kurudu, Oronzo,Gude, Odu, Kuruduma, Kpaduma, Kugbo, Wasa, Jikoyi, Jiwa, Apo, Tayi, Kyam, Wawa, Kpegyikurku and Wuse out of which Nyanya and Wuse districts were purposively selected due to the spate of terrorist attacks in these areas.

3.To get a sample size of the residents of Nyanya district, the researcher divided the community into six settlement areas (A to F) out of which two were selected for the study using simple random sampling. The selection was done by writing on six pieces of paper a letter from A to F and thereafter, folded and shuffled into a bowl;twopieceswere picked through simple balloting without replacement. The letters B and C, which were on the pieces of papers picked from the container, became the areas selected for the study. In these two areas, (Area B has 120 houses and Area C has 123 houses) 82 were selected from each area in the same way the areas were selected. The houses in area A of Nyanya were numbered from 1 to 120 with one figure writing on one paper, folded and shuffled placed in a tray and 82 piece were picked at random; the same thing was done to Area C. The number of the houses in the picked pieces of papers were the ones selected for the study. In each house 1 person was selected for the study; this makes up 164 people.

For Wuse district, the districtwas divided into nine (9) areas, which are Hebert Macaulay Street, AbachaStreet, OlusegunObasnajo Street, Aminu Kano Crescent,

AdetokumboAdemolaCrescent, Ahmadu Bello way, Michael Okpara Street and Kashim Ibrahim Street. Out of these nineareas three were selected using simple random sampling. The process involves writing the names of the nineareas, each on a piece of paper, squeezed and after re-shuffling 3 pieces were picked at random; the names of the streets on the pieces of paper picked to represent the sampled ones. In this process MichaelOkpara Street, Kashim Ibrahim Street and AdemolaAdetokumbo Crescent were selected. In each street, 29 houses were selected in the manner in which the areas were selected byNyanya district. In each house one person was selected, giving a total of 87 respondents.

Thus, the total number of people sampled for the study is 251, comprising 164 fromNyanya district and 87fromWuse district. With these 251 people, the researcher was able to collect the quantitative data for the study. By so doing, it gave all the areas and the people equal opportunity of being selected for the study with barest minimum bias. It is worthy of note that the research was conducted between the 20th of April, 2014 to 10thMay, 2014.

3.4.2 Sampling of the Qualitative Data

The population that was used for the qualitative data constituted the two categories of victims of terrorism

Table 3.4.2.1: Sample Size of the Qualitative Data

The district selected for study	Direct victims of bombing	Armed robbery	Kidnapping	Indirect victims (caregivers)	Total
Nyanya hospital	**3**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**7**
Wuse Hospital	**3**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**7**
Total	**6**	**2**	**2**	**4**	**14**

Table 3.4.2.1shows that six victims of bombings, two victims of armed robbery, and twovictims ofkidnapping respectively, were selected for the first category of victims, while the two victims (care givers for victims of Bomb blasts and kidnappings) from each of Nyanya and Wuse districts were selected for the second category of victims. Altogether, 14 people were selected for the qualitative data.

.3.5 Variables of the Study

Basically, there are two types of variables-independent and dependent variables. For this study, the dependent variable is terrorism, while the independent variables are corruption, religious intolerance unemployment, educational qualification and poverty.

3.6Types and Sources of Data

Both quantitative and qualitative data were used. The quantitative data were derived from questionnaires administered to respondents at Nyanya and Wuse,while the qualitative data were derived from in-depth interviews, conducted with direct and indirect victims of terrorism. Also primary data were derived from the personal observation of the researcher.

3.7Methods ofData Collection

In this study, both qualitative and quantitative techniques of data collection were used. The use of the two techniques was predicated on the fact that the researcher could elicit both large quantitative and qualitative data from the respondents and the informants for the study. The qualitative technique concentrates on collection of quality information mainly from relatively few individuals, while quantitative techniques concentrated on collection of mass data from relatively large number of people (Gyong, 2011) To collect data for the quantitative data, the researcher administered the questionnaires, which consisted of both open-ended and close-ended questions to the 251 residents. Both direct and self-administration were employed in the administration of questionnaires. The questionnairewasdesigned in English language and structured into five sections. Section A covered the social-demographic characteristics of the respondents, while the sections B to Ecoveredthefour objectives of the study. Through the open-ended questions the respondents freely gave information from their own point of view, but respondents were restricted to information provided for in the closed ended questions. The questionnaires were self- administered in cases where respondents were able to read, write, and comprehend the language that was used to design the questionnaire while the indirect administration was done for respondents that could not read or write where the collection of the data was done in the form of a structured interview. Herethe researcher asked the respondents the questions and filled the gaps with the interviewees' responses himself. Some of the respondents couldnot fill their questionnaires instantly so they gave the researcher time for the collection after they might have filled them.

For the qualitative data, the researcher used twodifferent Guides;(one for the in-depth interviews and the other for the observation). Aresearch assistant assisted the researcher in collecting the data by recording the responses of the informants using a tape recorder

and by taking notes during each interview session. The researcher made the observations himself. The research assistant was an NCE holder and a teacher in one of the primary schools in Nyanya. Altogether, 14 in-depth interviews were conducted where the informants were asked the same set of questions. By using both quantitative and qualitative techniquesthe researcher was able to triangulate the data thereby driving more detailed data.

3.8Methods of Data Analysis

To be able to analyze the two types of data collected, both quantitative and qualitative data analyses techniques were used. The quantitative data were analyzed using descriptive statistic.

For the quantitative data, the analysis was based on two hundred and thirty (230) retrieved out of the 251 questionnaires the researcher administered. To be able to do this, the data collected through a quantitative instrument (questionnaires) were subjected to simple statistical analysis and interpretation. A code book was manually prepared to organize the data collected and information transferred to a code sheet. It was analyzed with the aid of a computer using the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS version 20). The SPSS was used to generate frequencies and percentages. Presenting the data in frequencies and percentages enabled the researcher easier interpretation. For the qualitative data, the notes that were taken during the interviews and observation sessions constituted the data analyzed. Thereafter, the data was transcribed and manually analyzed according to themes that were in line with thestudy objectives.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATIONOF DATA

4.1. Introduction

The focus of this chapter is on the analysis and interpretation of the datacollected from the field. This was done logically in line with the objective of the study to ensure clarity. The chapter is divided into three major sections: section one pertains to the introduction, the second section covers the data presentation and interpretation, and section three focuses on the discussion of the findings. The study subscribed to the use of triangular method in its analysis and interpretation of relevant data. The method brings to bear, the combination of both quantitative and qualitative methods in their interpretation of the findingsgathered from the field with the view to adding to the validity and reliability of the research. The analysis and interpretation were based on 230 questionnaires retrieved, 14in-depthinterviewsreportsand the researcher's personal observation.

The chapter covers the following areas: the Demographic characteristics of the respondents, forms of terrorism, facilitators of terrorism, the effects of terrorism and ways of curtailing terrorism in Abuja municipal area council.

4.2. Socio-Demographic Characteristicsof the Respondents

This subsection is predicated on the characteristics of the people who partook in the study. It covers characteristics like the respondents' sex, age, marital status, educational background, number of children, number of years in Abuja, and job status. Table 4.1 shows the demographic characteristics of the respondents; and is divided into 4.1a and 4.1b.

Table 4.2.1a: Socio – Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Sex			**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Male			127	55.
Female			103	45.
Total			**230**	**100.0**
Age distribution of Respondents	M	F	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
20 or less	8	5	13	6.
21 – 30	20	14	34	15.
31 – 40	50	47	97	42
41 – 50	33	20	53	23
51 or more	22	11	33	14
Total	**133**	**123**	**230**	**100.0**
Nationality			**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Nigerian	228	-	228	99
Non-Nigerian	2	-	2	1
Total	**230**		**230**	**100.0**
Marital Status			**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Married	70	61	131	57
Single	24	21	45	20
Divorced	7	5	12	5
Widowed	22	2	42	18
Total	**123**	**88**	**230**	**100.0**
Occupation				
Student	6	2	9	4
Applicant	22	13	35	15
Artisans	13	8	21	9
Civil servant	44	22	66	29
Business man	22	34	56	24
Farmer	23	20	43	19
Total	**130**	**100**	**230**	**100.0**
Location of respondents				
Nyanya	87	67	154	67
Wuse	42	34	76	33
Total	**129**	**100**	**230**	**100.0**

The Table 4.2.1.aabovedisplays data concerning the demographic characteristics of the respondents. Beginning of the sex of the respondents, the Table shows that 55% of the respondents are males, while the females constitute 45%. This is an indication that the majority of the respondents are males. On the question of the ages of the respondents, the Table demonstrates that 4% of the respondents are aged 60 years and above, 6 %, are between 20 years, 10% are between 50 – 59years, 42%are in the age bracket of 30 – 39,

while 15% are exclusively between 20-29 years. It could be inferred that the majority of the respondents are adult and their judgment on the subject matter can be admissible. The Table also displays data regarding the nationality of the respondents by revealing that 1% of the respondents are not a Nigerian while 99% are Nigerians. This shows that the terrorists' activities affect not only Nigerians, although most of the respondents are Nigerian. This is indicated by 99% of the respondents. The data concerning the marital status of the respondents reveal that 57% are married, 20% are single, and 18% and 5% are widowed and divorced respectively. It could be deduced that the majority of the respondents in the study area are married. The Table also displays data concerning the occupation and location of the respondents. On the issue of occupation, the data shows that 29% of the respondents are civil servants, 24% are businessmen, 19% are farmers, while 15%, 9%, and 4% are applicants, artisans, and students respectively. This indicates that most of the respondents are engaged in different economic activities in Abuja, this is indicated by 81% of the respondents who comprise of 29% civil servants, 24% businessmen, 19% farmers, and 9% artisans. The Table also shows that most of the respondents are residing in Nyanya; this is shown by 67%

Table 4.2.1.b: Continuation of Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Educational qualification	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
None	-	-
Primary	54	23.5
Secondary	72	31.3
Tertiary	104	45.2
Others:	-	-
Total	**230**	**100.0**
No of years in Abuja		
10 and below	23	10
11-15	161	70
16-20	23	10
21 and above	23	10
Total	**230**	**100.0**
Number of Children		
None	105	45.6
1-4	100	43.5
5-8	19	8.3
9-12	6	2.6
Total	**230**	**100.0**

Table 4.2.1.bis a continuation of Table 4.2: 1a; it takes cognizance of the educational status, the numbers of years already spent in Abuja, and the number of children each respondent has. On the matter pertaining educational attainment of respondents, it was gathered that 23.5% of the respondents are first school leaving certificate holders, 31.3%are senior secondary certificate holders, while 45.2% are advanced level certificate holders. Thus, it can be deduced that many of the respondents have good educational background to provide information on the subject under investigation. This is shown by the 45.2% who hold tertiary education level certificates.Withthe number of years spent in Abuja, it was gathered that 10% of the respondents have stayed in Abuja for more than twenty years, between sixteen to twenty years, and ten years each. The data, however, has shown that 70% of the respondents have spent between ten to fifteen years in Abuja. Given the distribution of the data, it can be inferred that most of the respondents have

spent between 11 and 15 years in Abuja, which is indicated by 70% of the respondents. It also means that 90% of the respondents who comprise 11 years and above in their stay in Abuja are capable of providing the needed data for the study.

The views of the respondents were also sought concerning the number of children they have. As regards this, the Table displays that 2.6% of the respondents have between nine and twelve children, 8.3%% (19) have between five and eight children, 43.5% have between one and four children, while 45.6% % do not have children. Thus, it can be deduced that a significant number do have too many children to cater for and there are those who do not have any child to cater for; these are indicated by 45.6% of the respondents.

4.3 Forms of Terrorism in Abuja

This section takes into cognizance the views of respondents on the forms of terrorism in Abuja. In some cases Tables and figures were used to represent the responses of the respondents. The views of the informants either corroborate or disagree with those of the respondents; such situations are introduced after the responses of the respondents. Table 4.3.1 below displays the views of the respondents on the form of terrorism in Abuja.

Table 4.3.1a: Views of Respondents on the Forms of Terrorism in the Various StudyLocations in Abuja

Areas of study	Sporadic shooting %	Armed robbery %	Kidnappings%	Bombings %
Nyanya	37(67)	36(78)	15(75)	99(90.8)
Wuse	18(32)	10(22)	5(25)	10(9.2)
Total	55(100)	46(100)	20(100)	109(100.00)

The breakdown of respondents views on the forms of terrorism in the various areas of study reveals that 37% of the respondents in nyanya noted that sporadic shootings is a form of terrorism in Abuja, 78% said armed robbery is a form of terrorism, 75% of the

respondents said kidnappings is a form of terrorism, while 99% of the respondents who are the majority said bombing is a form of terrorism. Similarly, 32% respondents in wuse observed that sporadic shooting is a form of terrorism, 22%, armed robbery, 25%, kidnappings, while 9.1% of the respondents observed that bombing is a form of terrorism. It can deduce that the aforementioned crimes are all forms of terrorism, there are no significant differences in respondents' views on the various forms of terrorism.

Table 4.3.1b: Views of Respondents on the Forms of Terrorism in Abuja

Form of terrorism	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Sporadic shooting	55	24.0
Armed robbery	46	20.0
Kidnapping	20	9.0
Bombing	109	47.0
Total	**230**	**100 .0**

Table 4.3.1.b shows that 47% of the respondents indicated ofbombing, 24 % indicated the sporadic shooting, while 20% and 9 % indicated armed robbery and kidnapping respectively. This shows that there are different forms of terrorism, but the most prevalent one is bombing, and to a lesser extent sporadic shooting, and armed robbery. From the qualitative data, the above views arecorroboratedbya44 year old victim in Nyanya hospital who said:

> Considering the number of death and property destroyed by BokoHaraminsurgence and other criminal elements in Abuja, since 2010 one can conclude that their tactics and form is similar to that employed by terrorist in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa. Bombs are planted, guns are shot at targets, people are dispossessed of their valuables and suicide bombers kill themselves and we are not just hearing of kidnapping in Abuja but I am a victim.

Table 4.3.2: Analysis of Victims of the Various Forms of Terrorism in Abuja

Hospitals	Bomb blast	Armed robbery	Kidnapping
Abuja Clinic	4	2	
Nyanya General Hospital	15	3	1
Customs Hospital Karu	14	1	
Asokoro General Hospital	21	2	-
Maitama Hospital	7	4	-
Wuse General Hospital	19	5	1
National Hospital Abuja	5	4	-
Garki Hospital	17	-	-
Mararaba	12	-	-
Total	**114**	**21**	**2**

Source: Tribune, 14th May, 2014

Table 4.3.2shows that Nyanya hospital has 15 victims of bomb blast, 3 victims of armed robbery and 1 victim of the kidnappings. Out of these numbers, three victims of bomb blast, one of armed robbery, and the onlytwovictims of kidnapping were purposively selected. Similarly, the Table shows that Wuse hospital has 19 victims of bomb blast and 5 victims of armed robbery; there was one victim of kidnapping. Out of this number, 3 victims of bomb blast and 1 victim of armed robbery and kidnappings were purposively selected respectively. Respondents were asked about the most Comon group of terrorist in Abuja.

Table 4.3.3: Most Common Terrorist Group in Abuja

Most Common Terrorist groups	Frequency	Percentage
MEND	15	7.0
Boko Haram	143	62.0
Kidnappers	21	9.0
Armed robbers	51	22.0
Total	**230**	**100.0**

The data in the Table covers Boko Haram, armed robbers, kidnappers, and the activities of MEND. The word MEND is an acronym for the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta. The data revealed that 62 % of the respondents indicated Boko Haram, 22. % indicated armed robbery, while 9 % and 7 % went for kidnappers and MEND respectively. Drawing from the Table 4.3, it can be concluded that Boko Haram is the most common terroristgroup that terrorizes residents in Abuja; this is indicated by 62 % of the respondents. Closely related to Boko Haram is armed robbery, which is indicated by 22 % of the respondents.

In line with the respondents, this is what a 43 year old female informant in Wuse hospital says:

> In Abuja since the MEND bombing activityin 2010, none of its activity has been heard again. What we now hear of is armed robbery, motor cycle theft and the activities of Boko Haram which since then took up the bombing and has equally claimed responsibility. But I can authoritatively tell you that armed robbery is gradually taking over the terrorist domain

4.4 Facilitators of Terrorism in Abuja

The data under this subsection is concerned with what motivates terrorists to engage in terrorist activities. Table 4.4 shows views of the respondents concerning poverty as facilitator of terrorism.

4.4.1: Views of Respondentson whether Poverty Facilitates Terrorism in Abuja

Study location	Strongly Agreed	Agreed	Undecided	Total	Percentage
Nyanya	88(76.5)	12(17)	20(44)	120(52.2)	52.2
Wuse	27(23.5)	58(82.9)	25(55.6)	110(47.9)	47.8
Total	115(100)	70(100)	45(100)	230(100)	100.0

The table above is the breakdown of views of respondents on whether poverty is a facilitator of terrorism in the various areas. The study reveals that 76.5% of the respondents in nyanyastronglyagreed, 17% agreed while 20% were undecided. Similarly, 23.5% respondents in wuse agreed, 83% disagreed, while 55.6% were undecided. This response could be based on the social status of the respondents in line with their residential zones, however, it could be deduced that poverty is a facilitator of terrorism.The Table shows that 50% of the respondents agreed that poverty facilitates the occurrences of terrorism, 30 % disagreed, while 20 % are undecided. This shows that poverty motivates terrorists to engage in terrorism; this is shown by 50% of the respondents

Table 4.4.2: Views of Respondents on whether Unemployment

Facilitate Terrorism in Abuja

Study location	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	Total	Percentage
Nyanya	80(76.5)	4(17)	30(47.6)	114(49.6)	49.6
Wuse	68(23.5)	16(82.9)	32(50.8)	116(50.4)	50.4
Total	148(100)	20(100)	63(100)	230(100)	100.0

On whether unemployment is a facilitator of terrorism in the various areas of study, the data reveals that 76.5% of the respondents in nyanya agreed, and 17% disagreed while47.6% were undecided. Similarly, 23.5% respondents in wuse agreed, 83% disagreed, while 50.8% were undecided. These responses could be based on the social status of the respondents in line with their residential zones. However, it could be deduced that unemployment is a facilitator of terrorism. The data in the Table show that 64 % of the respondents agreed that unemployment is a facilitator of terrorism, 27% are

undecided, while 9 % disagreed. Thus, it can be deduced that unemployment facilitates terrorism; this is indicated by 64 % of the respondents. This means lack of employment can lure people into different acts that can be derogatory to the peaceful existence of the people in a country.

Table 4.4.3: Views of Respondents on whether Ignorance Facilitates Terrorism in Abuja

Study location	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	Total %	Percentage
Nyanya	89(75.4)	15(34.1)	36(47.6)	140(60.89%)	51.4
Wuse	29(24.6)	29(24.6)	32(50.8)	90(39.1)	49.6
Total	118(100)	44	68(100)	230 (100)	100

On whether ignorance is a facilitator of terrorism in the various areas of study, the data reveals that 75.4% of the respondents in Nyanyaagreed, 34.1% disagreed while 47.6% were undecided. Similarly, 24.6% respondents in Wuseagreed, 24.6% disagreed, while 50.8% were undecided. These responses could be based on the social status of the respondents in line with their residential zones. However, it could be deduced that ignorance is a facilitator of terrorism.The data in Table 4.4.3: above reveals the stance of the respondents between ignorance and terrorism. The Table shows that 51 % of the respondents agreed, 30 % remains undecided, while 19 % disagreed that ignorance facilitates terrorism. Given the 51 % of the respondents who ascribed to the agreed view, it can be concluded that ignorance is a facilitator of terrorism. This means the terrorists are ignorant of the effects of terrorism on the sustenance of the nation.

Table 4.4.4: Views of Respondents on whether Denial of Political Mandates Facilitates Terrorism

Study location	Strongly Agreed	Disagreed	Undecided	Total %	Percentage
Nyanya	100(53.5)	20(60.6)	7(70)	127(55.2%)	55.2
Wuse	87(46.5)	13(39.4)	3(30)	103(44.8)	44.8
Total	187(81)	33(100)	10(100)	230 (100)	100

On whether the denials of political mandate are a facilitator of terrorism in the various areas of study, the data reveals that 53.5% of the respondents in Nyanyastronglyagreed, 60% disagreed while 70% were undecided. Similarly, 47% respondents in Wusestronglyagreed, 39% disagreed, while 30% were undecided. This shows that residents of the various study locations identify denial of political mandate as a factor that propels terrorism.

Figure 1: Pie-chart on whether Denial of Political Mandate Facilitates Terrorism

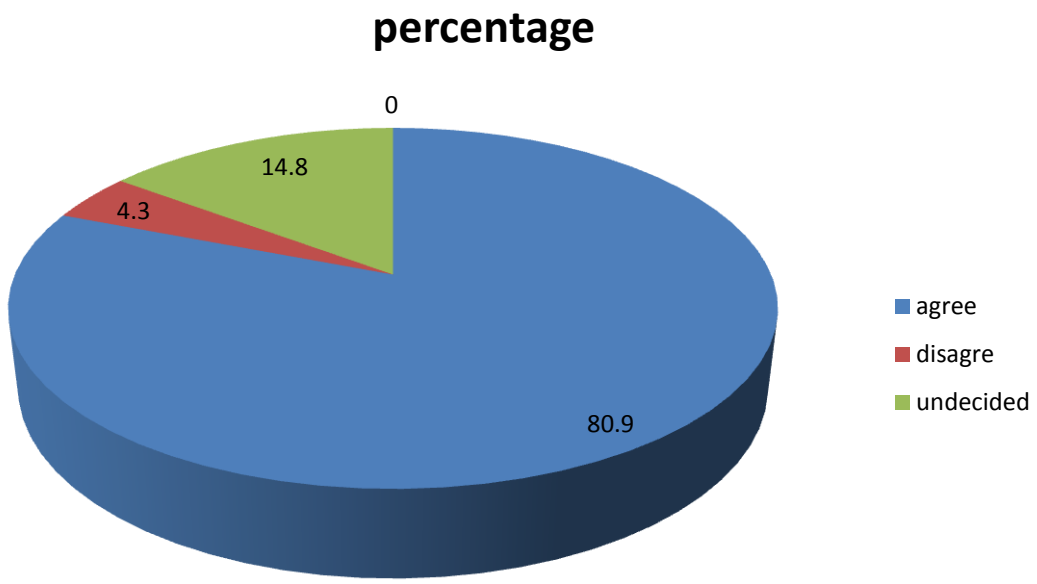


Figure 1 is preoccupied with the views of 63 pondents in relation to denial of political mandate and terrorism. The data on the pie-chart, show that 81 % of the respondents

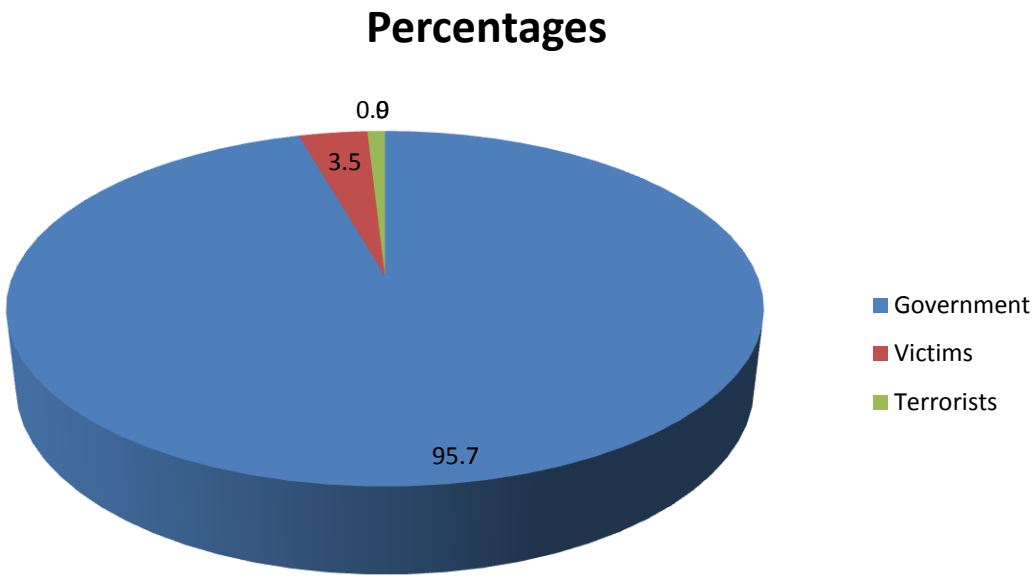
agreed, 15 % are undecided, while 4 % disagree that the denial of political mandates is a facilitator of terrorism. It can be concluded that when people are denied their mandate over an issue, they can resort to any act that will be inimical to the well-being of the society in question. This stance is achieved by observing the responses of the respondents were 81 % agreed with the view. Poverty, unemployment, denial of political mandates, and ignorance are facilitators to terrorism. The views of the respondents have indicated thus, and are supported by the informants. This is what a 52 year old male informant atNyanya hospital states:

> It is believed that poverty, unemployment, corruption and religious intolerance are key to all forms of terrorism including bombing in Nigeria. The fear of domination and greed are central to bombing.TheBoko Haram members are seeking to Islamize Nigeria and to remove the structure of the government as evident in the attack on government institutions and agencies, and if possible, to eliminate those it deemed anti-Islam in Nigeria. The big question is that who among the gainfully employed youth in the north will want to embark on the Boko Haram crusade, or pick up guns in a broad day to rob, although some may but their number is insignificant. Any gainfully employed youth with a bright future that thinks of suicide bombing is insane." It can be deduced that poverty and unemployment are the major facilitators of bombing in Abuja

The views of the respondents were also sought on religious fundamentalism and corruption as facilitators of terrorism. On religious fundamentalism, the data show that 70 % of the respondents admitted that it facilitates the occurrence of terrorism, 19 % disagreed, while 11 % remain undecided. Bothering on corruption, the data indicate that 53% agreed that corruption facilitates terrorism, 38 % are undecided, while 9 % disagreed. Thus, given the data of the views of the respondents concerning religious fundamentalism and corruption, it can be deduced that these factors are facilitators of terrorism; this is shown by 70 % and 53% respectively.

As to whom to blame for the problem of terrorism almost all the respondents, 95.7% indicated the government see the Pie-Chart below

Figure 2: Pie-chart on Who to be blamed for TerrorisminAbuja



The figure 2 above shows distribution of the responses of the respondents on who to blame for terrorism in Abuja. The figure shows that 95.7% of the respondents implicated the Governments, 3.7% indicated the victims, while 0.9% went for the Terrorists. In contrast to the respondents' view, a 44 year old female informant inNyanyahospital states:

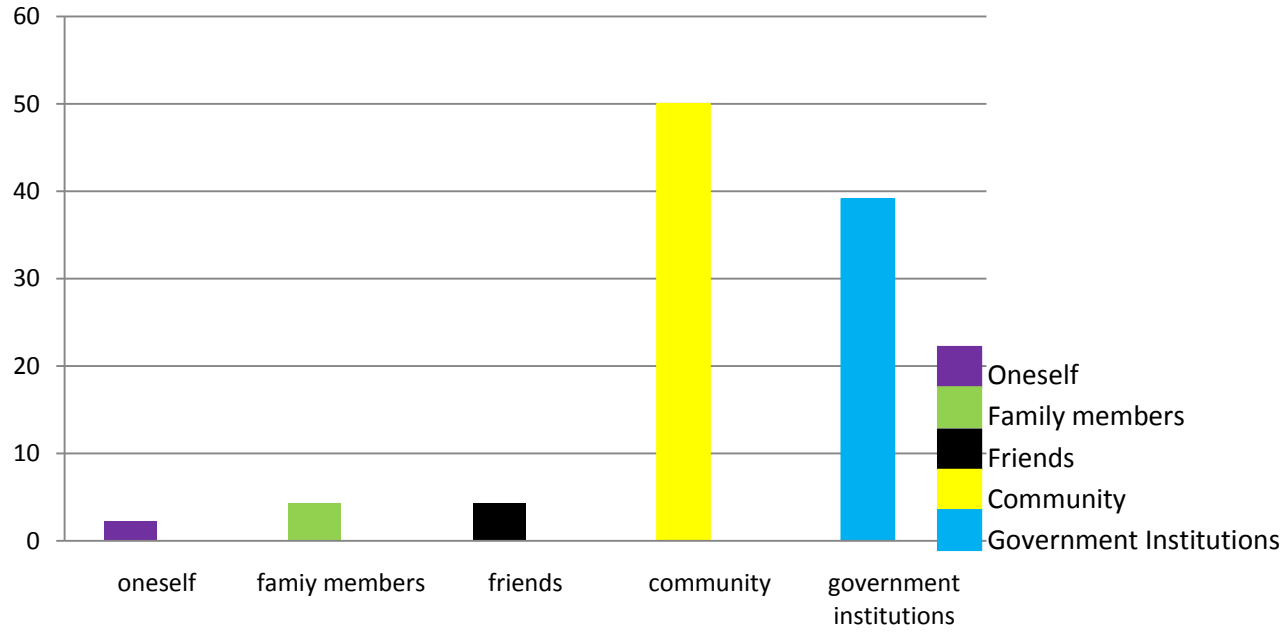
> I have no blame for the victim who is going about his lawful normal business; rather one should blame the public for harboring unsuspected individuals who are domiciled in their various homes as tenants. People of questionable characters and credentials in and around our environment should be handed over to the police for interrogation. The terrorists are also to be blamed if one should quantify the value of the granite used for the manufacture of bombs and the cost of producing one bomb, the cost of procuring the cars that are used for the bombing, one will doubt if poverty can be blamed for the bombing. I think it is better at this juncture to blame the bombers, they know the Aso Rock, they know who are responsible for their plight and so they should hunt for them not the helpless, unsuspecting victims like me. I think their sponsors are also to blame,

because they cannot provide for their needs, but can afford to buy guns and bombs for them. It is ignorance and stupidity of the bombers to take up arms against unsuspecting victims likes you and me. To some extent one can blame the government because it allows our boarders to be susceptible to terrorists, abandoned the youth in the hand of poverty and unemployment and finally have not put in motion a proper mechanism to checkmate the terrorists.

4.5 Effects of Terrorism on Abuja Residents

This part of the study shows the data relating to the effects of terrorism on the residents of Abuja. Respondents views were sought on the effects of terrorism on residents of Abuja. About one half were of the opinion that terrorism impacted negatively on the community and government institutions.

Figure 3 Bar-Chart showing Object mostly Affected by Terrorists Activities in Abuja



The figure 3 above sheds light on the object terrorists' activities, mostly affect in Abuja. The bar-chart shows that 50%, 39 %, and 2 % of the respondents indicate the community, government institutions, and oneself respectively. The figure also shows that 4 % of the respondents indicated family members and friends each. This shows that the terrorist activities affect people in different capacities, but the aspects that are affected

most are the community and government institutions; these are indicated by 50% and 39 % of the respondents respectively. The data in Table 4.4 below are concerned with the views of the respondents on facilities affected by bombing in Abuja. When asked to specifically identify facilities targeted by terrorists activities, the majority of the respondents mentioned motor park. See table 4.5.1 for details

Table4.5.1: Views of Respondents on Facilities Most Affected by Bombing in Abuja

Facilities affected by bombing in Abuja	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Schools	10	4.0
UN House	49	21.0
Police Station	9	4.0
Motor Park	109	47.0
Media House	15	7.0
Market	14	6.0
Shops	24	10.0
Total	**230**	**100.0**

Table 4.5.1 above shows that Motor park was targeted most by terrorist as indicated by 47 % of the respondents. Some 21% indicated the United Nation building, to a lesserextent 10% of the respondents identified media houses and Police Station. Going by the data in the table above,it could be deduced that vitiallyall could be victimized in the reign of terro be it government, institutions, private individuals, busines and the general public. This was captured by a 44 year old respondents in an interview when she said:

> All the institutions in Abuja were affected by bombings say Shops, markets, parks, schools, churches, media houses, and Police stations where law abiding citizens are suffering from the acts.

Figure 4: Bar-Chart showing Major Effect of Terrorism in Abuja Municipal Area Council

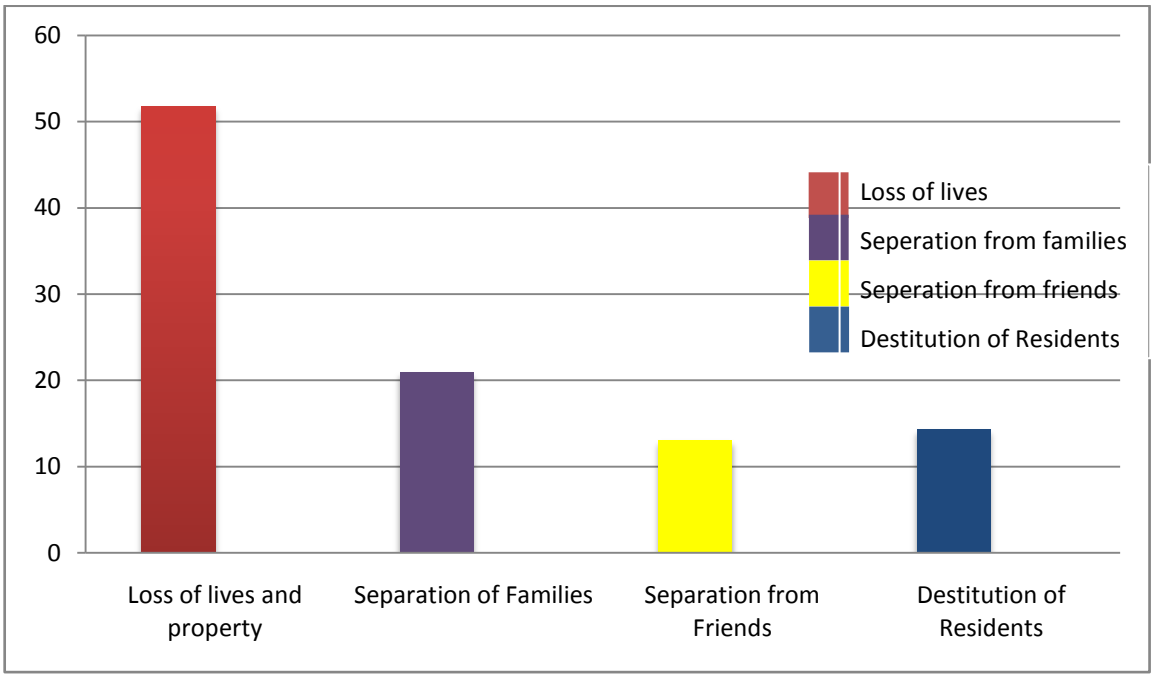


Figure 4 above is about the major effect of terrorism in Abuja. The data on the bar-chart have shown that 52 % of the respondents indicated loss of lives and properties, 21 % indicated separation of families, and 14% indicate destitution of residents, while 13% indicated separation from friends as the effects of terrorism in Abuja. Thus, drawing from the distribution of the data on the bar-chart, loss of lives and properties has been the major effect of terrorism amongst the residents of Abuja; this is indicated by 52 % of the respondents. Closely related to loss of lives and properties is the separation of families, which means that some families have been disintegrated or separated by death owing to the spate of the terrorism in Abuja.

Table 4.5.2: A Cross Tabulation for Damages Abuja Residents Suffered Most Versus the Extent of the Damage

Extent of the damage		Damages suffered				Total
		Physical	Psychological	Economic	Social	
	Yes	9.0	8.0	56.0	9.0	**81.0**
	No	4.0	4.0	6.0	1.0	**14.0**
	No response	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	**5.0**
Total		**14.0**	**13.0**	**63.0**	**11.0**	**100.0**

On the nature of damage suffered, most respondents mentioned loss of business , loss of jobs, loss of loved ones as well as physical and psychological injuries. The extent of the damage was captured by one of the victims as he said:

> The level of damage caused by terrorists is too much; for Ihave lost all that I have been fighting for all my life to terrorism

.Anothe respondents, a43 year old male informant inNyanya hospital argues:

> No one can quantify the loss suffered as a result of the various bombings in Abuja since 2010. First was the independence day bombing in which so many cars were destroyed, the latest is the bombing of the Nyanya Motor Park and the last also close to the park, whoever tells you that the number of deaths is below three hundred lied. How can one quantify this loss? Do you know how much each of this long buses is bought, can you number the dependents attached to those that lose their lives? For businesses that have been shut down, what will the source of livelihood of the individuals be.

The researcher in the course of the field work,went to some places were the bomb blast took place and observed that so many human bodies were burned and shattered beyond recognition. The site of the blast was disturbing and dippressing.

On the Psychological effects of terrorism, one of the victim's relative in Wuse hospital narrates:

> I suffered from fears and post-traumatic stress disorders like nightmares, irregular heartbeat and bad dreams.

> Sincethat fateful day the event occurred each time I close my eyes, it seems I hear the sound of the blast and I will just wake up and will never sleep again. I constantly live in fear now because my mum who was selling okpa that day asked me to go and look for a change I just returned from school and the next thing was the sound of a blast I looked but could not see my mum again. Who will feed me and my brothers, who will sponsor their education, tell the government to come to my aids? You too can see the pains I am going through now

A 33 year old female informant in Nyanya hospital notes:

> Since 2012 the investment rate in Abuja has been on the decline. Foreign investors will hardly invest in key areas of the economy." This might be attributed to the spate of bombings in Abuja. The budget for security alone in Abuja is much and can employ and pay the salaries of a hundred youth for two years acclaimed the key informant.in the same vein, a 45 year old male victim in Nyanya hospital laments about the ransom his family and church has to pay to kidnappers when he said:
>
> The amounts paid as ransom by the church, my family members and friends; if given to me can assist me establish a good business to assist my family.

Similarly, a 39 year old male informant at Nyanya hospital laments:

> The most annoying part of the whole issue is that I lost a brother to bombing and I cannot even find his remains for burial. He was burnt and shattered beyond recognition.

Observation has shown that many vehicles were badly damaged and destroyed; the popular Nyanya Motor Park was shut down with a lot of businesses around the area permanently closed down. The observation also reveals there is a high sense of mutual suspicion now among the passengers, individuals with big or medium size bags are scrutinized before allowed to join other passengers on transit. Long queue is a major sight in all check points in and around Abuja. For instance, from Madalla in Niger State to Uke/Keffi Road in Nasarawa State, security agents' search vehicles and productive hours are wasted on the road for fear and insecurity. Many youthwho earns their living

from street hawking have been banned from the streets of Abuja with some defaulters arrested and detained..

Table 4.5.3: Views of Respondents on whether Terrorism Creates a Sense ofMutual Suspicion amongst Residents in Abuja.

Sense of Mutual Suspicion	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Agreed	198	86.0
Disagree	22	10.0
Undecided	10	4.0
Total	**230**	**100.0**

Respondents were also asked about their views on mutual suspicion, not surprising; the majority as confirmed by the86% of the respondents agreed that they is high sence of mutual suspicion among residents.Corroborating the above, a 34 year informant in Nyanya state:

> In Abuja no one is to be trusted because no one wants to lose his life. Nobody knows the problem right now. Today's rumor will say under the bridge, tomorrow they said it will be Mararabaor Nasarawa; these are the problem we are facing right now. Because of BokoHaramOkadacommercial riding and Araba(painted buses commuting between Abuja and environs) have been banned in Abuja, and there are no Jobs; God passes them. No passenger with any luggage will be admitted into any public transport in Abuja without thorough search. Passengers also will not want to enter cars that are not painted with green colors and no driver who packs a car anyhow will be allowed by the Police, Army or the people selling or standing nearby. You risk being lynched to death in Abuja if you park without a cause.

Table 4.5.4: Views of Respondents on Damages Suffered

Types of damage suffered	Nyanya	Wuse	Total
Physical injury	6(10.0)	3(7.1)	9(17.1)
Loss of business	20(34.5)	16(38.1)	36(72.6)
Loss of loved ones	6(10.0)	3(7.1)	9(17.1)
Fear of acts of terrorism	6(10.0)	2(4.8)	8(14.8)
Loss of jobs	10(17.0)	10(23.8)	20(41)
Others,(no & no response)	10(17.2)	8(19)	18(36.2)
Total	58(100)	42(100)	100

Table 4.5.4 above is the distribution of respondents as to the nature of the damage suffered in the study areas

Table 4.5.4 above reveals that 10% of residents of Nyanya suffered physical injury, 34.5%, loss of business, 10 %, loss of loved ones and fear of future attack while 10% made no response. Similarly, 7.1% of the respondents in Wuse suffered from physical injury, 38.1%, lost business. 4.8%fear of future attacks, 23.8% loss their jobs while 17.2% made no response. It could be inferred that the majority of the victims of terrorism is in Nyanya this may be attributed to the twin bomb blast and its closeness to the boundary between Abuja and NasarawaState suffering from the acts. Respondents were asked if they had received any form of compensation, only one did and indicated received financial help from his church to continue with his business venture. It could be deduced that majority of the victims of terrorism have not received any compensation in Abuja. Corroborating the aforementioned, one of the key informants receiving treatment in Wuse Hospital and the widow of a direct victim acknowleged that:

> There is no form of compensation, but if given, will that restore a dead person to life? In particular, I have not been paid any

> compensation for the death of my husband, Maybe this incidence is a call for me to relocate to the village with my children since I cannot afford to pay for their fees and feed them." Jonathan promised to compensate victims but whether it is people that are receiving treatments or those that lost relations, we don't know.

Also worried by the failure of the government to pay compensation to alleviate the sufferings of terrorist victims a 32 year old victim at the Wuse Hospital agonized over the negletof victim like him has to endure in his own word.

> I still needed to undergo lots of surgeries as it seems that some particles are still buried in my body. The amount in Billions realized from the launching chaired by T.Y Danjuma to cushion the pains of victims like me is yet to be accesed. If monies have been donated as alledged by this victim, it means the mechanism for the disbursement is not transparent and that means sush monies could have find their ways into the pockets of some corrupt individuals

It can be concluded that no compensation has been given or paid to most of victim of terrorism in Abuja municipal area council.

4.6 Ways of Curtailing Terrorism in Abuja Municipal Area Council

Views of respondents on the way to ameliorate the plights of victims of terrorism were sought and majority of the respondents were in support of the victims been giving financial compensation by the government as indicated in the table below

Table 4.6.1: Views of Respondents on ways of Curtailing Terrorism in the Study Location

Ways of ameliorating the plight of victims	Nyanya	Wuse	Total	Total%
Compensation from government	90(63)	54(38)	144	100.0
Insurance	20(51)	19(49)	39	100.0
Social support	33(70)	14(30)	47	100.0
Total	143	87	230	

Table 4.6.1 above reveals that 63% of residents of Nyanya said compensation of victims by the government can curb terrorism, 51%, insurance, 70%, of the respondents said social support for victims of terrorism could ameliorate their plight. Similarly, 38% of the respondents in wusesaid compensation of victims by the government can curb terrorism, 49%, insurance; while 30% agreed that social support for victims of terrorism can ameliorate their plight.

The views of the respondents concur with the word,of a 49 year old informant in Wuse hospital who argues that:

> It is high time that victims of all forms of terrorism like bomb blasts, kidnapping, armed robbery and so on, should be compensated. There is no form of compensation and assistance given to them in case they are still alive or their dependents if dead that is too much. Compensation in the form of money, houses, cars, food, clothing, etc. should be provided for them to reduce their plight.

In a similar vein, a 45 year old informant in Nyanyahospitaladviced that:

> The issue of porous borders should be addressed. Also immigration laws should be reviewed to checkmate issues of illegal immigrants. Transnational cooperation is also very important, the government of the neighboring countries should cooperate and form a combine military task force permanently stationed and patrol the various borders. The identity management system in the country should be put in place to capture the identity of all Nigerians and foreigners alike to check crime. There should also be a data management system that can cover important data. This and others will go a long way to solve crime and bombing. The Nigerian government should identify the sponsors of the perpetrators of all forms of crimes, especially bombings and bring them to book, their accounts frozen and proceeds used for compensation of victims of the bomb blast.

Another 46 year old informant in WuseHospitalalso advocated for a more punitive measures when he said:

> The laws on terrorism and related activities should be reviewed and severe punishment ranging from summary trial for those found in the act be applied, death penalty by firing squared be made punishment for terrorists, Government to put all machineries in motion to arrest and bring perpetrators of terrorism to book with their money, housesetc. given to families of victims who are dead or alive. Tactical military action and approach should be employed in line with the international best practices. Similarly, the training and retraining of our personnel equipped with

current military hardware should be given urgent attention. Finally, the source of food, income and amour of the insurgents should be blocked. The youth be trained in information gathering and sharing, especially those that possesses exceptional qualities should be conscripted into the security system.

Table 4.6.2 below covers another set of views of the respondents on how to curtail terrorism in Abuja municipal Area Council.

Table 4.6.2: Views ofRespondents on Whether Creation of Employment Opportunities could Curb Terrorism

Views	Frequency	Percentage
Agreed	179	78.0
Disagreed	33	14.0
Undecided	18	8.0
Total	**230**	**100.0**

Table 4.6.2 above bothers with views of the respondents on creation of employment as a way of curtailing terrorism in Abuja. The data in the Table reveal that 78 %, 14 %, and 8% of the respondents indicate agreed, disagreed, and undecided respectively. Going by the responses of the respondents, it can be deduced that creation of employment opportunities can help to curtail terrorism in Abuja; this is shown by 78% of the respondents. It means when employment opportunities are created and people are engaged, terrorism can be curtailed to a larger extent. The study also seeks the views of the respondents on enlightenment and sensitization as a means of curtailing terrorism in Abuja. The data in this regard show that 72 % of the respondents agreed, 21 % disagreed, while 7% are undecided. This shows that there is need for enlightenment and sensitization of residents on the need to shun acts that are capable of destroying lives and properties. This is shown by 72 % of the respondents who agreed with the view.

Table 4.6.3: Views of Respondents on whether Creation of State Police can CurbTerrorism in Abuja

Study area	Yes	No	No response
Nyanya	120(82.2 %)	49(60.5)	2(66.6)
Wuse	26(17.8)	32(39.5)	1(33.4)
Total	146(100)	81(100)	3(100)

On whether creation of state police could curb terrorism in the various areas of study, the data reveal that 82.2% of the respondents in Nyanya agreed, 60.5% disagreed while 66.6% were undecided. Similarly, 17% respondents in Wuse agreed, 39.5% disagreed, while 33.4% were undecided. It could be deduced that the creation of state police could contain terrorism

From the qualitative findings rather than creating state police, which could be used as a political tool in the hands of politiciansto victimize perceived opponents, community vigilantes schemes be put in place as they understand the terrain of the communityand can recognize individuals with questionable identities which they can arrest, interrogate and report same to the Police. In the word of a 45 year old male informant in the Nyanya Hospital:

> Rather than creating state police, vigilantes' service scheme should be put in place, strengthen where they already exist and their activities monitored directly by the traditional rulers and the Local government council because the State Police may be used as political tools in the hands of politicians to victimize assumed opponents.

It can be deduced from the qualitative findings that rather than creating a state police, which may be used as a political tool in the hands of politicians to victimize perceived opponents, community vigilante schemes be put in place.

Table 4.6.4: Views of Respondents on Discipline and Moral Education

Views	Frequency	Percentage
Agree	188	82.0
Disagree	21	9.0
Undecided	21	9.o
Total	**230**	**100.0**

Table 4.6.4 above displays the view of the respondents on discipline and moral education as a way of curtailing terrorism in Abuja. The Table shows that 82 % of the respondents agreed, while 9 % of the respondents disagreed and are undecided each. This shows that discipline and moral teaching can help to curtail the spate of terrorism in Abuja; this is shown by 82 % of the respondents. Figure 5 below presents the views of the respondents on how to curtail terrorism in Abuja.

Figure 5: Pie-Chart showing views of Respondents on the most Effective Way of Curtailing Terrorism in Abuja

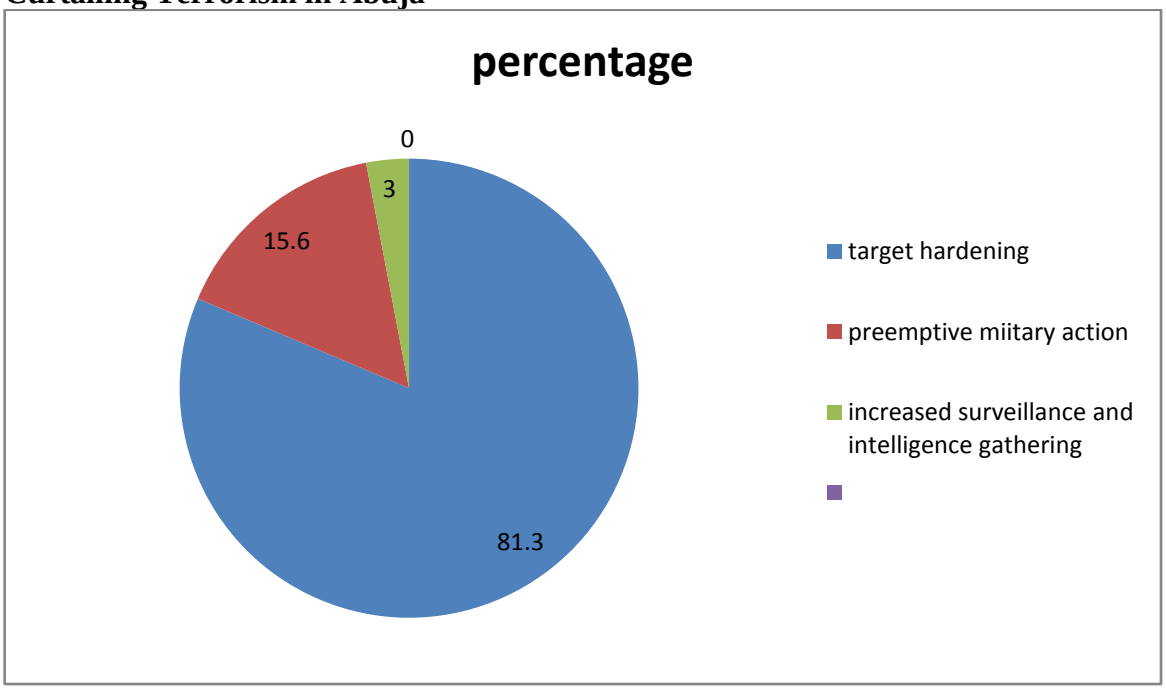


Figure 5 above is a pie-chart, which borders on the views of respondents on the effective way of curtailing terrorism in Abuja. Although there are many ways antiterrorism can be approached, the study is concerned with a few selected ones. The data, as shown in the figure, indicate that 81.3% of the respondents indicated target hardening, 15.6% indicated preemptive military action, while 3% indicate increased surveillance and intelligence gathering. This shows that target hardening is a good approach of countering terrorism in Abuja; this is shown by 81.3% of the respondents. There is a consensus between the views of the respondents and those of the informants. This is what a 46 year old male informant in Wuse hospital states:

> Prevention is better than cure, it is better to prevent than to allow it to occur before we talk of compensation and rehabilitation. Those things that will pre-empt the bomber to kill and armed robbers to maim others and most times himself must be curtailed, poverty, unemployment, corruption and the rest must be curbed.

Supporting the above information another key informant, 33 years of age, noted that:

> Intelligence gathering and surveillance, capacity building on the part of the public and security personnel is also central, the welfare of the citizens should be given priority by the government and the wealthy in a society. This is the only way peace can reign; security men be trained, our parks be put in check by installing boding scanners, cameras and long perimeter bomb detectors etc to contain bombings.

Observations revealed that Wuse districts is more secure than Nyanya Districts as most residents in Wuse have their houses fenced with Close Circuit Cameras strategically positioned. (CCC). Most buildings in Nyanya are not fenced and the Close Circuit Cameras can't be cited any location. Table 4.6.7 below shows data on the views of respondents on the agent that is saddled with the highest responsibility of curtailing terrorism in Abuja.

Table 4.6.5: Agents with the Highest Responsibility of Curtailing Terrorism Abuja

Various Location of study	Government (Frequencies and percentages)	Traditional rulers (frequencies and percentages)	Religious leaders (frequencies and percentages)	Individuals and General public(frequencies and percentages)	Total
Nyanya	102(54.5)	10(83)	10(76.9)	10(55.6)	132
Wuse	85(45.5)	2(17)	3(23.1)	8(44.4)	98
Total	187(100)	12(100)	13(100)	18(100)	230

On agencies, that could curb terrorism in the various areas of study, the data reveal that 54.5% of the respondents in Nyanya agreed that the government has a role to play, 83%, traditional rulers, 76.9% , religious leaders, while 55.6% agreed that individuals has a role to play. Similarly, 17 % respondents in Wuse agreed the government has a role to play, 76.9%, traditional rulers, 23.1% religious leaders while 44% of the respondents agreed that the individual has a role to play in curbing terrorism.

The data reveal that 81 % of the respondents indicate the government, 8% went for individuals, while 6% and 5 % indicate religious leaders and traditional leaders respectively. The distribution of the data indicates that every agency has a responsibility, but the one with the highest responsibility is the government; this is shown by 81% of the respondents. Thus, the government has the responsibility of protecting citizens from all forms of terrorism. The views of the informants corroborate the respondents as indicated below. This is what a 49 year old female informant in Nyanya hospital opines concerning the government:

> The best way of curtailing terrorism lies on the government, which has the power to fight illiteracy, poverty, unemployment, and tribalism; we should stop deceiving ourselves and tackle this head on. The government should strengthen its security personnel through enhanced welfare as no one wants to give his all

> when he lives in a country that if one dies his survivors will suffer before they are paid death benefits. This is the reason the soldiers in battle flee from insurgents when facing them. Officers who lose their lives in active service be accorded heroic burial and their families should be adequately provided for financially and otherwise. Functional cameras should be purchased and mounted at strategic locations in and around Abuja; enough personnel should be employed, trained in the best way to combat bombings. Finally, security agents be equipped adequately and trained. Bomb detectors should be mounted in and around Abuja to assist the security agents.The government should bring to book terrorists and their sponsors. The issue of our borders should be looked into. Officers that lose their lives in active service be accorded heroic burial and their families should be adequately provided for financially and otherwise. Functional cameras should be purchased and mounted at strategic locations in and around Abuja; enough personnel should be employed, trained in the best way to combat terrorism. Finally, bomb detectors should be mounted in and around Abuja to assist the security agents. Most importantly, the government should make the creation of jobs her utmost priority.

Drawing from the Religious Institutions, this is what a 44 year old male informant in Nyanya hospital states:

> Religious leaders should be reoriented by the government to teach her members the ideal teaching and should lay emphasis on love, peace neighborliness and peaceful co-existence as this is the only way to enhance peace.

This is the view of a 44 year old male informant in Wuse concerning families:

> The family has a role to play. Families should teach their members the ideal morals, guide their movements, report erring members to the Police and encourage their children or wards on the need to be properly educated and respect the rights of others. The family should also provide for the social, economic and educational needs of its members, know who the friend of their children/wards are and monitor them from time to time especially their involvement with the social media.

On the role of Traditional Rulers a 44 year old male informants in Nyanya states that:

> Traditional rulers should act as the vanguard of peace, identify and report foreign and suspected movements in

> their midst and report to the same law enforcement agencies for interrogation. They should always encourage their citizens to always respect constituted authorities. Finally, the traditional leaders should establish local policing through the vigilant service so as to contain bombings. Also, Politicians should embrace peace, obey the rule of law, give power to whomever wins in an election and avoid the politics of bitterness, acrimony and rancor. Similarly, opposition politicians should imbibe the culture of democratic opposition and avoid over politicizing the polity. Peace education and conflict management should be given attention in the curriculum of our schools at all levels and the issue of just accumulating certificates should give way for vocational training otherwise the number of graduates turned out every year will be a time bomb. All graduates at all levels must have a vocation that is my submission.

Pertaining individuals, a 44 year old male informant in Nyanya states that:

> It is the responsibility of everyone to work towards ending terrorism in the country. Everyone can report suspected persons and strange objects in their neighborhood, and individuals with strange faces in the community should be reported to the police. The managers of various parks should put in place security checks and enhance surveillance to enhance security at various parks. Emphasis must be placed on intelligent gathering rather confronting an insurgency as if it is a conventional war the war is asymmetrical and must be fought with intelligence gathering, but on fortunately insurgents gather more information than our security agents. Each time bombing occurs, the masses should avoid bombing site to avoid recording more casualties. There is a tendency for a follow up blast sometimes after the first blast. Everyone has a responsibility to disclose to the government and its security agency information that could assist in the arrest of suspects.

Table 4.6.6: Views of Respondents on the Capacity of Government to Curtain Terrorism in Abuja

Study areas	Yes	No	No response
Nyanya	120(58.5 %)	10(43.5)	2(66.6)
Wuse	100(53.6)	3(13)	1(33.4)
Total	205	23(100)	3(100)

On whether the government has the capacity to curb terrorism in the various areas of study, the data reveals that 58.5% of the respondents in Nyanya agreed, 43.5% disagreed while 66.6 % were undecided. Similarly, 53% % respondents in Wuse agreed, 13% disagreed, while 33.4% were undecided. It could be deduced that the government has the capacity to contain terrorism.

The Table shows that 89 %, of the respondents, 10% of the respondents, and 1 % of the respondents Agreed, Disagreed, and Undecided respectively. This indicates that the government has the capacity to curtail terrorism in Abuja; this is indicated by 89 % of the respondents. The view of the respondents is corroborated by that of the informants. This is what a 45 year old female informant in Wuse hospital says:

> The government with its resource has the capacity to curtail terrorism particularly the bombings. It needs commitment to be able to tackle bombing from its root cause rather than its reactionary methods. What pushes people into bombing should be addressed instead of reacting to bombing. The issue of poverty, unemployment, education of the masses and religious leaders, constant check on the borders should be addressed. The family also has a role to play; the family should reorient its members on the ideal African values. It could be concluded that the government has the capacity to contain bombings.

4.7 Discussion of Findings

This section is a mixture of the findings of this study and the findings of some scholars who wrote on similar topics in this study.

On the form of terrorism in Abuja, the study revealed that terrorism in Abuja involves the use of arms and ammunitions, explosives hidden in packs, vehicles containing passengers or explosive thrown into shops by terrorism as exemplified by the Nyanya bombing and the Emal shopping mall bombing in Abuja. This technique of terrorism is similar to those reported on daily basic in the northeastern part of Nigeria. This finding supports Homeland Security (2010) on the forms and dimension of terrorism in the world, which identifies bombing as the most common forms of terrorist act. Typically, improvised explosive devices are buried on parked vehicles where terrorist expects to record a significant casualty or carry some in their body or bags. These explosives to the Home land security contain very destructive capability and are smaller. On 7th August 1998, two American embassies in Africa were bombed. The bomb claimed the lives of over 200 people, including twelve innocent American citizens and injured over 500 civilians.

On the facilitators of terrorism in Abuja, the study found that unemployment, corruption, poverty, denial of political mandate, external influence, religious fundamentalism, ignorance, failure of the family system, porous border, illiteracy and evils of capitalism are major facilitators of terrorism in the study area specifically and in Nigeria at large. This finding has borne with Ochonu (2005) who identifies that the premature integration of Nigeria into the world market is a cause of terrorism. It also coincides with Chambliss (1979) who argues that social exclusion and the neglect of some persons in the areas of employment predispose them to poverty which in turn pushes them to commit acts of

terrorism. Similarly, in support of this finding, Harington (2012) in his "unchecked massacre" accused the structural issues of northern Nigeria, which have allowed acts of terrorism to thrive in recent years. He accused high rate of inequality unemployment, and industrial stagnation in the North as the causes of terrorism in Abuja.

On the impact of terrorism in Abuja it was discovered that the loss of lives and properties, displacement of Jobs and Businesses, a decline in investment, fear of insecurity, wastage of time and resources, under development, and the tarnishing of the country's image abroad are major consequence. It was gathered that none of the victims of bombings have been compensated in Abuja. Previous studies also agreed with these findings for example: Razarq (2005) raised concerns over setting up incessant committees by the previous regime on dialogue and peaceful resolution of security challenges in the north. These committees spent a lot of time and resources but at the end without any tangible results. Similarly, Zalmal (2006) on his part notes that the economic impact of terrorism can be calculated from a variety of perspectives. These are direct costsof property and immediate effects on productivity, wanton destruction of lives and properties and dwindling economy. Concerning the ways of curtailing terrorism in Abuja, the study found that creation of employment opportunities, creation of state police, preemptive military action, and target hardening among others, are measures that can be employed. Correspondingly, studies conducted by some scholars have affirmative support to this finding. For instance, Dana (2010), argues that strategies for combating terrorism includes targeted laws, criminal procedures, deportation, enhanced police powers, target hardening such as locking doors, creating bumps at major highways, installation of closed and far open circuitcameras at strategic locations, preemptive humanitarian activities, intelligent gathering, capacity building and technical training given to security agents could contain terrorism. On his part, Barkas (1975) asserts that

insurance, a civil suit brought by the victim, restitution paid by the criminal as a requirement of the state and compensation for victims of terrorism, are means of curtailing terrorism.

From the Political Economy Theory perspective, Poverty, unemployment occasioned by poor governance, the failure of regimes to achieve a reasonable measure of economic growth and alienation created the impetus to the wave of terrorism experienced in recent times. The terrorists activisms are responses to a statement by a then French Minister for the colonies, Felix Chautemps who wrote in 1913 that the colonized Africans will need some time to understand that we rob them and killed them to teach them to live an increasingly human life. So the brutalization no longer stands in contradiction to the civilizing mission, but in harmony with its claims, but only to the consciousness of the colonizer. To the colonized it was otherwise. The barbarity of colonialism stood in stark contradiction to the idea of civilizing mission and created strong antipathies to the colonial system. The African ruling class has become remarkably eclectic and is trying to combine elements picked out of discredited development strategies tried in the past. This eclecticism of course underlines the fact that they are running out of ideas. The Ideological exhaustion can only further impede the mobilization of the masses for the battle against the "unruly" attitudes of the government which entrench underdevelopment. The situation becomes compounded as successive regimes fail to treat the problems from the root, but choose to tackle it at the level of the effects. Hence are reactionary using guerilla combating tactics instead of treating the problem from the cause.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the findings of this study or research and provides a conclusion and gives adequate recommendations that would aid in the reduction of the existing problem. The chapter is divided into three sub-sections; summary, conclusion and recommendation. The research was set out to study the form facilitators, and effects of terrorism in Abuja. The study was conducted among residents in Nyanya and Wuse districts of Abuja. Both quantitative and qualitative data collection techniques were employed through survey personal observations and in-depth interviews respectively. The survey was carried among the residents within the Nyanya and Wuse districts, while the in-depth interviews were conducted amongst the victims of terrorism from the Nyanya and Wusedistrict hospitals.

5.2 Summary of Key Findings

On the form of terrorism, the study found that suicide bombing, sporadic shooting, armed robbery and kidnapping are the major terrorist activities that are prevalent in Abuja. These activities are similar to those employed by other terrorists in most parts of the world and particularlynortheast Nigeria.

Concerning the facilitators of terrorism, the research revealed that the denial of political mandate; Mala-administration, religious fundamentalism, ignorance, greed, corruption, unemployment, poverty, external influence, porous borders and illiteracy are major facilitators of terrorism in Abuja.

Bothering on the effects of terrorism in Abuja, the study found that the Abuja residentsurfer from physical damage, ranging from deformity and loss of body parts.

Others suffered psychological damage like fear, and post traumatic streets disorder like irregular heart beat nightmares and bad dreams.

Pertaining the ways of curbing terrorism in Abuja, the study gathered that target hardening, increased surveillance, intelligence gathering, zero tolerance to corruption, good governance, training and retraining security personnel's and enhancing their welfare and that of the citizens can contain terrortsm. It was also revealed that the government has the capacity to curtail terrorism in the study area. The research also revealed and re-emphasized the role of the government, religious and traditional institutions, the public, politicians and the family in the fight against terrorism. To ameliorate the plight of victims of the bombing, it was gathered that compensation by government, the insurance of business and life, and the provision of social support can assist the victims of bombing.

5.3 Conclusion

The study concludes that:

i) Terrorist activities in Abuja are in the form of bombings, kidnappings, sporadic shootings to intimidate residents, and armed robbery. These activities are motivated by unemployment, poverty, denial of political mandates, and illiteracy.

ii) Many Abuja residents are living in fear of the terrorists, while some have suffered damage such as psychological, physical, economic, and social due to the insurgency of the terrorists.

iii) Different agencies such as the government, Non-Governmental organizations, families, communities and religious leaders, have the responsibility to curtail the

spate of terrorism in Abuja. Thus, everyone or agency needs to live up to its responsibility and enhance the education of its members on the need for peace.

5.4 Recommendations

The problem of bombings and the response of successful administration in containing its concern all and indeed needs collective effort. Against this background, the following recommendations are made

1. Good governance and human rights situation in Nigeria must be improved upon.
2. There is a need for creation of employment opportunities for the teeming youths since they are the ones who mostly engage in terrorism.
3. There is the need to educate citizen periodically on the dangers of terrorism to the nation, as ignorance is identified as one of the causes of terrorism.
4. The Government needs to provide adequate security to the nation by recruiting and training of personnel and by the provision of modern surveillance facilities such as Close Circuit Television (CCTV) to assist in monitoring the activities of the terrorists.
5. There is the need for adequate fundingfor the security agencies to be able to carry out their programsof security work effectively. This will help the agencies in their efforts toward mounting security checks around all major roads, worship centers, government facilities, markets, and other places the public perpetrates in the nation.
6. Victims of all forms of terrorism should be provided palliatives' throughout their lifetime to act as compensation with the view to cushion the effects of terrorism on victims in Abuja.

5.5 Contributions to Knowledge

1. This study adds to the volume of literature on terrorism

2. Poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, and denial of rights can lure people into any form of terrorism.

3. Failure to listen to people complains can make the people to resort to an alternative way of achieving their goals, which will be derogatory to the existence of the cherished values of a society. Terrorism is one of such alternative.

4. Giving palliatives to victims of all forms of terrorism will ameliorate their plights in their life time.

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APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear respondent,

I am a post graduate student in the Department of Sociology, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. I am conducting a research on the topic Analysis of the Facilitators, Forms, Effects and ways of curbing terrorism among residents of the Abuja Municipal Area Council. This is in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of M. Sc.InSociology. In view of this, I am soliciting for your kind cooperation in answering the questions truthfully. Please note that any information given will be treated with utmost confidentiality, anonymity and used strictly for academic purpose only.

Thanks for your anticipated cooperation.

ITODO VICTOR GODWIN

Instruction: Please Tick (√) or Fill in the Gap Where Appropriate

Section A: Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

1. Sex: (a) Male [] (b) female []
2. Age: (a) < 20 [] (b) 20- 29 [] (c) 30-39 [] (d) 40-49 [] 50 -59 [] (f) 60 >[]
3. Nationality: (a) Nigerian [] Non-Nigeria []
4. Marital status: (a) Married [] (b) singe [] (c) divorced [] (d) widowed []
5. Occupation: _____
6. Location of Residence (a) Nyanya[] (b) Wuse[]
7. What is your highest Educational qualification (a) None [ ] (b) Primary [ ](c) Secondary [] (d) Tertiary []
8. No of years of stay in Abuja (a) 10 years or less [] (b)[-15 years []] 6-20 years [ ] (d) 21 years or more [ ]

9. Number of Children. (a) None [] (b) 1-4 [] (c) 5-8[] (d) 9 or more []

Section B: Form of Terrorism

Please tick any option that suits your opinion.

10. Which of these is a form of terrorism in Abuja? (a) Sporadic shooting [] (b) armed robbery [] (c) kidnapping [] (d) bombing []

11. Which of these is the most common terrorist group in Abuja? (a) MEND [] (b) Boko Haram [] (c) kidnappers [] (d) armed robbers []

12. Poverty facilitates terrorism (a) agree [] (b) disagree [] (c) undecided []

Section C: Facilitators of Terrorism

13. Unemployment facilitates terrorism (a) agree [] (b) disagree [] (c) undecided []

14. Ignorance facilitates terrorism (a) agree [] (b) disagree [] (c) undecided []

15. Denial of political mandates facilitates terrorism (a) agree [] (b) disagrees[] (c) undecided []

16. Religious fundamentalism facilitates terrorism (a) agree [] (b) disagree [] (c) undecided []

17. Corruption facilitates terrorism (a) agree [] (b) disagree [] (c) undecided []

18. Who is to be blamed for terrorism in Abuja? (a) The government [] (b) the victims [] (c) the terrorists []

Section D. Effects of Terrorism on the Residents of Abuja Municipal Area Council.

19. Which of these is mostly affected by terrorism in Abuja? (a) Oneself [ ] (b) family members [] (c) friends [] (d) community [] (e) government institutions []

20. Facilities affected by bombing in Abuja (a) schools [] (b) the UN house [ ] (c) Police station [ ] (d) motor park [] (e) media houses [] (f) markets/shops [ ]

21. Damage the Abuja residents suffer most (a) physical [ ] (b) psychological [ ] (c) economical [ ] (d) social [ ]

22. What is the extent of the damage suffered? (a) Larger extent [] (b) some extent [] (c) lesser extent []

23. Terrorism claims many lives in Abuja (a) agree [] (b) disagree [] (c) undecided []

24. Terrorism has become a business in Abuja (a) agree [] (b) disagree [] (c) undecided []

25. Terrorism creates a sense of mutual suspicion amongst residents in Abuja (a) agree [] (b) disagree [] (c) undecided []

26. What is the major effect of terrorism in Abuja? (a) Loss of lives and properties [] (b) separation of families [] (c) separation from friends [] (d) destitution of residents []

Section E: Ways of Curtailing Terrorism in Abuja Municipal Area Council.

27. Which of these is the best way of ameliorating the plights of victims of terrorism in Abuja? (a) Compensation by government [] (b) insurance [] (c) social support []

28. Creation of employment can curtail terrorism in Abuja (a) agree [] (b) disagree [] (c) undecided []

29. Enlightenment and sensitization can curtail terrorism in Abuja (a) agree [] (b) disagree [] (c) undecided []

30. Creation of State Police can curtail terrorism in Abuja (a) yes [] (b) no []

31. Discipline and Moral education can curtail terrorism in Abuja (a) agree [] (b) disagree [] (c) undecided []

32. Which of these is the most effective way of curtailing terrorism in Abuja? (a) Target hardening [] (b) preemptive military action [] (c) increased surveillance and intelligence gathering []

33. Which of these agents has the highest responsibility of curtailing terrorism in Abuja? (a) The Government [] (b) individuals [] (c) religious leaders [] (d) traditional leaders []

34. The Government has the capacity to curtail terrorism in Abuja (a) yes [] (b) no []

APPENDIXII

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS (IDI) GUIDE

Section A: Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Informants

1. Age
2. Sex
3. State of origin
4. Marital status
5. Educational status
6. Number of years stayed in the FCT
7. Occupation

Section B: Forms of Terrorism in Abuja Municipal Area Council.

What in your opinion is terrorism? Probe for:

(a) Definition

(b) Group involved

(c) Mode of operation

(D) How terrorist get their targets

What are your views on the pattern of terrorism in Nigeria and Abuja in particular?

Probe for

-The spread of suicide bombings by Boko Haram, MEND. Etc)

-Frequency, Scope, technique etc.

Section C: Facilitators of Terrorism in Abuja Municipal Area Council.

12-What according to your opinions are the causes of terrorism in Nigeria?

Probe for:

(a) Causal factors

(b) Motivating factors

Section D: Effects of Terrorism on Residents ofAbuja Municipal Area Council.

13-What according to your opinions is the effect of terrorism? Probe for effects on:

-Community,

-Society in general,

-Socio-religious lives of Victims etc.

-Economy of the Country and Abuja in particular.

Section E: Ways of Curtailing Terrorism in Abuja Municipal Area Council.

It is believed that the prevention of criminal opportunities can reduce crime. What do you think about this in relation to terrorism?

14 What in your opinion can be done to contain terrorism in Abuja?

15-What in your views can be done to ameliorate the plight of victims of terrorism in Nigeria? Probe for:

(a) Social Palliatives

(b) Economic palliatives

16-What is the role of the Family, Religious bodies, Government, Educational Institution?

APPENDIX III

OBSERVATION GUIDE

This observation guide was designed to guide the researcher on the Analysis of the Forms, facilitators, effects and ways of curtailing terrorism in Abuja Municipal Area council..

Field day observation

Location-

_____

Date

_____

1. Number of terrorist victims on the various hospital beds_____
2. Degree of injuries_____
3. Numbers of vehicles damaged_____
4. The mode of victims(informants) as they provided responses_____
5. Security architecture put in place in Abuja specifically in Wuse and Nyanya_____

6. Mode of both primary and secondary informants as they respond to questions_____

7. Comments made and questions asked_____