

TRANSFORMING FEMALE ABDUCTION VICTIMS TO MENTORS USING SURVIVOR
CENTERED APPROACH: DISCUSSING "CHIBOK GIRLS/ #BRINGBACKOURGIRLS/ STOLEN
DAUGHTERS" AS A CASE STUDY

by

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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Title: Transforming Female Abduction Victims to Mentors using Survivor Centered Approach: Discussing "Chibok Girls/ #BringBackOurGirls/ Stolen Daughters" as a case study

Generally, women and girls are discriminated against based on gender, education, religion, or culture. Some of these characteristics are either ascribed or achieved. Life chances or the ability to improve one's quality of life depends on the intersectionality of the different forms of oppression.

Education which is one important means to improve life chances has often been targeted by religious and cultural ideology to the extent that girls are severely punished for defying restrictions on women's education. More than 200 girls were captured and led to captivity to perform the ideal feminine role of 'unpaid work.' The rescue of some Chibok girls is an opportunity to commence Individual-Based Therapy because the period and experience of captivity vary for each student. After a critical examination of Chibok girl's suffering based on their testimonies, the Survivor-Centered Approach undertakes restorative measures aimed at healing, restoring and transforming survivors to mentors in the community.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

The aim of this research is to provide a theoretical insight into adverse conditions suffered by Chibok girls due to abduction by Boko Haram (BH). Their experience of captivity is more complex than presented in the media.

Since 2009, one of Nigeria's Islamist groups BH which means "Western education is forbidden" has aggressively launched a system of kidnappings, bombings, drive-by shootings and execution across much of northeastern Nigeria. Hundreds of families have experienced forcible separation, deaths, maiming, and forced migration. This group upholds an ideology that secular education is sin and must be stopped. They are known for attacking schools. They have used several mediums to campaign against education for the girl child. Following their campaigns and threats, more than 300 schools have been burnt and thousands of children deprived of education in the northeast of Nigeria. In 2014, they were responsible for kidnapping more than 200 schoolgirls (from Chibok) who were in school sitting for their final examination. As a Jihadist group, they claim devotion to a fundamentalist interpretation of early Islam. Their aim is to Islamize Nigeria.

The government's inability to recover the school girls within a reasonable time drew international attention to the sect. It slowly became clear to international observers that the stolen girls' incident was far from being an isolated event. Some months before the Chibok girls were abducted, about 42 pupils and teachers were shot and burnt to death at a secondary school in Yobe state (HRW 2014) Nigeria for example.

This research paper examines different traumatic experiences that are experienced by Chibok girls over time from being a victim to eventually becoming a survivor. Although normally, captivity is associated with trauma, and relief with end of the trauma, Chibok girl's experience of trauma associated with captivity is enduring even after rescue. The last part of this research paper will discuss community support strategies to provide healing and strength to overcome trauma experienced during captivity and after rescue. The different parts of this research paper are designed to answer the following questions:

1. What are the enduring traumatic events associated with abduction?
2. What are reasons why armed groups need women and girls to support insurgency?
3. How can the Survivor-Centered Approach transform victims to mentors?

Methodology

Scholarly research into the social and psychological damage on Chibok girls is at its elementary stage. This thesis paper is an opening reconnaissance. To avoid providing biased information, I had to rely on a few international and reputable journalists and documentaries to provide an insight into the conflict caused by BH. There is a scarcity of interviews of the survivors themselves. Only snippets of their voices had been heard as at the time of writing this research paper. I relied on scholarly journals, articles, and books to discuss general issues such as Patriarchy, abuse of women and children, lifting the veil off what happened to Chibok girls in captivity,

discussing the reasons why armed groups need women and girls to support insurgency and how victims in this study can be helped.

Historical development of Islamic Caliphate wars

It is not clear when and how Boko Haram crept into Nigeria. Sources say that the members' mission is to establish an Islamic caliphate (Maiangwa and Amao 2015) with its headquarters in Maiduguri, the Borno state capital. Religious crisis is not a new phenomenon in northern Nigeria where Islam is the dominant religion. It dates to the pre-colonial era to the first decade of the nineteenth century (1804- 1903). The then successful Jihad (holy war) led by Sheik Uthman Dan Fodio of Sokoto state led to the establishment of independent Islamic emirates which recognized (Hickey 1984) the overall supremacy of the Sultan of Sokoto. The Sheik and his followers were known for their military skills and contribution to scholarship on religion, history, and politics. The Jihad ideology led by Uthman Dan Fodio (Hickey 1984) was directed at "purifying and reforming Muslim society." Uthman Dan Fodio is the founder of Islam in Nigeria and through his call, he supported waging war (Comolli 2015) against infidels to enable spread of the new 'faith.' Islam regards unbelievers as infidels or anyone who is not Muslim. Evidence of his legacy is found in an open letter sent from BH to the former governor of Kano state Rabiu Musa Kwankwaso in August of 2011: "we are Muslims from the northern part of the country agitating for Islamic state, striving to bring back the lost glory of Uthman Dan Fodio." (Comolli 2015).

Before Nigerian independence in 1960, the British colonial administration ruled indirectly through the Muslim emirs and their native administration which has its roots in the conservative practice of Islam. The colonial masters being aware of the powers of the northern local rulers and their capacity to mobilize opposition against the colonial masters along religious lines, allowed the Sharia legal system to persist in the north. This legal system continued in the northern region even after Nigeria gained independence in 1960.

In January 1966, an attempted coup d'état resulted in the killing of a prominent northern leader; the Premier of the northern region- Sir Ahmadu Bello. He was the vice president of the World Muslim League as well as the Premier of northern Nigeria. Sir Ahmadu Bello's strategy (Hickey 1984) had been to "draw northern Nigeria into the mainstream of Islam and continue with a crusade for the conversion among small pagan tribes." This attempted coup resulted in the general commanding officer of the Nigerian army, Johnson Aguiyi Ironsi from the southern region of Nigeria to become the president.

By summer of 1966, there was a counter coup. The leader, Lieutenant- Colonel Yakubu Gowon, a Christian from the North became the supreme commander of the Armed Forces. The image of the 'Muslim North' was shattered because the then Head of State Yakubu Gowon from one of the northern states of Nigeria, was a devout Christian. The advent of military rule following the 1966 coup divided the northern Nigeria region into six states. Rule through local government was reformed and the powers held by emirs were drastically reduced. It was not surprising that there are backlash conflicts

from disgruntled Muslims (Hickey 1984) whose ancestors had effectively ruled the region for decades.

There has been religious uprising caused by extremists who create new and fanatic groups (Hickey 1984) that do not eschew violence as a means of achieving the desired Islamic state. One of the most violent episodes of religious crisis in Maiduguri before Boko Haram uprising was called Maitatsine. Muhammadu Marwa was the leader of Maitatsine sect and he would say in Hausa language “wanda bata yarda ba Allah ta Tchine” which means “may Allah curse the one who disagrees with his version” (Isichei 1987). The confrontation between this sect and the Nigerian military took place in Maiduguri in October 1982.

In December of 1980, Maitatsine had inspired an uprising in Kano state and this resulted in the leader’s death with about four thousand, one hundred and seventy-seven of his disciples killed (Isichei 1987) and some others were imprisoned by the Nigerian police. Despite regulations introduced to curb public preaching and license for preachers, surviving disciples of Maitatsine regrouped (Hickey 1984) in Maiduguri. The Nigerian police defeated them within a very short time killing about three thousand, three hundred and fifty of the fanatics. Subsequent groups after Maitatsine have condemned Maitatsine for being a heretic and his ideology of promising salvation to God’s righteous people. Boko Haram operation has adopted violence as a strategy to establish an Islamic caliphate like their predecessors. They have claimed responsibility for bombing Churches, Mosques, government offices, government security agents and, abduction of women and girls.

CHAPTER II: THE VICTIM

This segment starts with a focus on understanding Chibok girls' experiences as victims of kidnapping. To be a victim of abduction is a sum of many complex interactions (Lynch 2015), including the personal experience of trauma, and indoctrination with political or religious motivated ideology. Traumatic events go beyond sexual violence. This is not to make light of sexual violence as it introduces a whole new set of complications to the ordeal of being an abductee. But a victim's experience of abduction cannot be understood as an unfortunate one-off experience that occurs in isolation. Having an insight into captivity-induced trauma and its implications will provide a holistic understanding of all the events encountered so that the approach to recovery can address the entire traumatic experience. In one of the several videos released on social media/ YouTube, BH leader explained the motive behind Chibok girl's abduction: the abduction was intended to be revenge against the federal government for alleged family members and wives of BH group leaders held in detention. The act of abduction also served as punishment for the girls for attending western school.

As captives, they are victims of BH frustration against the federal government. They are held as 'pawns' in captivity contingent on when BH's proposal is honored by the federal government of Nigeria. On the other hand, they are victims categorized to be in opposition to Boko Haram ideology by being enrolled and receiving western education. They are also anti BH because they are members of a different religion. Unlike the Maitatsine insurgency that was quickly overpowered by the Nigerian Armed

Forces, BH insurgency has proven difficult to curtail thereby instilling fear among the populace because of their series of brutal attacks on citizens of Nigeria.

Social media and disappearance of Victims

Before the advent of social media platforms, news and information were largely circulated by newspapers, radio stations, and televisions. While many people are still dependent on these sources of news and information, many others now use social media platforms for information and communication. The disappearance of Chibok girls has been compared (Day and Lury 2017) with the disappearance of the Malaysian plane in terms of visibility by media coverage. The news about Chibok girl's abduction was initially covered by local media, then became the subject of a social media campaign (twitter with hashtag #BringBackOurGirls). The social media campaign (Sjoberg 2016) facilitated its coverage on the mainstream media.

Initially, there were conflicting reports as to the exact number of girls kidnapped. Parents of the school girls reported to the state Governor that two hundred and thirty-four girls were kidnapped, but state officials downgraded (BBC News 2014) the numbers saying the correct figure was one hundred and thirty. The Presidential Fact-Finding Committee on Chibok School girls report stated (Premium Times 2014) a total of two hundred and seventy-six girls were abducted, out of which fifty-seven escaped, and two hundred and nineteen were held in captivity. A brief excerpt from the Presidential Fact-Finding Committee report highlights the social confusion:

“As most Nigerians already know, there were some persons (Premium Times 2014) who doubted whether in fact any student was abducted from Government Secondary School, Chibok. On the other hand, for those who believed that there was an abduction, there were lingering doubts as to how such a number of kidnap victims were conveyed, considering also that information was sparse as to how the raiding insurgents evacuated the victims.”

Addressing whether in fact any student was abducted, it took President Goodluck Jonathan’s administration nearly three weeks (BBC News 2014) after the abduction to make an official statement regarding the incident. The former president, speaking for the first time after the disappearance amid growing criticism and anger from the public, promised that “anywhere the girls are, we will surely get them out.” He said that despite searches by the air force and the army, the girls had not been found. It was astonishing that the whereabouts of the girls could not be found meanwhile they had been moved around in convoys of vehicles. President Jonathan asked for co-operation from parents and the local communities stating that the “government needs assistance.” He also added that “we are talking to countries we think can help us out. The United States is number one. I have talked to President Obama at least twice” (BBC News 2014).

Although the Nigerian government has the constitutional responsibility to provide security for all citizens, critics of the U.S. media (Kopsa 2014) called the lack of U.S. media coverage “appalling.” The US is blamed for not looking beyond their own border because the abduction happened outside U.S. traditional security domain.

Ignoring this conflict and the nature of violence done against women highlights the political nature of abuse on women and girls (Bunch and Carrillo 1991) and dismissing this conflict as a territorial problem. “Every state has the responsibility to intervene in abuse done to women’s rights within its borders and to end collusion of forces (Bunch 1991) that perpetuate such violations in other countries.”

Comparing Chibok girls and former Yugoslavia Media Account

These two conflicts demonstrate a common theme in using media narratives surrounding sexual violence in war and conflict. Media accounts of the same conflict provide different perspectives, different representations, different framings and different issues that shape context for media war. Coverage of former Yugoslavia war and Chibok girl’s abduction unfolded through media. All narratives- #BringBackOurGirls, Serbian media, and Croatian media had sexual violence, notions of femininity and masculinity and the need for protection of women and girls in common. In all the media narratives, women are the victims of the conflict with a perpetrator from the other group.

Dubravka Zarkov’s analysis of media reports from Serbia media and Croatian media argued that Serbian media portrayed the rape of Serbian women by ‘other’ men as a collective risk that demanded protection of Serbian identity, (Zarkov 2007) while Croatian media emphasized the rape of Croatian women as the reason for Croatia to become an independent state able to provide security for its women. The Croatian media emphasized the rape of Bosnian Muslim women and the blindness of

international media coverage of this conflict. This drew the attention of international media and resulted in heightened international media coverage. #BringBackOurGirls movement like Serbian and Croatian media drew national and international attention. In all media accounts, there arose a question as to whether intense media coverage signifies genuine concern for the victims or is mere propaganda?

Regarding the appalling lack of US media coverage (in a meaningful, real way) on Chibok girl's abduction, an explanation (Kopsa 2014) by Associated Press (AP) suggested that the media gives priority to demand. AP argued that previous outrageous incidents like the 42 boys and their teachers who were burnt to death as they slept in their dormitories, for example, didn't receive hashtag campaigns.

The provenance #BringBackOurGirls (ABC News 2014) which started in Nigeria attracted local and foreign support. With support from prominent politicians like the former United States President Barrack Obama, Michelle Obama, and celebrities like Angelina Jolie, Chris Brown, the hashtag movement experienced an explosion in terms of followers/ supporters. Obiageli Ezekwesili the founder of 'Bring Back Our Girls' called on President Obama to do more to help find the girls abducted by BH. In her words, "if he could get Osama bin Laden, he could get our girls" (Time 2015).

The social media campaign has not been without criticisms. Some supporters were concerned that the #BringBackOurGirls movement had not yielded any result and people were getting less enthusiastic about the campaign because the girls had not been released nor rescued. A stream of tweets argued (Morse 2014) that if the 'children were white European' girls, countries would act more seriously.

As part of issues with online campaigns, media victim support groups are temporary. They emerge in reaction (Lynch 2015) to an event, on the anniversary of the event, and often fade away as the event loses its political and social fervor. Some critics suggested that this movement had succeeded (Telegraph 2014) in creating publicity for Boko Haram instead. Hodges argued, “Here is how BH has responded to us taking a stand. According to reports, the terror group last week assaulted a village called Kumtabza in the Damboa district of Borno state. The attackers left 30 dead and kidnapped 60 women and young girls, and 31 boys...What are we going to do now?” (Telegraph 2014).

Mass media is central to the way modern democracies work: what media presents provides information to members of the public on how to act (Gavin 2007) and media is critical in establishing the health or otherwise of a democratic process. BH victims were increasingly made visible due to social media activities from across the world. #BringBackOurGirls became an online support initiative with the aim to dominate national and international stages for support on behalf of the victims.

The online movement; #BringBackOurGirls lacked a dominant narrative (Lynch 2015) representing the victims of the abduction. In the absence of centralized information, its strategy was a combination of pressure for rescue and provision of distorted information on the plight of the girls. Pictures representing (Castro 2014) other themes like foreign traditional culture and everyday life not reflective of the plight of the students were photoshopped and used for #BringBackOurGirls. The rise of victims support-organizations or associations (Schmid 2012), is largely due to the

reactionary nature of national responses, the difficulties in dealing with the complexity of terrorist victimization, and international reluctance to address victims' issues."

The abductor's sexist behavior conveys the message that "girls" fall within the category of "helpless women and children" (Cohn 2013) that men should protect. The BH's conflict with the federal government which resulted in Chibok girl's abduction as pawns gradually became a gendered conflict.

Gender and Conflict

Gender can be defined based on biological make-up (male or female) or as a social construct that shapes people's lives, identities and related phenomena, such as wars, militarization. Gender is one of the different systems that structure power relations. One of such system that structures power is patriarchy. Patriarchy literally means "rule of the father." A Patriarchal system generally is one in which fathers are the heads of the families having authority over their wives and children and also, men exercise (Cohn 2013) power and dominate women through control of society's governmental, social, economic, religious, and cultural institutions. When power is used to shape gender, it is referred to as gender subordination. Patriarchy and gender subordination point to gender status or hierarchy between men and women. During conflict and wars, women are expected to maintain (Ladbury et al 2016) cultural roles such as cooking, caring for children, cleaning, providing sex.

Gendered conflict depends on cultural roles assigned to biological genders. These roles are distinctly coded, one is inferior and the other superior. Each role is

suitable for engaging in appropriate activities, access to control, power, resources, and authority. Men are imputed with strength, courage, rationality, and responsibility for the protection of women and children. Men's identity is mostly anchored to their involvement (Lomsky- Feder and Rappaport 2003) in the army through military service or other armed group. So, appeals are made to men rather than women to come forward and defend their community. Militarized conceptions of masculinity are widely accepted as bravery and honor. Military involvement creates "men" out of "boys." Such men earn respect from women and other male peers as defenders of the nation. These are well- thought out as strong male citizens (Gill 1997) who can lead both men and women. During conflict and wars, women are expected to maintain cultural roles suitable for their age. Women who are considered to be old, vulnerable or widows (Ladbury et al 2016) are assigned operational roles as hiding weapons, gleaning information and recruitment.

Addressing the need to rescue and defend the female students, social media conceives the federal government in the context of masculinity in society. Men are accorded the duty to go to war to defend, help, protect and negotiate power over women and children. In this context, the federal government has the responsibility to provide protection for her citizens and defend her territory. Nigerian government took up the challenge and declared the matter of their return important to "protect our democracy, our national unity, and our political stability." Some authors feel associating the ability to protect the abducted girls (Sjoberg 2016) with national stability within the country demonstrated the inability for the government to protect the victims. The

military of a state is usually considered as the most powerful department with the ability and responsibility to use destructive and deadly force in defense of state security and state policies. Social media effort was directed at provoking intervention from anywhere; national or international to rescue the students.

BH ideology like colonialism and slavery relies on a system of belief that colonizers have the right to govern the colonized (Cohn 2013) if people who are colonized are understood to be inferior, childlike, ignorant and unfit to govern themselves. By abducting the students, BH power arrangement performed masculinity by interrupting the education they were receiving because BH ideology forbids western education as sin. In some settings, gender is understood as a “situated accomplishment,” which means that (West and Zimmerman 1987) specific social practices shape expectations and understanding of how to be a man or a woman. In the context of abduction, masculinity exerts authority over femininity by withdrawing the students from school to perform the ideal domestic roles expected of women. Men often make the decisions for women to follow if not, women are forced to comply with such decisions under the guise of culture or religion.

The psychology behind kidnapping reveals a need for power and control over captives. The mentality of a kidnapper is that once they have their target in possession, the captive (Akwash 2016) is forced to depend upon captor for everything the captive needs. Having Chibok girls in BH captivity empowers BH to manipulate both its victims and the government. The federal government is forced to negotiate with the insurgents for the release of the captives. Most governments use the period of negotiation with

armed groups to clarify the kidnapper's motives, gather intelligence (Akwash 2016) and to formulate a rescue strategy should negotiation fail.

In a highly masculinized and militarized system of control, combatants are taught that the most effective tactics of disempowering their opponents are by unmanning him through sexual assault or humiliation both of which are seen to feminize him. In a prisoner-of-war situation like the abduction of Chibok girls, the ability of the federal government to provide protection for women and girls within its territory (Sjoberg 2016) is feminized. Despite the seeming inability by the government to rescue the girls, the social media movement intensified.

Compliance with Authority

From the time of kidnap, Chibok girls' powerlessness and helplessness were obvious compared with their abductors (HBO Now 29:18- 29:59 minutes). It was only rational for the girls to act as commanded by BH. When victims are confronted by a force (Dimsdale 1980), victims can react in different ways: by resistance, by an attempt to nullify the threat, evasion, by paralysis or by compliance. For the girls, it was a case of automatic compliance for fear of death.

On the night of the abduction, Abigail (pseudonym used for one of the rescued Chibok girls) recounts (Okome 2017) that after all the girls were forced outside from the hostels, she stated "they carry us come outside and they throw bomb inside the school and they keep us near the fire so that the fire dey hot our body so everybody begin dey shout...". After the hostels were burnt, they brought cars and announced to the girls

“who wan die nobody answer, they come say ok, if you wan stay for in this world enter this car, if you wan die, go for that side. (sobs).” The girl’s entered the car to be conveyed into captivity because they didn’t want to die.

Studies show that during captivity, captors use violence, sensory deprivation and humiliation (Favara et al 2000) to induce terror in their victims who already feel powerless or helpless. Abductors use the threat of violence and physical maltreatment to control victims and deter escape attempts. Captors deliberately act irrationally, either through erratic or inconsistent (Mahan and Griset 2008) behavior to stimulate submission. Ideally, captors find killing their captives as a loss to their negotiating power but because captives are treated harshly, they do not know they can be assets to the captors. Terrorists choose to kidnap because, in bargaining situations (Mahan and Griset 2008) like BH abduction of Chibok girls, the government’s greater strength and resources are not an advantage. Rather, armed response to rescue abductees has yielded to techniques of negotiation and conflict resolution (Alexander 2009) because of the risks armed response creates for hostages. Captors create an environment of intense fear, subordination, and torture for the captives. Unlike sexual kidnapping, ransom kidnappings (Akwash 2016) require that abductors keep victims from harm. Captors value hostages as a means to an end during negotiation with the government. Abductors maintain absolute control over captives who become convinced that they would not be harmed if they comply with captors’ instructions.

Still, on the night of the abduction, sources (Premium Times 2014) record that fifty-seven girls successfully escaped. An eye witness mentioned the case of three others

who were unsuccessful in an attempt to escape and were caught (HBO Now 29:18-29:59 minutes). All the other students were forced to watch BH flog each of the three girls with thirty-three strokes of the cane. BH dug three holes with each girl lying down beside a hole. All the other girls were warned not to cry as the three girls were about to be slaughtered and buried. But the other girls wailed and pleaded for the three deviants. Eventually, they were spared from being slaughtered but they all were warned never to attempt to escape BH captivity. If not, they would be severely punished. BH used violence, threat, and hardship from the time the girls were kidnapped to ensure compliance with its authority.

From a personal account of an unidentified victim, she reported that the journey to BH forest took three days. "They arrived on a fateful day at 12:00 am in heavy rainfall and there was no shelter, no source of food and no water. BH constructed two rooms made of grasses, branches, and leaves but this was too small to accommodate the girls so some of them slept outside though there were lots of snakes, scorpions, and ants. They were not allowed to have light, even a candle, at night. If they did, their captors will come and bomb them" (HBO Now 10:04- 10:51 minutes). Stories from Chibok girls is fraught with how much they avoided provoking their captors and so they complied instantly with BH decrees and orders.

One of Nigerian Women's Rights Activist- Hamsatu Allamin living in Maiduguri emphatically mentioned that after Chibok girl's abduction in 2014, more than two thousand women and girls have been kidnapped. She said some were abducted from schools, their homes, on transit in public transport, their villages and nobody has ever

reported or talked about them. Hamsatu said, “We have hundreds of such forgotten women.” (HBO Now 13:50- 14: 18 minutes). It has been observed that “unlike the Chibok girls, these young women (forgotten women) are free to talk about their time in captivity” (HBO Now 14:11-14:22 minutes). Personal accounts of forgotten women corroborate the Chibok girls’ experience within BH camp.

Zahra one of the forgotten women was kidnapped when she was 16 years old. Having determined to escape from captivity after two years, Zara encountered an old man who promised to help her to escape. Unfortunately, BH discovered that the old man had allowed some other people to escape so BH killed him. Zahra said he was not killed at once. “First, they removed his hand. After two days they cut off his leg. Then they cut off his ear and mouth. He died from the pain.” (HBO Now 30:35-31:10 minutes). Under such brutal conditions, Chibok girls endured submission to BH authority.

The psychological impact of being taken hostage (Akwash 2016) is as damaging and enduring as being exposed to trauma, disasters and other terrorist incidents.

CHAPTER III: LIFE IN CAPTIVITY

This segment highlights the roles and duties of Chibok girls and other women in captivity. Gleaning the few testimonies of survivors, as victims, they provide insight into the magnitude of torture endured. Although BH leader many times released videos on social media to update the public on the plight of the girls, victims provide the best and accurate narrative in terms of the psychological, emotional, social and physical impact endured. More than half of the schoolgirls have been rescued, but very little is said about living in BH camp. According to the documentary produced by Sasha Achilli (HBO Now 8:44- 8:46 minutes), she mentioned that their story is “carefully controlled by the Nigerian government.” Chibok girl’s stories may have been controlled for several reasons. During introductions at the start of the documentary, the former Federal Minister of Women Affairs Aisha Alhassan specifically told the rescued Chibok girl’s in vernacular that the crew members were “told not to ask them about what happened in the forest. She added, If you do, Boko Haram will say, “we released you and now you’re telling our secrets.” Moreover, they will not release other girls and may come after you. You should be grateful, you’re back home and everything is fine. Don’t talk about what happened in the forest.” (HBO Now8:48- 9:32 minutes). This caution may create a sense of guilt for the rescued girls who are under the impression that they are safe and free from BH captivity but responsible for the safety of the other students still held in captivity. The girls may also ponder if BH forces are stronger than national security. The question that arises from the minister’s caution to the rescued students is whether the rescued Chibok girls know BH secrets.

One of the girls (Margret, 20years) revealed: “I can’t dwell on what happened to me” and “my past is like water, once it is spilled, it is spilled forever” (HBO Now 6: 41-7:12 Minutes). It is not clear whether Margaret made this comment because she has already healed from the traumatic experience in captivity or she is still living in denial. A foreign-based researcher and a member of #BringBackOurGirlsNYC attempted (Okome 2017) to interview some the rescued school girls when she traveled to Nigeria. She received very little assistance in finding the girls and their families. Without a first-hand narrative from the girls, it will be difficult to formulate a strategy to assist the girls emotionally, physically and mentally. It will also be difficult to counter BH, as the voices of the victims and their experiences (Lynch 2015) provide a crucial strategy to prevent more violence.” It can be argued that the rescued stolen daughters can be useful informants in rescuing the other students as well as to counter the insurgent group. During war or conflict, women and girls experience conflict differently. Experience is based on the intensity of conflict, length of time in captivity, different roles assigned, social status (Delargy 2013) and relationships between captors and captives. But, there are some risks in which victims share in common such as crowded, insecure and unsanitary environments, the absence of essential amenities such as light and potable water. Life in captivity for Chibok girls was a difficult one.

Socialization

Zahra, one of the forgotten women was 16 years old at the time of her abduction (HBO Now 14:28 minutes). In her account, she reported that “the women in the forest

have different responsibilities. Some help with household chores like fetching water, collecting firewood to cook, some women are assigned to take care of the sick, some women performed the role of midwives by looking after pregnant women, and other women accompany BH fighters into villages to kidnap new women.” (HBO Now 14:38-15:04 minutes). Zahra particularly was threatened with death unless she helped kidnap other girls during raids.

Authors show that prolonged mass terror (Cohen 1986) creates victimizers out of victims. During armed conflicts, insurgents draw on gendered roles assigned to women and girls to carry on with insurgency. Armed groups value, recruit and (McKay and Mazurana 2004) use girls, women or even boys differently in order to maintain insurgency. Typical roles that exist within armed groups (Cohen 1986) include administrative functions, torturing, transporting, guarding prisoners, and executing attacks. On the night Zahra (a forgotten woman) escaped, the guard in the area where she was kept was a woman who fell into a deep sleep while on duty (HBO Now 31:23-31:36). There are examples of insurgencies that women and girls join and participate voluntarily. If Chibok girls had any roles assigned, they may have been forced to participate in those roles or duties as a means of self-preservation.

Pulling out of membership of an armed group is much more dangerous than joining the group. Once women and girls become members (Mazurana 2012) through force, deception or voluntarily, it is extremely unlikely that they will be allowed to leave the group while conflict is ongoing.

Armed conflicts feed off power structures (Raven-Roberts 2013) and inequalities that exist between men and women in society. BH abducted women are victims who are used as agents. When women and girls are captured, they are forced to participate in (Mazurana 2012) daily domestic activities and unpaid jobs like nursing and caring for wounded members, recruiting and training new members, supporting the insurgent movement by becoming an intelligence agent. Unpaid care work (Falth and Blackden 2009) includes activities that serve other people, their personal care and care related activities like cooking, washing clothes and cleaning. BH abduction of women and girls is targeted at meeting the needs that its male fighters are not able to satisfactorily meet. Abductees are made to expend their time and energy doing work that they will not receive wages for. Unpaid work is referred to as “reproductive or domestic work (Falth and Blackden 2009).” The Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (CEDAW 1991) affirms that unpaid work constitutes a form of women’s exploitation that is contrary to the Convention. Women’s unpaid work during abduction is kept out of the public eye and undervalued. Whatever the roles women and girls in captivity are assigned to; domestic chores, personal care or care related activities or combat roles (Mazurana et al 2002), these roles and duties are considered crucial to keeping the armed group operational. Insurgent groups are bound to maintain a culture of threat and violence to ensure these roles are performed.

Becoming a forced wife

An unidentified girl in the video “Stolen Daughters” contained on HBO Now described an event that happened while in captivity (HBO Now 43:00- 43:48). She stated that one day, Chibok girls were asked to write their names which they did. This was a puzzle to the students as they did not understand why. The unidentified voice added that shortly after they wrote their names, different people were sent to advise them on ‘getting married’. The audio record did not specify the gender of persons involved in advising Chibok girls on the importance of getting married. The students refused marriage while in captivity, BH said to them “since you have refused to get married with the luxurious life we can offer you, we are definitely going to show you our true colors and give you the real Boko Haram treatment” (HBO Now 43:00- 43:48).

The above Chibok girl’s account is crucial to understanding BH attitude towards the marriage of its abductees. Authors show that other insurgent groups (Mazaruna 2013) have rules surrounding sexual access to women and girls within the group. In the Ugandan Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) for example, they were known for widespread abduction and brutality, the senior LRA leadership maintained high rigidity to sexual access. Penalty (Mazaruna 2013) for LRA member violation was the risk of death. There was mass abduction as well as the rape of women and girls within the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) of Sierra Leone as well. Studies (Mazaruna 2013) show that within this group, there were clear hierarchies of access to those females.

Corroborating Chibok girl’s firsthand information, BH leader had released a video of his intention to marry off the girls to his fighters. It can be inferred that BH approach to marriage is that of force.

BH ideology of forced marriage works against provisions of CEDAW in matters relating to marriage and family relations. It provides that men and women shall have the same right (Article 16(a)) to enter into marriage, both genders have the same right to freely choose a spouse and to enter marriage only with their free will and full consent (Article 16(b)).

BH approach to forced marriage of Chibok girls and other female abductees is like that of Al-Shabab. Both insurgent groups recruit or abduct women to provide support to maintain the group. Al- Shabab recruitment strategy is a combination of threats and enticements. BH like Al- Shabab force young women to serve as wives to male recruits and fighters. An interview with the wife of an Al- Shabab fighter documented that “before a man is given a gun, he must have been given a woman (Baldauf and Mohammed 2010) so that he would leave something behind. To the young woman herself, they say there is no need for you at home. Get married to mujahideen who are fighting in the fields.” A ‘willing’ Al-Shabab recruit Ms. Abdulaziz who was receiving training (Baldauf and Mohammed 2010) in “collecting intelligence, carrying explosives and driving supplies from one camp to another, recounts that on arrival at the Shabab camp near Afmadow, each girl was told to take off her shoes and put them in a pile. A few minutes later, Shabab fighters walked into the tent and chose a shoe at random. The owner of that shoe became the fighter’s wife.” In the case of BH, Chibok girls were forcefully captured into the BH group and may have been assigned arbitrarily to BH members or fighters according to their names on the list.

The issue of marriage is crucial for BH. From firsthand information received from rescued women out of BH abduction, marriage refusal could result in death. Report (CNN 2018) received from arrested BH members indicates that many of the schoolgirls have been married to BH commanders and are not willing to return from captivity. The arrested BH member added (CNN 2018) that “many of the girls have accepted the BH doctrine and don’t see any reason to leave their husbands.”

Sexual Violence

BH adapts its ideology to patriarchy which is a power structure that enables masculinity dominance over femininity. The most visible and immediate targets of Islamization (Mernissi 1988) on women and girls are the dress code, education, and subordinate social status compared to men. The socio-economic transformation which has its roots in education is anti BH. This transformation impacts the normative foundations of patriarchy on which jihadist structure depends.

What is Sexual Violence?

The term “sexual violence” often refers to many different crimes including rape, sexual mutilation, sexual humiliation, forced prostitution, and forced pregnancy. The definition of sexual violence during conflict is the same during peace. In both contexts, the act of sexual violence leaves its victim with a later experience of guilt and confusion. The process of guilt (McCahill et al 1979) starts as she wonders if she resisted her violator enough either by using every possible avenue to escape or if she cried out

loudly enough to attract help. She experiences confusion as she considers if her behavior in any way was suggestive of consent even though she had resisted the encounter.

This segment will focus on psychological aspects of sexual violence directly suffered by Chibok girls as described by the BH leader in the videos he released as an update of the girl's predicament. Captives of war experience war differently depending on their gender. Chibok girl's experience of sexual violence will be discussed to cover genocide, rape, collective womb/ occupation of womb and commoditization. Sexual violence is an overarching term used (McDougall 1998) to describe "[a]ny violence, physical or psychological, carried out through sexual means or by targeting sexuality." Sexual violence includes (HRW 2003) rape and attempted rape, and such acts ... and sexual slavery"

Women and girls are targets for rape or sexual violence during armed conflict. Whether international or internal conflict, ethnic, political or during religious (Chinkin 1994) conflicts, women are targets of sexual exploitation. For this research, one of the motivations for kidnapping Chibok girls was for sexual gratification. A most important incentive for male fighters joining armed groups is the promise of a wife. BH like other armed group portray a desperate need for women and girls to maintain the group hence the massive abduction of women and girls. But, if there are no women to reward fighters with, will male supporters of armed groups decline?

The 1993 United Nations Declaration (Article 1) defines "violence against women" as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in,

physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.”

At the time of Chibok girl’s abduction, media sources (Global Post 2014) record that the students were between the ages of sixteen and eighteen. This age range falls within the age of children. Any forced marriage between the students and BH members will be as betrothal or marriage of a child which shall have no legal effect (CEDAW Article 16) as there was no registration of such marriage in an official registry. The Marriage Act of Nigeria, (CAP M6 LFN 2004) states that “if either party to an intended marriage... is under twenty-one years of age, the written consent of father... or mother...or guardian of such party must be produced as an affidavit aforesaid before a license can be granted or a certificate issued.” Under Nigerian Customary law, parental consent (Boparai 1982) is always a requirement for the bride to be.

So BH did not have the right to marry off Chibok girls. The sanctity of marriage is protected by Nigerian Law. Payment of bride price is an essential condition for marriage under Nigerian Customary Law. Importantly, all the abductees are female. There is no evidence that parents of the students received a token representing bride price. English Law that governs marriage in Nigeria, considers the capacity of the parties. Age and parental consent are crucial for any marriage under Nigerian Law to be valid.

Dehumanizing effects of Sexual Violence

Genocide

Comparing BH abduction of Chibok girls with a historical record of the Nazi genocide, both involved cases of gender-specific violence. Although both scenarios have different facts, women and girls were the targets. The Nazis were indicted among other things, for genocide. Both cases employed sexual violence as a weapon against its victims. The Nazis used different dehumanizing strategies on its victims. Some examples (MacKinon 1994) include sexual violence, enslavement, forced impregnation, and forced migration. BH approach at dehumanizing its victims include forced marriage, sale of girls in the market, religious conversion, radicalization and deprivation of education. To perform a dehumanizing act (Oren and Bar-Tal 2006) on another, the perpetrator acts in a manner not consistent to human beings and forces the victim into such a situation where the victim is deprived of his basic human rights, dignity and respect as a person.

Both Nazi and BH conflicts are ideology based. The Nazi motivation to commit genocide relied on producing (Lifton 2000) “genetically ideal and genetically pure population.” The Nazis supported the mindset of superiority over the Jews, so they focused on the reproduction of Germans to the detriment of the genetically inferior population.

BH ideology forbids western education and Chibok girls were victims for breaking the norm by attending western schools. After the abduction of more than 200 girls from Government Secondary School Chibok in April of 2014, in November of the same year 2014, it was reported that the Islamist group BH, had taken control of the town of Chibok (Al-jazeera 2014). The abduction event and giving out the girls in marriage (HRR 1992) to BH fighters are meant to “humiliate, shame, degrade and terrify the entire

ethnic group they represent.” Also, BH leader will derive more benefit in terms of the girl’s reproductive roles for the group. If BH leader gives the girls to his members as wives as he mentioned in the video, in the event of pregnancy and delivery, his strategy will reproduce more followers and fighters. BH ideal role for women and girls is to perform functional roles such as supporting their husbands and bringing up children of his fighters rather than gaining education which can be used for upward mobility, political participation, and economic empowerment.

Collective Womb/ Occupation of the Victim’s Womb

BH as a radical movement is founded on predatory patriarchy infused with violence and aggression towards women and girls. Its beliefs not only override the traditional construction (Raven-Roberts 2013) of male and female identity, but it distorts traditional values governing the relationship. In the struggle for the realization of a new caliphate, the ideal role for women as mothers and wives is lauded in their sermons and publications, particularly esteemed are women whose sons have been killed. They are lauded as (Ladbury 2016) the mothers of ‘martyrs.’ While women and girls may not be physically active in war/ conflict, they can contribute to it using their reproductive ability. Women are stereotyped to fit into a category to achieve this; not only are they categorized as domestic workers and as sex slaves, but they are also viewed (Raven-Robert 2013) as ‘collective womb.’

Forced impregnation can be achieved through rape and means other than rape, such as medical experimentation used by Nazi doctors. Forced impregnation (Sjobhan

1996) can result from preventing a pregnant woman from accessing a legal abortion, prevention of mandatory pregnancy tests following rape or keeping track of a detained woman's menstrual cycle especially if she is assaulted often. Even if the girls are rescued with pregnancies, their pregnancies are nothing less than BH occupation of their womb.

Commoditization

Another video (New York Times 2014) was released announcing plans to sell the abducted school girls "in the market" and "marry them off" while referring to them as slaves. BH leader's video indicating his plans to sell Chibok girls in the market drew attention to the existence of an illegal economy that deals in the sale of human beings. The sex industry is part of the globalized black-market economy. A special feature in this illicit (Raven-Roberts 2013) economy is- 'commoditization' of women and children as resources to be trafficked and exploited.

UN Declaration of 1993 (Article 3) provides that women have "the right not to be subjected to torture, or other cruel or inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment." Sale of the girls in the market as slaves fall under inhuman and degrading treatment. They are commodified as indentured servants, sex workers or slaves and taken to the market as having a price. Dehumanization involves categorizing, stereotyping and labeling to devalue another person of human value. Attempt to sell any of the girls by BH leader would be an effort to dehumanize the girls to become chattels. To offer the girls to his group members as bait or reward would amount to violating (Walzer 2015) their personality and treating them as mere objects, prize, or war trophy.

Although some Chibok girls have been rescued, not so much of their testimonies have been heard. None of the girls released has mentioned “being put up for sale.” But, not all the captured students have been rescued. One may ask, what is delaying the release of the other girls? Are they still alive? Have they been sold? If they have been sold, can they be redeemed?

Religious Conversion

Amid the growing concerns and frustration of delay in rescuing the students, BH released another video (BBC News Africa 2014) featuring the kidnapped girls and announcing that many of the girls who were Christians had been converted to Islam. BH strategy has always targeted women and girls, especially Christian women (Zenn and Pearson 2014) for kidnap, forced marriage and conversion to Islam. BH like ISIL is strict about the conversion of non-Muslims to Islam and averse to Western education. Chibok is primarily a Christian village (BBC News 2017) and had not been attacked before, so school authorities thought it was safe to use the Government owned school for the important final year examination. Many of the pupils that were abducted (BBC News 2017) were Christians.

Considering the young age of the kidnapped students (between sixteen and eighteen years), there are multiple benefits for targeting them. In part, their young age (Cohn 2013) enables the insurgents to more easily influence their thinking and behavior. When they are converted, they obviously become energetic supporters of the group’s ideology.

Religious conversion has been associated (Hood et al 1996) with the process involved in radicalization. It's been claimed that both religious conversions and radicalization follow the same transformational process (Paloutzian et al 1999) where the individual goes 'from believing and adhering to one set of teachings into believing and adhering to another set of teachings.' As victims, the danger of conversion for the girls is to change from their original state of non-engagement to a situation where they are committed and also involved in insurgent activities. During the process of conversion (Rambo 1993), the insurgent ideology, rituals, roles, and rhetoric guides the interaction between victim and captor and reinforce one another.

Studies have shown that coercive conversion motif (Somit 1968) which has been labeled "brainwashing" is rare and only takes place under special circumstances such as total control of the victim's life, uncertainty of the victim's future, isolation from the outside world, physical and mental torture, exhaustion achieved through poor diet, constant terror, tension and personal humiliation. It is compelling that Chibok girls lived under all these conditions as they must have been pressured to convert. Conversion for a victim of abduction may just be a coping mechanism for fear of death.

Leah Sharibu as a Case Study for Refusal to Convert to Islam

Since the Chibok girls' abduction, BH has continued to kidnap women and girls. In 2018, more than 100 girls were kidnapped by BH from Government Girls' Science Technical College, Dapchi of Yobe state in Nigeria. According to media reports (BBC News 2018), five of the girls could not survive the ordeal of abduction.

Although the Dapchi girls have been released, one Christian girl who refused to convert to Islam is still being held. The Christian girl who was adamant against converting to Islam has been identified as Leah Sharibu. Leah was asked to chant Islamic incantations before being allowed on the truck that was meant to convey the released girls out of captivity, but she refused. According to eyewitnesses (Lowry 2018), she said 'I will never say it because I am not a Muslim.' This angered BH members who said (Lowry 2018), "if she would not denounce Christ, she would remain with them." Leah refused to denounce her faith, so she was not allowed into the truck when the other girls in captivity were conveyed for release.

BH has released a 35-second voice recording of Leah pleading with the Nigerian government to rescue her. In the video (Lowry 2018), Leah said, "... I am calling on the government, particularly the president, to pity me and get me out of this serious situation. Thank you."

According to media sources, the Nigerian government is still working on verifying the authenticity of the recording. But, Leah's father, Nathan Sharibu recognized the voice on the recording as his daughters'.

On the release of Dapchi girls from BH captivity, the insurgents warned the freed girls never to return to school.

Dapchi girls who survived BH abduction spent about five weeks in captivity before being released. Leah Sharibu who refused conversion from Christianity to Islam is still with her captors and the time of her release is unknown. Her family is pained that she remains in captivity, but they are happy that the recording proves she is alive.

Defiance towards captors has been identified as a coping or survival strategy. It was observed that despite (Alexander 2009) being subjected to a life of threatening situation, Yvonne Ridley refused to accede to requests to convert to Islam. Yvonne a British journalist was held for 11 days (Ridley 2001) before the Taliban were relieved to rid themselves of such a difficult western woman.

Suicide Bombers

Rejecting marriage with BH fighters could result in death penalty. Most of the girls interviewed (New York Times 2017) said they had been deployed as suicide bombers after refusing to be married off to BH fighters. Records (New York Times 2017) reveal that the BH group has deployed more female bombers than any other terrorist group in history. When the girls refuse marriage with BH fighters, or even to sleep with (New York Times 2017) BH members, they fall into the category of girls to be used as suicide bombers to kill other people and themselves. Aisha (age fifteen) one of the forgotten girls was told expressly (New York Times 2017) by BH members, “are you going to sleep with us, or do you want to go on a mission.”

BH tactic is to use female abductees alive or in death. Studies show that armed groups rely on females to maintain their forces and fight their wars. Depending on the context (Enloe 2000) of the conflict, we see females as soldiers, nurses, nurturers, rape and sexual violence victims in wars. The reason armed groups use female bodies as suicide bombers as a tactic is to improve “mission success”. It has been explained that (Zedalis 2004), “the success of suicide bombers considerably depends upon surprise and

accessibility to targets.” Studies have revealed that male fighters face more obstacles (Zedalis 2004) compared to women in reaching targets. Mission success partly explains why BH has continued to abduct women and girls for use as suicide bombers.

The consequence of using women as suicide bombers has created hardship for females in the Maiduguri area. They are seen with suspicion fearing that they are BH allies strapped with bombs under their hijabs. Hassan, a member of the local Civilian militia, reported (New York Times 2017) that when women and girls approach his checkpoint, “he tells them to drop whatever they are carrying.” He added (New York Times 2017) that when he sees females, he gets afraid because a woman approaching him had detonated a bomb though he survived the blast.

CHAPTER IV: THE SURVIVOR

Coping strategies

In this section, I discuss the combined consequences of being a victim of abduction, adverse experience in captivity and sexual violence on some of the girls who are now survivors. As victims in captivity, they suffered experiences like humiliation, stereotyping because of their gender, religion and, education. If they were to encounter similar conditions after the captivity, they would be re-traumatized. Survivors who have children born in captivity are likely to encounter a different set of challenges in the process of reintegration.

Reports have it that a total of two hundred and seventy-six girls were kidnapped on the night of April 14- 15th 2014. Fifty-seven girls managed to escape. Twenty-one others were freed in October 2016 and 82 more girls were rescued in May 2018. The nature and intensity of their experience depends on the duration of captivity. Studies (Symonds 1982) show that survivors of rape, kidnap, or hostage taking which had prolonged contact with victimizer initially respond with shock and disbelief quickly followed by reality before entering traumatic depression. The state of traumatic depression is characterized by anger, rage, insomnia, startle reactions and replay of traumatic events. This phase of replay or evaluation of traumatic events happens after captivity is over and not under conditions of violence and extreme fright as in captivity. Studies (Wilson and Butler 2014) examining survivor characteristics indicate that majority suffer from psychological, behavioral and somatic sequelae and therefore adopt coping strategies which may include self-harming behaviors such as drug abuse,

alcohol or suicide attempts to numb pain from previous traumatic events. As survivors attempt to integrate and adapt after the captivity, coping with the traumatic experience may not be automatic. Survivor may go through denial or unwillingness to accept their victimization experience (Symonds 1980) before integrating future lifestyle. They begin to hold onto feelings of rage and injustice (Symonds 1980), seeking reparations and revenge for their victimization and thus remaining psychologically disabled. Regardless of experiences of trauma or violence encountered, addiction (DeRiviere 2008) is a significant barrier to recovery. For healing to occur, victims' self-reflections must evolve from "what's wrong with me" (Harris and Falot 2001) to "what happened to me."

Survivor Narrative

Survivors living in denial of violence or with post-traumatic stress disorder (Cooper 2002) have difficulty in relaying a "coherent story" of their victimization. Despite the number of girls rescued, there is still a lot to know about Chibok girls' abduction. Firsthand information is necessary from them to reclaim their future from past events, help them access individual-based treatment and to testify against BH. This is not to say rescued Chibok girls should be pressured to narrate their ordeal. If they are assured of support and safety, they will speak up. It has been argued (Ahrens 2006) that rape survivors who "speak out about their assault experiences are often punished for doing so when they are subjected to negative reactions from support providers." Negative reactions perceived by survivors can lead to a process of withdrawal, isolation,

and silence. When survivors are exposed to the victim- censuring behaviors that hold survivors responsible for the assault, minimize the seriousness of traumatic event or doubt veracity of survivor's story (Madigan and Gamble 1991), negative behavior produces the silencing effect which impacts the mental health of the survivor.

Without firsthand information, therapists may not be able to ascertain (HBO Now 1:02:36- 1:03:17 minutes) the pain of the survivors and the kind of support needed. But it is important to know what the reasons for not talking are. It may be that being silent about what happened in captivity is part of the negotiation deals that led to their rescue. Or, the girls may still be under the influence of BH despite out of captivity. Or, they are still too traumatized and may be feeling overwhelmed to narrate their ordeal. Or, keeping BH secrets indicates they are spies on release? When the reason for not talking is ascertained, the reason will form the core for helping the students. It may be difficult for the students to find someone they can trust if family, friends and community members do not provide a conducive atmosphere for re-integration.

Trust in State Security

Since Chibok girls were held in captivity for such a long time, the rescued girls may be frustrated with state security. They were used as pawns to force the government to release BH members in detention, but negotiations did fall apart. With negotiation going on between the government and BH for several months or years, the girls had already been traumatized psychologically during the period of negotiation. Survivors may never understand why the federal government did not intervene

immediately or satisfy the demands of BH for their release. Negotiations to them may have seemed like a waste of time or endangering their lives. Survivors consider protracted (Symonds 1980) negotiation with BH “as evidence of indifference, hostility or rejection so that the very person negotiating for their release seem to be unloving and life-threatening.” As captivity progresses, victims will be psychologically taunted. Victims become convinced that they would never be rescued, they no longer have value due to activities they engaged in during captivity. From observation (Symonds 1980), it takes some time for the negative feelings to subside.

Another reason why the survivor narrative is important is to confirm that the survivors trust the state security to protect and defend them. Survivor narrative can guide the Nigeria Army on the best strategy to quash BH insurgency and bring BH to justice. Bringing BH to justice will demonstrate that the Nigerian government can defend and protect her citizens indeed.

Survivors should not be under any threat or obligation to speak or not to speak about their experience in captivity. As a democratic state, the Nigerian Constitution (Section 4) provides that “every person shall be entitled to freedom of expression, including the freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart ideas and information without interference.” If survivors are not free to express their feelings about captivity or their disappointment with how long it took to rescue them, they will not learn about the attempts the federal army made to rescue them alive.

Education and equal life chances

'Life chances' refers to the available resources and opportunities that individuals have in life. It is mediated by factors such as by personality, social class, identity, gender, culture, age, and political association. The rise of BH has threatened the educational system in northern Nigeria. Instead of permitting women and girls to have western education, they have increasingly used females (Ladbury et al 2016) to perpetrate crimes such as suicide bombings. Given the subordinate role assigned to women, BH has continually used force, abduction, and forced marriage to maintain (Now This World 2014) women membership. Since becoming more educated is to become more economically empowered (WHO 1999), the explanation for BH's hate for educated women is because greater empowerment brings more resistance to patriarchy norms upon which BH ideology is based; so, they resort to violence to regain control.

According to Max Weber, skills and opportunities obtained through education create life chances when sold in the market (Morrison 2006). These credentials, diplomas and certificates (Morrison 2006) which are a direct result of education, Weber reasoned, are exchanged for income, salaries, wages and livelihoods. "Gone are the days when a semi-skilled standard production worker could count (Esping-Andersen 2005) on stable employment and good wages." In modern times, life chances are determined by whether the skills and services individuals have to offer (Morrison 2006) would be sold under given market conditions. The federal government and other donors have promised a scholarship for education up to the university level for each student. Some of the rescued students require moral support to return to school because of what happened.

Higher education has been associated with empowerment. Despite the rising importance of 'unconventional' skills, formal educational credentials (OECD 2016) remain as central as ever. Youths without education may face a lifetime of low wages, spells of unemployment, poor quality jobs, or stagnation when employed. Education is employed to achieve mobility, but mobility is realistic (Esping-Andersen 2005) for people who already possess skills from youth. Higher education not only guarantees a well-paying job, it also guarantees pension at retirement. Workers receive benefits to cater for themselves in old age. Most times, less educated workers fall behind in earnings, promotions, and opportunities in their careers.

The perceived value for female education in northern Nigeria is the lowest in the country due to the dominant religious and cultural practices. Religious and cultural ideology affirms that education for the male child is more important than for the female child. These social norms support anti-egalitarian views that consolidate at a young age. The desire to learn is sown in children early (Cunha et al 2006) in life be it formal education or cognitive skills. The skills and abilities acquired in one stage of life cycle affect the productivity of learning in the next stage. There are remedial programs that advocate for retraining or lifelong learning to make up for early childhood education, but it is well documented (Esping-Andersen 2005) that it is ineffective unless participants have strong cognitive and motivational abilities developed from youth. Chibok girls require support to return to their education which has been interrupted and threatened by BH abduction.

Views on the 'man' being the breadwinner and woman being the homemaker (Algan and Cahuc 2004) are strongly influenced by religious ideology. An ideology which does not support competition or competence and will support myths such as 'when jobs are scarce, men should have (Fortin 2005) more right to the job than a woman' does not always represent reality. In situations where a household has a female head due to widowhood, a child out of wedlock or divorce, disabled husbands, the effect of discrimination towards such female heads will be devastating for the family. Higher education should be available to either sex (male or female) and women should be free to choose fields that interest them to pursue.

Where students are reluctant to attend school physically due to phobia created by abduction, the Federal Ministry of Education should design online lectures for the survivors.

CHAPTER V: SURVIVOR-CENTERED APPROACH

Survivor Transition to Becoming A Mentor

Analysis of BH abduction of Chibok girls presents a very serious and complex problem. This is because kidnap, sexual violence, forced marriage, and impregnation, living under constant threat and torture each has adverse effect on the mental and physical health of victims. Sexual violence is associated (Draucker et al 2009) with a myriad of acute and chronic sequelae. Research has shown that kidnapping (Akwash 2016) is one of the most psychologically damaging crimes as survivors struggle with the issue of trust when rescued. An effective approach at rehabilitating Chibok girls should consider the combination of adverse effects of kidnapping, sexual violence and living under threat or torture on the minimum.

The rescue of some Chibok girls is an opportunity to commence suitable healing and recovery programs. Before explaining the Survivor-Centered Approach, it is important to highlight the areas current programs have targeted in supporting the rescued Chibok girls.

Current Rehabilitation Programs

Support for Education

Malala Yousafzai, the Pakistani female education activist donated \$200,000 (This Day 2014) from her foundation to support Chibok girl's education.

The American University of Nigeria in Yola, Adamawa state enrolled 21 (Telegraph 2014) of the escapees of the Chibok girls as full-time students for free to continue the education that was interrupted by BH.

In 2017, media reports (Forbes 2016) mentioned that a US billionaire, Robert Smith, founding director and president of the Fund II Foundation offered education scholarship to 24 Chibok girls at American University, Yola in the Adamawa state of Nigeria.

Safe School Initiative (SSI) was launched in May 2014 as a response to children and schools affected by the insurgency. This initiative (Learning Cities Networks 2015) entails transfer of students from affected communities to other state schools and support education in internally displaced camps. The federal government of Nigeria is in collaboration (Learning Cities Networks 2015) with UN Special Envoy for Global Education, the Nigerian Global Business Coalition for Education, Gordon Brown, and private sector leaders to re-build schools in the affected towns.

Trans border security

Troops from Nigeria, Cameroon, Niger, and Chad formed a coalition (The Guardian 2015) force as a strategy to tackle BH insurgency. The US, Britain, France and the European Union will back the creation of this multinational force

Rescued Chibok girls have received the most support for education. The former president, Goodluck Jonathan guaranteed (Daily Trust 2014) all the Chibok girls who

were kidnapped, and the ones who escaped on the night of the abduction scholarships for their education in other parts of the country based on choice. There is evidence that some girls have been enrolled in the American University of Nigeria (AUN) with full scholarship. Abigail is an exception to the full scholarship promised (Okome 2017) as she lives on the outskirts of Abuja and her relatives are responsible for her tuition.

There is need for community support programs that will nurture survivors who return back to the community. This community support program will complement other programs aimed at rehabilitating the survivors.

The Survivor-Centered Approach is aimed at healing, restoring and transforming survivors to mentors in their community. Survivors have the advantage of participating in the program in an environment they are familiar with. This will minimize anxiety associated with acceptance and coping (Hettiarachchi 2018) in a new environment. For the Survivor-Centered Approach to succeed, the need for safety and security must be assured.

State Security- Responsibility of the Federal Government of Nigeria

Maintenance of law and order is the sole responsibility of the Nigerian government. Protection and safety of human lives, human rights and human property should be restored. The Nigerian constitution (Section 14) reserves the security and welfare of the Nigerian people as the primary purpose of the government. The recent spate of insurgency has led to the death of hundreds of innocent citizens, internal displacement, closure of schools, and loss of livelihood. Research indicates that Nigeria's

expenditure on security is rising (Adebakin and Raimi 2012) faster than overheads on education, health, construction, and agriculture. Despite the high budgetary cost of security, the increase in serial bombing, kidnapping, ethnoreligious conflicts, and insurgency is worrisome.

For any program focused on rehabilitating Chibok girls to succeed, the government should ensure safety and security. According to Human Development Report (UNDP 1994), it is now time to transition from national security to the all-encompassing concept of human security. National security should tackle threats to human security (UNDP 1994) which encompasses food security, health security, economic security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security.

The Survivor-Centered Approach will work with each relevant department under the federal government to provide physical and mental health services, education, skills, and vocational training, social services and other psychosocial services that may be required.

Survivor-Centered Approach (SCA): Survivor transition to becoming a Mentor

The survivor-centered approach is made up of three inter-related components: Developmental Tasks, Cognitive Adjustment and Creating a New Reality for Self (reevaluating self). This program does not work in isolation. This program will leverage

on programs focused on supporting Chibok girls already. This support program will work in conjunction with state agencies for the sake of legitimacy and sustainability. The first step in this program is for each survivor to have a Clinical Assessment.

Assessment and Categorization

The best approach to treatment for survivors is for each person to have a personalized assessment. The assessment done will reveal (Bernal et al 2009) the needs and context of assistance required by the individual. Though BH survivors were exposed to traumatic events, the impact of traumatic events may vary according to the individual's temperament, time spent in captivity, duties assigned by captors or punishment for violating abductors rules. Based on categorization, survivors that require physical or mental health treatment will be enrolled at the available primary health center and SCA shall note the uniqueness of participant's conditions and ensure survivors receive specialist support in the areas of need. SCA shall not apply a general rehabilitation approach to all participants.

Developmental Tasks

Female adolescents generally fall within (Damme et al 2017) a very vulnerable group. Some characteristics of female adolescents are low self-esteem, (Kerig and Schindler 2013) high levels of traumatic exposure, antisocial behaviors. Adolescence is described by developmental psychology as a transition between childhood (Berk 2006) and adulthood. SCA will use a very flexible approach to introduce the Good Lives

Model. The Good Lives Model (GLM) is a strengths-based rehabilitation theory that augments the risk, needs, and responsivity principles through its focus on assisting (Ward 2002) clients to develop and implement meaningful life plans. GLM's core idea (McNeil et al 2012) is that of practical reasoning that involves the worthiness of an individual's goals and using coordinated action to achieve them. This theory has been used to rehabilitate female adolescent detainees to minimize recidivism. BH survivors were not criminal or legal detainees but were abducted and held against their will by an unlawful group. GLM promotes the principle of commonality which means all humans strive to achieve a range of primary human goods (McNeil et al. 2012) like having a desire to engage in leisure, or the ability to strive for mastery at work-related activities, or achieving factors important for healthy living, autonomy to formulate one's goals and ways to realize the goals. This model is in line with Weber's theory of life chances. At this stage, the survivors will document their goals, needs and goods. Furthermore, they will document their strategy to attain such goods. This may involve exchange of their credentials, skills or certificates for income to meet such demands. SCA will emphasize that need for these goods is common to all humans. Also, meeting these needs is the reason why individuals pursue education and vocational skills to enhance their chances to get a good job to afford these life essentials.

Emphasizing that every survivor has a need that she can take responsibility to satisfy is the first step to creating a common ground for participants of SCA. Mentor Mothers (MM) will facilitate SCA meetings. MM will ensure an atmosphere of equality,

freedom, permissiveness, understanding, acceptance, and confidentiality during psychosocial meetings.

At this preliminary stage, SCA's goal is for each survivor to create a plan for her future and develop practical steps on how to accomplish her goals. It is okay for participants to continue to revise their goals as their circumstances change. SCA will not interrupt their education, family and community relationship. See Appendix A.

Cognitive Adjustment

Among SCA goals is to support the healing and recovery of survivors of BH abduction through psychosocial activities. The second phase of this program emphasizes mental power of control over past events. This stage identifies factors that may facilitate or hinder the post-assault recovery of participants.

MM's are free to share coping strategies that worked well for them. Survivors are not under obligation to follow a mentor mother's strategy to recovery. SCA recognizes that individual experiences are different, so healing and recovery may not be at the same pace for all survivors.

Victims of sexual assault often struggle to regain a sense of control (Frazier et al 2005) over their lives by identifying the cause of the assault and how the assault could have been avoided. Conceptualizing the cause of the assault is regarded (Thompson 1981) as a form of past control. Self-blame theory (Janoff-Bullman 1979) that hypothesizes behavioral self-blame as adaptive has been associated with more distress (Frazier 2005) among survivors of rape.

In a meta-synthesis of 27 studies (Roesch and Weiner 2001), attributions about the cause of past events were related to adjustment to illness through different coping strategies. Research on attributions and coping among sexual assault survivors revealed (Arata 1999) that behavioral self-blame was associated with self-destructive and avoidant coping. Self-destructive coping mechanisms include substance use to block memories from the past.

The healing process from sexual violence begins (Draucker et al 2009) with a “poignant memory, a meaningful disclosure, a significant life change (marriage), or a motivating event (the birth of a child) that is often associated with intense emotions.” Avoidant coping will manifest in denying whether sexual violence occurred or not.

The cognitive adjustment stage (Draucker et al 2009) is referred to as “breaking free from the dungeon and reappearing the buried self.” This stage is crucial as survivors decide to share information about life as BH victims. If survivors perceive support from MM and other participants, the survivor may decide to share her thoughts, feelings, and experiences. Sharing and storytelling can be through use of metaphors and symbolism. Survivors decide on the use of drama, songs or dance. These activities will enable survivors take control over past events by externalizing their inner struggles.

Power of control over past events will lead to overcoming self-blame. This stage deals with healing moral injury or inner judgment caused by activities they participated in as captives like aiding kidnap of innocent people. The survivors will understand that they are not to blame for their sexual violation, having multiple sex partners, religious conversion, witnessing torture or victimizing others.

SCA will provide a safe space to talk. No participant shall be pressured to talk. Their stories shall remain confidential. See Appendix B.

Creating a New Reality for Self

This third stage is referred to as the repair stage. BH survivors may have conflicting thoughts within them as to their fate in life because of their experience in captivity. This stage empowers the survivors to take responsibility for their lives now that they have been rescued.

In stage one of the SCA program, participants will create a future and develop practical steps on how to achieve their plans. In stage two, survivors move past self-blame attribution and regain a sense of mental control over past adverse events by sharing their pain through storytelling, use of metaphors or symbolism. In Stage three, the survivor takes physical or mental responsibility to overcome barriers to a good life.

At stage three, survivors are aware of the consequences of the violence experienced and decide to seek treatment by working with trusted therapists for example. Survivors choose become open to emotional support from family and friends (Godbey and Hutchinson 1996) instead of withdrawal.

This repair stage entails acquiring skills not fully developed due to violence or its aftermath. Skills may include as educational or work competencies, social skills, the act of learning self-care (Godbey and Hutchinson 1996). Survivors at this stage increase in awareness that the traumatic experience can't damage them though (Draucker et al 1999) it may have threatened how they used to see themselves. The process of creating

new realities for self is ability for survivors to transcend response to violence and confront the physical, psychological, and social consequences of the sexual violence by making some lifestyle changes and being genuinely committed to the process of healing. At this stage, survivors decide not to 'waste the pain', by becoming vulnerable and willing to assist or mentor other survivors on their positive coping techniques.

This stage of reevaluation of self may be a long, tedious and non-linear process that is fraught with obstacles, but survivors inherently sense how to navigate. This process has been called "regenerating the buried self" (Draucker et al 2009). The survivor at this stage, can assume a mentorship role having undergone all the stages of the Survivor-Centered Approach and has overcome the different barriers in each phase. The survivor at this stage can identify gaps and develop other programs that will directly benefit other survivors and enlighten the community of support needed.

The three stages combined with mentor mother's supervision will empower participants to take control of their future. SCA will remain a community help project for the healing and recovery of BH survivors as more girls are rescued. A viable community project will facilitate community building by its members.

Mentor Mothers

Older women who have gone through a similar experience will be drafted to nurture Chibok girls. Mentor Mothers will facilitate social connections between participants and resources deemed crucial to the individual's well-being and recovery.

Support services can be conducted in schools, medical centers and in homes. Primary care and support services will be directed at survivors of BH abduction and children born in captivity. The main reason for using locals as mentor mothers is to leverage on women who are culturally competent and likely to understand the feelings of shame, worthlessness, and concerns of the survivors. The survivors will eventually navigate through cultural barriers to redefine their new reality and assist other survivors in the future.

Limitations

At the time of writing this research paper, not so much firsthand information has been received from the survivors. There may be many genuine reasons why the rescued Chibok girls have scarcely spoken about their experience. Research findings reveal that hostage survivors develop an unconscious bond with captors (Akwash 2016) and may experience grief if captors are harmed. BH survivors may have developed an attachment with captors who provided food and shelter for them during their time in captivity. Or, the survivors do not want to share the secrets of the armed group that did not kill them. So, they are thankful they were not killed despite threats and violence they endured. There may be more reasons. But firsthand narrative from the survivors remains the best source of information to found recovery programs to help the survivors. Survivor's narrative should be treated as confidential while using the same information to ascertain a survivor's mental health. Survivor narratives should be received by communication experts to prevent the silencing effect or withdrawal. A study has

described how negative reactions from professionals (Ahrens 2006) led survivors to question whether future disclosures would be effective, or reinforce feelings of self-blame or whether their experiences qualified as rape.”

Studies on armed groups reveal that there are many skills developed by women held (Dyan and Eckerbom 2012) in captivity. This study has not discussed such skills. Security forces can benefit from survivor narrative by learning BH tactics and strategies which the students may have observed or learned.

Since there was no direct contact through interviews with the victims while writing this research paper, firsthand account by BH victims may reveal new issues.

Recommendations

Posting photos of Chibok girls on social media should be restricted. Such information can be used to stigmatize the women in the future as rape victims, bush-women or BH allies. There should be increased access to physical and mental health services. Mental health treatment services can be provided in coded ways as to dispel stigma associated with consulting mental health centers. Mental and physical assessment should be done periodically. This service should be free for survivors and children born in captivity considering the ordeal they had to cope with as hostages. There should be a support system for survivors with children born in captivity. This should include land rights for survivors and their children, especially where survivors have no inheritance because their parents have been killed and inheritance destroyed.

Further research should be focused on “forgotten women.” From the HBO Now documentary on Chibok girls, there are claims that there are several forgotten women that can’t be accounted for. A new study should reveal the predicament of such abductees. Can the abduction of forgotten women and girls be categorized within the context of Amartya Sen’s description of ‘missing women’ (Croll 2001) phenomenon? Some of the forgotten women and their children that escaped BH captivity escaped with HIV/ AIDS infection (HBO Now documentary). Forgotten women in BH captivity may not have access to healthcare nor the right to insist on safe sex with their captors. Such forgotten women may be held deliberately to perform unpaid work of reproductive and domestic chores. Research on forgotten women should expose whether they are commodities for human traffickers either for sale or for prostitution.

CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION

The issue of intimate partner and child born in captivity were not discussed in this research paper. Since the perpetrators of BH abduction were predominantly men, it would be helpful for other projects to design programs that may encourage the young women to go beyond mere interaction with men to trusting men, partnering with men and even having a romantic relationship that could lead to marriage. The notion that all men are evil or bad should be corrected as society is made up of both genders. Survivors should understand that they will work with men, have male teachers, male clerics, male doctors, and male relatives. Their experience should not be used to generalize men's character.

For survivors that returned from captivity with babies, the federal government has not declared plans for such children. Support groups should be established to cater to the needs of children born in captivity. Such support groups can work with the government to provide land rights for such children whose paternity is traced to insurgents and not in any way their fault.

The Survivor-Centered approach is such that individual plans are tailored to suit individual rehabilitation program. After clinical assessment and categorization, at the developmental stage, the survivors begin to formulate their goals and how best to attain such goals. In the process of accomplishing their dreams, they deal with cognitive barriers such as overcoming self-blame, control over past events and moral injury (inner judgment) caused by being victims of rape, pawns, exposure to brutality. At the repair stage, survivors transcend the adverse effects of violence for inner transformation

through the courage to ask for specific help needed. The transformed survivor through experience, identifies gaps in existing rehabilitation programs and suggests how to fill such gaps or meet existing needs for the benefit of other survivors.

APPENDIX A: DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS

In stage one of SCA program, participants will create a plan with practical steps on how to achieve their plans.

This stage shall discuss the following topics:

1. Academic progress:

Are you enrolled in school? Do you need extra lessons to understand your lectures? What subjects do you need extra lessons? Do you like your new school? How many more years do you have to graduate? Have you made new friends? Do you read with your friends? What time of the day do you prefer reading? Where do you read? Are you proficient with the use of your laptop? Would you like to take some computer lessons? How many hours can you devote to computer classes without it affecting your routine?

2. Ambition:

What will you like to be in future? Which organization do you want to work for? Do you know anyone who works with that organization? Do you know the requirement for working with that organization? Would you like to own your own business?

3. Mentor/ Role Model

Who is your mentor/ role model? What do you like about her? What will you do differently? Have you met her before? Do you know her story? Does she have a family? When was the first time you met her? Does she know you? How often do you connect with her? What is your definition of a successful life?

4. What makes you happy?

Do you spend a lot of time with family and friends? Are you a member of any club or association? Do you like community service? Are you a volunteer in any association? Do you have a routine for exercise? Do you like cooking? Which city would you like to live in? Have you visited that city before? What kind of house/ car would you like to own? Do you like travelling?

5. Timeline

What do you do daily to move you closer to your dreams? What do you do weekly to move you closer to your dreams? What do you do monthly to help you achieve your targets? What is your goal for this year? How many years do you think you can accomplish your dreams at the pace you are going?

6. Mental and Physical check up

How often do you have to meet with your doctor? Do you have any prescribed activities to perform at home? How is your health progressing?

APPENDIX B: COGNITIVE ADJUSTMENT

In stage two, survivors move past self-blame attribution to regain sense of cognitive control over past adverse events.

The meetings at this stage will focus on the following:

1. Managing memories

Do you feel responsible for what happened to you in the past? Do you feel you have bad luck? Do you think it happened to only you? Do you believe you can recover from your experience? Do you think others recovered when they had similar experiences? Do you think your fate is still in the hands of your abductors?

2. Storytelling/ Dance/ Drama

Can you use metaphors/ symbolisms to tell your story? Do you prefer to use fiction to express your feelings? Can you remember what happened to you as a hostage? Can you describe your captors' motives using any of these methods? What are some distorted views your captors hold? Can you change those views? Can you direct a play reflecting Chibok girl's roles and duties in captivity? Can you direct series of plays that reveal skills women captives learn from captivity? Can you describe what you missed so much while in captivity? Can you through a play/ drama enlighten the public of needs and support survivors are expecting from their community.

3. Self esteem

Do you feel worthless or happy as a survivor? Have you been able to meet some of your goals in stage one? What barriers do you need to over-come? Do you feel more confident in the community than when you first returned from captivity? What factors can boost your confidence? Do you think you can reach the goals you set? Would you like to set higher goals instead?

APPENDIX C: CREATING NEW REALITY FOR SELF

In Stage three, survivor takes physical or mental responsibility to overcome barriers to a good life.

The meetings at this stage will focus on the following:

1. Learning new skills to repair damaged self

In addition to education, what other vocation are you interested in? Do you know how to drive? Have you registered at the driving school? Do you know how to bake? Are you proficient with the use of computers? Do you play musical instruments?

2. Seeking help

Attending mental health clinic for depression/ Post- Traumatic Stress Disorder.
Reaching out to private tutors to coach her in different areas.
Embracing spirituality and religion.
Attending career workshops

3. Helping others

Sharing success tips that has worked.
Being patient with participants who are slower at recovering.
Pointing others to helpful resources.
Reminding others of their various appointment

4. Mentorship roles

Taking the lead in community service program.
Enrolling new survivors.
Encourage new survivors to participate in SCA community meetings.
Identify gaps between SCA project and what survivors need.

APPENDIX D: MENTOR MOTHERS

Qualifications for becoming a Mentor Mother

1. Should have been a victim/ experience of sexual violence/ domestic violence
2. Should have had a bush husband/ child
3. Should be a local of the community
4. Should be of the same faith as the girls
5. Should not have criminal history of trafficking
6. Should be married after abduction and is a mother
7. Should not have mental health challenge or recovering

Mentor mothers will coach the current survivors to mentor the next set of rescued victims in the area they have received help.

Community Support Services

- a. Outreach meetings to create awareness
- b. New Enrollment of abductees
- c. Community Child Development Meeting for survivors with children born in captivity
- d. Parental Skills Meeting/ Counselling for survivors who are new mothers
- e. Educational support/ Extra lessons
- f. Self-care and women's health education
- g. Computer and Internet training

Training for Mentor Mothers

Mentor Mothers shall be trained periodically as the need arises. Training shall commence in the following areas:

1. Communication and Listening Skills: controlling facial expressions, trust building, building rapport
2. Identifying positive and negative coping strategies that promote healing or exacerbates distress
3. How to identify progress or relapse in participants
4. As a mentor, empowering survivors to take the lead in solving their problems

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