The ligaments of counter-terrorism regime

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The Ligaments of Counter-Terrorism Regime: Sexual Violence and the Vicarious Traumatisation of Female Non-Governmental Organisation workers in Nigeria

By

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Abstract

There is a dearth of studies on indirect victims of sexual violence in counter-terrorism efforts. Using Nigeria as a case study, this paper argues that global and state-level counter-terrorism policies have generally failed to account for the psychological effects of the engagement of female NGO workers in counter-terrorism operations or mitigating the effects of terrorism in conflict zones. Specifically, there has been an increase in sexual violence perpetrated by some members of the security agencies involved in counter-terrorism operations in North-eastern Nigeria. As a result, female NGO workers carry out Medicare, psychosocial counselling and advocacy for these victims. Female NGO workers become exposed to the trauma of victims of sexual violence, which affects their mental health and thus performances in counter-terrorism activities in the country. This altered their worldview on issues of safety even among secured locations or among the presence of security agents and reinforced feelings of powerlessness.

1. Introduction

Studies on the intersection between women and counter-terrorism, peacebuilding and conflict resolution have been focused on how the United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) 1325 and 2242 provided opportunities for Women in Peace and Security (WPS) issues. Thus, ensuring women representation in policy-making and enforcement peace and security issues. These resolutions also ensured the protection of women from conflict-related sexual violence.[1] However, few studies have looked at the psychological consequences of women engaged in

counter-terrorism, conflict resolution and peacebuilding measures. Using Nigeria as a reference point, this study examines the how female NGO workers operating at the frontlines of the challenges of sexual violence in counter-terrorism operations are vicariously traumatised by their exposure to the traumas of victims of sexual violence and its attendant operational consequences. The concept of 'vicarious traumatisation.'[2] was developed by Lisa McCann and Laurie Anne Pearlman in the 1990s. They defined it as 'the transformation that occurs within the therapist (or other trauma workers) as a result of empathic engagement with client's trauma experiences and the sequelae'.[3] Since then, scholars have studied the vicarious traumatisation framework on other categories of help givers including medical practitioners such as clinicians, nurses, and psychiatrist,[4] psychologists, counsellors, child welfare or social workers,[5] laws enforcement officers, attorneys and judges, [6] academics[7] and vicarious traumatisation of groups. [8] However, few studies have looked the vicarious traumatisation of female NGO workers in operating in areas where counter-terrorism operations are on-going.

While activists and scholars have hailed UNSCR resolutions 1325 and 2242,[9] critics of these resolutions argue that the resolutions essentializes women as victims in need of rescue by men, impinges on their autonomous agency and re-invokes and sustains masculinist structures of protections.[10] Interestingly, Aoláin argues that while UNSCR resolutions 1325 and 2242 sits on the sidelines of some of the most critical security discussions which takes place among relevant UN agencies such as Counter-terrorism Centre (CTC). The failure of feminists/women advocates to recognise the importance of these institutions in policy formulation and enforcement of counter-terrorism measures is a set back for the WPS agenda. The above explains why CTC recognises the roles of women in terrorism prevention, but glosses over the consequences of engaging women in preventing radicalisation or terrorism or the dangers women are exposed to, particularly sexual violence..[11]

This study advances extant debates on criticism of UNSCR 1325 and 2242. The study argues that these resolutions failed to account for indirect victims of conflict-related sexual violence. The study focuses on the demography of women that are mostly not captured in the literature, such as non-governmental organisations that are engaged in humanitarian and advocacy efforts for victims of sexual violence.

Thus, the study examines how humanitarian workers themselves have become victims of sexual violence due to their exposure to traumas of victims of sexual violence and the broader socio-political implications for counter-terrorism and peace-building efforts in the conflict and post-conflict environments. Hence, this study seeks to expand the concept of victimhood in counter-terrorism efforts by employing a psychological approach in unravelling how humanitarian workers are indirectly affected by their exposure to victim's experiences and its attendant operational consequences in Nigeria.

This study draws from data generated from 9 oral interviews of purposively selected security agents involved counter-terrorism operations and 10 NGO programme officers (eight women and two men) that engaged in various advocacy, capacity building and humanitarian assistance programmes in Yobe and Borno state, North-eastern Nigeria. The interviews were conducted in the areas of operations and the headquarters of respondents, such as Yobe, Borno, Abuja, Oyo and Lagos state, Nigeria. The study uses both telephone and face-to-face methods to conduct the interviews.

First, The study establishes that, although there is a general state of fear elicited by the activities of Boko Haram in North-eastern Nigeria, these fears are also heightened in supposedly secured areas.[12] Explicitly, the study argues that female NGO workers exposure to traumatic experiences of victims of sexual violence disrupts their cognitive schemas of safety even in secured areas in counter-terrorism operations in north-eastern Nigeria. Notably, these female workers become hyper-vigilant even among security agents. Their fears are not necessary from Boko Haram but the security agents. Due to these fears, female NGOs workers prioritised areas of operations or advocacy efforts not based on the need of the people in these communities but for the protection of themselves from security agents that have been alleged to be perpetrators of sexual violence. Second, it also affects their trust for government counter-terrorism agencies, as female workers become cynical over the government's assurances of investigating cases of sexual violence. This further strains government-NGO relationship. It also impinges on enthusiasm women's of female NGOs to advocate for the rights of victims of sexual violence. Lastly, vicarious traumatisation alters the sense of the power of female NGO workers in addressing the

challenges of sexual violence, as the government's refutations of cases of sexual violence created a feeling of powerlessness. Therefore, the study asserts that female NGO workers exposure to the psychological trauma of victims, impinges on their effectiveness in capacity building, humanitarian assistance and advocacy efforts which are essential in not only mitigating the effects of terrorisms and counter-terrorism operations but the rise of terrorism in North-eastern Nigeria.

This study makes significant contributions to the literature on women and counter-terrorism study fields. First, it further expands the debates on how despite concerted efforts on WPS agenda women issues remain at margins of global security discourse, which reflects on how counter-terrorism institutions engage women, yet glosses over their unique challenges. Specifically, the challenge of how women, mobilised to prevent or mitigate the effects of terrorism, have themselves been affected by it. As a result, it further contributes to the literature on conflict-related violence field by expanding the concept of victimhood in conflict zones, by bringing indirect victims of trauma to the literature. Besides, it advances Laurie Anne Pearlman, and Lisa Mac Cann vicarious traumatisation framework by looking beyond the vicarious traumatisation of caregivers in peacetime environments to female NGO workers operating at the frontline of conflict and post-conflict areas and its attendant operational consequences. Thus, the content of this work would serve as a guide to international organisations or International development agencies, counter-terrorism policy planners and risk assessment analyst on how psychological issues impact on the operational performance of aid workers.

2. Methodology

This study evolved from data collected from both primary and secondary sources. Through snowballing approach 19 oral interviews were conducted on security agents and NGO workers in faith-based, women, and human rights organisations that are focused on humanitarian services, human rights advocacy and peace-building in North-eastern Nigeria. These include ten interviews on NGO workers and nine interviews on government security agents.[13] The study relied on a field and desk research from 2015 to 2019. Fieldwork was carried out between February to March

2015 and in April to May 2018. The location of the NGOs was also purposively selected. These include Lagos, Abuja, Oyo which is their headquarters, and Borno and Yobe state their areas of operations. The locations or areas of operations of security agents were Yobe, Adamawa, and Borno states of North-eastern Nigeria.

The NGO workers were questions on demography, allegations of sexual violence in counter-terrorism operations in the North-east, the effects of sexual violence on their operations, the responses of the government agencies their respective organisations. The author asked security agents about the allegations of sexual violence committed by some of their colleagues, and efforts in addressing these issues and their relationship with NGOs workers[14]

The data generated qualitatively were context analysed. Due to the nature of the topic, the author experienced challenges accessing NGOs willing to be interviewed due to suspicion against the researcher. Many requests for interviews were turned down or ignored. Another major challenge was getting security agents that are willing to discuss issues of sexual violence in the north-east. Many of them were subtly antagonistic to the researcher, and some others were also suspicious of the researcher. To overcome this challenge, the author had to establish confidence and trust in some of the respondents. Due to the challenges mentioned above, the author adopted snowball sampling methods to get access to more respondents. In other words, some of the respondents initially interviewed provided the contacts of others.

The study balanced primary data with secondary data from relevant literature on women and counter-terrorism, peacebuilding and conflict resolution. It also includes literature on sexual violence in conflict and post-conflict areas, vicarious traumatisation of aid workers. Also, the study used grey literature, such as United Nation Security Council resolutions, reports of sexual violence against women and girls in the northeast from Amnesty International, Human rights Watch between 2016 and 2018. Therefore, the method section was comprehensive and engaging.

3. Women, Counter-Terrorism and Peace building: A Review of Literature

There are two major arguments in the literature on the interconnections between women and counter-terrorism, peacebuilding and conflict resolution. Arguably, these debates revolve around two essential UNSC resolution such UNSCR 1325 and 2242. While some scholars and women advocates hailed the establishment of these resolutions, others were critical.

Feminist activists, women groups or non-governmental organisation and scholars have for years advocated for the rights and protection of women in war or conflict or post-conflict settings. They argued that women are dispossessed of landed properties, displaced, sold to slavery, tortured, kidnapped, trafficked, raped or other forms of sexual violence, mutilated, killed, or used as weapons of war. Also, women were equally affected by economic hardship and poverty due to the conflicts or war.[15] Besides, in conflict and post-conflict environment women are excluded from decision-making processes such as peacebuilding, conflict negotiations or resolutions.[16]

These advocacies for the rights of women to participate in peace and security issues and protection from conflict-related sexual violence and other attendant consequences of violent conflicts spurred the UNSC to established series of resolutions such as UNSCR 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960 and 2242. These resolutions were formed between 2008 and 2015.[17] Of particular interest to scholars is UNSCR 1325 and 2242. Feminist scholars of various ideological leaning- liberal, cultural and radical feminist have hailed these resolutions as a significant and a major step in addressing three key issues that has defined international security regime. First, the liberal feminist scholar welcomed UNSCR 1325 because it would ensure that the representativeness of women in the discourse peace and security issues globally, regionally and nationally. They believe that it further empowers women to assert their demands or express their concerns or challenges of war or conflict at a global platform.[18] Second, cultural feminist scholars contend that women play important roles as pacifist or rejects war and conflict. Thus, the cultural feminist scholar argued that UNSCR 1325 gives women the opportunity to ensure that violence does not arise or put an end to violence.[19] Third, the radical feminist scholars further applauded UNSCR 1325 because it emphasizes the protection of women and girls from violence during conflict and post conflict settings. The resolutions directs combatants to ensure

that the women and girls are protected from various forms of sexual violence including the use of women as a weapon of war during conflicts.[20]

However, other scholars have criticised UNSCR 1325, because they are of the view that it essentializes women as peacebuilders and thus put constraints on women agency.[21] Specifically, Pratt argues that UNSCR 1325 does nothing to de-construct the gender binaries historically entrenched in national and international politics or security structures. Instead, it reconfigures extant narratives of gender, race and sexuality. Pratt further asserts that UNSCR 1325 does not represent the needs and views of women in conflict areas rather it projects a colonial trope that deconstructs white men as perpetrators of sexual violence but views them as saviour or protectors. Brown men were seen as violent, uncultured and are security threats not just to brown women but the global security infrastructure.[22] Furthermore, Pratt argues that the incorporation of women as peacebuilders was done to legitimise the dominant masculinist protection system. Pratt provided an empirical justification for her argument stating that following 9/11, the United States Global war on Terror regime influenced governments in the US, UK and EU to form Female Engagement Team (FET). These policies were strategies used to inspire local women in conflict zones such as Afghanistan and Iraq to join in the efforts to counter terrorism. These women were used them as intelligence informers and peacekeepers. Thus, women were instrumentalised for strategic reason in the counterinsurgency or counter-terrorism context.[23] Specifically Pratt stated that it allowed " women in the military to participate in the larger narrative of masculinist protection enacted in the wake of the 9/11"[24]

Second, Aoláin took her criticism beyond UNSCR 1325 to also include UNSCR 2242 established in 2015. Explicitly, Aoláin stated that, UNSCR 2242 "highlights the role of women in countering violent extremism and addresses the impact of extremism on the lives of women through displacement, as well as direct and indirect violence".[25] Like Pratt, Aoláin argues the resolution essentialised in these resolutions, and there is a recurring masculine paradigm that defines UN terrorism and counter-terrorism resolutions. Thus, they lack gender sensitivity. Although, she attributes the marginalisation of women to the UN practices of being culturally

sensitive to member nations. Hence, words are written in such a way that they collectively satisfy the views of these countries on gender issues. However, this approach facilitates the continued relegation of gender issues to the background of broader global counter-terrorism discourse.[26]

Aoláin argued that feminist activists and scholars perceptions that the WPS agenda in international security politics and the subsequent establishment of UNSCR Resolutions 1325 and 2242 gives women a voice in conflict or war is ill-fated.[27] The above argument is premised on the view that women/feminist advocates neglected critical roles top UN institutions in the enforcement of resolutions such as the Counter-terrorism Centre (CTC). A primary UN resolution on counter-terrorism globally is Resolution 1373. Paragraph 6 of Resolution 1373 saw the establishment of CTC, which is empowered to monitor the implementation of counter-terrorism measures. It is regarded as an important institution within the international security infrastructure and states report to the CTC measures taken by them to address terrorism, and CTC ensures that such measures conform with their directives. However, the CTC does not have gender sensitivity in its programmes. Although the CTC recognises the roles women play in preventing terrorism, it is mostly gender-insensitive to the challenges these women face in the frontline of preventing terrorism and engaging in deradicalisation.[28] Specifically Aoláin stated that "given the often marginal status of women in the contexts where they are expected to become the 'minders and informers' of their sons and daughters for the state, the potential harms to the women themselves have been grossly underestimated or ignored by the CTC …up to September 2015, public communications by the CTC have made no direct reference to sexual violence against women, and there is a paucity of direct references to women and harms against women."[29] Thus, CTC glosses how women have become victims of sexual violence in counter-terrorism or terrorism prevention programmes.

However, there is yet any study that looks at the indirect victims of conflict-related sexual violence in counter-terrorism operations. Hence, this study advances the argument that the UNSCR 1325 and 2242 and key counter-terrorism security institutions such as the CTC also failed to account for indirect victims of terrorism prevention programmes. Specifically, in the various UN counter-terrorism resolutions

and programmes in conflict and post-conflict zones, women are used as humanitarian or aid workers state-level soft counter-terrorism approaches such as social service provision, which includes Medicare, psycho-social counselling of victims of conflict-related sexual violence during counter-terrorism operations. However, these resolutions fail to account for how NGO workers themselves have become victims of sexual violence due to their exposure to traumas of victims of sexual violence and the broader socio-political implications for counter-terrorism and peace-building efforts in the conflict and post-conflict environments. Hence, this study seeks to expand the concept of victimhood in counter-terrorism efforts by employing a psychological approach in unravelling the psychological impact of counter-terrorism on aid workers and it its attendant operational consequences in Nigeria.

To the best of my knowledge, this is one of the first case studies that employed the vicarious traumatisation framework in understanding the psychological challenges female NGO workers faced in counter-terrorism operations. Smith and Barrett recently highlighted the importance of using theories and methodologies in the field of psychology to understand performance and health issues of security experts in counter-terrorism operations.[30] Therefore, this study makes a significant contribution to generalizable knowledge by showing the interconnection between women and counter-terrorism using Nigeria as a case study.

Nigeria offers an interesting case study due to the on-going counter-terrorism operations in the North-eastern part of the country, and the presence of NGO workers, many of whom are women, engaged in capacity building and technical assistance for victims of terrorism and counter-terrorism operations in North-east. Moreover, there have been reported cases of sexual violence of women and girls been committed by some counter-terrorism security agents who ironically were suppose to protect them from the activities of Boko Haram and ISWAP. Hence, it would be interesting to know how these female NGOs workers interacting with victims of sexual violence counter-terrorism operations are vicariously affected by their exposure to the trauma experiences of victims. First, it is salient to provide a detailed understanding of the concept of vicarious traumatisation.

4. Explaining the Vicarious Traumatization Framework

Theoretical understanding of the effects of sexual violence on women, men, boys and girls victims in conflict and the post-conflict environment has centered on the physical, social, and psychological consequences. However for the purpose of this article we focused on the psychological consequences, specifically vicarious traumatisation concept.

In the 1990s, Lisa McCann, Laurie Anne Pearlman developed a framework known as 'vicarious traumatisation'. They argue that for decades many research works have been directed towards the psychological effects of traumatic experiences of victims and that there has been less emphasis on indirect victims, specifically therapists exposed to the trauma experiences of their victim clients. They further argued that individual that engaged victims of traumas might themselves experience severe psychological consequences that can be unsettling and agonising which can also last for a long time. They termed this 'vicarious traumatisation'. [31]

Vicarious traumatisation has also been labelled as "compassion fatigue" or "Secondary Stress Trauma" (STS) Most often scholars used the term interchangeably, The reason is that these frameworks are related, as both explain how a caregiver is affected psychologically due to their exposure of clients or victims traumatic materials, However, significant theoretical disparities exist. Although, it is beyond the scope of this article to provide a detailed discourse on the conceptualisations of these terms. However, it is essential to highlight the uniqueness of these frameworks for the sake of clarity. Secondary Stress Trauma and compassion fatigue refer to a collection of symptoms that imitates Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). On the other hand, vicarious traumatisation entails a change in the perception of the world and self due to the exposure of the traumatic experiences of victims. Baird and Kracens reiterated this view in their arguments that STS is "a disorder experience by those supporting or helping persons who have PTSD and not specifically on the cognitive phenomenon,"[32], However, Baird and Jekins stated, "the main symptoms of vicarious traumatisation involve cognitive shift that may be paralleled by intrusive imagery rather a full spectrum of PTSD. They further argue that vicarious traumatisation is different from STS because of it a "theory-driven construct that emphasising more gradual, covert, and permanent changes in cognitive schema,"[33].

According to McCann and Pearlman, first, vicarious traumatisation process works by altering the cognitive schemas, i.e. the worldview of the therapist such as her/his beliefs, expectations and assumptions. Views about themselves and their belief system are affected as they interact with traumatised victims. The therapist exposure may disrupt her/his extant sense of dependency/trusts, safety, power, independence, esteem and intimacy. Second, vicarious traumatisation also works by influencing the imaging system of the memory of therapist due to their interaction with victim clients. Therapist visualises clients traumatic imageries that come as fragments and which can be in the form of dreams, recollections or invasive thoughts. [34] 'These images may be triggered by previously neutral stimuli that have become associated with the client's traumatic memories. The imagery that is most painful to the therapist is often centres around schemas related to therapist salient needs. Thus, a therapist for whom safety is salient will likely recall images associated with threats and personal vulnerability'.[35]

Furthermore, scholars differentiated vicarious traumatisation from other relevant concepts such as "burnout" which they refer to the psychological strain of working with a difficult population such as a seriously ill person or a person with severe psychiatric problems.[36] McCann and Pearlman argued that burnout is distinct because in vicarious traumatisation, "the therapist is exposed to emotionally shocking images of horror and suffering that characteristics of serious traumas" Moreover, they differentiated vicarious traumatisation from "countertransference", Freudenberger, define countertransference as pre-existing psychological wounds a therapist has, and it is activated by exposure to traumatic experiences of client victims.[37] McCann and Pearlman argued that vicarious traumatisation is broad than countertransference, as it entails the therapist "cognitive world is altered by hearing traumatic client material"[38]

Since the introduction of the vicarious traumatisation framework, there have been several studies that highlight diverse career fields that are possibly affected by vicarious traumatisation in the West. In other words, scholars have studied the vicarious traumatisation framework on other categories of help givers including medical practitioners such as clinicians, nurses, and psychiatrist,[39] psychologists, counsellors, child welfare or social workers,[40] laws enforcement officers, attorneys and judges,[41] academics[42] and vicarious traumatisation of groups.[43] However, few studies have looked the vicarious traumatisation of female NGO workers in operating

in areas where counter-terrorism operations are on-going. However, most of the majority of these studies was done in a peacetime environment. Thus, there is a dearth of studies on the vicarious traumatisation of female NGO workers in counter-terrorism operations. There is a lack of literature on vicarious traumatisation framework within the conflict-related sexual violence field. Lastly, comparatively, there is a dearth of studies on the vicarious traumatisation of caregivers or NGO workers in Africa and particularly in the Nigerian context.

Therefore, this study examines the vicarious traumatisation of female NGO workers and how it affects the capacity to effectively engage in various aid delivery projects and advocacy programmes in counter-terrorism operations in North-eastern Nigeria. The increasing cases of sexual violence of women and girls in the North-east influenced this study. Therefore, this study begins by examining the challenges of sexual violence North-eastern Nigeria.

5. Counter-Terrorism Operations: Sexual Violence and Non-Governmental Organisations in North-Eastern Nigeria

Since, 2003, *Jama'atulAlhul and Sunna Lid Dazwatis wal Jihadi* also known as Boko Haram and its affiliate Islamic State of West Africa (ISWAP) carried out violent attacks on government institutions, private properties, innocent civilians. In response, the Nigerian government established both soft and hard counter-terrorism measures aimed at weakening the capacity of the group to carry out attacks in the country. However, reports are emerging that the Nigerian counter-terrorism operations in the North-eastern are alienating human rights and civil liberties and this may in turn feed and sustain terrorism.[44] Specifically, increasing violation of human rights and civil liberties would nurse grievances that Boko Haram and ISWAP members could exploit to lure aggrieved youths into their network. It can also make the people less supportive of the government in the areas of gathering intelligence on the movement of Boko Haram and ISWAP members within local communities.

In 2016 Human Rights Watch reported high incidences of sexual violence in the northeast without much effort by the government to address the scourge.[45] Besides, in 2018, Amnesty International confirmed previous reports on how some Nigerian security agents including the CJTF were involved in acts of sexual violence particularly rape of women and girls in the North-eastern part of the country.[46]

The interviewed executives of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) operating in the North-east confirmed the reports above. They reported the constant sexual violation of women and young girls by the military, police officers and CJTF.[47] For instance, a healthcare focus NGOs executive responded when asked if they are cases of sexual violence 'off course! A lot! I think one of the key causes are the security forces and also the civilian Joint Taskforce'. Similarly, another programme officer gave the following response when asked if there were cases of sexual violence and if the security agents were involved 'Yes… we just spent eight months in Danboa (Borno state North-eastern Nigeria). When we started, we started having cases of sexual violence within the camps and host communities too. We have two cases that the military was involved; one of it was a 9-year-old girl that was raped by military personnel. And we have others that the perpetrators came around from host communities. Some of the women were raped in the night'. [48]

Furthermore, 88.9 percent of the interviewed security agents confirmed the cases of sexual violence, but they stated this has been overblown and misrepresentative of the situation on the ground. For instance, an officer in the NSCDC stated that 'It is not unusual or uncommon to say that these things (rape) are happening but it does not represent the culture among security agency, but to some extent, we could say yes, that they have been cases'. [49] However, they stated that these cases of sexual violence are too minimal and have been overblown by NGOs particularly Amnesty international and the actions of very few of their men do not represent the values of their organisations. [50] Specifically, a member of the Nigerian military stated that 'not all the allegations are true. How they (NGOs) get their information, they do not do wider interviews for them to get exactly what is the major problem, why they are these harassments (sexual violence), how did it come about, who are those people involved in this harassment…I expected them (Amnesty

International) to give us facts and figures'. Furthermore, 11.1 percent of interviewed security agents denied the occurrence of sexual violence in the north-east.[51]

Hence, the responses from both interviewed NGO workers and security agents suggest that cases of sexual violence committed by some member of the security agencies do exist.

6. Sexual Violence and Vicarious Traumatization of Female NGO Workers and It impact on Counter-Terrorism Operations in Nigeria.

NGO workers play critical roles in terrorism prevention, implementing UN resolutions that address gender sensitivity in various programmes in counter-terrorism locations. In North-eastern Nigeria, where counter-terrorism operations are ongoing, female NGO workers help in mitigating the effects of terrorism and counter-terrorism operations. They do this through various advocacy programmes for victims of sexual violence and carry out Medicare and psycho-social counselling of victims. However, these rising cases of sexual violence perpetrated by security agents during counter-terrorism operations in North-eastern Nigeria are psychologically affecting the mental health and performances of these female workers due to their interactions with victims.

In this section, we examined three ways the cases of sexual violence are indirectly affecting female NGO workers psychologically and operationally. The first examines how female NGO workers exposure to victims of sexual violence vicariously traumatised them by altering their worldview on the issue of safety. The second part also examines the disruption of female NGO workers' sense of trust for the government and security agencies due to the government's responses to the cases of sexual violence by some of its security agencies. The last part analyses how the vicarious traumatisation reinforces female NGO workers' feeling of powerlessness due to security agencies responses to the cases of sexual violence. In each of these parts, the consequences of the vicarious traumatisation of female NGO workers to their counter-terrorism efforts or mitigating the effects of terrorism are also discussed. It has been argued that theories in psychology are essential tools in understanding the mental health and performance of counter-terrorism professionals engaged in counter-

terrorism operations.[52] Thus, we deploy the vicarious traumatisation framework to understand the psychological and operational challenges female NGO workers face in counter-terrorism operations in North-eastern Nigeria. The study also analyses how Nigerian socio-cultural and political context contributed to shaping the worldview these workers and impinging on their activities.

(a)   *Disruption in the sense of Safety and Its Consequences*

McCann and Pearlman stated vicarious traumatisation alters the cognitive schemas of caregivers' sense of safety. 'images of threats or harm to innocent people may challenge the therapist's schemas within the area of safety. This will be particularly disruptive if the helper has strong needs for security'. [53] Furthermore, Isobel and Angus-Leppan, Van Deusen and Way asserts that vicarious traumatisation influences hyper-vigilance, fear and vulnerabilities, disruption in personal relations as a result of intense concern for safety among caregivers.[54] Besides, Blome and Safadi argued that vicarious traumatisation of social workers on the issue of safety affected their ability to complete their responsibilities and adequately serve their clients.[55] The disruption in the worldview of caregivers on the issue of safety and increase vigilance aids our understanding of reaction of female NGO workers in North-eastern Nigeria who interact with women and girls victims.

About 70 percent of NGO workers interviewed state that, although there is a general state of fear as a result of the violent attacks and kidnapping of women by Boko Haram and ISWAP, these fears are also heightened in supposedly secured spaces due to the activities of some security agents.[56] Explicitly, the interviewees stated that due to the nature of their work, victims of sexual violence often come secretly to inform them that some military men raped them. They stated that the vulnerability of women brought about by the volatility of the North-east region influenced these cases of rape by security agents. They also stated that these victims told them that security agents sexually violated them after being lured into secluded places on the pretence of providing security, food or shelter. [57] Although female NGO workers interviewed stated these reports of sexual violence by security agents does not discourage them from operating in the north-east, however, it creates a general state of apprehension, distrust and fear that they too could fall victim of rape by

security agents.[58]   Specifically, peace-building NGOs programme officer responded when asked about her reactions over reports of victims of sexual violence brings to them and how it affects their operations. Her response was 'great fear, great uncertainty and great trauma. It has a traumatic fear on us females working in this environment, in conflict situations security is broken down, so one has to take extra care for whatever you are doing.' [59]

In addition, the interviewed NGOs workers stated that they experience intensified fears when they are confronted with the presence of so many male soldiers in certain locations and have thus sought ways of preventing such situations.[60] Explicitly, a female NGO worker that focuses on women right advocacy stated that 'the fact is when you see military personnel, and you are alone on the road, you begin to get frightened, whether it's a policeman, whether it's an army or whether it's a Joint Task force; you don't want to be alone with them. So that is the kind of apprehension that is prevailing. Personally, I don't go alone to the army base, but in case I encounter the army on patrol alone, of course, it will be a case of apprehension and fear based on the reports I have gotten on alleged rape.'[61]   Furthermore, a health focus female NGOs worker responded when asked how victims narration of sexual violence affects her 'sighs! It could be exhausting. Sometimes you feel like why do men exist. We feel the world is just unfair to the women. We feel there is no justice for the women. We always feel sad when we get such cases. So it affects our mentality as workers. As women, we feel that we have been cheated and still being cheated'.[62]

As a result of these fears, female NGOs workers interviewed stated that they have become very vigilant. Consequently, they avoid operating in areas they considered to poses more risks due to reported cases of rape. For instance, a female NGO worker that works in a human rights advocacy organisations stated that during one of her trips to Maiduguri, she was warned to avoid working in places where they were a large presence of male soldiers so that she does not get raped. The warning was due to the high number of rape cases. Moreover, reports projected are not commensurate with rape cases in this locations. In her words 'personally, to be honest, it had not occurred to me to be worried about that (rape), but I remember a friend was also telling me when we were going to the Northeast earlier in the year.

Somebody was telling me to please beware apart from where the insurgents or terrorist have taken over that even where we have a high concentration of security agents that occurrences (rape) are very common. To be honest, I wasn't thinking in that line, but at the point that person said it I became conscious'.[63] Also, another female NGOs worker also stated that they have to move in groups or peers as measures to prevent them falling victim from rape during their fieldwork in the North-east.[64]

Furthermore, it is argued that other socio-cultural factors combines to influence the hyper-vigilance of female NGO workers. In the Nigerian socio-cultural settings, the protection of women from sexual harassment is not given much consideration. Women or girl victims are blamed for getting raped and are subsequently rejected by their spouse or limits her chances of getting married.[65] Therefore, female NGO workers exposure to experiences of victims of sexual violence combine with how society treats victims of rape further reinforced the intense sense of safety. It also had significant effects on their duties. Explicitly, as a way of coping or prevention strategies, NGOs women workers prioritized locations of operations not as a result of the need of the people in a particular locality or community caught in the crossfire of terrorist attacks and counter-terrorism operations in the North-east but due to fear of personal safety. The above has negative consequences for the operations of NGOs. Specifically, the impingement of the capacity of NGOs to effectively implement foreign-funded projects in rural communities in dire need of aid projects due to their exposure to traumas of victims of sexual violence. Hence, aid projects are concentrated in urban areas that may not necessarily be in need of such projects but are considered safer than isolated rural locations. Thus, the above response of female NGO workers is a way of coping with the trauma. However, this ultimately hinders to the overall objectives of mitigating the challenges brought by terrorism and counter-terrorism operations in North-eastern Nigeria, particularly as it affects the marginalised and the vulnerable in rural or isolated communities in the North-east.

Furthermore, fear of personal safety influenced many advocacy NGOs to either refocus their activities away from fighting for the rights of victims of sexual violence to mainly attending to the other social needs of victims. The reason is that

advocacy efforts to bring justice to victims put them at odds with the accused security agents that they rely on for protection. Thus, these women fear for their lives or being sexually violated themselves as a reprisal for their advocacy efforts. For instance, an NGO programme officer stated during an interview that the military would do anything to protect their officers and men against allegations of sexual violence. In her words, 'so you get worried about whatever actions they may take, because we are in a very volatile environment, we are secluded, and the only security you have, even as an organisation or NGO worker working here, is military forces that provide the security and so you don't want to make enemies with them. So, you do not want to get into all that so we stop at preventive measures rather than investigating. We focus on psycho-social counselling and treatment.' [66]

(b)   *Disruption in the sense of Trust/Dependency on Government Counter-terrorism Institutions and Its Consequences on NGOs Operational Capacity*

McCann and Pearlman also argued that 'through their clients, therapist who works with victims are exposed to the many cruel ways that people deceive, betray, or violate the trust of others human beings, as well as the ways people can undermine those who depend upon them…This may well disrupt the therapist's schemas about trust'. [67] Scholars also argue that exposure to trauma of victims unsettles the worldviews of caregivers' on the goodness of people. Thus strong suspicions of the other people's intentions and cynicism continue to build.[68] Furthermore, Domo and Blome stated that it 'prevents them from being fully present both with their clients and other work responsibilities' [69] The increasing loss of trust on people and cynicism expressed by caregivers due to their exposure to trauma of clients illuminate the responses of female NGO workers mitigating the effects of terrorism and counter-terrorism in the North-east.

Explicitly, the narration of experiences of victims of sexual violence perpetrated by some counter-terrorism security agents influenced NGO women workers increasing sense of distrust for government institutions, particularly security agencies who, ironically, are supposed to provide security for individuals in these volatile areas. The above was reiterated by a gender-focused healthcare service NGOs programme officer when asked how she feels after listening to the accounts of women

that have been sexually violated by security agents 'sometimes I feel like I do not trust any man that is how you feel when you are in such places (north-east)'.[70]

Furthermore, the lack of trust is heightened by government laxity to the increasing cases of sexual violence by some of the security agencies in North-eastern Nigeria. Interviewed NGO women workers stated that, the victims that narrate these incidences to them do not come forward to identify perpetrators because they told them that they are afraid of their lives or what the accused security agent will do to them and do not believe the government can help them because government have not shown interest in their plights. According to women rights advocacy NGOs executive 'For women already facing vulnerability of conflict and they have further become victims of rape. Whom do you think they will report to, the government would not listen to them. Do you report the army to the army? It is the army versus the victim. In that case, the victims become a villain, and if the victim is not careful the victims will be arrested, and other brutality will follow. So most times the government pays deaf ears or they trivialise such issues'.[71] Furthermore, narrating her experience of trying to get the victims that come to her to identify perpetrators in order to ensure that they are prosecuted, a gender-based violence advocacy NGOs stated that 'well, I feel sad, I have tried going to the extent of ensuring that the perpetrators are brought to book. Along the line, you will be frustrated, and you may not be able to continue with the cases'.[72]

Thus, all interviewed NGOs programme officers and executives stated they had been frustrated by government responses to the rising cases of sexual violence of victims that come to them. They stated that their frustration and state of helplessness is due to government negligence in addressing the scourge of sexual violence against women and girls in the North-east and these have further frustrated their advocacy efforts in ensuring that justice is served to victims and prevent would be perpetrators from engaging in it. NGOs women workers further express cynicism over the government and it security organisations claims of establishing various panels to investigate these allegations, according to them nothing has come out of it. For instance, a director of an international human rights organisations stated that 'they have launched investigations, they have had investigative panels, but we have not

seen the results of those investigations. So, we cannot tell how far they went, and how they went about it'.[73]

Furthermore, NGO workers also stated that government inactions of cases of sexual violence further emboldens other perpetrators to continue in their acts and also encourages newer ones. For instance, a health and Care NGO programme officer responded when asked the implications of government inactions 'if you are silent over something, it means to consent to it. So if the government is not providing appropriate actions, then, in other words, they are consenting to it an encouraging it'.[74] Therefore, the NGOs interviewed stated that the (in) actions government and its security institutions operating in the North-east to the increasing cases of sexual violence proves that they are enabling this violent crime. Hence, their capacity of NGOs to advocate for the interest of victims and survivors has been frustrated. It has equally made NGOs circumspect in working with the government of issues of sexual violence, as they do not trust the government and the hierarchy of security institutions in the north-east to prosecute perpetrators. For instance, a women health focus NGO worker stated that 'people have the idea that the military is there to protect first of all their men, their organisations and they can do anything to protect it' [75]

The study argues that other variables contributed to building the sense of distrust by female NGO workers on the government. In other words, leadership failure reinforces the lack of trust for government institutions in Nigeria for decades. Chief among these government institutions are security agencies, particularly the Nigeria Police.[76] The ineffectiveness of security agencies to respond to violent crimes and prosecute those engaged in it in other parts of the country contributed to eroding trust in these institutions. The sexual violence by government security agencies further aggravated lack of trust in the context of counter-terrorism. Thus, due to the existing perceptions about government security agencies, female NGO women workers exposure to the trauma of victims and the government responses of downplaying the issue of sexual violence, combined to boost the distrust for government security agencies. Specifically, their belief that in volatile North-eastern Nigeria, security operatives are supposed to protect the people from Boko Haram and not to constitute threats themselves. Hence, female NGOs workers become cynical to government's attempts to investigate cases of sexual violence, as they believe that

nothing will come out of such inquiries. Consequently, this strains the important government-NGOs relationship needed for terrorism prevention.

(c) Disruption in the Sense of Power and its Consequences

McCann and Pearlman further argues that in vicarious traumatisation, 'the victimised often finds themselves in extreme helplessness and vulnerability. Exposure to these traumatic situations through client's memories may evoke concerns of the therapist's sense of power'.[77] Also, in Nikischer autoethnography she reported having feelings of powerlessness or helplessness for victimised women he interviewed during her field research on sexual violence.[78] Therefore, the argument that victims sense of power is disrupted due to vicarious traumatisation helps to highlight the responses of female NGO workers interacting with victims of sexual violence by security agencies in counter-terrorism operation in North-eastern Nigeria.

The exposure of female NGO workers to victims who expressed their powerlessness over security agents that sexually violate them and their refusal to identify perpetrators, also invoke sense of helplessness by female NGOs workers. Furthermore, the state of powerlessness is often as a result of the fact that these female NGO workers rely on government security agents to provide security during field operations, thus are cautious of advocacy efforts in order to identify security agents involved in acts of sexual violence. Furthermore, many of these security agents involved in act of sexual violence and their colleagues are often antagonistic to investigation by these NGOs over cases of rape and in some cases either the victim or the NGO worker is threatened.

Besides, the state of powerlessness is further aggravated by government, including the hierarchy of security agencies responses to cases of sexual violence. While heads of security agencies often deny that their men are involved in act of sexual violence, the government on their part underestimates these issues. Reiterating the above statement a female NGO worker focuses on women rights stated that 'most times the government pays deaf ears or trivialise such issues, which is peculiar to our

cultural orientations. Issues on violence against women are downplayed and seen as not very important'.[79]

Furthermore, the socio-cultural context in Nigeria and particularly the Northern parts further aggravates the state of powerlessness experienced by female workers of NGOs. Women are still relegated to the background both socio-politically and economically.[80] Few women that have beaten the odds to climb the social ladder are often being frustrated due to the existing cultural and religious beliefs that the role of women in the society is in the "kitchen". Thus, women have often expressed their helplessness over the challenges they face because they are women. The above situation in Nigeria further feeds into the worldview of female NGO workers operating at the frontlines of counter-terrorism operations in North-east. Thus the challenges the female NGO workers these conflict zones is reflective of the misogynistic and patriarchal nature of the Nigerian socio-political and economic systems. Consequently, these societal norms intensify the feelings of powerlessness and helplessness by these female NGO workers. As a result, they are discouraged from advocating for the protection of the rights of women victims. Besides, some of the women groups stop their advocacy programmes in the North-eastern part of the country due to their belief that nothing can be done to ensure that the victims get justice.

7. Conclusion

This article has offered a critical reflection of the challenges of women in counter-terrorism or efforts at mitigating the effects of terrorism. It asserts that while UNSCR resolutions aimed to address the challenges women face in conflict zones, they failed to account for the psychological and thus operational challenges women faced as a result of their engagement in counter-terrorism or terrorism prevention activities. The study focused on neglected demography of women, explicitly female NGOs workers addressing issues of sexual violence in counter-terrorism operations in Nigeria. It argues that due to the female NGO workers humanitarian and advocacy efforts for victims of sexual violence, they are exposed to trauma experiences of these victims. Specifically, these women become vicariously traumatised as their exposure to victims alters their cognitive schemas on issues of safety, trust for government

security agencies and they experience the feeling of powerlessness. Thus, female NGO workers become victims, as they are traumatised by these experiences. Consequently, these psychological effects impinge on their capacity to implement UNSCR resolutions or state-level soft counter-terrorism objectives in Nigeria.

The study advances other theoretical conclusions by scholars and practitioners that examined the intersections of women and counter-terrorism, peacebuilding or confliction resolution or more broadly the WPS agenda that enshrined in the UNSCR resolution 1325 and 2242. Specifically, a 2018 report by the Gender Action for Peace and Security (GAPS) on the challenges approaches to preventing and countering violent extremism from women, peace and security perspective stated that the pattern of enforcing measures aimed at preventing terrorism is harmful to women. They stated that the UNSCR 1325 and 2242 "the resolution only acknowledges indirectly that policy and programming on P/CVE can be harmful to the rights of women and girls, and largely ignores the multiplicity of violence and insecurity that they face."[81] Furthermore, it expands Aoláin argument that the UNSCR 1325 and 2242 and CTC failed to address the issue of risks or how women have become victims of sexual violence and other levels of violence in the process of enforcing these terrorism prevention measures. instead, it only recognised the roles of women in terrorism prevention or counter-terrorism operations.[82] Broadly, the study also finds relevance to Pratt assertions that UNSCR 1325 effectively legitimised prevalent masculinist structures that defines global security politics and did not comprehensively advance women agency..[83]

Besides, scholars argued that Nigerian counter-terrorism operations in the North-eastern are alienating human rights and civil liberties and this may in turn feed and sustain terrorism.[84] Thus, it is argued in this study that increased sexual violation of women and girls could pose major security challenge to the government. These women and girls are members of families that include men. Thus, violation of their rights will not only lead to rise of grievance from the women but both the men. Boko Haram and ISWAP could exploit these grievances to convince these aggrieved husbands, brothers or relatives to join their organisations so they can revenge the actions of government security agencies. Also, aggrieved women and girls could also decide to support or work for these terrorist groups as a way of getting back at the

government security agents. Furthermore, It would also lead increasing loss of support for government counter-terrorism operations. Specifically, sexual violation of women and girl could also lead to increased hostility by communities members over the government and refusals to provide intelligence for the government on the movements or activities of Boko Haram within local communities.

The challenges female NGO workers face irrespective of their roles as aid workers or advocates has implication for women choosing a career that exposes them to various types of dangers. Specifically, the risks of being killed kidnapped by terrorists, sexually violated by security agents or develop mental health issues due to exposure to victims of sexual violence. These challenges also extend to their relationships with families on return from these conflict zones. Thus, it impacts on the willingness of women to take up a career that puts them at risks. The argument above is particularly more worrisome, as is detrimental to the overall project of curbing the rise of terrorism or factors that spur violent extremism in Nigeria. NGOs play essential roles in addressing socio-economic conditions that lead to terrorism and mitigate the effects of terrorism and counter-terrorism operations on the marginalised and vulnerable groups in the Nigerian society. Hence, we cannot overemphasise the need to adequately tackle issues that affect their mental health and thus operational capacities in the counter-terrorism operations in the North-east. Thus, this article is relevant to government, international development agencies and management of NGOs in understanding the impact of NGOs exposure to sexual violence in counter-terrorism operations and how that affects their mental and health and performances and its implications on both global and state level counter-terrorism objectives. It would serve as a guide for the formulation of policies in addressing unique challenges female NGOs workers faced in conflict zones.

Although much of the arguments presented here is based on the how the vicarious traumatisation affected female NGO workers from enforcing global and state-level counter-terrorism objectives, hence there is a need for future research on the vicarious traumatisation of male NGO workers. Future research should also be directed towards understanding male and female aid or NGO workers that were not traumatised by victims experiences but were somewhat motivated- a term known in psychology as "vicarious growth". There is also the need for systematic studies on

vicarious traumatisation or growth of aid or NGO workers which would present the nuances of vicarious traumatisation or growth, specifically which type, size and gender of NGOs workers in conflict and post-conflict areas are more likely to experience vicariously traumatisation or growth and why.

Disclosure statement

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Notes

1. Aoláin "The 'war on terror' and extremism: assessing the relevance of the Women, Peace and Security agenda" and "Situating Women in Counterterrorism Discourses: Undulating Masculinities And Luminal Femininities", Hearne "Participants, Enablers, and Preventers: The Roles of Women in Terrorism" Prattt "Reconceptualizing Gender, Reinscribing Racial–Sexual Boundaries in International Security: The Case of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on ''Women, Peace and Security''

2. Vicarious traumatisation entails a change in the perception of the world and self due to the exposure of the traumatic experiences of victims. McCann and Pearlman, first, vicarious traumatisation process works by altering the cognitive schemas, i.e. the worldview of the therapist such as her/his beliefs, expectations and assumptions. Views about themselves and their belief system are affected as they interact with traumatised victims. The therapist exposure may disrupt her/his extant sense of dependency/trusts, safety, power, independence, esteem and intimacy. (More on vicarious traumatisation will be discussed in more details in subsequent sections.

3. Pearlman and. Mac Ian, "Vicarious Traumatization: An Empirical Study of the Effects of Trauma Work on Trauma Therapists."

4. Isobel and Angus-Leppan Neuro-reciprocity and vicarious trauma in psychiatrists; Van Deusen and Way, "Vicarious Trauma: An Exploratory Study of the Impact of Providing Sexual Abuse Treatment on Clinicians' Wies and Coy, 'Measuring Violence: Vicarious Trauma Among Sexual Assault Nurse Examiners."

5. Dombo and Blome "Vicarious Trauma in Child Welfare Workers: A Study of Organizational Responses." Michialopoulos and Aparico, "Vicarious Trauma in Social Workers: The Role of Trauma History, Social Support, and Years of Experience."; Schauden and Frazier "Vicarious Trauma: The Effects on Female Counselors of Working with Sexual Violence Survivors."

6. Jaffe et al., "Vicarious Trauma in Judges: The Personal Challenge of Dispensing Justice', Levin and Greisberg, 'Vicarious trauma in attorneys."

7. Nikischer, "Vicarious trauma inside the academe: understanding the impact of teaching, researching and writing violence"; Bischoping 'Timor mortis conturbat me: genocide pedagogy and vicarious trauma."

8. Fuhr, "Vicarious Group Trauma among British Jews"; Blome and Safadi, "Shared Vicarious Trauma and the Effects on Palestinian Social Workers"

9. [9] Hill et al. 2004:7 Hill, Felicity, et al " UN Security Council Resolution 1325 Three Years On: Gender, Security and
Organizational Change. Roundtable discussion at the Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights, Boston, MA, January 20."

10. Aoláin "The 'war on terror' and extremism: assessing the relevance of the Women, Peace and Security agenda" Prattt "Reconceptualizing Gender, Reinscribing Racial–Sexual Boundaries in International Security: The Case of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on ''Women, Peace and Security''

11. Aoláin "The 'war on terror' and extremism: assessing the relevance of the Women, Peace and Security agenda"

12. By secured places I mean areas that are effectively secured by the military such as the various Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camps and other areas that are effectively secured by security agents.

13. See appendixe 1 for demography of the list of interviewees

14. For details of interview questions see the appendix 2

15. [15] Giles, Wenona, andJennifer Hyndman, Eds. (2004) Sites of Violence: Gender and Conflict Zones. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

16. Aroussi, "Women, Peace and Security:' Addresing Accountability for Wartime Sexual Violence"
17. Enloe, "Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics", Aoláin "The 'war on terror' and extremism: assessing the relevance of the Women, Peace and Security agenda"
18. Anderlini, "Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters"
19. Cockburn, "From Where We Stand: War, Women's Activism and Feminist Analysis"
20. Bunch, et al. "International Networking for Women's Human Rights"
21. Cohn, Carol. (2008) Mainstreaming Gender in UN Security Policy: A Path to Political Transformation?
22. Prattt "Reconceptualizing Gender, Reinscribing Racial–Sexual Boundaries in International Security: The Case of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on ''Women, Peace and Security''
23. Ibid
24. Ibid, 778
25. Aoláin "The 'war on terror' and extremism: assessing the relevance of the Women, Peace and Security agenda", 278
26. Ibid
27. Ibid
28. Ibid
29. Ibid, 258, 288
30. Smith and Barrett "Psychology, extreme environments, and counter-terrorism operations"
31. McCann and Pearlman, 'Vicarious Traumatization: A Framework for Understanding the Psychological Effects of Working with Victims'
32. Baird and Kracen , "Vicarious traumatization and secondary traumatic stress: A research synthesis.*"*
33. Baird and Jenkins. "Vicarious Traumatization, Secondary Traumatic Stress, and Burnout in Sexual Assault and Domestic Violence Agency Staff"
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid., 142:143,
36. Maslach, *Burnout: The cost of caring*
37. Freudenberger. "The hazards of being a psychoanalyst."
38. McCann and Pearlman. "Vicarious Traumatization: A Framework for Understanding the Psychological Effects of Working with Victims." 136
39. Isobel and Angus-Leppan Neuro-reciprocity and vicarious trauma in psychiatrists; Van Deusen and Way, "Vicarious Trauma: An Exploratory Study of the Impact of Providing Sexual Abuse Treatment on Clinicians' Wies and Coy, 'Measuring Violence: Vicarious Trauma Among Sexual Assault Nurse Examiners."
40. Dombo and Blome "Vicarious Trauma in Child Welfare Workers: A Study of Organizational Responses." Michialopoulos and Aparico, "Vicarious Trauma in Social Workers: The Role of Trauma History, Social Support, and Years of Experience."; Schauden and Frazier "Vicarious Trauma: The Effects on Female Counselors of Working with Sexual Violence Survivors."

41. Jaffe et al., "Vicarious Trauma in Judges: The Personal Challenge of Dispensing Justice', Levin and Greisberg, 'Vicarious trauma in attorneys."

42. Nikischer, "Vicarious trauma inside the academe: understanding the impact of teaching, researching and writing violence"; Bischoping 'Timor mortis conturbat me: genocide pedagogy and vicarious trauma."

43. Fuhr, "Vicarious Group Trauma among British Jews"; Blome and Safadi, "Shared Vicarious Trauma and the Effects on Palestinian Social Workers"

44. Njoku, "Laws for Sale: The Domestication of Counterterrorism Policies and Its Impact in Nigeria"

45. Human Right Watch, *Officials Abusing Displaced Women, Girls Displaced by Boko Haram and Victims Twice Over*

46. Amnesty International, *Nigeria: Starving women raped by soldiers and militia who claim to be rescuing them*

47. Author's interview with a programme officer of a International Health care and advocacy organisations focused on vulnerable women and survivals of gender base violence (Borno; May 30 2018); Author's Interview with an executive of an NGO focused on Women's rights and Development (Oyo; April 23, 2018); Author's Interview with an international NGO focused in peace-building (Lagos; May 7 2018); Author's interview with a journalist covering women rights violation in the north-eastern Nigeria (Lagos; May 7 2018); Author's interview with a programme officer of an international Health care services organisations (Borno; May 26 2018)-; Author's interview with a programme officer of local health care and development NGO (Borno; May 21 2018)- Author's interview with a director of an international human rights organisation (Abuja; May 25 2018)

48. Author's interview with a programme officer of a International Health care and advocacy organisations focused on vulnerable women and survivals of gender base violence (Borno; May 30 2018);

49. Author's interview with an Officer of the National Security and Civil Defence Corp (NSCDC) (Oyo; May 13 2018)

50. Author's interview with an Officer of the National Security and Civil Defence Corp (NSCDC) (Oyo; May 13 2018) Author's interview a senior Army officer in the Nigerian Military (Yobe; May 31 2018); Author's interview with military personnel in the Nigerian Army (Yobe; May 30 2018); Author's interview with military personnel in the Nigerian Army (Yobe; May 30 2018); Author's interview with military personnel in the Nigerian Army (Yobe; May 30 2018); Author's interview with military personnel in the Nigerian Army (Yobe; May 30 2018); Author's interview with military personnel in the Nigerian Army (Yobe; May 30 2018) Author's interview with military personnel in the Nigerian Army (Yobe; May 30 2018) Author's interview with military personnel in the Nigerian Army (Yobe; May 30 2018)

51. Author's interview a senior Army officer in the Nigerian Military (Yobe; May 31 2018); Author's interview with military personnel in the Nigerian Army (Yobe; May 30 2018) Author's interview with military personnel in the Nigerian Army (Yobe; May 30 2018)

52. Smith and Barrett "Psychology, extreme environments, and counter-terrorism operations"

53. McCann and Pearlman, "Vicarious Traumatization: A Framework for Understanding the Psychological Effects of Working with Victims." 138.

54. Isobel and Angus-Leppan, "Neuro-reciprocity and vicarious trauma in psychiatrists"; Van Deusin and Way, "Vicarious Trauma: An Exploratory Study of the Impact of Providing Sexual Abuse Treatment on Clinicians' Trust and Intimacy"

55. Blome and Safadi , "Shared Vicarious Trauma and the Effects on Palestinian Social Workers."

56. Author's Interview with an executive of an NGO focused on Women's rights and Development (Oyo; April 23, 2018), Author's interview with a programme officer of a International Health care and advocacy organisations focused on vulnerable women and survivals of gender base violence (Borno; May 30 2018). Author's Interview with an international NGO focused in peace-building (Lagos; May 7 2018); Author's interview with an NGO focused on gender-based violence (Borno; June 11 2018)

57. Author's interview with a programme officer of a International Health care and advocacy organisations focused on vulnerable women and survivals of gender base violence (Borno; May 30 2018); Author's Interview with an executive of an NGO focused on Women's rights and Development (Oyo; April 23, 2018); Author's Interview with an international NGO focused in peace-building (Lagos; May 7 2018); Author's interview with a journalist covering women rights violation in the north-eastern Nigeria (Lagos; May 7 2018); Author's interview with a programme officer of an international Health care services organisations (Borno; May 26 2018)-; Author's interview with a programme officer of local health care and development NGO (Borno; May 21 2018)-, Author's interview with a director of an international human rights organisation (Abuja; May 25 2018); Author's interview with an NGO focused on gender-based violence (Borno; June 11 2018)

58. Author's Interview with an executive of an NGO focused on Women's rights and Development (Oyo; April 23, 2018); Author's Interview with an international NGO focused in peace-building (Lagos; May 7 2018); Author's Interview with an NGO executive focused on security and governance issues in Northern Nigeria (Abuja; May 2 2018)

59. Author's Interview with an international NGO focused in peace-building (Lagos; May 7 2018)

60. Author's interview with an executive of an NGO focused on Women's rights and Development (Oyo; April 23, 2018); Author's Interview with an international NGO focused in peace-building (Lagos; May 7 2018)

61. Author's interview with an executive of an NGO focused on Women's rights and Development (Oyo; April 23, 2018)

62. Author's interview with a programme officer of a International Health care and advocacy organisations focused on vulnerable women and survivals of gender base violence (Borno; May 30 2018).

63. Author's interview with a faith-based human rights advocacy organisation (Oyo; March 3 2015

64. Author's interview with an executive of an NGO focused on Women's rights and Development (Oyo; April 23, 2018); Author's Interview with an international NGO focused in peace-building (Lagos; May 7 2018)

65. Fakunmoju,S.B. Bammeke, F.O. Oyekanmi, F.A.D Rasool, s. Bukola George, B and Lachiusa, T.A "Attribution of Blame to Victim and Attitudes toward Partner Violence: Cross-National Comparisons across the United States, South Africa, and Nigeria" *International Journal of Gender and Women's Studies* 3, no. 2, (2015): 76-92

66. Author's interview with a programme officer of an international Health care services organisations (Borno; May 26 2018)

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68. Dombo and Blome "Vicarious Trauma in Child Welfare Workers: A Study of Organizational Responses.",   Schauden and Franzier, "Vicarious Trauma: The Effects on Female Counselors of Working with Sexual Violence Survivors."

69. Ibid., 506

70. Author's interview with a programme officer of an International Health care and advocacy organisations focused on vulnerable women and survivals of gender base violence (Borno; May 30 2018).

71. Author's interview with an executive of an NGO focused on Women's rights and Development (Oyo; April 23, 2018)

72. Author's interview with an NGO focused on gender-based violence (Borno; June 11 2018)

73. Author's interview with a director of an international human rights organisation (Abuja; May 25 2018)

74. Author's interview with a programme officer of an international Health care services organisations (Borno; May 26 2018)

75. Author's interview with a programme officer of an international Health care services organisations (Borno; May 26 2018)

76. Daloz ""Nigeria: Trust Your Patron, not the Institutions"

77. McCann and Pearlman, "Vicarious Traumatization: A Framework for Understanding the Psychological Effects of Working with Victims", 139.

78. Nikischer, "Vicarious trauma inside the academe: understanding the impact of teaching, researching and writing violence."

79. Author's interview with an executive of an NGO focused on Women's rights and Development (Oyo; April 23, 2018)

80. Mama "Feminism or Femocracy? State Feminism and Democratisation in Nigeria"

81. Gender Action for Peace and Secuirty (GAP) "Priotise Peace: Challenges approaches to preventing and Countering Violent Extremism from a Women, Peace and Security Perspectives", 6

82. Aoláin "The 'war on terror' and extremism: assessing the relevance of the Women, Peace and Security agenda

83. Prattt "Reconceptualizing Gender, Reinscribing Racial–Sexual Boundaries in International Security: The Case of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on ''Women, Peace and Security''

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Appendixes

Appendix 1. Demography

a) Non-governmental organisations engaged in humanitarian and advocacy efforts in North-eastern Nigeria (NGOs)

Characteristics	Frequency	Percentages
Sex of NGOs workers		
Female	8	80
male	2	20
Total	10	100
Type NGO		
Women group	5	50
Faith-based	1	10
Human rights	4	40
Total	10	100
Nature of NGOs		
International	3	30
Local	7	70
Total	10	100
Focus of operation		
Humanitarian services: Medicare, psycho-social counseling	7	60
peacebuilding	1	10
Women Rights Advocacy	3	30
Total	10	100
Areas of operations/Head office		
Abuja	2	20
Borno	3	30
Lagos	2	20
Oyo	1	10
Yobe	2	20
Total	10	100

b) Demography for Government Security Agents involved in
Counterterrorism operations in North-eastern Nigeria

Characteristics	Frequency	Percentages
Sex of Security Agents		
Female	Nil	0
Male	9	100
Total	9	100
Type of security organisations		
Police	1	11.1
Army	7	77.8
National Security and Civil Defence Corp	1	11.1
Total	9	100
Areas of operations in North-eastern Nigeria		
Yobe	6	77.8
Borno	2	22.2
Adamawa	1	11.1
Total	9	100

Appendix 2. Research instruments

I. **Interview questions for Non-governmental Organisation Workers**
Below are the interview questions. However, it should be noted that the
list below is not exhaustive, as more questions were asked based on the
responses each of the respondents gave during the interview.

Demography:
1. Can you tell me a little about your organisation and what you do in
counter-terrorism operations in the North-east?

**Objective 1: To examine the impact of sexual violence on the
operations of female NGO workers mitigating the effects of terrorism
and counter-terrorism operations the North-east**

1. Are there cases of sexual violence against women and girls in the
Northeast?

2. If yes, who are those behind sexual violence against women and girls in the North-east

3. Are security agents involved in these cases of sexual violence including rape against women and girls in the North-east?

4. Are these cases of sexual violence of women or girls reported or unreported

5. How has the cases or experiences of sexual violence against women or specifically rape cases affected your operations

6. Have you had cause to change/stop your programme or areas of operations due to reported cases of sexual violence in the North-east.

7. Do cases of sexual violence make you feel safe in the presence of male security personnel?

8. How do cases of sexual violence in counter-terrorism operations in the North-east make you feel being a woman

Objective 2: To examine government responses to cases of the sexual violence against women and girls in the north-east

1. Do you think the at the government is aware of cases of sexual violence against women including rape cases in the north-east?

2. Do you think the rape cases is a systematic ploy of the government to prevent discourage NGOs like yourself from going to the north-east and reporting human rights violations?

3. Do you think that rapes of women and girls are used as a by security agents weapon to deter female NGOs workers from operating in the north-east?

4. What are the implications of sexual violence and government response to your operations

5.

Objective 3. Responses of NGOs

1. What have been the responses of your organisations to cases of sexual violence against women workers in your organisations?

II.   **Interview questions of Security agents engaged in Counter-terrorism operations in the North-east**

Objective 1: To examine the responses of security agents to allegations of sexual violence or/and exploitation by NGOs.

Demographic:, Please state the type of organisation you work in , your focal areas operation (You are not required to state your name)

1. What are your thoughts on sexual exploitation /violence? Going by allegations by Amnesty International and other local NGOs in the Northeast.

2. Are these allegations true, if yes what are the reasons for these cases of sexual violence

3. Do you think cases of sexual violence are cooked up or exaggerated by NGOs and the media

4. Have there been cases were security agents are involved in sexual violence or exploitation?

5. NGO female workers have reported that cases of sexual violence affect their operations, as some of them are apprehensive when they see security agents, what do you think of that?

6. Some NGOs workers claim that security agents have been ordered not to respond to issues of sexual violence or exploitation by NGOs. Is this true? If so why are security agents silent.

7. Some NGOs claim that they are scared of pursuing cases of sexual violence, as they fear for their lives due to threats by security agents involved. What is your response to that?

8. Some NGOs female workers claim that rape or sexual violence is used by security agents to punish or repress supporters of terrorist groups or their families. What is your view on that?

9. What is the punishment for security agents involved in sexual violence or exploitation of women and girls in the North-east

10. Have the Police worked with NGOs to ensure that perpetrators are prosecuted?

11. What efforts is the government making to address cases of sexual violence or exploitation of women and girls including female NGO workers in the northeast?

12. In various researches, sexual violence/exploitation in conflict areas have been considered a weapon used by security agents to repress dissident groups or their families or supporters. Do you think this is the case in Nigeria north-east region?