

Views of Nigerian and U.S. College Students on Terrorism, Responses to Terrorism, and the Punishment of Terrorists

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Abstract: When Boko Haram insurgents attacked the United Nations Headquarters in Abuja on August 26, 2009, Nigerians' reactions were similar to U.S. reactions to al-Qaida's September 11, 2001 attacks on World Trade Center and Pentagon. The aftermaths of these terrorist incidents caused the governments of both countries to devote enormous resources to their counterterrorism policies and efforts. This study aims to explore how social orientations and environment influence individuals' views, attitudes, and perceptions on terrorism. Using a convenience sampling technique, 274 Nigerian and 484 U.S. students were surveyed. Results showed some degree of convergence and divergence. First, Nigerian participants were more likely to express stronger views on the problem of terrorism for society than their U.S. counterparts. Second, Nigerian participants were also more likely to view terrorism as more politically motivated than their U.S. counterparts. Third, nationality was highly significant in predicting views, attitudes, and perceptions. It appears culture plays a role in helping shape views on terrorism.

Keywords: Views of Terrorism; Punishment of Terrorists; Nigeria; College Students

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Terrorism poses a grave threat to national security and the lives of individuals regardless of country (United Nations Office of Counter-Terrorism, 2019). Governments across the globe combat terrorism in order to protect people (Combs, 2017). Terrorist attacks

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which have occurred at one point in time or the other across the globe have created fear among people (Sun, Wu, & Poteyeva, 2011). The United States of America (henceforth, the U.S.) and the Federal Republic of Nigeria (henceforth, Nigeria) have both suffered terrorist attacks. For example, the U.S. suffered a major terrorist attack on September 11, 2001, which resulted in a dramatic change in U.S. public opinion on terrorism and led to numerous changes in public policy to address terrorist threats (Pilliar, 2011; West & Orr, 2005). A comparison of U.S. citizens' views on terrorism and the views of citizens in other nations is lacking. For example, terrorists attacked the United Nations Headquarters in Abuja, Nigeria, on August 26, 2011 (Murray & Nossiter, 2011) and in April of 2014, 276 schoolgirls were kidnapped by Boko Haram in Chibok in Borno State, Nigeria (Amaza, 2018). As such, this exploratory study was undertaken. This study examined terrorism views of 758 undergraduate students in U.S. and Nigeria. The analyses focused on the following questions: (1) How does social orientation and social environmental influence individual's perception on terrorism? (2) Who among these two groups of respondents are more likely to view terrorism as something that is motivated by political rather than other factors? (3) How do nationality, gender, age, academic level, religious affiliation, the importance of religion influence these views, attitudes and perceptions of terrorism.

Brief Overview of Terrorism in Nigeria

Since 1986, there have been several bombing attacks against government officials and public venues in Nigeria, including the car bombing of the Chief Security Officer of the Nigerian Federal Aviation Authority in 1996 and the Ilorin Stadium bombing in August of 1994 (Omale, 2013). While Boko Haram is not the only terrorist groups to exist in Nigeria, it is the most powerful (Cook, 2018). Onuoha and Oyewole (2018) contended that, Boko Haram's terrorist activities have been a major security challenge facing Nigeria since 2009. In the Hausa dialect, "boko haram" translates to "Western education is forbidden;" the group feels that Western education corrupts Muslim youth and serves the corrupt Nigerian government (CNN, 2019; Onuoha & Oyewole, 2018). Mohammad Yusuf formed Boko Haram in 2002 as a religious group for Islamic puritanism in northern Nigeria (BBC, 2016). "The group also refers to itself as Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad, meaning People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad" (CNN, 2019, p. 1).

The first terrorist attack of Boko Haram was in 2003 when about 200 group members attacked police stations in the state of Yobe, which is near the Niger border (CNN, 2019). In July of 2009, Boko Haram rose up against the federal government claiming the Nigerian federal government was corrupt. The uprising started in Bauchi, spreading to the states of Borno, Kano, and Yobe. Nigerian police officers died in this uprising (CNN, 2019; Onuoha & Oyewole, 2018). Nigerian security forces responded, putting down the uprising, resulting in the death of 700 members of Boko Haram and the capture of Mohammad Yusuf, who

later died in government custody (Duodu, 2009). Leadership of the group was taken over by Abubakar Shekau and the group began a major terrorist effort in 2010. (Okereke, 2014). Abu Musab al-Barnawi claimed to be in charge of Boko Haram on August 3, 2016; however, Abubakar Shekau still claims leadership (Counter Extremism Project, 2019).

As noted by Onuoha and Oyewole (2018), “Boko Haram developed capacity for insurgency with recruits and sometimes conscription from Nigeria, Cameroon, Niger, Chad and beyond. It professed support for al-Qaida in 2010 and later pledged allegiance to the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) in 2015” (p. 3). Boko Haram has its operational base in the northeastern part of Nigeria (CNN, 2019). A major attack by Boko Haram was the abduction of 276 schoolgirls in Chibok in Borno State, Nigeria (Amaza, 2018). Of the original 276, about 100 of the kidnapped girls have been freed since 2018 (Searcey, 2018). The sheer number of terrorist attacks by Boko Haram and their impact are incredible. According to Onuoha and Oyewole (2018), “Boko Haram has been sophisticated in launching its violent attacks and was responsible for 1,639 terrorist attacks, with 14,436 fatalities, 6,051 wounded victims and 2,063 hostages captured in Nigeria” (p. 5). The Global Terrorism Index published by Institute for Peace and Economics (2015) ranked Boko Haram as one of the deadliest terrorist groups in the world.

Nigeria has other terrorist groups, such as the Fulani militants. Fulani militants are herders of cattle who are in conflict with farmers, with the main issues being land and water (Mikailu, 2016; Sahara Reporters, 2018). Fulani militants killed 63 people in 2013 and 1,229 people in 2014 (Institute for Peace and Economics, 2015). With the high number of deaths, the Fulani militants being ranked the fourth deadliest terrorist group in the world in 2014 (Mikailu, 2016). Since 2016, over 3,600 individuals have died from the Fulani conflict (Aljazeera, 2018).

In sum, terrorism is a problem in Nigeria. Terrorist attacks have dramatically risen in Nigeria in the past 10 years. For example, there were 317 terrorist incidents in Nigeria in 2013 and 1,549 from April 2017 to April 2018 (Parker, 2018). Nigeria is one of the deadliest nations in the world for terrorist attacks (Institute for Peace and Economics, 2015).

Brief Overview of Terrorism in the U.S.

In the last 25 years, major terrorist attacks on U.S. soil have been: 1) January 1993: attack by gunman outside CIA headquarters, 2 killed and 1 injured; 2) February 1993: bomb explosion in basement garage of World Trade Center, 6 killed and over 1000 injured; 3) April 1995: bomb blast in Oklahoma City, 168 killed and injured more than 750; 4) July 1996: bombings at the Olympics in Atlanta, 1 killed and over 100 injured; 5) September 2001: two jetliners crashed into World Trade Centers, jetliner crashed into Pentagon, and one jet liner crashed in a field in Pennsylvania, 2,996 killed and over 6,000 injured; 6) June 2009: gunman attacks Memphis military recruiting center, 2 killed and 1 injured;

7) September to November 2001: mailed anthrax to various locations, 5 killed and 17 infected; 8) November 2009: attack by gunman at Fort Hood in Texas, 13 killed and 29 injured; 9) August 2013: Boston, two bomb explosions, 3 killed and over 200 injured; and 10) December 2015: attack by two gunmen in California, 14 killed and over 20 injured. There have been many other terrorist attacks on U.S. soil. In addition, numerous U.S. citizens have died in terrorist attacks in other nations, and there have been several major terrorist attacks which failed or were detected before they could occur, as well as terrorist attacks that resulted in no deaths (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2015; Infoplease, 2016; Johnson, 2016; Muhlhausen & McNeill, 2011). In fact, the majority of terrorist attacks against U.S. citizens occur in other nations than the U.S. (Muhlhausen & McNeill, 2011). Finally, terrorists have used kidnapping as a weapon of terror, propaganda, and to raise money; these kidnappings most often occur in nations other than the U.S. (Muhlhausen & McNeill, 2011).

Current Study

There has been limited research on criminal justice-related problems in Nigeria, and almost no cross-cultural research on terrorism views of Nigerians and Americans; therefore, this exploratory study was undertaken to examine the views of terrorism among Nigerian and U.S. university students. It is unclear whether views would differ. The literature suggests that social orientations influence individuals' views, attitudes, and perceptions, and distinct cultural groups have their own values, views, and norms (Chung & Bagozzi, 1997). The U.S. has a relatively stable society and criminal justice system. Furthermore, the United States operates a more functional democratic system, where the political institutions are often viewed as legitimate and function effectively in the resolution of conflicts. The United States has a tradition of resolving conflicts through the political and legal systems. Unlike Nigeria, the rule of law is entrenched in the United States political systems with the political and legal institutions executing its functions, and in general the U.S. justice system tends to be fairer than that in Nigeria. The formal Nigerian criminal justice system was imposed on Nigerians during its colonial past and is often seen as inept, corrupt, and brutal. The other system is a community-based one whose main goal is the restoration of the victim and the community. With increased urbanization, high unemployment, and rising poverty, there is a failure by both systems to deal with a rapidly rising crime problem effectively. It is hard to live peaceful, law-abiding lives when confronted daily with so many social problems, particularly a crime problem that neither criminal justice system has been able to resolve. There is a growing desire among Nigerians for a change in their criminal justice systems (Vivien, 2001). Because of competing criminal justice systems and a rising crime problem, it is unclear how Nigerian college students will view crime, criminals, punishment, and treatment, and how, if at all, these views will differ from U.S. college students.

In addition to looking at the differences between Nigerian and U.S. students in their views in bi-variate analyses, this study also examined the differences in views between the two groups in multi-variate analyses controlling for the effects of gender, age, academic level, and importance of religion in a person's life. Research in the U.S. has found that women tend to be more supportive of treatment for offenders, while men tend to be more supportive of punishment of criminals (Applegate, Cullen, & Fisher, 2002; Grasmick & McGill, 1994). This difference is attributed to different gender socialization, which leads men and women to view what is the appropriate response to crime and offenders (Gilligan, 1982). As people age in the U.S., they often become more punitive in their views concerning crime and punishment/treatment issues (Tyler & Boeckmann, 1997). Education has been found in the U.S. to have a liberalizing effect on views toward crime and punishment (McCorkle, 1993; Tyler & Boeckmann, 1997). Finally, religion has been linked to crime, punishment, and treatment views in the U.S. (Grasmick & McGill, 1994). The relationship is unclear. Some studies suggest that religious salience (i.e., importance of religion in a person's life) has been linked to greater desire to punish offenders, while other studies suggest that religious salience may lead to support for treatment (Grasmick & McGill, 1994; Greenberg & West, 2001).

Method

Participants

A survey of a convenience sample of students at two Nigerian universities and one U.S. university was undertaken. As convenience sampling was used, the results apply only to those surveyed. The U.S. university was a public institution located in the U.S. Midwest, and it offered undergraduate, master, and terminal degrees. Its enrollment at the time of the survey was approximately 20,000. The two Nigerian universities were metropolitan public universities offering undergraduate, master, and terminal degrees, had enrollments of about 16,000 students each, and were located in the states of Ebonyi and Abia. At all three universities, the surveys were administered in undergraduate classes that represented a wide array of majors and included classes required by all majors. In both countries, the survey was written in English, which was the language spoken at all three universities. The survey was completed during class, and the survey was explained to the students both verbally and in writing, including that it was voluntary and the survey results would be anonymous. Students were asked not to complete the survey if they had done so in another class. The Nigerian students returned 274 useable surveys, and the U.S. students returned a total of 484 completed surveys. Thus, a grand total of 758 surveys were used in this study.

In terms of gender for the overall group of respondents, 54% were women and 46% were men. The median age of all the respondents was 22, and the mean age was 23.14, with a standard deviation of 5.63. For the entire group, 14% were freshmen/first year students,

16% were sophomores/second year students, 33% were juniors/third year students, and 37% were seniors/fourth year students. The breakdown of the gender, age, academic level, religious affiliation (i.e., being a Christian), and importance of religion among Nigerian and U.S. respondents is presented in Table 1. There was a similar breakdown of gender and age among both groups; however, Nigerian students were more likely to be juniors and seniors, and report that religion played a greater importance in their lives as compared to U.S. students, who were more likely to report being of the Christian faith.

Table 1: Demographic Information for Nigerian and U.S. Participants

<i>Demographic</i>	<i>Nigerian Participants</i>	<i>U.S. Participants</i>
Gender		
Female	49%	51%
Male	51%	49%
Age	Mean = 25.99, SD = 5.20	Mean = 21.96, SD = 5.38
Academic Level		
Freshman / 1 st Year	12%	19%
Sophomore / 2 nd Year	12%	20%
Junior / 3 rd Year	33%	33%
Senior / 4 th Year	43%	28%
Christian		
No	33%	17%
Yes	67%	83%
Importance of Religion in a Person's Life		
Not at All	5%	5%
Not Much	10%	28%
A Fair Amount	27%	32%
A Great Deal	58%	34%

Note: SD stands for standard deviation. For the multivariate analysis gender was coded as 0 = female and 1 = male, age was measured in continuous years, academic level was collapsed into lower level (first two years) coded as 0 and upper level (last two years) coded as 1, Christian was coded as no = 0 and 1 = yes, importance of religion in a person's life was coded where 1 = not at all, 2 = not much, 3 = a fair amount, and 4 = a great deal, and nationality of the participant was coded as U.S. = 0 and Nigerian = 1. The number of Nigerian participants was 274 and the number of U.S. participants was 484.

Variables

The dependent variables were 22 questions/statements focusing on different aspects of defining terrorism, how to respond to terrorism, and the punishment of terrorists. The

specific questions used are presented in Table 2. These questions were asked using a five-point Likert response scale ranging from strongly disagree (coded as 1) to strongly agree (coded as 5). Additionally, gender, age, academic level, religious affiliation, importance of religion in a person's life, and nationality of the participant were variables used in the multivariate analysis. These variables have been linked to views on crime and punishment in past studies. As such, there were included in the analysis in this study on views of terrorism and punishment of terrorists. Gender was measured as male participants coded as 1 and female participants coded as 0. Age was measured in continuous years. Academic level was measured as lower level (1st and 2nd year), coded as 0, and upper level (3rd and 4th year), coded as 1. Religion affiliation measured if the student indicated that they were of the Christian faith (coded 1) or another faith/no faith (coded 0). The importance that religion has played in a person's life was coded as follows: 1 = not at all, 2 = not much, 3 = a fair amount, and 4 = a great deal. Finally, a dichotomous variable was created measuring in the participant was from Nigeria (coded 1) or the U.S. (coded 0).

Results

Table 2 presents the percentage responses for the terrorism questions. For the majority of the questions, there appeared to be differences between Nigerian and U.S. respondents. Nigerian students were more likely to agree that terrorism was one of the most pressing problems facing society than were their U.S. counterparts. U.S. participants, on the other hand, were more likely to feel that terrorism was difficult to define. There was a difference views on the purpose of terrorism, with U.S. students slightly more likely to agree that it was an act of violence to frighten people. On the other hand, both groups of students felt that terrorism did not work in producing the change desired by terrorists. Nigerian students were higher in the level of agreement that assassination is a form of terrorism and that illegal use of force to obtain objectives was a form of terrorism. Nigerian students were also much more likely to feel that there was little difference between terrorists and criminals, while U.S. participants were more likely to see terrorists as criminals. U.S. students were more likely to report feeling little fear about becoming a victim of a terrorist attack. The majority of both Nigerian and U.S. students felt that governments could engage in terrorism and that terrorists needed to pay for their actions. Nigerian participants were more likely to feel that government should do whatever is necessary to win against terrorists, that terrorists should be killed using whatever means possible, and that swift and severe action was needed. Conversely, U.S. students were higher in their agreement that winning against terrorists was difficult. Nigerian students appeared to be higher in their level of agreement that terrorists needed to be punished harshly and those who killed deserved to be sentenced to death, as well as indicating that they would be upset if capital punishment was not used for terrorists who killed and that terrorists would continue to engage in terrorism if they were not executed or killed. On the other hand, U.S. students were more likely to indicate that sentencing

Table 2: Views on Terrorism and How to Respond for Nigerian and U.S. Participants

Statement	Nigeria						U.S.						Nigeria		U.S.		t-value
	SD	D	U	A	SA	SD	D	U	A	SA	Mn/SD	Mn/SD	U.S.	Mn/SD	U.S.		
Views of Terrorism	8%	11%	6%	35%	41%	6%	25%	19%	35%	16%	3.33 /	3.33 /	3.89 /	3.33 /	-6.52**		
Terrorism is one of the most serious problems facing society	8%	21%	20%	32%	19%	16%	39%	21%	20%	4%	2.57 /	2.57 /	3.32 /	2.57 /	-8.56**		
Terrorism is easily defined	4%	12%	14%	44%	26%	1%	5%	15%	64%	15%	3.44 /	3.44 /	3.17 /	3.44 /	3.31**		
Terrorism is a violent act to frighten those in power and their supporters	4%	14%	3%	45%	35%	4%	27%	32%	33%	5%	3.09 /	3.09 /	3.93 /	3.09 /	-10.42**		
Any illegal use of force against innocent people to achieve whatever objectives is terrorism	9%	18%	11%	52%	11%	8%	49%	21%	20%	2%	2.60 /	2.60 /	3.38 /	2.60 /	-9.82**		
There is little difference between terrorists and criminals	9%	13%	10%	37%	31%	1%	5%	12%	34%	49%	3.67 /	3.67 /	3.27 /	3.67 /	7.21**		
Terrorists are criminals	6%	18%	18%	33%	25%	4%	27%	29%	32%	7%	3.10 /	3.10 /	3.52 /	3.10 /	-4.79**		
Any assassination is terrorism	11%	17%	22%	34%	16%	2%	17%	33%	40%	7%	3.32 /	3.32 /	3.27 /	3.32 /	0.72		
Terrorism rarely works in producing the desired change	10%	30%	22%	33%	6%	5%	28%	17%	42%	7%	3.19 /	3.19 /	2.94 /	3.19 /	2.90**		
I have little fear about potential attacks by terrorists											1.08	1.08	1.12	1.08			
Response to Terrorism																	
Governments can engage in terrorism	8%	4%	9%	45%	34%	1%	5%	14%	57%	23%	3.95 /	3.95 /	3.91 /	3.95 /	0.56		
The government should do whatever it takes to win against terrorists	2%	2%	3%	35%	58%	8%	21%	25%	34%	11%	3.20 /	3.20 /	4.43 /	3.20 /	-15.72**		
Terrorists should be killed by any means possible	5%	20%	14%	31%	30%	7%	33%	28%	21%	10%	2.94 /	2.94 /	3.60 /	2.94 /	-7.06**		
Swift and severe action must be taken to stop terrorists.	4%	8%	12%	38%	38%	1%	9%	19%	51%	20%	3.81 /	3.81 /	3.97 /	3.81 /	-2.03*		
Winning against terrorists is very hard	3%	22%	17%	44%	13%	1%	9%	17%	54%	20%	3.84 /	3.84 /	3.42 /	3.84 /	5.48**		
Punishment of Terrorists											0.86	0.86	1.07	0.86			

Statement	Nigeria					U.S.					Nigeria	U.S.	
	2%	4%	6%	46%	42%	1%	3%	7%	55%	34%			4.23 / 0.87
We need to make terrorist pay for their acts	2%	4%	6%	46%	42%	1%	3%	7%	55%	34%	4.23 / 0.87	4.18 / 0.77	-0.88
Terrorists should be punished harshly	2%	7%	8%	39%	44%	1%	7%	12%	49%	31%	4.16 / 0.99	4.01 / 0.90	-2.14*
Terrorists who kill deserve the death penalty	4%	7%	5%	30%	54%	7%	12%	16%	29%	36%	4.22 / 1.08	3.75 / 1.24	-5.26**
I will become angry if terrorists who kill are not sentenced to death	7%	12%	10%	34%	37%	6%	36%	19%	23%	16%	3.83 / 1.24	3.06 / 1.22	-8.29**
Nothing but death will stop terrorists	19%	23%	16%	19%	23%	9%	32%	29%	19%	10%	3.04 / 1.45	2.88 / 1.12	-1.60
Most terrorists will kill if they are not executed or killed first	4%	10%	18%	35%	33%	3%	19%	40%	22%	16%	3.83 / 1.12	3.28 / 1.03	-6.72**
Sentencing terrorists to death will not deter future terrorist attacks	16%	21%	10%	32%	20%	4%	11%	15%	49%	20%	4.43 / 0.82	3.20 / 1.13	5.63**
Convicted terrorists should not be allowed to appeal their sentences, even if they are sentenced to death	8%	32%	14%	22%	24%	12%	33%	19%	19%	17%	3.19 / 1.33	2.96 / 1.29	-2.63**

Note: SD stands for strongly disagree, D stands for disagree, U stands for uncertain, A stands for strongly agree, Mn for mean, and SD for standard deviation. Percentages may not equal 100% due to rounding. For the Independent t-test, the responses were coded as SD = 1, D = 2, U = 3, A = 4, and SA = 5. The number of Nigerian participants was 274 and the number of U.S. participants was 484.

* $p \leq .05$,
** $p \leq .01$

terrorists to death does not deter future terrorism. Both groups were mixed in their views if death was the only thing that would stop terrorists. While there was a mix of views, Nigerian students were more likely than their U.S. counterparts to agree that convicted terrorists, even those sentenced to death, should not be allowed to appeal their sentence.

The Independent t-test was used to determine whether the two groups of respondents statistically differed from one another on the 22 questions, and the results are reported in the most three right columns of Table 2. There was a statistically significant difference between the two groups of respondents on 18 of the 22 questions. Nigerian participants were more likely to feel terrorism one of the most serious social problems facing their society, that terrorism was easily defined, that illegal force and assassination were forms of terrorism, that there was little difference between criminals and terrorists, that government should do whatever was needed to win, that terrorists should be killed or executed, that terrorists should be punished harshly, and that convicted terrorist should not be able to appeal their sentences. Conversely, U.S. students were more likely to see terrorism as a violent act to scare those in power and their supporters, to see terrorists as criminals, to agree that sentencing terrorists to death would not deter terrorist acts, and to express less fear of becoming a victim of a terrorist attack. Finally, both groups of students were similar in their views that terrorism rarely results in a change desired by terrorists, that governments can engage in terrorism, that terrorists needed to be held accountable for their actions, and that there were other methods than death to stop terrorists.

To determine whether the two groups were different in their terrorism views independent of the effects of gender, age, academic level, religious affiliation, and importance of religion, multivariate regression was utilized. Each of the questions presented in Table 2 were entered into a regression equation as the dependent variable and gender, age, academic level, religious affiliation, importance of religion, and nationality of the participant were entered as independent variables. As the questions were answered using an ordinal level response scale, Ordered Ordinal regression was computed. The results reported in Table 3. The coefficients for independent variables and the R-Squared statistic are reported in the columns and the dependent variables are presented in the rows. In terms of statistical significance, the same results were observed in the multivariate analyses as found in the bivariate analyses. For 18 of the 22 questions, nationality was a significant predictor. Nation of the participant was not a significant predictor for the question if terrorism worked in producing the desired changed, if governments could engage in terrorism, if terrorists needed to be punished, and if death was the only means likely to stop terrorists. Nationality was the most consistent predictor, followed by gender, which was a significant predictor for 10 of the 22 questions. Religious affiliation (i.e., being as Christian) was a significant predictor for only four of the questions, and only for three of the questions was academic level a significant predictor. Both age and importance of religion in a person's life had a significant association with only two of the questions. Finally, the amount of variance explained (based on the R-squared value) ranged from as low as 1% to 31%.

Table 3: Ordinal Regression Results (Dependent Variables are Listed in the Rows while the Independent Variables are Listed in the Columns)

<i>Statement (Dependent Variable)</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Acad Lev</i>	<i>Christian</i>	<i>Religion</i>	<i>Nation</i>	<i>R-Squared</i>
Terrorism is one of the most serious problems facing society	.14	.02	-.18	.03	-.01	1.00**	.08**
Terrorism is easily defined	.11	-.01	-.25	.20	.04	1.20**	.10**
Terrorism is a violent act to frighten those in power and their supporters	-.22	.02	.27	-.14	-.04	-.77*	.04*
Any illegal use of force against innocent people to achieve whatever objectives is terrorism	-.57**	.00	-.18	-.23	.02	1.88**	.20**
There is little difference between terrorists and criminals	-.10	.01	.09	-.20	.01	1.37**	.13**
Terrorists are criminals	-.13	.02	-.16	.19	-.12	-.86**	.06**
Any assassination is terrorism	-.46**	.00	.05	.29	-.13	.90**	.06**
Terrorism rarely works in producing the desired change	-.21	.03	-.02	.34*	.07	-.06	.02
I have little fear about potential attacks by terrorists	-.04	-.01	.01	-.48**	-.06	-.43**	.04**
Response to Terrorism							
Governments can engage in terrorism	.00	.00	.50**	-.39*	.09	.03	.03**
The government should do whatever it takes to win against terrorists	.29*	-.01	-.07	-.22	.12	2.38**	.31**
Terrorists should be killed by any means possible	.28*	-.01	-.48**	.16	.01	1.13**	.09**
Swift and severe action must be taken to stop terrorists.	.42**	.01	.23	.05	.10	.38*	.04**
Winning against terrorists is very hard	.43**	.04**	.38*	.12	-.14	-.95**	.08**
Punishment of Terrorists							
We need to make terrorist pay for their acts	.06	.00	.09	-.17	.08	.19	.01
Terrorists should be punished harshly	.19	.00	.01	-.12	.02	.46**	.02*
Terrorists who kill deserve the death penalty	.72**	.02	-.14	-.08	-.22**	.77**	.10**
I will become angry if terrorists who kill are not sentenced to death	.53**	.01	-.15	-.09	-.18*	1.20**	.12**

<i>Statement (Dependent Variable)</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Acad Lev</i>	<i>Christian</i>	<i>Religion</i>	<i>Nation</i>	<i>R-Squared</i>
Nothing but death will stop terrorists	.45**	-.01	-.13	-.48**	-.06	.17	.04**
Most terrorists will kill if they are not executed or killed first	.31*	.02	.07	-.07	-.05	.92**	.08**
Sentencing terrorists to death will not deter future terrorist attacks	-.16	.00	.05	.28	.03	-.62**	.04**
Convicted terrorists should not be allowed to appeal their sentences, even if they are sentenced to death	-.24	-.03*	-.03	-.11	-.10	.51**	.03**

Note: Acad Lev stands for academic level, Religion stands for the importance religion played in a person's life. Gender was coded as 0 = female and 1 = male, age was measured in continuous years, academic level was collapsed into lower level (first two years) coded as 0 and upper level (last two years) coded as 1, Christian was coded as no = 0 and 1 = yes, importance of religion in a person's life was coded where 1 = not at all, 2 = not much, 3 = a fair amount, and 4 = a great deal, and nationality of the participant was coded as U.S. = 0 and Nigerian = 1. R-squared represents the pseudo Nagelkerke estimate value of the amount of variance explained in the dependent variable by the independent variables. The number of Nigerian participants was 274 and the number of U.S. participants was 484.

* $p \leq .05$

** $p \leq .01$

Students were also asked if the death penalty would have deterrence against terrorist who were to be martyrs, and the results for this inquiry are presented in Table 4. There was a statistically significant difference in views between the students by country. The majority of U.S. participants (58%) indicated that the death penalty would have no or little deterrence against terrorists, while only 41% of the Nigerian students agreed that capital punishment would have no or little deterrent effect against terrorists. Far more Nigerian students than U.S. students felt that the death penalty would be a significant deterrent against terrorists (26% versus 2% respectively).

Table 4: Views on Deterrence Value of Death Penalty for Terrorists Who Are Seeking to be Martyrs

<i>Question</i>	<i>Nigeria</i>	<i>U.S.</i>
Since many terrorists plan to die in their attacks in order to become martyrs who will be rewarded in the afterlife, how much effect do you think that the death penalty will have on such terrorist?*		
No or very little deterrence	41%	58%
Little deterrence	24%	25%
Some deterrence	9%	15%
Significant deterrence	26%	2%

Note: The number of Nigerian participants was 274 and the number of U.S. participants was 484.

* Chi-Square = 95.35, degrees of freedom = 3, $p \leq .0001$

Discussion

Terrorism is a diverse and complex phenomenon. There is no universally accepted definition of terrorism; therefore, there is no agreement on what constitutes or causes terrorism. According to Guiora (2007) "one of the greatest hindrances to a cogent discussion of terrorism and counterterrorism has been that the terms lack clear, universal definitions. Even different government agencies within the United States use different definitions of terrorism" (p. 2). Nonetheless, there is no denying the social and political factors that underpin the phenomenon of terrorism. As Kofi Annan in 2003 as the former United Nations Secretary General rightly observed, "terrorism will only be defeated if we act to solve the political disputes or long-standing conflicts that generate support for it" (Sadowska, 2014, p. 1). As extant literature on the subject suggests, terrorism is likely in an environment or system devoid of democracy, rule of law, civil liberties or societies with extreme socio-economic inequality.

This perspective gives credence to the understanding that many have about terrorism in Nigeria. Many Nigerians view terrorist acts as a criminal act undertaken by a group representing an ethnic group or religion that they believe they are politically or economically marginalized. Terrorist acts, therefore, become one approach to enhancing the ethnic

group's negotiation for access to political power or economic resources. In support of this perspective, Nwagwu (2014, p. 2), commenting on the security problems in Nigeria, states that "the disadvantaged segment of the society are invariably encouraged to form rebel groups and fight over abundant supplies of valuable natural resources." Barna (2014) further argues that the Boko Haram terrorist group recruit from the poor and young segments of the society which "due to their socio-economic circumstances, [they] are particularly vulnerable to indoctrination and radicalization by religious fanaticism" (p. 3).

Some of the minority ethnic groups in Nigeria are genuinely concerned about domination by bigger and more powerful ethnic groups. Some of such concerns have led to political conflict and other forms of violent resistance. This may account for why some of the Nigerian students' respondents view terrorist acts as a form of political resistance against their domination by another ethnic group. The negotiated approach adopted by the Nigerian government in dealing with terrorist groups in Nigeria supports this thinking. For example, some operatives of the Niger Delta Militant group and Boko Haram were arrested and released without trial. Some were granted amnesty, jobs, and educational scholarships. The forgoing perspective would be unthinkable in the United States, where individuals who have taken up arms against the state and people would be released without trial and even rewarded materially.

The results indicate that the terrorism views of Nigerian and U.S. students are complex and varies. Even within each nation, views on terrorism varied. For example, there was a spread of views among Nigerian participants that terrorism is easy to define. The same was observed among U.S. students. Similarly, there were diverse views among Nigerian and U.S. students whether convicted terrorists should be able to appeal their sentences, even if sentenced to death. The variation of views within each nation suggests that views of terrorism are far from consistent and vary. Research is needed to explore why the views differed in each nation. There was also consistency on some terrorism views in each nation. For example, there was consistent agreement that terrorists needed to pay for their acts and be punished within each country. It is likely emotions, such as anger and frustration, resulted in many people feeling terrorists need to be stopped and held accountable for their acts. There was, however, less agreement on the best course of action of how to do this.

There were also significant differences in views between Nigerian and U.S. college students in their terrorism views. Of the 22 items in Table 2, there was a significant difference in views of 18 of the items between Nigerian and U.S. participants. There was no discernable pattern to the differences on the four items. One item was in grouping one (views of terrorism), another item was in grouping two (response to terrorism) and two items were part of grouping three (punishment of terrorism). Overall, there was a significant difference on the vast majority of the items across the three groupings between the two groups of students. Nation appears to play a role in shaping the terrorism views of those surveyed. In Table 3, the best predictor of views of terrorism was nation. On 18 of the 22 items, nation was a significant predictor, and it was a much more consistent

predictor than was gender (predictor on 10 items), age (predictor on 2 items), academic level (predictor on 3 items), religious domination (predictor on 4 items), and importance of religion in a person's life (predictor on 6 items). The significant differences can be attributed in part to the cultural differences between the two nations. Culture is a powerful force that shapes individual's views on many social issues, including terrorism.

Nigerian students were more likely to feel terrorism was a serious social problem and the desire to punish the terrorists with death than compared U.S. students. This could be the result of experiencing far greater number (be it smaller on a smaller scale than the World Trade Center attack) terrorists attacks than compared to U.S. and the failure of Nigerian government to effectively address terrorism. There is a growing frustration among Nigerians with terrorism and the lack of effective responses, and this may have led to a desire for retribution on offenders, as well as a negative view of them. Facing constant terrorist attacks can wear on a person, resulting in a change in their views of what is terrorism and how to best respond. U.S. students were more likely to feel that capital punishment would not deter terrorists as compared to their Nigerian counterparts. This could be that there has been a far greater public debate, including in the media, about the lack of a deterrence effect with capital punishment in the U.S. There has not been much of a public discussion about the death penalty in Nigeria. Additionally, many U.S. citizens support capital punishment for retribution reasons and not deterrence reasons. The opposite is the case in Nigeria (Elechi, Lambert, Jenkins, & Baker, 2009; Elechi, Lambert, & Ventura, 2006). The current study indicates that terrorism views are not invariant but differ between Nigeria and the U.S., as well within each nation. The results suggest that while nationality plays a role in shaping terrorism views, they are complex and likely shaped by both intra- and inter-variables.

Of the other variables included in the multivariate analysis, gender was the second most common predictor after nation on the 22 items. There appeared to be a gender difference in views on almost half of the items. In general, men were more punitive in their views on what should happen to terrorists. Women were more likely to feel any illegal force and assassination were forms terrorism. The finding that gender was a significant predictor was the next best predictor after nation is consistent what has been reported in the literature. As previously noted, there is reported a gender gap on crime and criminal justice issues (Applegate et al., 2002; Whitehead & Blankenship, 2000). In general, women tend to be less punitive and more treatment oriented as compared to men, who tend to be more punitive and hold offenders responsible for their actions (Applegate et al., 2002; Grasmick & McGill, 1994; Whitehead & Blankenship, 2000). The findings from the current study suggests that there may be a gender gap not only for views of crime but for terrorism as well. The current findings are in line with the work of Gilligan (1982), who contended that women and men operate on different social values that influence what they see as a justice sanction for offenders. According to Gilligan (1982), women are more concerned with the well-being of the group, sensitivity to others, and trying to change the individual so that the group benefits (morality of care) rather than punish offenders. Gilligan (1982) indicated

that men are generally more oriented towards the desire to punish those who break the law and hold individuals accountable (hierarchy of authority). Hurwitz and Smithey (1998) pointed out that women are concerned about crime prevention because of “a larger concern for protecting the vulnerable and making sure no one is hurt” (p. 107). Applegate et al. (2002) contended that “women, more so than men, seem to hold a general view that the government should not simply be an instrument of punishment and accountability but also should provide assistance to people with needs” (p. 98). The current study points out that after nation, gender is the next best predictor of the terrorism items. While it suggests a gender gap on terrorism views, this needs to be explored before it can be confirmed and understood.

As with many studies, the current study has limitations. It was a single preliminary study based on survey of college students at one Nigerian university and one U.S. university. Additional research is needed to determine whether the results can be replicated. In addition, exploration of terrorism views among the general population should be undertaken. A random sample of Nigerian and U.S. residents would allow the results to be generalized to the overall population in each nation. Additionally, the measures for views on terrorism were limited. In the current study, single item measures rather than indexes were used. More detailed measures should be developed and used. Items measuring other areas of terrorism views should be developed and asked. It is important to note that there has been little cross-cultural research in this area. Furthermore, studies are required to empirically test explanations of why the terrorism views differed between Indian and U.S. participants. It is important to realize that the explanations offered for the results in this study have not been tested. In the current study, between 2% to 31% of the variance in views was explained in the multivariate analysis of the 22 items (see Table 3). Research is needed to identify the additional variables that help shape terrorism views. Studies should not only not explore the variables which account for inter-differences (i.e., cross-national) but also intra-differences (i.e., within a nation). It is likely that there will be differences in views of social control among different groups within a nation. As previously indicated, even after controlling for nationality, there appeared to be a difference between men and women on many of the terrorism items. Continuing research is needed to determine whether views evolve as both nations continue to change and experience new terrorist attacks. Finally, research is needed on terrorism views among residents in other nations. Terrorism occurs across a wide array of nations across the globe. What is not known is what residents of these nations think of terrorism, terrorists, and how to respond.

Conclusion

In closing, Angel and Thoits (1987) contended that views and attitudes of different groups are windows to the salient values of the particular culture. Using a cross-cultural perspective, a better overall understanding will be gained. As Jowell (1998) pointed out, “the importance

and utility to social science of rigorous cross-national measures is incontestable. They help to reveal not only intriguing differences between countries and cultures, but also aspects of one's own country and culture that would be difficult or impossible to detect from domestic data alone" (p. 168). The current exploratory study examined the differences in terrorism views between Nigerian and U.S. residents. Both nations have experienced major terrorist attacks in the past several decades. Many of their views differed between the two cultures. The current study indicates that terrorism views are not invariant but differ between Nigeria and the U.S., as well within each nation. The results suggest that while nationality plays a role in shaping terrorism views, they are complex and likely shaped by both intra- and inter-variables. This study raised more questions than it answered. Research is needed to explore why terrorism views differ. It is clear that more cross-national research is needed, especially in light of the potential sociological and political factors that surround the issues in question. Future cross-cultural research will not only provide a better understanding of terrorism views, but how and why they differ across cultures. No nation has a monopoly over dealing with terrorism and how to best respond to it. It is strongly hoped that this study will spur further research in cross-cultural studies. In any event, it is hoped that this study provided a bit more light on the largely unexplored area of terrorism views.

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