

ETHICS OF VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA

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PGA/UJ/11332/00

A thesis in the Department of RELIGIOUS STUDIES, Faculty of Arts.
Submitted to the School of Postgraduate Studies,
University of Jos, in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the Award of the Degree
of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
of the UNIVERSITY OF JOS

OCTOBER 2005

CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that the research work for this thesis and subsequent preparation of this thesis by Samson Elias Mijah (PGA/UJ/11332/00) were carried out under my supervision.

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DECLARATION

I, Samson Elias Mijah, do hereby declare that, apart from the references cited in this work, for which I have duly acknowledged, this work is the result of my own research. To the best of my knowledge, this thesis has neither in whole nor in part been presented for another Doctorate Degree (Ph.D) elsewhere.

SAMSON ELIAS MIJAH
OCTOBER 2005

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My gratitude goes first, to God Almighty who graciously sustained me through the rigours, pains and joy of this terminal degree of a Ph.D. I acknowledge with thanks, the indefatigable supervisory role of Professor Cyril O. Imo, of the Department of Religious Studies, University of Jos. He has at several times availed himself to me for pure academic digest in respect to this thesis. On several occasions, he also gave me the opportunity of using his library.

I remember with respect the love and concern of my parents, Reverend Elias Mijah and Mrs. Na'omi Elias Mijah. They were most understanding throughout the difficult period of my absence. I really missed their parental warmth.

I acknowledge the courageous efforts of my humble wife, Alice Samson Mijah and our children, Reuben, Sondimba, Yinasim and our Twin-daughters, Peace and Praise. They really missed my fatherly care and love as a result of my frequent absence, even though some of them could not really understand the reason for that.

To the authorities of Federal College of Education Yola, I say thank you for granting me study fellowship despite the competitive openings within the College. Of great importance also is the Head of my Department, Mr. Blo Johnson Malgwa, Mr. Douglas Jalo, the Dean, School of Arts and Social Sciences, Mrs. Saratu J. Malgwa and Mr. John Kwayas, who took the responsibility of teaching my courses in my absence. I also thank Mr. N.I. Luku of the

Department of Social Studies, F.C.E. Yola, for his elderly advice and moral support.

One of the most interesting parts of my Ph.D programme has been the brain storming sessions during the compulsory seminar presentations. I had the privilege of professorial discussions with the Professors of the Department. Some of these professors included Professor D.N. Wambutda and Professor M.T. Yahya. I also enjoyed the valuable contributions, support and discussions of the remaining Lecturers of the Department. Most notable among these lecturers are Dr. U.H.D. Danfulani, (Reader), Reverend Ibrahim Musa Ahmadu (Reader), Mr. J.D. Gwamna, Dr. Musa A.B. Gaiya and Dr. Danny McCain. They have on several occasions assisted me with relevant literature on my research work even at the time I least expected. I also enjoyed the humorous relationship of every non-teaching staff of the Department of Religious Studies, University of Jos. I thank them for their encouragement and concern over my studies and my family in general.

I acknowledge the services of several institutions and research centres. First among these is the Theological College of Northern Nigeria, (T.C.N.N.) Bukuru, Jos. The assistance of the library staff is quite commendable. My gratitude also goes to Rev. Jerry Audu and Rev. A'aron Ndirmbita of the same College for their friendly disposition, spiritual and financial assistance. The libraries of the National War College, Abuja, National Institute of Peace and

Conflict Resolution, Abuja, National Library, Jos, and Saint Augustine's Major Seminary, Jos, were immensely useful.

I acknowledge the financial assistance of the following people. My brothers, Mr. Zion Elias Mijah and Pandemo Lawi Giwa, my sisters, Mrs. Rita Maiyaki, H.I.E. Mijah and my friends Mr. Nelson T. Hundumofore, Mr. O. A. Okarazo, Mr. Sini Tumba, Mr. Spano Warigon, Mr. Peter Clement, Honorable John Ngamsa and Prince Medan Fwa. I also thank Mr. Habila Miner of Plateau Radio and Television Corporation (P.R.T.V.C.), Jos. He has unceasingly encouraged me academically, morally and financially in the course of my research. Mr. Moses Kundwal of Physics Department Federal College of Education, Yola, has been resourceful. He assiduously took over my fatherly responsibilities, even when things were tough in my absence. May God Almighty bless him.

I appreciate the continuous encouragement of my resident Pastor, Dr. Irmiya Tadugorrone of the Lutheran Church of Christ in Nigeria, Lower Luggere, Jimeta-Yola District.

The contribution of Dr. Leonard Kursim Fwa of the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies, Kuru, Jos, is worth mentioning. He assisted me with much literature and gave financial assistance.

I am highly indebted to my Ph.D colleagues and postgraduate students of the Department of Religious Studies, University of Jos. Worthy of mention is my classmate and dear friend, Late Vincent Danlami Parlong who died in the course

of our Ph.D programme. He had successfully been upgraded from M. Phil., to full Ph.D status when the claws of death took him away. I enjoyed his friendly disposition and transparent honesty. I missed his critical and academic discussions of our research areas. Other colleagues are Mrs. Magdalyn A. Mbawerem, Mr. Simon Mwadkwon, Mr. James Kiamu and Mr. Shittu Uhud. They have on several occasions been of assistance to me through various ways.

Countless are the anonymous contributors who at several times shared their opinions with me through oral discussions and comments over my topic. Most especially are my respondents and those who assisted in distributing the questionnaire I used in this thesis. To all these people and those not mentioned, I remain indebted.

SAMSON E. MIJAH

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Reverend Elias Mijah and Mrs. Na'omi
Elias Mijah who have been the architects of my education.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAPW	Academic Associates Peace Works
ABU	Ahmadu Bello University
ACHPR	African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights
AD	Ano Domini (Latin).
AG	Action Group
ATR	African Traditional Religions
AVP	Alternative to Violence Project
BHC	British High Commission
BPF	Bwatiye Patriotic Front
CAN	Christian Association of Nigeria
CJPC	Catholic Justice Peace Commission
CO	Colonial Office
DPC	Delta Peace Forum
FCE	Federal College of Education
ICCPR	International Convention on Civil and Political Rights
INC	Ijaw National Congress
IPCR	Institute of Peace and Conflict Resolution
IYC	Ijaw Youth Congress
IYP	International Year for Peace
JNI	Jama'tul Nasril Islam
MASSOB	Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra.

MOSOP	Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People
ME	Middle East
MSS	Muslim Students Society
NA	Native Authority
NASR	Nigeria Association for the Study of Religions
ND	No Date
NIPSS	National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies
NCNC	National Council of Nigeria and Camerouns
NPC	Northern People's Congress
NL	National Library
NT	New Testament
NUC	National University Commission
ODA	Overseas Development Agency
OIC	Organization of Islamic Conference
OPC	Odu'a Peoples Congress
OT	Old Testament
PBUH	Peace Be Upon Him
RNC	Royal Nigeria Company
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SSS	State Security Services
UMBC	United Middle Belt Congress
UN	United Nations

USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WTC	World Trade Centre

ABSTRACT

This study is intended to examine the high scale and increasing frequency of violence witnessed in Nigeria today. As a study in ethics, it is mainly concerned with examining how peoples of Nigeria evaluate the rightness and wrongness of violence. It will further determine if there are socio-cultural, political, ethnic, psychological or religious reasons, the different groups of people in Nigeria use in justifying or rejecting violence. The study employed the use of quantitative and qualitative methods. Specifically the questionnaire and oral sources formed the main primary source for collecting data, while many secondary sources were also used. The research findings reveal that there are some traditional cultural, ethnic, political, psychological and religious roots of violence in Nigeria. Although religion has been blamed to be the major source of violence in Nigeria, some of the problems associated with the phenomenon are not totally religious. If anything, people use religion for their selfish interests. Thus, the manipulators of religion should be checked. Findings have also revealed that violent oriented films influence the attitudes of children towards violence in Nigeria. Some modest recommendations have also been made on how to check the frequency of violence and its consequences in Nigeria.

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Violence is a common feature of social life in all types of societies. The scale, trend and patterns of violence vary across societies and periods (Alemika 72). The prevalence of violence both locally and internationally has manifested a lot of devastation in human civilisation. The acts of violence have in no small measure debilitated advancement in developing countries. Even in the most advanced countries, the phenomenon of violence has continued to be a reoccurring saga and thus poses a need for collaborative efforts in combating its dangers.

Violence has consequently affected the behavioural patterns of various social groups and religious adherents. The consequences of violence therefore have continually drawn the attention of various governments, voluntary agencies, religious organizations and the academia towards controlling the spectre of its persistence.

The Nigerian situation presents a good case for examining the intricate patterns of persistent violent actions. Moreover, there is a complete admixture of the effects of the triad religious faiths, African Traditional Religion, Islam and Christianity. Notably, Islam and

Christianity are pitched to be the major rallying forces in escalating the scale of violent actions in Nigeria.

It has therefore become necessary to give religion a premium as the basis for all objective analysis because religion transcends all barriers invented or imposed on human social existence. There are various religious faiths with different doctrines and traditions in Nigeria. These variations have also affected the attitudes of various religious adherents and have invariably widened their ethical dimensions towards violent actions.

The primordial tendencies of various ethnic groups towards violence have also inevitably aggravated the scale and propensity of violent actions in different forms. The perennial eruption of various ethnic militia in Nigeria and the preponderant religious fundamentalism have in no small measure triggered and widened the scope of violence in various ramifications (Egwu I). It has therefore become necessary to find out the sources and various ethical beliefs towards violent actions in which Nigeria is seen as a major purveyor of these actions.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The phenomenon of violence is not a new one. Every society whether in the primitive or modern times has demonstrated some elements of violent activities at a particular stage of its development or civilisation. The historic account in the Holy Bible has vividly

portrayed how Cain brutally killed his brother Abel, (Revised Standard Bible. Gen. 4.8). There were also wars, which led to the conquest of Canaan (Jericho and Ai). Heroes such as Samson among the Judges, Saul and David among the kings are few examples of warlords that depicted the prevalence of violence from the early societies (Revised Standard Bible. Jos. 6 - 8, cf Judg. 14-16, 1 Sam. 11, 1 Sam. 17). History has also clearly shown that from the early Stone Age to the modern times, wars and violence have been the major characteristics of life at this time. Empires attacked and conquered each other right from the early Greek city states up to the modern times (Wesley et al 41).

What is "new" is the scale and widespread nature of violence in the world today. The preponderance of violence globally in forms of war, torture, assassinations, protests, riots, revolutions, ethno-religious conflicts, genocide, nuclear threats, biological warfare and other forms of violence cannot be quantified. A few examples will suffice to suggest the enormity and the wide spread scale of violence in the world today.

There was violence perpetrated in the Kashmir region. Gunmen and women were seen killing and bombing buses, cars and buildings with the claim of responsibility. This situation has helped in filling the terror camps in Afghanistan posing one of the most dare threats to

stability in the region (Newsweek Oct. 2000:22). In Northern Ireland, Catholic and Protestant clashes are the most recurrent violent clashes. An explosion of violence in Ulster reveals that Northern Ireland was locked in its prison of bitter sectarian hostility (Time Magazine – July 1996:16).

On a more serious note is the “America’s Black September,” of recent global threat of terrorism waged upon the United States of America (U.S.A.), where the World Trade Centre (W.T.C.) in New York and the Pentagon in Washington were attacked destroying thousands of human beings and inestimable property (Tell Magazine – Sept. 2001:44). Consequent to this was the eruption of anthrax posing a threat to the global community (Sunday Punch – Dec. 2000). These situations have also bridled the fragile peace process in progress in the Middle East (M.E.) and have also triggered the already existing violence amongst the Israelites and the Palestinians.

The Israelites and the Palestinians have resumed bitter violence following suicide bomb attacks by three Palestinians from the militant Hamas group who blew themselves up in Jerusalem and Haifa in Israel, killing few and wounding many others. The attacks brought a quick reprisal from the Israeli army. Three Israeli helicopter gun-ships fired many missiles into the Palestinian occupied Gaza Strip and

headquarters of Yasser Arafat Palestinian leader (Newsweek – Dec. 2001:59).

The situation was worse in Afghanistan where violence took its toll under the leadership of the Taliban government and demonstrated an abuse of human rights, especially against women. This is the same government that was alleged to have housed and protected Osama Bin Ladin and his Al-qa'ida movement, and sponsored the terrorist attack in the World Trade Centre, the Pentagon and other countries (Newsweek – Oct. 2001:36). Further threats of attacks by the Al-qa'ida movement have been confirmed by the terrorist group's spokesman, Sulaiman Abu Ghaith where he was quoted as saying:

The network is going to launch an attack against Americans; our martyrs are ready for operations against America and Jewish targets inside and outside. America should be prepared, it should be ready. They should fasten their seat belts. We are coming to them where they never expected (Guardian – June 2002:78).

In respect to these terrorist pronouncements, the United States and its Northern Alliance forces declared a war on Afghanistan, thus, creating a new vista of violence (Tell Magazine – Oct. 2001:76).

In the recent past, there was an unprecedented incidence of economic violence ever witnessed in the present century in Argentina, where there was a change of presidency five times in two weeks (Newswatch – Jan. 2002:43). People were seen destroying buildings

and excavating foodstuff and other valuables for personal use as a result of hard economic strings.

A similar scenario of violence is also found in Africa. In Sudan, religion is seen as the main cause of violence. The Islamic north and the Christian south have different leaderships and both took to their positions in regards to the implementation of Islamic legal system (B.B.C. Focus on Africa Magazine – July-Sept. 1988:8). This led to the birth of guerrilla groups, which resulted in a civil war that had continued for many years. Today the Darfur region in Sudan had been in war.

Zimbabwe was faced with political violence. Opposition leaders were being killed and others jailed by the Mugabe-led government. The white farmers had their lands confiscated and some of them killed or brutally assaulted (Newswatch – Nov. 2001:45). The situations in Somalia, Algeria, Burundi, Sierra-Leone, Zambia and Liberia are all incidences of political violence. Worthy of note is the South African situation (African Concord Magazine – Oct. 1988:43). A lot of violent actions took place during the apartheid days when the blacks were segregated and brutally maimed. Steve Biko was violently tortured and murdered (Gruchy III). The urge for self-rule by blacks that are the majority over the white minority rule led to a number of violent clashes. Violence is still continuing even after the fall of apartheid

regime. There are violent actions amongst blacks themselves and against the whites.

Nigeria has also taken a queue in violent actions in various forms. Prominent amongst the violent actions after Nigeria's independence is the Nigerian Civil war. General Olusegun Obasanjo describes the war as follows:

It is a story of brother against brother in family feud, aggravated by outside intervention which held brother despising brother, brother killing brother and finally setting brother binding his wounds and both settling their feud by themselves in a spirit of understanding, mutual respect, love and comradeship (Obasanjo xiii).

Serious amongst the incidents of violent activities or clashes in Nigeria are the intra and inter-religious crises. Cases in point include the Kano State Maitatsine religious disturbances of 1980, the Bulunkutu Maiduguri religious disturbance of 1982 and the Jimeta-Yola Maitatsine religious disturbances of February 1984. Others are the Gombe Maitatsine religious disturbances of April 1985, the Palm Sunday Ilorin religious disturbances of 1986, the Bauchi abattoir religious disturbances of February 1991 and the Kaduna State religious crisis of 2000 with its reprisal in Southern parts of the country. The Muslim Students Society (M.S.S.) of the University of Sokoto protest rampage of May 1986, the Kafanchan College of Education religious disturbances of March 1987, the destruction of wooden structure of risen Christ of May 1986 at the Christian Chapel of Resurrection at the

University of Ibadan. There is also the Federal College of Education Yola Students Union religious disturbances of 13th July 2001, are few examples.

Apart from the major Nigerian civil war of 1967-70, other forms of violent actions can be seen in the emergence of ethnic militia from different parts of the country. These include "Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra" (MASSOB); "Abia State Vigilante Services Group" (BAKASSI BOYS); "Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People" (MOSOP) in 1994 and later the killing of Ogoni nine in 1995 including Ken Saro Wiwa by the Abacha regime. There is also the "Ijaw National Congress/Ijaw Youth Congress", (INC/IYC) there is also "Odua Peoples Congress" (O.P.C.). Many other ethnic militias that are not mentioned are also beefing up for the defence and liberation of their people for economic, political and religious reasons. There are also incidents of ethnic and communal clashes of 2000 in Shagamu, Ogun State with its reprisals in Kano. There are the Tiv and Nasarawa State "indigenes" clashes in 2001, Tiv and Jukun/Fulani clashes of 2001. We also have the Jos ethno-religious clashes of 2001 with its attempted reprisals in the state, which persisted up to the early part of 2004.

In a radio commentary of Adamawa Broadcasting Cooperation, members of the State Security Apparatus presented a worst situation

of the preponderance of violence. For example, the Nigerian Police in recent times killed three travellers that were journeying from Ogun State to Katsina to buy rams. They forcefully collected about six million naira and set the bus the traders were using ablaze. The recent scale of violence worth noting is the mayhem unleashed on innocent citizens as a result of the introduction of the Islamic criminal legal system in some parts of Northern Nigeria. This has caused a lot of stiff resistance by Christian adherents that are indigenes and those residing in these states and this has also resulted in the destruction of lives and properties.

We may go on citing cases and incidences of violent actions both locally and globally without exhausting them. It is thus pertinent to accept the views of Garver on violence where he said that; "violence in human affairs comes down to violating persons" (Cited in Betz 340). Therefore whether violence is overt or covert and quiet, it is in most cases classified into personal and institutionalised violence (Betz 340). Personal violence is that kind of violence perpetrated by an individual acting on his own, such as mugging, rape, murder, human mutilation, kidnapping, witchcraft and sorcery. Whereas institutionalised violence is perpetrated by an individual or group by virtue of the power vested on him/her or them by a constituted authority. This could include war,

riots, mutiny, genocide, massacre, pogrom, assassination, coup-d'état and armed robbery.

These dimensions of violence enumerated above are found in many countries the world over, Nigeria inclusive. It is perhaps for this reason that the scale and prevalence of violence have attracted greater concern globally. Perhaps too, this has led to the widespread agitation for global peace and harmony. The need for global peace has rekindled the United Nations (U.N.) declaration of the "International Year for Peace" (I.Y.P.) in 1986 (Tamuno 13). Consequently the United Nations has recently declared the year 2001 - 2010 as the decade of peace and non-violence. This means that various governments in the world must pursue peace and ensure that violence is eschewed in their society (Inyomi 2). The surge for peace has also led to the emergence of the Departments of Peace Studies in many academic institutions globally. Notable among these is the pioneer Department of Peace Studies University of Bradford in England founded in 1973 (Tamuno 4). Other Universities in Europe and United States of America have also followed suit. Voluntary organisations internationally have also been formed to fight against violence in various forms. This has also extended to the level of granting fellowships for prospective peacemakers and peacekeepers.

In Nigeria, the only National War College (N.W.C.) has a Centre for Peace Research and Conflict Resolution to enable it maintain peace in Nigeria and the West African sub-region. Similar agitation has also led to the development of Niger Delta Peace Forum (N.D.P.F.). There is also the Centre of Justice, Peace and Reconciliation in Jos, Plateau State. The Federal Government has also created an Institute of Peace and Conflict Resolution in Abuja in its bid to pursue and sustain peace. The Catholic Diocese of Ijebu-Ode has Justice, Development and Peace Commission. The programme of one time Nigeria's Head of State, General Yakubu Gowon, tagged "Nigeria Prays," is a notable effort in combating the menace of violent activities while encouraging peaceful co-existence among Nigerians.

In its resolve to control the current violent situations especially in the Middle Belt region of Nigeria, General Olusegun Obasanjo, the President and Commander-in-Chief of the Nigerian Armed Forces, organised a three-day retreat on peace and conflict resolution. This retreat took place at the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS) Kuru-Jos, Plateau State. Religious organisations, voluntary agencies and the government are also being encouraged to proffer suggestions and areas of discussions through dialogue for peaceful co-existence and as a means of resolving conflicts in Nigeria. People that are concerned for peace as a result of widespread scale of

violence call for theories by different scholars in respect to violent actions. Many scholars and schools of thought concerned with the scale and perversity of violence have propounded theories of significant reference points on matters of individual, institutionalised and urban, rural or domestic violence.

It is as part of this concern for the widespread and increased scale of violence that ethicists are equally interested in the issue of violence. What is then the issue about ethics in the widespread of violence in Nigeria? How are we to understand and cope with violent activities? What is the rationale and morality behind any violent action?

Violence has been used as means of settling quarrels and attracting attention of government against its perpetrators. It was used as a means of encroachment of human rights especially in the then apartheid South Africa. Violence was used also as a means of restoring social order and for decolonisation of many countries leading to independence. Frantz Fanon has vividly portrayed the nature of this phenomenon in his discourse on the Algerian revolution as he opined:

National liberation, national renaissance, the restoration of nationhood to people. Whatever may be the heading used or the new formula introduced, decolonisation is always a violent phenomenon. Decolonisation is quite simply the replacing of certain species of men by another 'species' of men; there is a total, complete and absolute substitution (Fanon 27).

The question then arises, does violence act as a necessary cleansing agent or does it signal crisis? Is not use of force to restrain violence simply violence? Simply put, what is the morality in using violence to bring peace? Is there any condition that can justify the use of violence? (Guinness 5).

It is clear to state that the basis of most of the violent activities perpetrated in Nigeria is as a result of multiplicity of ethnic groups. Violence has also arisen as a result of conflicting religious tenets and principles. In most cases religion is used as a basis for perpetrating and aggravating violent actions. The Bombing of the World Trade Centre in the United States of America by the terrorists is a typical example by the fundamentalist Al-Qa'eda Movement in advancing the course of "Jihad" against the "infidels". This goes to suggest that religion is no more playing the functional role that it is supposed to play. Umar Danfulani has vividly portrayed this situation when he declared:

We are however painfully reminded of the fact that religion has not always played the idealistic role, rather the history of humanity is punctuated and saddled with the ugly side of religion particularly wars and violence that have been carried out in the name of Allah and God (Danfulani 40).

Why is it then that religion, which is supposed to be a source of peace is sometimes used as a source of violence? Admittedly, African Traditional Religion (A.T.R.) preaches morality of peace; Christianity

equally propagates the morality of peace. In fact, its founder is described as the "prince of peace"; this is apart from the "peaceful verses" that are scattered all over the Holy Bible. This notwithstanding, adherents of Christianity involve themselves in many violent actions. Islam on its own is seen as a "religion of peace", but many of the followers publicly use the sign of crossed swords on their vehicles as an emblem of Islam, perhaps as a deliberate act or out of ignorance.

It becomes pertinent to ask whether both religions, Islam and Christianity, subscribe to violence? In other words, are there other factors that are used to perpetrate violence but use religion as a guise? In describing the functional value of religion, Durkheim opined that:

Social order is contained primarily in the system of 'collective representation' that is patterned essentially after the structure of community life. He recognized the role of religious image in upholding the unity and stability of society (Quoted in Danfulani 210).

We can then see the ambivalence of religion especially in Nigeria. Thus, these incontrovertible positions of various religious faiths in Nigeria have raised the question of inter-relatedness of religion and morality. Given the fact that Nigeria is not fully secularised, religion still has a great impact and a determining role in shaping morality. Danny McCain insists that "the moral foundation of

every culture comes from its religion" (Cited in Daudu 67). It follows that no nation can survive for very long if it opposes or even ignores religion because religion provides the moral foundation to the society (Daudu 67). Does this mean to say that these religions have the moral capacity to contain violence? Why is the use of violence supported and aggravated even by the clergy? What actually are the ethical norms of these religions with respect to violence? Is there a basis for any violent action religiously? These and many other issues shall form the basis of our discourse in this thesis.

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

One of the objectives of this study is to determine how traditional, colonial, religious and western values bequeathed to Nigerians have influenced their attitudes towards violence.

Secondly, consideration shall be given to why there are increasing cases of religious bred violence in contemporary societies, and what has led to the increase in the frequency and the scale of violence in spite of the religious teaching on morality.

Thirdly, the study will examine the ethical view points of the major religions (Islam and Christianity) in Nigeria on the issue of violence and determine whether there are similarities of teachings on peaceful co-existence.

Another objective is to determine what moral principles that can be used in justifying the various grounds for violence in contemporary times and to find out whether there can be conditions that can justify the use of violence for resolving misunderstandings and crises.

Finally, the study will examine how tele-violence aggravates aggressive tendencies among children.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The significance of this study is to increase the awareness of the dangers of violence to students in various institutions of learning, Christians, Muslims, the government, private sector, various social and ethnic groups in order to stimulate strategies and ways of combating the re-occurrence of violent actions in Nigeria.

This work hopes to enlighten and alert religious adherents in Nigeria on their role in keeping peace and maintaining the virtues of religious tolerance while shunning the tendencies of religious provocation.

The researcher intends to make valuable contributions to government, voluntary organizations and various religious groups on the need to create fora for intra and inter-faith dialogue, conferences and workshops on the need for peaceful co-existence in Nigeria.

Finally, this study intends to remind the government of the need to find out the fundamental causes of various violent actions in Nigeria

with the hope of reducing the tempo of violence and impose appropriate punishment on the culprits.

1.5 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

One of the reasons for undertaking the research in ethics of violence in Nigeria can be justified in the words of Guinness:

There is today a renewed awareness of violence in the modern world brought into our homes by television coverage, portrayed in films, drama and literature studied in the reports of scientists, philosophers and commissions. Man's violence is obviously a direct threat to his humanness and to the order of his institutions, perhaps even to his survival (35).

Nigeria has continually witnessed violent actions within the shortest period of its nascent democracy. There has been continuous occurrence of violence in many forms. It has therefore become necessary to undertake a research into the area of violence.

The personal involvement of the researcher in various violent related situations justifies the desire of the researcher to undertake a study in violence. As a post-independent Nigerian citizen, the researcher has witnessed and experienced many violent activities that have bedevilled this country especially from 1980 - 2002. In fact the researcher has been unavoidably involved in few religious crisis especially the Maitatsine crisis of 1984, in Jimeta-Yola and the Jos religious and sectarian crisis of September 2001 among others. He has also at three different times and locations had encounters with armed

robbers in the country. These and many other violent related experiences justify the researcher's desire to undertake research in the area of violence.

1.6 METHODOLOGY

There are immense problems associated with discussing ethical issues on violence in Nigeria with the numerous religious and ethnic groups. One cannot hope to cover these groups exhaustively. There are observable cases of violent activities, which were witnessed by the researcher. This will give opportunity for personal assessment of such violent situations.

The use of quantitative and qualitative approach in eliciting opinions from different people with varied ethnic and religious backgrounds will also be undertaken. This will be carried out through the use of a structured questionnaire and oral interview. The data used for analysis of this study were generated from questionnaire and oral interview.

There are five hundred questionnaires distributed in all. They were meant to elicit responses that cover questions on personal data in the first section, while the second section covers questions on "Ethics of violence" as it relates to religious violence and traditional cultural values in Nigeria.

To ensure proper distribution of the questionnaires so that they cover the entire country, the five hundred questionnaires were distributed according to the "six geo-political zones" for convenience. The six "geo-political zones" are as follows: south-south zone, which comprises the following States; Cross Rivers, Akwa Ibom, Delta Bayelsa, Rivers and Edo. The southeast zone comprise States such as Ebonyi, Anambra, Enugu, Abia and Imo. The southwest zone comprises the following States, Lagos, Ondo, Ogun, Oyo, Ekiti and Osun. The North-central zone comprises, Niger, Kwara, Kogi, Kaduna, Nasarawa, Benue and Plateau. The Northeast zone comprises the following States, Taraba, Bauchi, Gombe, Adamawa, Borno, and Yobe. While the northwest zone comprises, Jigawa, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto and Zamfara States.

The ratio for the distribution of the questionnaires according to the six "geo-political zones" are as follows;

i.	South-East geo-political zone	50	Questionnaires
ii.	South-West geo-political zone	50	"
iii.	South-South geo-political zone	60	"
iv.	North-West geo-political zone	60	"
v.	North-East geo-political zone	120	"
vi.	North-Central geo-political zone	160	"

The rationale for distributing 50 questionnaires each to south-east and south-west geo-political zones is because of the homogeneity of the ethnic groups in these zones who are predominantly Igbo and Yoruba respectively. For the northwest and south-south geo-political zones there are more than one ethnic group as compared to Igbo and Yoruba people. For the Northeast and North central "geo-political zones," more questionnaires were distributed because of the heterogeneity of the ethnic groups found in these zones. Efforts were made in selecting representatives from the various zones who distributed the questionnaires. The researcher personally distributed the questionnaires that covered the northeast "geo-political zone" in Yola. For the remaining zones, the questionnaires were distributed in Jos by reaching out to the various ethnic groups represented in the zones mentioned.

Because of the nature of Jos, which is Christian dominated, it will be realized that most of the respondents who answered the questions were Christians. But efforts were made in such a way that there would be Muslim representation in the zones that have pre-dominance of Muslims. This accounts for the disproportionate ratio of Muslims who answered the questionnaires to that of Christians.

Out of the five hundred (500) questionnaires distributed, 368 were returned. The interview that was carried out involved members

of various ethnic groups randomly selected to represent the six geopolitical zones. This include, civil servants, students, farmers, clergymen, politicians and business men and women.

The third source to be used will be the review of existing works related to the subject matter which includes published materials such as books, journals, magazines, newspapers, conference papers and other official publications. The fourth source will be the use of internet materials, where necessary.

1.7 SCOPE AND DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The prevalence of violence has preceded the period of Nigeria's independence. Even after independence, there have been glaring incidences of political violence and other forms of violent activities that characterized our nationhood.

As a way of focus, the researcher intends to cover the period between 1980 - 2002. This period has witnessed incessant eruption of violent religious actions compared to any other period in the history of Nigeria after independence. There were also incidences of political and communal violence especially from 1980 to 2002. This is further corroborated by Bala Usman in his analysis of violent communal conflicts in the central Nigerian uplands and the Middle Belt Basin; "communal violence in Nigeria has since from 1980 become more

frequent, more widespread, more violently destructive of life and property" (Scope Newspaper Feb. 2002:8).

Where references are cited prior to 1980, this is done so far to help explain some underlying basis surrounding violent actions in contemporary Nigeria. However, not all violent activities committed within the time under focus shall be considered. Some few areas and cases shall be randomly selected especially where violent activities proved to be of serious scale. The researcher will also cover patterns, attitudes, rationality and reactions of various individuals, groups, sects, and organizations towards violent activities.

Suffice it to say no claim is made to a complete coverage of the ethics of violence in Nigeria within the period of focus, nor is it supposed to be a final work on the ethics of violence. Rather it is hoped that the researcher will stimulate further discussion of the problems associated with the ethics of violence in Nigeria.

The area of research in Nigeria on violent actions may sound bogus and too large for adequate coverage of this research work. On the other hand taking one particular area within the country may constitute too narrow a basis for an objective assessment of the ethics of violence in Nigeria, and may render generalization difficult.

1.8 CLARIFICATION OF TERMS

Below is the clarification of terms relevant to this research work.

1.8.1 Ethics

Like any other concept, ethics has defied a simple and universally accepted definition. In some cases, the definition is so vague and all inclusive that it does not sufficiently delimit ethics from other areas of human endeavour like psychology, law, economics, journalism and so on. In a general sense ethics is seen as a system or code of morals of a particular profession, group or religion (Udor 7). That is why in most times, the concept of ethics is used in discussing how a business community or institution or profession should behave towards its members or towards the public.

However, a casual survey of definitions of ethics is sufficient to impress upon us how differently various writers have conceived of this subject. It is not just their conclusion which differ, but they also ask different questions from different standpoints, using different methods to answer them. With this, each person is prone to identify ethics with his own question, standpoint, method and conclusion (Katz 2). Few among the definitions of ethics include that of Kellock who states that, "ethics deals with human conduct from the point of view of its rightness or wrongness" (180). Ruggiero is of the opinion that:

Ethics is the study of right and wrong. In the scientific sense, it is a descriptive discipline involving the collection,

interpretation of data on what people from various cultures believe, without any consideration for the appropriateness or reasonableness of those beliefs. In the philosophical sense, ethics is a two-sided discipline. One side is normative ethics, which answers specific moral questions determining what is reasonable and therefore what people should believe. The other side of philosophical ethics is meta-ethics which examines ethical systems to appraise their logical foundations and internal consistency (4).

Frankena sees ethics as "a branch of philosophy or philosophical thinking about morality, moral problems and moral judgements" (4). Bakshtanovsky has given us an etymological derivation of the word "ethics." According to him, "ethics" is derived from the Greek word "ethos" which originally denoted "location", a place where people live together. With the passage of time, the word has acquired other meanings including custom, code, temperament, character and way of thinking (5). Nowell-Smith (2), has corroborated that ethics is derived from the word custom or behaviour. But he however stressed that the role of the ethicist is never conceived to be that of describing or explaining customs or behaviours of men. The ethicist sets out to answer practical questions, to criticize, evaluate or appraise customs and behaviours. He claims not to tell what men do, but to tell you which of the things that men do are good and which are bad.

1.8.2 Morality

Morality comes originally from the Latin "mores", which simply means customs and usage of people. It has come to mean what is

right or wrong in human conduct (Okeke 52). Mozia on the other hand, sees morality from the philosophical point of view which considers the nature of moral obligations and analyses or describes the values, obligations, finality, freedom and good conscience of moral actions of the individual within any given society (2). Ilori has contended that the term morality and ethics are closely related in original meaning. These terms are sometimes used as if they are synonymous. Today however, there is a tendency to use the terms "morals and morality to refer to conduct itself and "ethics and ethical" to refer to the study of moral conduct or system or code that is to be followed" (5).

1.8.3 Violence

The word violence has no precise or commonly accepted definition. The concept often serves as a catch for every variety of protest, militancy and coercion, destruction or condemnation (Anifowose 1). However, in whichever way violence is defined or discussed, it will naturally encompass the dictionary meaning, "intention to hurt or kill; very strong feeling that is not controlled" (Hornby 755). So situations like riots, coups, massacre, wars, pogrom, genocide, revolution, clashes, conflict, jihad and crusades, all fall within the ambit of violence. The etymological survey of the concept violence may help us have a clearer understanding of the word. The word "violence" comes from the combination of two Latin words. The words are "vis" (force) and the past participle, "latus" of

the word "fero," "to carry." The Latin word, "violare" is itself a combination of these two words, and its present participle "violans," is a plausible source for the word "violence"-so that the word "violence," in its etymological origin has the sense of to carry force at or toward. An interesting feature of the etymology is that the word "violation" comes from this very same source as the word "violence", which suggest the interesting idea that violence is somehow a violation of something; that carrying force against something constitutes in one way or another a violation of it (Gowd 254).

1.8.4 Justice

Justice in its Greek original "dikaiosyne" combines the notion of observing the law, doing the right thing, honesty, respect for other persons property and rights and fair play (equity) (Cited in Ahmadu 131). The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary defines justice as "the right and fair behaviour or treatment: the quality of being fair or reasonable" (Hornby 645). Okullu is of the opinion that:

Justice provides the standard by which the benefits and burdens of being together in society are distributed. It regulates from an ethical as well as legal and customary standpoint, the apportioning of wealth, income, punishment, rewards, authority, liberty, rights, duties, advantages and opportunities (xvi).

The notion of justice is therefore based on the fundamental equality of all men. Since all men are fundamentally equal, they should be treated as equals.

This chapter has presented a general background of the study. We have also stated the problem and the objectives of the study. The

chapter has also indicated the methodology to be used, which largely include oral interview and questionnaire. The scope and delimitation of the study were also stated, while few terms relevant to this study were clarified. The next chapter will consider a review of the relevant literature to the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 PREAMBLE

The focus of this research is on ethics of violence in Nigeria. Therefore, the preponderance of the literature will be in four major areas; the sources of violence in human beings, various attitudes towards war and violence, justification of violence, and morality and violence in Nigeria.

There have been numerous studies dealing with violence of various dimensions in Nigeria, before and after independence. But none of these studies had an in-depth study of ethics in the area of violence.

This study is therefore intended to do a more analysis of ethic of violence in Nigeria. But as we know, every human action takes place in a socio-historical context and so we cannot completely avoid the social and historical aspects of violence. However, even when this is done, it is only to provide necessary background for the study of ethic of violence in Nigeria. So we will definitely look at the other dimensions, which previous scholars have examined, but our main emphasis will be on the ethics of violence in Nigeria.

To further achieve the objectives of our literature review, we shall examine contributions made by scholars on the problem of

violence in human societies. We shall pay particular attention to the kind of violence identified in Nigeria and how other writers have assessed the various acts of violence perpetrated in Nigeria morally. This will help us to identify the existing gaps in the study of violence and be able to focus adequately on the efforts of filling such gaps.

2.2 SOURCES OF VIOLENCE IN HUMAN BEINGS

Scholars have not agreed on the sources of violence in human beings. Their opinions vary from one person to the other. We can classify their opinions into innate and external sources.

2.2.1. Innate Sources of Violence

Innate sources of violence in human beings can be explained from the psychological points of view. Among the psychologists, various explanations have been raised to link violence to psychological features of human beings. Field in his analysis of innate violence, stressed that, "While violence is most obvious in the form of direct aggression, it can also be manifest through verbal aggression of psychological intimidation reinforced by the threat of more direct action" (3).

Aggression as behaviour intended to hurt someone, according to Sieber (146), has a lot of theories associated in explaining the sources of violent actions. The foremost among these, according to Cox (280), are the instinct theorists who submit that, aggression is an inborn

drive similar to sex or hunger which is unavoidable since it is innate. In supporting the action of violence by individual, frustration – aggression hypothesis theorists, Cox further said that aggression is always a consequence of frustration. Staub has also corroborated that:

A variety of motives result from threat, attack, the perception of danger and interference with the fulfilment of goals. Self-protective personal goals can become so intense that they develop imperative, forceful quality of needs. Aggression is a likely response (113).

Psychoanalytic theorists are of the opinion that violence is a necessity. The key idea to the necessity of violence is repression (Ginness 113). According to Freud (113), repression is the pillar on which the whole edifice of psychoanalysis rests. He further said that psychoanalytic theory deals with the conflict resulting from the clash between the “pleasure principle” and the “reality principle” meaning that, either by nature or by social organization, man is a neurotic animal. Freud, also stated that no adult is free from conflict and repression. Because of this clash, violence is inextricable rooted into man’s nature. It is not caused by his environment, his ignorance or his poor education, but it is more radical. He bluntly dismisses communism as too shallow in its diagnosis of violence in revolutionary system, and argued that aggression was never prompted simply by the desire for property but rather forms the basis for every revelation.

Freud further stressed that, human instincts are only two kinds, those which seek to preserve and unite (libidinal) and those which seek to destroy and kill, which are classified together as the aggressive or destructive instinct. It is therefore of a general principle that conflicts of interest between men are settled by the use of violence. This is true of the whole animal kingdom, from which men have no business to exclude themselves. Of Course, there were wars and violent actions because human beings through evolution belong to the animal kingdom, and like all other animals, humans are endowed with an aggressive instinct. It is this aggressive instinct which causes humans to kill or inflict damage on others. Wars and violence, according to Freud, is the external expression of an inner psychic drive, a drive that is as constant in its energy source as is sexual drive (Cited by Johnson 51). Guinness has also opined that, "Violence is inextricably rooted in the human psyche and is inevitable as an outburst of subterranean conflict" (17).

2.2.2. External Sources of Violence

A lot of theories have been advanced by some scholars as the sources of violence which can be seen from external or environmental factors. But we shall consider a few among these theories. The cultural theorists, opined by Guinness (12) see violence as a symptom of an individual or society under extreme stress. So whether it is a slum

boy cornered against a wall or a nation threatened economically, both lash out in violence.

In the political theory, Rousseau is of the opinion that "man was born free, but is everywhere in chains." The noble savage was the primitive man unrepressed by culture, education or social conditioning. When this freedom is replaced by repression or restriction, violence has a liberating value (Cited by Guinness 12). This theory has been developed to justify violence not only as a pragmatically effective weapon, but also as morally valuable. In supporting the above assertion, Sorrel states that:

Violent destruction of decadent society was not just politically revolutionary, but as an expression of the life-force, morally purifying. It is to violence that socialism owes its moral values through which it brings salvation to the modern world (249).

Fanon, in analysing settler - native relationship described violence as catharsis-relief of strong suppressed emotions through drama or any artistic device as a way of providing relief from anger, suffering, frustration, depression and so on. He sees colonialism as inextricably bound up with violence that takes shape in three stages. The first stage is oppression, when foreign invasions, military or economic enter and oppress the people in any country. The second stage is repression, with the colonists too powerful to be overthrown, the natives are forced to turn their natural aggression against

themselves. There results a period of chronic tribulation, magic and fratricidal murders and fighting. The natives are unable to fight back against the colonists take their aggression to themselves. The third stage is revolution. In this stage of revolution, violence is not only indispensable as a pragmatic tool to overthrow the colonial government, but such violence is cathartic and re-humanising (Cited in Guinness 21). The colonized man finds freedom in and through violence. In this regard, violence is seen as a cleansing force. It frees the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair and inactions. It makes him fearless and restores his self-respect (Fanon 68, 74). Fanon dreams of the worthless, the prostitutes, the hopeless dregs of humanity being re-awakened to rediscover themselves through violence, taking their place to march proudly in a great procession of liberated nations and men (Cited in Guinness 21).

Source of violence in evolutionary theory according to Morris is based on Charles Darwin's concept of natural selection which appears to justify the value of survival by means of violence, for life was viewed as a continuous free fight. Morris further interpreted human violence in the light of its animal origins, observing that whereas animals only want defeat or domination, man goes on to murder. He gave example on the development of armed conflict with unarmed conflict, where there was no danger of violence, but aggression was

conventionalised, channelled into contests, and sports such as judo, athletics, wrestling and boxing. But armed conflict has created the horror of violence which is seen in the extension of hands where clubs, spears, gun, bombs and missiles were used each with greater potentials of destructive force (120).

The social learning theorists are of the opinion that aggression as a source of violence is learned response and not an inbuilt instinct. Though they acknowledge the presence of psychological mechanisms for violence and rage, they totally dismiss the instinct notion of aggression. They felt that people behave aggressively because they have learned to do so and not because of biological instinct or frustration. They argued that many studies have shown that people's behaviour change after watching displays of acts of aggression and hostility (Cox 280).

Jensen and others have corroborated that:

Learned experience is an important determinant of aggressive behaviour.... Children learn that aggression can enable them to control resources such as toys and parental attention. Children also get into aggression by observing others behave aggressively. The violent behaviour of some teenage gangs provides its younger members with aggressive role models. Children whose parents discipline with physical force tend to use physical aggression when interacting with others.... The influence of the mass media, especially television, on promoting aggressive behaviour is not yet well understood but a growing body of research evidence indicates that watching violent entertainment is linked to subsequent aggression (Microsoft® Encarta® Encyclopaedia).

The above shows that there are different views concerning the origins and sources of violence in human beings. Despite the fact that there are other sources of violence that are inherent as a result of many factors within one's environment, some of the innate sources as discussed above, are contributory to the individual's violent actions in the society.

2.3. VARIOUS ATTITUDES TOWARDS WAR AND VIOLENCE.

Different scholars have written to advocate different attitudes to war and violence. We shall in this section examine the different approaches advocated by these scholars and schools of thought. There may be attitudes portrayed by some of these scholars, which may be inter-lapping in nomenclature, but broadly speaking, we can classify these various attitudes into three. This will include, the inevitability of violence, total and partial pacifism and the just war.

2.3.1. The Inevitability of Violence

There are scholars who see violence as part of human existence. They argue that human beings by nature have the propensity to be violent. Violence to them is part of life and inevitable. Others have also seen violence as divine attribute which, judging from history, seems to have justified acts of aggression for the sake and on behalf of good and morality. The proponents of this view like Hans Ucko, have stressed that the doctrine of redemptive violence, the theories of

the just-war and the legacies of jihad, crusades and colonization have their roots in such assumptions (Ucko 39:7).

A Greek philosopher, Heraclitus, is of the opinion that, there is perpetual conflict and perpetual strife in the world. According to him, the universe is made up of conflict and clash of opposites, and conflict is the very condition of life. It is through conflict that things come into being and remain in existence. He believe in a war as a necessary condition of progress, and that if war and strife were to end, that would be the end of the universe (cited in Omoregbe 76).

Paterson further contended that, war has been one of the most constant and distinctive features of human history and it may be thought to be a sinister peculiarity of human species (cited in Hastings 675). In supporting the inevitability of violence and war without the agreement of his ill-disposed neighbour, Rendtorff states that:

Peace is the unique and most important public issue because it is something no one can have individually, but only in association with others. Proverbial wisdom sum this up correctly in a dictum, not even the best of us can live in peace, if this does not suit the ill-disposed neighbours (24).

The above opinion is also shared by the poet, Schiller, who opines further, "the most pious cannot live in peace if the evil neighbour does not like it" (quoted by Haselbarth 203). Strauss has further argued, "why don't you agitate for the abolition of thunder

storms, before you agitate to abolish war?" (Quoted by Haselbarth 202).

James has also opined that; "the struggle for non-violent alternatives would be a long and costly battle because history is a bath of blood" (Cited in Roth 4). Sider (93) is also of the view that, war and violence has been central to human history because violent instincts are deeply embedded in the heart.

To conclude on the inevitability of violence between the Israelis and Palestinians, Weissman is quoted as saying:

Violence among Jews today is not only a product of religious attitudes, but also reflects legitimate natural struggle between two peoples who both have national claims to their homeland" (3:9).

2.3.2 Total Pacifism

Webster defines pacifism as opposition to all war and hostility, belief that national or international disputes should be settled by peaceful means rather than by force (2040). This shade of opinion is also shared by Geisler (215), who also asserts that definition of pacifism rejects the right to participate in war, and that killing is always wrong. At the very heart of his definition is the conviction that intentionally taking another human life is always wrong. Zann further sees pacifism as an extreme position of passive compliance involving

the complete denial or waiver of all right to mount any kind of defence against aggression no matter how unjust (99).

However, the word pacifism has another connotation or nuance as expressed by some scholars. One among these scholars is Mailafiya, who says that, pacifism is sometimes used as a compliment describing the attitude of peace making. He further explains that it also designates attaining peace either by waging war or participating in it if the attainment of peace requires such (28).

The evolution of pacifism can be traced back to the age of persecution down to the time of Emperor Constantine. It emerged among the early Christians as aspect of their general attitude of unconcern with the things of this world. They consider war in the same class with murder (editorial XLIV/4).

Looking at the ambivalence in the definition of pacifism, Blake has asserted that:

Pacifism encompasses many kinds of opposition to war, deriving support from a variety of overlapping philosophical, theological and Biblical sources, not all of which are explicitly Christian. Considering the destructiveness of modern warfare and the realization that it fails to resolve conflicts can lead to the conclusion that avoidance of war best serves the interests of humanity at all levels from the individual to the human as a whole (7).

From the above assertions, we will agree that pacifism should be seen from the background of total avoidance of all sorts of violence

and war in the interest of humanity as a whole. Those who subscribe to this view are referred to as total pacifists.

In contemporary history, we find people both Christians and non-Christians who stood for total pacifism. In his speech at the great march on Detroit, Luther King (Junior) is quoted as saying:

Now the other thing that we must see about this struggle is that by and large, it has been a non-violent struggle. Let nobody make you feel that those who are engaged or who are engaging in the demonstration in communities all across the south are resorting to violence..., for we have come to see that this method is not a weak method, for it's the strong man who can stand up amidst violence being inflicted upon him and not retaliate with violence (Internet).

In his emphasis on Mahatma Gandhi's total non-violent posture in India, Bhave, stressed that, no government based on violence could survive, the negative evidence provided by the fact that no state based on violence has survived, should suffice to make us conclude that a state can survive through non-violence. It is only non-violence that provides the basis for making a government endure. According to Bhave, experiments in non-violence have not proved fruitless (83). Benigno Aquino, has also affirmed that, he will pursue freedom struggle through the path of non-violence. He has refused to believe that it is necessary for a nation to build its foundation on the bones of its youth (cited in Sider 93).

Total pacifism is an essential feature of Buddhist morality. Deegale has corroborated that Buddhists teaching maintain that, under any circumstances, whether it is political, religious, cultural, or ethnic, violence cannot be accepted or advocated in solving disputes between nations (13).

2.3.3 Partial Pacifism

This view upholds the legitimate use of violence in self-defence. The advocates of this school of thought maintain that, only violence can stop the spread of violence, whether at individual or at collective level. They submit that no war or violence is justified except a war of defence against an aggressor (Geisler 215).

In supporting the use of war or violence for self-defence, Boettner (2), has this to say:

If the people of Europe had not resisted the Mohammedans, Europe would have been conquered and humanly speaking Christianity would have been stamped out. If at time of reformation, the Protestants had not resisted the Roman Catholic, persecutions, crimes such as were practiced freely in Spanish and Italian inquisition would have become over all Europe and Protestantism would have been destroyed. If the American colonists had not fought for their right, this country would not have gained its independence.

2.3.4 The Just-War

Bainton (6), has traced the history of the just-war back to Roman empire during the reign of Constantine when Christianity was adopted as a state religion. Thus, with the accession of Constantine,

the pacifists' period was terminated in church history. Ariarajah (21), has expressed the church's problem of having to respond to the acts of war undertaken by the empire often as offensive wars, but also in self-defence when attacked by outside force. Although the initial response of the church was not to bless wars, response to the pressure from rulers brought forth the idea of a Just-War. The concept was developed and perfected later in the fourth century.

Singer posits that the Just-War provides defence of the use of violence in war that parallels both the common sense justification for the use of violence by individuals, and by the state for the domestic defence of rights. He further stressed that just as domestic police, violence may be legitimate provided that it is intended to serve just and well-specified goals and that it is governed by rules. The use of violence by the State against external threats may be legitimate provided that the ends are just and the means subject to proper limitations (28).

Weber contends that the Just-War approach to morality of war has continued until today to be the approach of most Christians, Protestants and Catholics. According to him, Saint Augustine's whole political philosophy was revived during the protestant reformation by Luther and Calvin towards state and towards war (28).

Pandey, in relaying his view on ethno-nationalist conflicts and collective violence in south Asia said:

The idea of a just or moral struggle appears to have been fundamental to the peasants' acceptance of the necessity of revolt. Exploitation as such was not unjust. It was inevitable that some ruled and some conducted prayers and some owned land and some laboured and lived off the fruits of that labourer. But it was important that everyone in the society made a living out of the resources that were available.... When the landlord decided to levy and new oppressive imposts in a period of considerate hardship for substantial section, the peasantry resistance was... morally right and necessary (Quoted in Tambiah 313).

We can clearly see the ambivalence of attitudes expressed by various scholars and schools of thought on war and violence. However, subscribing to the view relayed by Helleman (5), becomes eminent at this point. Helleman refers to this view as "active non-violence". By this he means rejecting participation in war or violence, but yet allowing the use of non-violent kind of force such as sanctions and peaceful protest. He cited the people's power revolution in Philippines, 1986, as an example. We may agree with the views of Sorrel (180), in supporting the view relayed by Helleman where he said that violence is a social evil and is capable of endangering morality, despite the legal precautions against it. He further stressed that peace has always been considered the greatest blessing and the essential progress in every nation and good social relationship in all societies.

2.4 RELIGIOUS GROUNDS FOR JUSTIFICATION OF VIOLENCE

Reasons people give to justify violence vary from one person to another and from one religious tradition to the other. We shall consider some of these reasons a few religious traditions give to justify violence and look at some reasons individuals give to justify violence. For convenience, we shall consider only five among the major world religious traditions. These will include Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism, Islam and Christianity. It is admissible that the issue of violence is not limited to only these religions, but to other religious faiths as well. But the assumption is that these religions may also exert some influence on the two major religions practiced in Nigeria, which are Islam and Christianity.

In exploring these five religions, can we justify any form of violence, whether it is verbal or physical? Have these religions either socially or historically advocated violence. Are there evidences within the scriptures of these religions that advocate or justify violence? These are some of the questions we shall attempt to answer in this section.

2.4.1. Doctrine of War and Violence in Theravada Buddhism

Deegale (8), has indicated that Theravada Buddhism has discussed relative value of the use of force as in case of parents, whose ambition is their children's future. Parents are required to use a little force in disciplining a naughty child with the hope of achieving a

higher noble goal. Deegale further stressed that certain degree of mental and physical pain is inevitable and allowed in achieving satisfactory goal for the welfare of everyone in society at large. According to him, the child's knowledge of the possibility of physical force may prevent him or her from many misdeeds.

In Theravada canonical scriptures, there is no direct validation of violence either verbal or physical. But at least one post-canonical work, the Mahavamsa of Mahanama, a Pali chronicle of the 5th century C.E., contains a controversial reference to physical violence at time of civil war, and conflict in Sri-Lanka. However, the overwhelming consensus among scholars of Buddhism is that the religion is against violence. But Deegale reiterated that this scholarly consensus is not either a confessional view or an exaggeration of the real situations (Deegale 9-13).

2.4.2. Hinduism and the Doctrine of War and Violence

Rambachan (26), has given the historical justification of violence in Hinduism through the origin of mankind. He describes the mankind through primordial sacrifice of cosmic person. From his mouth came the Brahmans (priest-teachers) and from his feet the Sudras (manual labourers). The respective duties of each group are defined and are presented in the Bhagavadgita (18.45-47), as conducive to the attainment of liberation. Rambachan further stressed that there are

the *ksatriyas*, the group from which kings are physical protectors of the community. They are the custodians of justice and the defenders of social and ritual order by the force of arms if necessary. Society could not survive without the might of the *ksatriyas* and the Hindu tradition commands ideal of a warrior who is prepared to fight in the defence of dharma. The ancient ideal of the *ksatriyas* is one that is being involved and reinterpreted by militant Hindus today.

Rambachan has further stressed that Vedic society in ancient India did not scrupulously adhere to ahimsa as its highest value. Sacrificial rites involved the slaying of animals and Indra, one of the most popular deities of the Vedic periods, has many warrior-like attributes. Manu ancient India's influential lawgiver, permits killing in self-defence and for implementing the injunction of the Vedas. Two of the most popular epics in the Hindu tradition, Ramayana and the Mahabharata culminate in lengthy and violent battles.

The Bagavadgita modern Hinduism's most popular scriptures is revealed on a battlefield and advocates the position that participation in war may be viewed for a *ksatriyas* as a personal duty. War is referred to in the Bhagavadgita, as a Dharma Yuddha. A Dharma Yuddah is a war fought in defence of justice and righteousness and for the security and well-being of the community. It is therefore clear that, according to Rambachan, there are influential traditions within

Hinduism which justify the use of violence under certain circumstances and which understand the use of violence to be consistent with the Hindu worldview (Rambachan 27).

2.4.3. War and Violence in Judaism

Judaism is the religious civilization of the Jewish people, Jewish identity, being an ethnic, cultural, and even national identity. Normative Judaism is not pacifist; violence is condoned in the service of self-defence and a divine ordination (Weissman 37).

Fryrmer – Kensky (48), has also corroborated that the Hebrew bible which is the holy book in Judaism espouses violence as part of the ancient national struggle. Moreover, violence is brought by God, (in the flood and plagues) and as part of ritual (blood sacrifice), and in law (capital punishment).

Macky (56), made it also clear that Old Testament which is characterised with Hebrew history shows clearly from Genesis to second Kings the stories of wars. There have been slaughter of enemies and individual acts of violence.

The first war the Israelites fought was between them and the Amalekites. It was related that as the Israelites were resting at Rephidim, the Amalekites suddenly stroke, determined to destroy Israel. Moses sought the will of the Lord and then sent Joshua and some chosen men to the battlefield, and with the help of Yahweh, the

Amalekites were defeated (Revised Standard Bible. Exod. 21.8-13). The second war was the one fought between Israel and Canaan (Revised Standard Bible Num. 21.1-13). At another battle with Canaan, Joshua massacred the population of the whole region—the hill country the Negeb, the shephelah, the watersheds, and all their kings. He left no survivor, destroying everything that drew breath as Yahweh the God of Israel commanded (Revised Standard Bible. Jos. 10.40-42).

Extreme violence against populations encountered in the history of the Israelites was not limited to the stories of conquest. Later Samuel brings to Saul this word of the Lord. "Go now and fall upon the Amalekites and destroy them and put them all to death. Men and women, children and babies in arms, herds, flocks, camels, and asses" (Revised Standard Bible. 1 Sam. 15.3).

Instances abound in the Hebrew Scriptures where individuals appealed to God for divine intervention against their tormentors. In his appeal to God, Jeremiah said:

O Lord, thou knowest, remember me and visit me, and take vengeance for me on my persecutors. In thy forbearance take me not away; O Lord of hosts, who triest the righteous, who sees the heart and the mind, let me see thy vengeance upon them, for to thee have I committed my cause (Revised Standard Bible. Jer. 15.15, 20.21).

Ahmadu (124), further corroborated that vengeance therefore formed part of the judicial proceeding in Israel. The Judges and later the Kings stood in place of God to execute his vengeance on behalf of the people. Their roles were principally to protect the rights of every citizen against the evil schemes of the strong.

Weissman on the other hand, had stressed that the extreme movement within contemporary Jewry, often uses biblical quotations out of context in order to justify a violent approach. Some of these extremists glorify violence and have put the fist as a symbol on their banners. She further argued that all our traditions must develop or employ a more peaceful hermeneutic principle for interpreting our texts. According to her, one does not need to be violent or aggressive and ascribe it to divine revelation (37).

2.4.4. Islam and The Teaching of War and Violence

The word Islam literally means "to submit oneself to the will of God", and "to make peace." Its active participle for "Muslim" has been defined by the prophet Mohammed (peace be upon him) as "one who makes peace," and as one from whose hands and tongue all men are safe. Thus, the idea of "peace" is very prominent in Islam. When Muslims meet they say to one another, "assalamoalaikum," which phrase means, "peace be upon you." In fact, one of the attributes of

God as given in the Holy Qur'an is, "assalam", which means "peace" (Majd 16).

However, from the meaning of Islam stated above, many people consider it as imprudent especially when one remembers wars and violence associated with Islam in history. The conception is that Islam spread its feet through "holy war" which is popularly called jihad. But from the proper understanding of jihad, Yahya (41), has indicated clearly that, in several places in the Qur'an, believers are enjoined to strive in the course of Allah. This striving could take various forms, depending on circumstances and the immediate need. The forms range from curbing one's selfish desires which do not conform with the teachings of one's religion, to the resistance by all necessary means of any obstacles on the path of one's faith and belief, and the propagation of the religion. These constitute jihad. Thus, any effort made by followers of any religion to defend, propagate or promote its course is jihad. Yahya has further corroborated that:

The most basic jihad, which is also described by the prophet Mohammed (peace be upon him) as the greater jihad is that against oneself in resisting selfish urges and forces of negative influence. But where jihad has to involve physical combat with another party, the teaching of Islam as explained in the Holy Qur'an is that the move should be defensive and not offensive and under strict discipline (41).

In the Qur'an, the word Jihad occurs many times. Some modern Muslims, particularly when addressing the outside world, explain the

duty of Jihad in a spiritual and moral sense. But the overwhelming majority of early authorities, citing relevant passages in the Qur'an, the commentaries, and the traditions of the prophet, discuss jihad in military terms (Lewis 28).

The predominantly military use of the term jihad is relatively found in modern times. In the Ottoman empire, the city of Belgrade, an advance base in the war against the Austrians, was given the rhyming title of Dar al-jihad (house of jihad). In the 19th century, when the modernizing ruler of Egypt Muhammad Ali Pasha reformed his armed forces and their administration on the French and British lines, he created a "war department" to administer them. One could cite other examples in which the word jihad has lost its holiness and retained only its military connotation. In modern times, both the military and the moral use of the term have been revived and they are differently understood and applied by different groups of people. Organizations claiming the name jihad at the present day in Kashmir, Chechanya, Palestine and elsewhere, clearly do not use the word to denote moral striving but military force (Lewis 28).

Furthermore, the areas known as western and central Sudan, which include the present day West Africa, witnessed a number of religious movements identified as jihad, notably between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries. One of the most important and

with the farthest reaching influence in the present day Nigeria was the jihad led by Othman Ibn Fudi in the early 19th century (Yahya 49). These are some of the instances used and quoted by both Muslims and non-Muslims as portraying the meaning of jihad.

The declaration of a Jihad is not made by a single person or faction in the Islamic State. It is a decision taken by a consultative council which is headed by a just Muslim ruler, without which all activities are undertaken in the name of jihad lose all validity (Al-Ahdal 48).

Therefore, in fulfilling the collective duty of war, not all Muslims were under an obligation to fight. Only a few were called upon to fulfil the duty on behalf of the community. Only when Islam is threatened by a sudden attack did the duty become obligatory on all including women, children, and slaves. In essence, Islam prohibits shedding of blood of all kinds except for legal ground or self-defence (Encyclopaedia of Islam 180).

However, fighting to satisfy the hankering after land or property belonging to others has been repeatedly condemned in the Qur'an. But these motives have always induced fighting in the world from the very beginning. Even today the same hankering makes civilized nations covetous of others. They may engineer various schemes and come with plausible pretexts but cupidity and usurpation are at the bottom

of all their movements. Islam however forbids all fighting for such object (Ethics of War 23).

2.4.5. Christian Doctrine on War and Violence

Sider et-al (107), have buttressed that the founder of Christianity, Jesus Christ, is a Prince of peace. Jesus Christ consciously chose to fulfil the eschatological prophecy of Zechariah precisely because it depicted a humble, peaceful Messiah. Here is a picture of the Messiah riding not on a horse, but a humble donkey. Jesus Christ's life has been that of non-violence. In both actions and words, Jesus rejected war and violence. At the triumphal entry, Jesus clearly disclosed his non-violent messianic conception. Both gospels of Matthew and John quoted Zechariah to underlie their belief that Jesus' action fulfilled the Old Testament prophecy (Revised Standard Bible. Mtt. 21.5, Jn. 12.5 cf Zech. 9.9-10).

In his final crisis, Jesus persisted in His rejection of the sword. He rebuked Peter for attacking those who came to arrest him. Jesus further said that, "all who take the sword will perish by the sword" (Revised Standard Bible. Mtt. 26.52). The manner in which Jesus Christ went to the cross is a perfect example of his non-resistance and

non-violent character. The teachings of Jesus on peace and tolerance spans all over the New Testament.

Beyond doubt, Christianity has had a violent history, and today many trace this history to the Bible itself, and to many, it has been interpreted and applied in the development and spread of Christianity as a religion (Ariarajah 18). Macky has asserted that the Old Testament histories from Genesis to 11 Kings are dominated by stories of war, slaughter of enemies and individual acts of violence. Thus in whatever context war and violence are defined, there is a great deal of it in the Biblical narrative (55-57). But Ariarajah (18), has posited that the Bible should be read and understood in an interfaith context because what Christians call the Old Testament is also, and primarily, the main source of Hebrew scriptures. There are therefore, considerable differences between Christians and Jews who practice Judaism, in the understanding and interpretation of the scriptures. Therefore, the under-tones and interpretation of war and violence should be perceived from the Christian understanding of the scripture.

Down through the ages, Christians have re-interpreted the image of Jesus Christ in a variety of ways, however, with the aim of supporting a position that they chose for other reasons. Along this line, some authors have interpreted Jesus as a zealot, a violent revolutionary who was executed for trying to overthrow the Romans.

Some uninformed Christians and the adherents of other faiths have been quoting some verses especially in the New Testament out of context in order to jettison their intent for warfare. This certainly is not the view presented in the New Testament. But the charge reminds us that we must go beneath the surface and gather facts about Jesus Christ that have not been suppressed (Macky 69).

It is gainsaying that, no matter how strongly we hold fast to God's revelation in the scriptures, we have to struggle to relate to harsh realities of life of Jesus' model. Thus, the biblical teachings and the totality of the life of Jesus Christ abhor violence and war. We must therefore endeavour to expound the scripture within the hermeneutical Christian principles in order to give us a contextual understanding of the Bible.

2.5 NON-RELIGIOUS GROUNDS FOR JUSTIFICATION OF VIOLENCE

There are other reasons individuals give to justify violence, which has non-religious stance. We shall consider a few among these reasons.

Singer (383), is of the opinion that the justification of war and violence depends, not just on consideration of actual or expected consequences, but also on what are often called matters of principle. On this view, rightness or wrongness of an act may be at least in part

a function of the inherent nature of the act itself, which is independent of what its consequences are.

McMahan has also averred that there is a moral basis, which provides a defence of the use of violence in war that parallels both the common sense justification for the use of violence by the state for domestic defence of rights. Just as domestic police, violence may be legitimate provided that it is intended to serve just and well-specified goals and that it is governed and constrained by rules. McMahan further stressed that the state's use of violence against external threats may be legitimate provided that the ends are just, and means subject to proper limitations. In the same vein, according to McMahan, the theorists of the just-war have argued that national defence of another state against unjust external aggression, the recovery of rights, (that is the recovery of what may have been lost when either unjust aggression was not resisted, or when earlier resistance ended in defeat) the defence of fundamental human rights within another state, against abuse by the government and the punishment of unjust aggressors (387).

Ellul has concurred that violence is universal. It is the general rule for the existence of societies, including societies that call themselves civilized, but have only camouflaged violence by explaining and justifying it and putting a good face to it. Those justifying

violence, according to Ellul, argue that it is necessary (92). Father Cornelis further opined that there is only one remedy for the ills of the poor, "it is always the violence of the oppressor that unleashes the violence of the oppressed." He further stressed that the time comes when violence is the only possible way for the poor to state their case. All this amounts to an acknowledgement of violence as a necessity, and indeed violence is not only the means the poor use to claim their rights, it is also the sole means available to those in places of power (Cited in Ellul 92).

Fanon in justifying and buttressing the value of violence on those has this to say:

But it so happens that for the colonized people, this violence because it constitutes their only work invests their character with positive and creative qualities. The practice of violence binds them together as a whole since each individual forms a violent link... The groups recognize each other and the future nation is already visible. The armed struggle mobilizes the people, that is to say, it throws them in one way and in one direction (73).

Fanon (74), further stressed that during the colonial period, the people were called upon to fight against oppression after national liberation, they are called upon to fight poverty, illiteracy and underdevelopment. The native's violence unifies the people. Violence is in action all-inclusive and national.

Elaigwu (16) in justifying violence in Nigeria, has stressed that, given the enormous conditions arising from neo-colonial order that

was inherited, the fundamental economic and social distortion inherent in the system formed the seed of incessant social unrest.

Alemika has further corroborated that:

Nigerian political and economic structure precipitates crisis, which in turn creates widespread endemic and periodic violence in various institutions and strata of the society, the phenomena of coups, ethnic and religious violence, robbery, murder and manslaughter including extra-judicial killing by security forces, rape and assault are manifestation of the structures and crises of Nigerian politics and economics. There is progressive disregard for human life and dignity in the country,... cultic practice as well as resort to violence by political organisations, ethnic and religious coups, mirror a growing culture of violence (82-83).

According to Prosh, violence is being used in civil disobedience as a tactical weapon by pressure groups who try to accomplish changes in laws, institutions and public policies. In defending its use however, partisans of these quite frequently go beyond its defence as an available and sometimes effective means of securing desired social changes and seeking to defend it as general moral right to disobey unjust law (179).

Blake (12), has summarily given three reasons for the justification of violence. Psychologically, violence is seen as the only form of protest available to the inarticulate, untrained in more intellectual forms of self-expression and persuasion. Sociologically, violence is seen as a weapon within the reach of the unprivileged, the only avenue of protest open to political groups suppressed by

dictatorship or smothered by insensitive democratic majorities. Finally, it can be defended morally as necessary to any progressive movement in order to assert its independence of conventional standards to define its distinctive position and to eliminate lukewarm supporters.

2.6 MORALITY AND VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA

The concept morality deals with prescriptions of what is good or bad. It talks about rules guiding good and bad behaviour. Mozia (2), further corroborates that morality considers the moral nature of obligations and analyses or describes the values and good conscience of the individual within the society. Ethics on the other hand is a branch of philosophy which studies moral principles, and thus it is seen as a discipline like any other subject (geography, economics, and psychology). If ethics is therefore seen as a branch of philosophy, it must therefore use philosophical inquiry to determine the morality of an action by asking questions and using reflective evaluation. Ethics further deals with arguing, reasoning, evaluating and seeking position for the justification of any action in a particular environment. It presents facts by finding their meanings in order to determine the rightness and goodness of an action.

Ethics therefore raises questions in order to bring ground for philosophical interpretation of issues, phenomena and action that can be adjudged good or bad, right or wrong. Hastings has further

stressed that ethics gives a training which can enable us to see effects in our actions and other people's conduct, so that we can set things in their right conduct and make profitable suggestions for future occurrence. It should be noted at this juncture that, ethics goes beyond the level of religious convictions by asking questions and providing reasons for evaluation.

When we speak of "ethics of violence in Nigeria", what do we actually mean? Nigeria is a pluralistic society in religious, ethnic and socio-economic contexts. So the people that make up these pluralities have their thought-patterns, beliefs, convictions, and orientation in Nigeria towards violence. So ethics of violence in Nigeria consider the reasons and arguments of the people that make up this plurality use in justifying and defending the course of their violent actions in Nigeria. Added to the above is the justification of violent actions by the state apparatus; the police, army and the security agents in the name of maintaining law and order.

Generally, the scale and preponderance of violence in Nigeria ranges from the state - sponsored violence to civil disobedience or riots. Worst of it all is the intra- and inter-religious as well as ethnic clashes that have claimed the lives of innocent citizens of Nigeria. For the intra-religious crises, especially the Maitatsine, their upsurge was said to be for moral purification and cleansing of the religion of Islam.

For the inter-religious clashes, some of the reasons were mainly to vent out their anger over certain injustices against the other group in order to claim rights over certain privileges. In some ethnic clashes, the groups embark on violent actions to seek justice. Like the case of the Tiv in Nigeria, their clashes with most of their neighbours were aimed at reclaiming their farmlands and some "privileges" that were unjustifiably denied. For example the clashes between the Tiv and their neighbours in Taraba and Nasarawa states reveal that farmland is one of the serious factors in escalating conflicts.

We may agree with Ikenga-Metuh, at this point, where he said that, there can be no peace without justice. Relationship between individuals or groups cannot be said to be beneficently adjusted in harmony when one of the parties is held in perpetual bondage or subjected to extreme exploitation and deprivations. In such a situation, a person would have to fight for his rights and peace. Ikenga-Metuh further argued that it is of course another question whether the use of violence is a justifiable means of righting such wrongs when there seem to be no way for ending such violations. Violence, according to him, whatever its justification, often tends to create new and occasionally greater evil than do those which they are supposed to abolish (11).

In the face of the above situation, which is then the viable means for peace in Nigeria? The viable means suggested here is dialogue. What is dialogue? How far has dialogue been used in resolving conflicts or violence in Nigeria? Bidmos has opined that dialogue has different connotations depending on a given context in which it is used. According to him:

In general term, it connotes an exchange of ideas in which participants make proportionately equal contribution. It usually revolves around a subject matter whereby each of the discussants considers the subject – matter from his own point of view. The discussion subsequently leads to a consensus among the parties concerned... dialogue does not mean accepting the opposites view at all cost. Rather it means recognition of the right of the opposite party to assert its own opinion at an atmosphere of freedom, mutual respect, sincerity and objectivity (3).

Dialogue is employed by many people and authorities at different times as a means of resolving conflicts in order to ensure peaceful co-existence. During the Nigerian civil war, dialogue was used at Aburi, Ghana with the hope of resolving and combating the emergent civil war. Though the civil war became imminent, it was able to douse some tension. With the spiralling of clashes and conflicts, the Nigerian government has employed the use of dialogue to mediate between the parties in conflicts. For example there was a presidential retreat organized by the President, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, at the National Institute For Policy and Strategic Studies in Jos, for the

affected states in conflict in the middle belt. Many states have also used dialogue in the country in resolving conflicts.

However, we may have to adhere to the warning of Tasie, where he said that, in trying to use other methods in combating violence in Nigeria, the government must eschew bombardments and reprisal which instead of healing any wound rather appear to aggravate the situation, often resulting in uneasy calm and merely subdued the anger of a vanquished, a situation in which victims in particular cannot be said to easily forgive nor forget (2).

2.7 RELEVANCE OF FINDINGS FROM RELATED LITERATURE TO THE STUDY

From the foregoing, what can we say is the relevance of the literature reviewed in our present study? In other words, which gap is this study trying to fill? And in which way does the present review opens up new avenues and areas of research interest?

This study intends to look at a new focus on the morality of violence in Nigeria. In doing this, we were compelled to look at the sources of violence in human beings by various scholars and schools of thought. Going through these theories, there are indications that we can control and suppress certain instincts and conditions that can expose us to violent outbursts. Apart from the sources of violence in the human beings, we were able to state some few conditions that justify the use of violence by the law enforcement agencies for

maintaining law and order in Nigeria. Various attitudes towards war and violence at individual and collective levels have also been assessed.

It is therefore important to note that some of the attitudes discussed are generally experiences from the Western perspective and do not adequately take into cognisance some of the peculiar attitudes in the Nigerian context. Moreso, the few works that deal with violence in Nigeria are treated or viewed from the historical, political, religious or sociological aspects of violence, and occasionally make casual ethical comments. There are a few or no studies that have been really devoted to the ethical analysis of violence that takes place in Nigeria.

One serious form of conflict or violence that characterises the Nigerian scene is religious violence. With the moral teaching of Islam and Christianity, are there ways the teachings of these two religions make adherents to be disposed to violence? In other words, why do the adherents of these two religions have the propensity to commit violent actions despite their religious teachings on peace? This study therefore, intends to look at the teaching and beliefs of the two religions on violence. Thus, it becomes necessary to investigate the moral content of Christianity and Islam on issues of violence and war. This brings into focus whether there are other factors that generate violent conflicts in Nigeria but take cover under religion.

One of the areas that this study intends to open up for further research work is on the area of traditional value system of different societies that make up Nigeria on matters of violence. This study therefore intends to examine some traditional values of selected ethnic groups and communities in Nigeria. We would do this by examining whether there are traditional values in form of titles, names, proverbs and songs that convey the ethical position of the ethnic groups on matters of violence and war.

However, with the over two hundred and fifty ethnic groups in Nigeria, it may sound too bogus to examine these values. We will therefore employ the use of questionnaire and oral interview to illicit opinions and information from the sample ethnic groups that will serve as a representation of various ethnic groups that make up the "geopolitical" zones of Nigeria (Imo 46).

More to the issue of traditional values regarding violence is the fact that, the greater population of the people that constitute these ethnic groups are Christians and Muslims. It is necessary to see how we can relate these traditional values and the beliefs of the various religious groups for peaceful co-existence in the Nigerian context.

Giving that there are different value systems inherited by Nigerians which range from traditional, colonial, religious and modern values, it would be good to find out whether the present trend of

violence exhibited during crisis is the result of primordial tendencies of the various traditional societies or the result of foreign values inherited by Nigerians. Thus, with these value systems, can there be any harmonious view that can be called Nigerian ethic of violence? Moreso, with all these variations how can we relate to the reality of finding sustainable peace in Nigeria? All these are some of the areas this study intends to explore.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PLURALITY OF NIGERIA AND DIFFERENT KINDS OF VIOLENCE

3.1 PREAMBLE

The plurality of Nigeria can be seen in the racial, ethnic, cultural and religious ideologies. Thus, these pluralities are also found in many countries in the world today (Toure 11). Imo has presented to us the plural nature of Nigeria when he said:

Some external social factors like Islam, Christianity, colonialism and modernity have affected the traditional values either by modifying or transforming them. There is a breakdown of existing structures and values while new forms emerge. This had led to variety of moral systems coexisting side by side each other in this way Nigeria has changed from monolithic to pluralistic and from being homogenous to being heterogeneous Nigeria has become a place of diversity (1).

It is in the light of the above plurality that attention shall be briefly given to the different kinds of violence in order to see the prevalence of violence in contemporary Nigeria. Our period of focus shall be from post-independent Nigeria, especially from 1960 to 2002. However, we may not give an all inclusive description of different kinds of violence perpetrated in Nigeria, but our emphasis shall be based on the type of collective violence generated in the form of intra and inter-ethnic conflicts, communal conflicts and religious conflicts.

Consideration shall also be given to the kind of violence generated within the state, especially in the wake of the Nigerian civil war.

3.2 DIFFERENT KINDS OF VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA

There are different kinds of violence perpetrated in Nigeria, but we shall consider a few among them, which will include, politically-bred violence, religious violence, ethno-religious violence, ethnic violence and socio-economic violence.

3.2.1 Politically Violence in Nigeria From 1960-1979

Nigeria got its independence in 1960. At the peak of this independence, was the regional and tribal bigotry that has characterized the already emergent volatile political terrain. These were politically bred violent activities among Nigerians, which we shall consider.

At the time of Nigeria's independence, the country was first composed of three regions: northern region, eastern region and western region. The fourth, which was the mid-west, was created in 1963. In each of the regions, one party was dominant. The Northern People Congress (N.P.C.) controlled the government of the North, the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons (N.C.N.C.) controlled the government of eastern region and subsequently with the mid-west after its creation. In the western region. The Action Group (A.G.) was

in control. These parties founded their support and influence on regional basis (Nwankwo 21).

In 1962, a crisis within the ruling Action Group in western Nigeria split the party. The leader of the party, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, had vacated his position as regional premier before the Federal elections preceding independence and opted to contest for a seat in the Federal House of Representatives. His deputy, Chief Samuel I. Akintola, succeeded him as the premier of western region. The crisis within the party affected the position of the government it controlled in western Nigeria, as the governor there appointed a new premier, Alhaji D.S. Adegbenro, who appeared to him to enjoy the confidence of the majority of the members of the House of Assembly. Akintola who then lost his position as premier, did not accept his removal, and at the ensuing meeting of the House of Assembly, there was confusion and members fought freely among themselves, to the extent that the police were forced to use teargas to disperse them. The federal government upon the event in the assembly declared a state of emergency in the whole region and appointed Dr. Moses Majekodunmi as the administrator of the region with full powers. Subsequently, Chief Obafem Awolowo and some of his top party aides were arrested, detained and charged with plotting to overthrow the

federal government. They were sentenced to imprisonment on charges of treasonable felony (Nwankwo 22).

In 1962, Nigeria had conducted a new census. The results were controversial. The eastern region refused to accept them, and was later cancelled. The following year, a new census was organized and the results were unacceptable to the east. The census issue and the crisis, which had rent the Action Group apparently brought about a re-alignment of parties. The failure of the census had embittered many, and as the first federal elections since independence were to take place in 1964, the alliances geared themselves to win elections by whatever means. There was an air of despondency and disillusionment, regionalism, tribalism and parochialism of the political leaders, which had made the achievement of true unity questionable. While this was going on, the Tiv in the Middle Belt revolted against the oppressive government of the Northern People's Congress (N.P.C.) which ruled them as part of Northern Nigeria. They took up arms and refused to pay their taxes. Before the independence, the Tiv, Idoma, and their neighbours had demanded a separate state to be known as Middle Belt state. In the same year, the army was used to quell them and the rebellion dragged on for some time (Nwankwo 24).

However, the federal election of 1965 was engulfed in many corrupt practices. The elections were shamelessly rigged and the

aftermath was a breakdown of law and order. Members from opposing parties and opinions embarked on a plan of arson, murder, and general defiance of law. The state of lawlessness continued upto 1966.

On the 15th January 1966, a group of young army officers overthrew the first republic. It seemed clear that it was intended as a radical and nationalist protest against tribalism and corruption of the politician. Their speech states:

Our enemies are the political profiteers, swindlers, the men in high and low places that seek bribes and demand 10%, those that seek to keep the country permanently divided so that they can remain in office as ministers and V.I.P.s of waste, the tribalists, the nepotists (Quoted in Isichei 471).

In the course of the coup, the plotters kidnapped and killed Tafawa Balewa, the Prime Minister, the premiers of northern and western regions. In ensuing the breakdown of governmental authority, the Commanding Officer of Nigeria Army, General Aguiyi Ironsi, assumed power. One of the main consequences of the January c1996 coup was an inflammation of Nigeria's deep-seated tribalism. The country is divided into three powerful competing groups; the Hausa and Fulani of Northern Nigeria, who are principally Muslims and comprise the largest segment of Nigeria, the Igbo who controlled Eastern Nigeria; and the Yoruba of the Western region. The Northerners who believe that Igbo officers were responsible for the January coup in which the Prime Minister, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, a

northerner, was killed, triggered a revolt against the national military government in July 1966. In that uprising, General Ironsi was killed and the government of Nigeria put into the hands of Lt. Col. Yakubu Gowon, a northern Christian in September 1966. Northern resentment against the Igbos flared sharply resulting in the deaths of many Igbos and their exodus to eastern region (Williams 45).

Peaceful demonstration of students concerned about their future and civil servants, escalated into urban mob violence as Igbos were attacked in Sokoto, Kano, Katsina, Bauchi and Zaria (Isichei 471).

The east, where important petroleum production had begun, grouped itself behind Lt. Col. C.O. Ojukwu and sought to withdraw from the federation and establish itself a separate country known as Biafra. This marked the beginning of the Nigerian Civil War, which nearly shattered the prospect of a central government in Nigeria. Obasanjo, clearly described the situation, where he said:

The war itself was the culmination of an uneasy peace and stability that had plagued Nigeria from independence. That uneasy peace and stability had their genesis in the geography, history and demography of Nigeria. But the immediate cause of the civil war itself may be identified as the coup and counter-coup of 1966, which altered the political equation and destroyed the fragile trust existing among the major ethnic groups (Cited in Nwolise 3).

On the 10th January, 1970 Ojukwu the Biafran rebel leader announced that he was about to leave Biafra, in order with his friends to arrange a negotiated peace. He said that he would be away for a short time, but it was only after twelve years in the exile in the Ivory Coast that he was allowed to return to Nigeria. By 12th January, 1970, Col. Philip Effiong, to whom Ojukwu had handed over the care of remaining bits of rebel territory, ordered his men to lay down their arms. At the same time, he broadcast his unconditional surrender to General Yakubu Gowon and appealed to him to halt the federal advance in the name of humanity. So by 15th January, 1970 General Gowon gave victory message to the nation which finally ended the secession (Clarke 134-136).

By this, General Yakubu Gowon consolidated his regime by embarking on reconciliation, rehabilitation, and reconstruction. In 1975, when Gowon was attending a meeting of the Organization for African Unity (OAU), he was overthrown in a peaceful coup by General Murtala Ramat Muhammed, who was subsequently assassinated by Col. B.S. Dimka in a foiled coup on 13th Feb. 1976. General Olusegun Obasanjo succeeded General Murtala Muhammed and then led the country into civilian rule in 1979. The subsequent years that followed also saw the emergence of politically-bred violence, especially with the beginning of the civilian regime from 1979-1983 and the years that

followed. We may not go into the details of those violent activities because they were not as serious as was witnessed in the years that preceded the civil war.

TABLE 1: A Chronology of events in the March towards the Nigerian civil war.

DATE	EVENT
1962	The action group crisis
May 1962	The Western House of Assembly riot
1963	The census crisis
1964	Federal election crisis.
1965-1966	Western region election crisis.
15, Jan. 1966	First bloody coup.
1966	General Ironsi unification policies.
May, 1966	Provocation drum article (May, 1966).
29 th May, 1966	The first massacre of easterners in the North.
May/June 1966	The first exodus of easterners.
29 th July 1966	The second bloody coup.
1 st August 1966	Gowon takes over government.
Aug./Sept. 1966	Controversy over Gowon's leadership
Sept. 1966	Second provocative media release.
Sept/Oct. 1966	The second massacre of easterners in the north
Sept. 1966	Eastern region government calls home all Igbo people.
Sept./Oct. 1966	The final exodus of easterners from the north.
Oct. 1966	The expulsion and exodus of non easterners from eastern region.
30 th Nov. 1966	Gowon's dismissal of the constitutional conference, and threat of use of force to keep Nigeria together.
4-5 th Jan. 1967	The Aburi conference and its failure.
Feb./Mar. 1967	Anti-federal government in eastern region unprecedented Propaganda crossfires between the Northern and Lagos media on one hand, and Eastern Nigeria media.
27 th Feb. 1967	Eastern region governments call on easterners to be ready to defend the region, if Lagos did not implement Aburi accord.
28 th Feb. 1967	Gowon's counter with Decree No. 8 and reassertion of his readiness to use force to crush any secession attempt.
May 1967	Military build on the federal and regional sides.
27 th May, 1967	Ojukwu gets mandate to declare eastern region independent.
27 th May, 1967	Gowon creates 12 states and declare state of emergency.
30 th May, 1967	Ojukwu declares Republic of Biafra (secession).
30 th May-July 1967	Final preparations of war
6 th July, 1967	Civil war begins

Source: O.B.C. Nwolise's chronology of events in the march towards the Nigerian civil war

However, we shall look at the other kinds of violence that became more pronounced as from 1980-2002. These kinds of violence include the religiously-bred violence, ethnic, as well as socio-economic kinds of violence.

3.2.2. Religious Violence In Nigeria From 1980-2002

Okadigbo (12), has stressed that the most classic example of conflict between the followers of prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.), and of Jesus Christ is in Nigeria. Violent clashes connected ostensibly or actually with religion are not unknown in Nigeria. A series of violent demonstrations, riots, and civil uprising have forcefully made many Nigerians and the government come face to face with the harsh reality that religion is being systematically manipulated by some forces, for specific purposes which are clearly opposed to the unity of the people of this country (Usman 71).

From 1980, especially in northern Nigeria, most incidents of collective violence assumed a religious character. This could be seen in the intra and inter-religious violence.

3.2.2.1. Intra-religious Violence

The first intra-religious violence was the Maitatsine uprising in Kano city from 18th-29th December, 1980 which led, according to official figures, to the killing of four thousand one hundred and seventy-seven civilians. Even if the actual figures of those killed were

not higher, this amounts to a massive slaughter of human beings by whatever standards. This was subsequently followed by the Bulunkutu uprising in Maiduguri from 26th-30th October, 1982 which has led to the killing of over four hundred persons, according to newspaper reports. Another riot by Maitatsine adherents is that of Rigasa in Kaduna State on Friday 29th-31st October 1982, which led to the killing of over forty persons, according to official reports (Nigerian Standard 11-12th Nov. 1982:13).

The Maitatsine disturbance also erupted at Gombe, though it was alleged that it was the Muslim youths under the guise of Maitatsine. Over one hundred lives, including policemen, were killed. This took place from 23rd April to 28th April 1985. Though it cannot be ascertained what actually was the cause of these disturbances, but it was certain that the Maitatsine adherents in Kano condemned some of the main teachings of Islam as laid down by the Qur'an and Sunnah (Tamuno 176).

The Maitatsine religious disturbances also occurred in Jimeta-Yola on 15th February 2nd March 1984. Over five hundred lives were lost including seven policemen. It was confirmed that the principal actors of the Maitatsine disturbances in Jimeta-Yola were Musa Makaniki (a mechanic by profession) and Shuaibu Maitattasai. It is argued that the group was not a Muslim group, but the membership of

the group was drawn from Muslim community. The cause of the Maitatsine disturbances, according to the Yola version, was a combination of fanaticism and poverty as most of those involved were mainly youths, the unemployed and those engaged in petty trading, most of whom were drawn from outside the state (Haruna 6).

These uprisings organized by Maitatsine and his adherents, brought about an indelible mark on the victims. This is seen in the extensive destruction of houses, hotels, shops and other property. The uprisings also disrupted normal life in cities mentioned which are economic centres of trade.

3.2.2.2 Inter-religious Violence.

The cases of inter-religious violence are not a new phenomenon in Nigeria. Cases abound which indicate inter-religious conflicts between Christians and Muslims or between Muslims and Christians with the members of the African Traditional Religion. We shall consider few among these.

There was a religious disturbance, which came after the violent demonstration in Sabon Gari by Muslim Students Society on 30th October 1982. A few lives were lost. The great significance of this incident is that it involved, for the first time, the calculated destruction and burning of Christian churches in what seemed to be a violent assertion of "Islam only" slogan painted all over the streets of Zaria in

an aggressive demonstration by the Muslim Students Society (Usman 13).

However, it should be noted that Muslim groups who attacked the Christians on the day of the above demonstration should not be confused with Maitatsine groups. As far as can be ascertained, the attackers were in the main extremist Muslim groups. The immediate cause of the uprising was annoyance on the part of the Muslims over the construction of a new church building to replace the old one at Christ Church Fagge in Kano. The Muslim extremists had planned to attack the area and demolish the church building, which they thought was too close to their mosque situated in an adjoining plot of land. The police acted to forestall the planned action, by stationing their men around the church. In frustration, the extremists ran amok and attacked other churches in different parts of the town. Three churches were set on fire, two were burnt down completely, while six others were severely damaged. Shops also belonging to non-indigenes and a number of other private houses were destroyed or damaged (Chime 27).

There was religious disturbance also in Ilorin, Kwara State, in March 1986, where some militant Muslims attacked Christians on a Palm Sunday procession. Three churches were set ablaze. In a similar situation, the Muslim Students Society (M.S.S.) of Othman Dan Fodio

University also embarked on protest and rampage in May, 1986 (Voice Magazine, June 2002 – June 2003:23).

In Kafanchan, Reverend Bako was said to have blasphemed Islam by denigrating the name of Prophet Mohammed (p.b.u.h.). The face-off between Christians and Muslims at the College of Education that resulted from this officially left nineteen (19) Muslims dead. Mosques and Churches were burnt. Properties worth thousands of Naira were destroyed. The face-off spread to places like Zaria, Kaduna, Katsina, Ikara and Funtua (Citizen Magazine May 1992:15).

The level of destruction which occurred in the above towns, was so enormous that it could not be estimated. According to newspaper report, from 16th March, 1987, violent attacks had been launched against life, property and places of worship in most of the major cities and towns of Kaduna State. Churches, mosques, hotels, cinema, businesses and vehicles, private homes and persons had been attacked, smashed up systematically or set on fire. In Zaria, most economic, educational and other activities stopped, hundreds of people were seen on roads, the motor parks, and railway stations looking for transportation to travel back to their hometowns for security and safety. The basis of normal life had been severely shaken. Citizens were completely left at the mercy of the violent mobs. This type of violence in the history of Nigeria had been unprecedented and it

directly threatened the continued survival of the country as a single entity (Newswatch March 1987:8-17).

One of the most remarkable inter-religious conflicts was the one which occurred in Kano in the wake of the visit of a Christian Preacher, Reverend Rienhard Bonnke from Germany. On the protest of Muslim fanatics against the coming of the preacher, the Emir of Kano promised that their views would be considered. The leaders of the protest complained that the Reverend Bonnke's visit to Kano was unacceptable to the city's predominantly Muslim population, who viewed Bonnke's spiritual healing sessions with special distaste. This situation led to an open battle between Christians and Muslims in the next two days, which led to the destruction of property and more lives, setting an imbalance in the socio-economic situation (The Citizen Magazine Oct. 1991:12).

One of the serious acts of inter-religious was the one violence, which occurred with the implementation of the Islamic legal law known as Sharia, which assumed an explosive and dangerous dimension. The Sharia saga started with the implementation of "the Zamfara State Sharia Penal Code." Governor Sani Yerima of Zamfara State, through the law, introduced a version of Islamic criminal law and punishment. Some other states in northern Nigeria followed suit to introduce the legal law. Reactions from Christians in some states that introduced

Sharia were immediate and devastating. Riots, which started in Kaduna between Muslims and Christians on February 21, 2000, left many dead and property worth billions of Naira destroyed. By February 28, 2000, the riots had spread to Aba in Abia State, Owerri, Port Harcourt, and other places in the South East (Gangwari 1).

Inter-religious conflicts in Yorubaland are also another area of violent religious conflicts in western Nigeria. Though Islam and Christianity have an overwhelming followership in Yorubaland, many of the people still participate in many Yoruba traditional religious festivals. The participation of Yoruba Muslims in those traditional Yoruba festivals, no doubt, runs counter to the tenets of Islam. This divergence of identity often leads to clashes annually between the devotees of such traditional religious cults and the preachers of Islam as well as zealous Muslims. One of those clashes is the cold-blooded murder of Alufa'a Bisinyu Apalara in Lagos by the members of Oro cult of Okobaba on 3rd January, 1952. Fracas continued between contemporary Muslim preachers and the Yoruba cult leaders during their traditional religious outings. Prominent among such preachers involved in such confrontation were Alhaji Abdul-Aziz Bagi Muhammed head of Islahudeen in Iwo, Alhaji Abdul-Azizz Afolabi, popularly known as Faya of Ikunun and of course Abdul-Aziz, popularly known as Ajagbemokeferi, an Ijesha indigene based in Ibadan. The

Ajagbemokeferi clashes with Olalu of Ibadan is still fresh in contemporary Oyo state history (Abubakre 126).

3.2.2.3 Ethno-Religious Violence

On Saturday, 20 April 1999, violence broke out in Tafawa Balewa Local government Area of Bauchi State between Muslim Hausa-Fulani and mainly Christian Seyawa people. The crisis produced enormous casualties and extensive damage to public and private properties. The violence quickly spread to Bauchi metropolis, Dass, and Ningi local government areas. According to observers, the immediate cause of the unrest was a disagreement over the sale of roasted beef prepared under apparently unacceptable Islamic precept and sold by a Christian hawker to an unsuspecting Muslim customer. Another reason for the unrest was said to be joint use of the public abattoir. The fighting which broke out between Seyawa and Hausa-Fulani quickly turned into a religious one which involved sympathizers from both religions (Elaigwu 129).

The Jos ethno-religious clashes started on the 7th September, 2001. For several days, arson, murder and looting overtook the city. Houses, cars, shops and even human beings were set ablaze at random. Over 100 people were confirmed dead in the riots. Weeks before the riots, ethnic tension was thick in the air with verbal exchanges between the "indigenes" under the auspices of Plateau

State Youth Council and the Hausa-Fulani on the platform of "Jasawa" Development Association over the appointment of one Alhaji Muktar Mohammed as the Chairman of Jos North Local Government National Poverty Eradication Programme (N.A.P.E.P.) whom the former claimed was not an indigene (This day Magazine Sept. 2001:15). The indigenous Berom ethnic group and Christians were on one side while the Hausa-Fulani mostly Muslims, were on the other. Arms were freely employed. Those that could not lay hands on guns, made use of machets, clubs, arrows and in some cases physical fists (Tell Magazine Oct. 2001:60). The breakdown of law and order in Jos led to attacks from either Hausa/Fulani or the indigenes. This was evident in some villages in Riyom local government, Jos North, Wase, Langtang, and Pankshin Local Government Areas.

3.2.3 Ethnic Violence In Nigeria

Ethnic conflict is not a new phenomenon in the historical metamorphosis of Nigeria. Some ethnic conflicts can be linked to socio-economic matters or political undertones. But the basic fact still remains that some of these conflicts have greater ethnic colorations than socio-economic or political undertones.

3.2.3.1 Intra-Ethnic Violence

Intra-ethnic conflicts or violence are found throughout the early and contemporary development of the different ethnic groups in

Nigeria. Among the Yoruba whom we will cite here as an example, many of the members of the ethnic groups have been involved in various conflicts. Some of these conflicts include Kurumi, Ogunmola, Owu wars (1817-1824), the Ijaye wars (1860-1865), Kiriji wars (1877-1893), the Ijebus of Lagos State and those of Ogun State as well as the Ifes and Modakekes (Akintoye 142). However, we shall consider the Ife-Modakeke conflict in brief.

The root of the conflict between the Modakeke boils down to "settler-indigene" phenomenon. The Ifes resolved to send the Modakeke out of Ife. The Modakekes on the other hand, regarded Modakeke as their only homeland from which nobody including the government could remove them. They were also prepared to spill the last drop of blood to resist the abuse of their rights under whatever guise. During the civilian regime of Alhaji Shehu Shagari, the Ife-Modakeke conflict became more serious that it led to the loss of many lives and property. The cause of the conflict from 1981 was said to be shrouded in the political intrigues leading to the creation of an independent local government area for the Modakekes (Albert 142).

In 1996, the federal government created 143 new local government councils. One of them was Ife-east local government council. Another new local government also included Modakeke with headquarters located at Enuwa in Ife. On March 3, 1997, the

government further announced the creation of new local government council and new local government area headquarters. The headquarters of Ife-east local government was consequently changed from Enuwa to Modakeke. This new arrangement was strongly opposed by the Ifes. Due to intense pressure from the Ifes, the military administrator of Osun state, a new state incorporating Ife, Col. Anthony Obi announced on August 14, 1997 the decision of the government to shift the headquarters away from both Enuwa and Modakeke. The government thought the Ife-Modakeke feud would be laid to rest. Once again the protest escalated into full-blown violence with the Ifes and Modakekes attacking one another. It took police several days to put the crisis under control (Albert 163-164).

Trouble started also on the night of September 22, 1997 as a result of the abduction of a Modakeke man by some people suspected to be from Ife. The reaction of the Modakeke to set the man free was violent. Between the night of September 22, and 23, 1997, the two parties fought fiercely using petrol bombs, double barrel guns, locally made revolvers and dane guns. The Ogunsua's palace and the Ife city hall served as the military headquarters of combatants. Food and ammunition were served in these places. The number of injured people was officially put at 86, and the houses burnt were not less than two hundred. The state of conflict was epileptic between

September 1997 and December 1998. It would die down for a few days, re-escalate and die down. Until August 1998, the response of the government to the crisis was equally feeble and ill-organized to the extent that it happened that the warring parties had been left to themselves. The two killed each other freely. Between January and December, 1998, the killings continued but largely restricted to the rural areas. Farmers were brutally attacked and killed in their farms. The worst hit were the Modakeke farming on land considered to belong to the Ife people (Albert 165).

Okechukwu Ibeanu and Godwin Onu have presented to us the catalogue of various conflicts among the Igbos which range from land disputes, boundary adjustments, political differences, chieftaincy, mineral deposits, government projects and the citing of local government headquarters (Ibeanu and Onu 50).

3.2.3.2 Inter-Ethnic Violence

Inter-ethnic conflict is also one of the kinds of violence experienced within the contemporary period in Nigeria. One of this is Tinno-Waduku conflict in Adamawa State. It took place between 1st - 21st August, 1987. The cause of the conflict was land with ethnic sentiments involving the Bachama ethnic group and the Hausa "settlers". The conflict is said to be both economic and ethnic in nature. Tingno Waduku is basically a marshy area ideal for the

cultivation of rice, which is the major cash crop around the area. The Hausa people who were mostly farmers settled in this area as far back as the 1950s. On arrival they took advantage of the marshy and fertile nature of the soil to cultivate rice on large scale. They got empowered economically and eventually took control of most of the arable land. Efforts by the Bachama who increasingly became interested in rice farming themselves to take over control of what they considered their rightful asset was expectedly resisted by the Hausa who now cultivated most of the arable land. At the end of the crisis, many lives were lost, property worth millions of Naira was destroyed and social relations dislocated (Haruna 8).

The Jukun-Kuteb conflict started from 1990. But the March 1997 conflict started on the day of the "kuchicheb" festival, an annual occasion when Kuteb make thanks offering to the gods for the previous year's harvest and the purification of the new session, in addition to praying for peace and good neighbourliness. On this particular day, a combined Chamba/Jukun attack was launched on the Kuteb. The fighting, which first began in Takum, soon shifted to the other villages where firearms and other dangerous weapons were indiscriminately used. The cause of the conflict was said to be on the seat of Ukwe (Chief) Takum. There has been rival disputation between Kuteb and Chamba on this seat. The Kuteb claim the sole possession

of the seat while the Jukun also claim right to the throne. This with other factors has thrown the community into incessant communal feuds which witnessed its resurgence in the subsequent years (Elaigwu 8).

The conflict between Jukun and Tiv which erupted in 1990 and lasted for about two years was solely on land, traditional rulership, political authority and fears of domination or marginalization. It left an exceptionally high death toll and destruction of property (Best et al 83). Both Tiv and Jukun are predominantly farmers. But the Tiv seem to have aggressive agricultural activities compared to the Jukun. Thus, this intense agricultural activity accentuated by their rapidly increasing population has made the colonisation of land the most pressing demand of the Tiv people. Incidentally, such aggressive land policy brought incessant clashes with almost all their immediate neighbours in Benue, Plateau, Cross-River, Taraba, and, recently, Nasarawa States in varying degrees of intensity (Elaigwu 213).

In Zangon Kataf, the February 6, 1992 crisis was said to result from an attempt to relocate the town's weekly market to a new site along Magamiya Road. The old market was situated deep inside the town hemmed in by houses with little or no space for expansion and lacking in toilet facilities. The Hausa people never liked this transfer. On February 6th, the day the new market commenced, violence broke

out in Zangon Kataf, leading to a massive loss of lives and substantial property. The remote cause of the Zangon Kataf crisis was the culmination of popular resentment against the distasteful Zazzau emirate aristocracy. Since the creation of Kataf district in 1914 and its incorporation into Zazzau emirate, Hausa chiefs had been sent down from Zaria to rule over the territory. Over the years Kataf's demand for independence from Zazzau emirate and the institution of their town traditional political authority went unheeded. The situation was compounded by a 1920 edict by which all farmlands within four kilometers radius around Zangon kataf were appropriated and declared land under the control of the emir of Zazzau. With time, this land passed progressively to Hausa settlers and efforts made by Kataf farmers to partake in its ownership and cultivation proved abortive. Thus, the struggle for the assertion of contending rights and privileges remains the dominant pattern in Zangon kataf and the market issue found a ready ground for conflict (Elaigwu 205).

3.2.3.3 Ethnic Militia

Another kind of violence in Nigeria is the uprising of ethnic militia. Charles and Wittkof have stated as follows:

Some people pledge their primary allegiance not to the state but rather to their ethno-national group which share a common civilization, language, cultural tradition, and ties of kinship. They view themselves as members of their nationality first and their state second (Quoted in the Weekly Trust Magazine Feb. 2002:12).

The belief that one's nationality is special and superior breeds ethnic conflict and consequently threatens the security of the nation. Worse still, masses fall victims of ethnic militia who incidentally were recruited by the politicians. People are being killed everyday all in the name of ethnicity or religion (The Weekly Trust Magazine Feb. 2002:12). One of the worst acts of the ethnic militia in the recent past has been the clash between Odu'a People's Congress and the Hausa in Lagos on 15th October 2000. The O.P.C. took over the streets of Lagos mercilessly unleashing their hatred on northerner's residents in Lagos and its suburb. This left more than five hundred dead, displaced thousands and destroyed properties worth billions of Naira. There are many versions as to the cause of the clashes. One of the versions was said to be an encounter between the O.P.C and with the police in Ilorin. Unhappy with the prominent role played by the Emir of Ilorin, Alhaji Ibrahim Sulu Gambari in the Arewa Consultative Forum A.C.F., the O.P.C. stormed the Kwara State capital to allegedly attack and remove the Emir and replace him with an 'Oba'. However, the police rounded them up and in the process killed six of their members (Hotline Magazine 2000:11).

Again on Sunday, October 15, 2000, a gang of O.P.C. members numbering about 20 stormed a private residence in Ejigbo where they beat and killed a Hausa night guard when he refused to allow them to

his master. What finally precipitated this orgy of violence was when some O.P.C. members armed with machets, daggers and other dangerous weapons pursued an alleged thief who ran into a gathering of mourners who were mourning the death of the watchman at the Sarkin Hausawa quarters at Hausa "Layi" Ajegunle. Despite attempts by the northerners to resist the arrest of the alleged thief, knowing fully well that the O.P.C. murderers would impose their jungle justice on him, he was forcefully brought out and set ablaze. From this incident, the mass killings and destruction of northerners' lives and properties began. By Monday, scores of northerners in other areas like Apapa, Mushin, Mile 2, and Ijora had been killed and their properties destroyed. All over these areas were burnt corpses, and vehicles littered on the streets (Hotline Magazine Oct. 2000:12).

There was another resurgence of O.P.C. - Hausa clash again at Idi-Araba in February 2002. According to Yusufu Gusau, what really happened was a misunderstanding between one of the Hausa boys and some Yoruba boys over where to ease himself. One of the Hausa boys went to toilet nearby, from there one of the Yoruba people said he had to pay a certain amount of money and he said he could not pay as that place was a refuse dump. There they beat him and collected N2,500.00. When he came back and narrated the story to his Hausa brothers, they went and asked the boys why they collected money

from him? On reaching the scene of the incident, they started beating each other and they subsequently dragged themselves into the main road, and the fight started spreading. The situation later metamorphosed into a fight between the O.P.C. and some Hausa youths. The O.P.C. group later went into shooting houses, burning property and killing people (Saturday Punch Feb. 9th 2002:30).

Another scourge of ethnic militia has been that of the "Bakassi boys" in the heart of Igboland. "Bakassi boys" is a nickname for the Abia State Vigilante Service. The service was formed by shoemakers when Aba was being troubled by criminals and armed robbers. With the confidence and trust given to this group, it was later realised that some influential people used them as an alibi for vengeance on personal and political matters. One of such excesses was where a landlord in Aba told the "Bakassi boys" to help him eject his tenant who was owing him two months rent. On getting to the house, the "Bakassi boys" dragged the tenant out of his bungalow, flogged him in their traditional way with their matchets, inflicting serious injuries on him. They threw out the tenant's property from his apartment and set them ablaze. They however abandoned the tenant and could not arrest him for detention since they were on an illegal mission. Having accomplished their mission, they left with their blood-stained matchets. Unknown to the "Bakassi boys", the embattled tenant was a

shoemaker. The reprisal attacks by the members of the shoemakers association led to the destruction of many property and the death of people (The Weekly Magazine Oct. 2002:21).

Another ethnic militia which seemed to have a different function from the "Bakassi boys", is the Movement for the Actualisation of Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB). The main aim of this militia, as the title indicates, is to declare a state of Biafra, reminiscent of Ojukwu's ambition, which plunged Nigeria into a civil war for almost three years.

3.2.4 Socio-Economic Violence

The south-south region and the oil-producing areas have a good number of militant youth groups sworn to the defence and the protection of the peculiar social, economic and political rights of their people. The best known of them is Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP), who internationalised the plight and the neglect of the oil-producing areas. The Egbesu, a militant youth wing is also scourge of the oil-producing companies. These and other groups seek to determine employment by the oil companies. However, championing the political and other causes of the oil-producing areas has a long history that goes back to the middle sixties. Among other reasons for the course of Ogoni revolt was the badly maintained and leaking pipelines, polluted water, fountain of emulsified oil pouring into

villagers' fields, pools of sulphur, blowouts, air pollution, canal driven through farmlands causing flooding and disruption of fresh water supplies among other problems (Adamu 12). There are also many other socio-economic groups in the country bent on using violence to reclaim or ask for constitutional rights for lands and sites confiscated by government.

3.2.5 Other Forms Of Violence

There are, of course, other different kinds of violence in Nigeria that have not been highlighted in this submission. These include students' protests, ecological violence, domestic violence, criminal violence, such as (kidnappings, assassinations, ritual killings, manslaughter, and armed robbery), witchcraft, vehicular violence, and so on. There are equally other cases of collective violence, which we have not mentioned and did not also get prominent treatment in the media or by the government and opinion leaders or politicians. For example, the violent clashes between nomads and peasant farmers in various parts of the country. These clashes hardly receive much attention in the media and by the state governments and at federal levels. They are not only almost annual events, but the destruction of lives, livestock and property involved is significant. But since some of these clashes are between peasant farmers and nomads, and between members of some ethnic groups, the government does not seem

threatened by them and accord them priority (The Scope Newspaper Feb. 10-16th 2002:8).

The above situation exposes as questionable the dominant dichotomies of conflict the media insist on imposing on the general domestic and general perceptions of Nigerian politics which are, and have always been a matter of rivalry and conflict involving the Christians versus Muslims, the Tiv versus the Jukun, the Jukun versus the Kuteb, or the Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo versus other ethnic groups. Therefore, over this and other types of conflict, government pronouncements and media reports do not give an adequate picture of the extent of violent communal conflicts in the rural areas of Nigeria, particularly where they do not involve the disruption of oil-producing facilities or oil pipelines (The Scope Newspaper Feb. 10-16th 2002:8). For over three years, from 2001 to the early parts of 2004, there have been silent killings, ambush, and reprisal attacks between the Hausa/Fulani and the indigenous ethnic groups on the Plateau, but the state and federal governments do not seem to give attention and premium in curtailing their excesses. It was not until when things went wild that the federal government declared a "state of emergency", before the situation came under control in the hands of an administrator posted to control the state in the person of Major General (Retired) Chris M. Ali. This obvious neglect exposes the

paradox of the dividends of democracy in the current dispensation of Nigerian politics. Furthermore, the preponderance of violence in many ethnic groups in the country, and the resurgence of ethnic militia is threatening the security of the nation. Worst still, are the agents of state-oriented violence increasingly coming from the police and the army at the disposal of those in authority.

This chapter has looked at the plurality of Nigeria and the prevalence of violence in different forms. Some of the different kinds of violence discussed included, politically-bred violence, Religious Violence, Ethnic and Socio-Economic violence. This now lead us to looking at the different kinds of value systems in Nigeria and how they generate violence.

CHAPTER FOUR

DIFFERENT VALUE SYSTEMS AND VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA

4.1 PREAMBLE

The Nigerian society has been exposed to a variety of values, which include traditional values, religious values, colonial values and western/modern values at different times in the history of its development. Each of the values has its own distinct nature of moral principles and demands (The Nigerian Standard Nov. 9-12th 1983). Thus, it goes to say that each individual has some sense of values. No society has been found devoid of some given value systems. Thus, values are embedded in habits, traditions and institutions (Turaki "The Problem of Values in Society and Standards of Value Judgement in Nigeria" 1).

When we say value system of a given society, we are referring to what is called core values found in that society. A given core value is not necessarily held by every person or every group in the society, but a sufficient number of its members subscribe to the value to make it one of the important determinants of behaviour (Ilori 27). To ignore the role of values is to have a very distorted or one-sided view of an individual and the environment where one lives (Ilori 27). It is in this direction that the consideration of a variety of values in the study of

ethics of violence becomes an imperative. More so, the understanding of values is necessary and important because values exert a profound influence over moral or ethical conception, attitude and practice. On the other hand, a proper understanding of social problems, morality or ethics is rooted in social values, social structures and the network of social relations. Social values refer to culture, beliefs and worldviews. Social structures refer to institutions, classes, groups or systems in the society. While the network of social relations refers to on-going process of interactive behaviour of persons within social structure (Turaki "Religion, Values and Ethics in Nigerian Society---" 4).

Given the nature of values, we will agree that values are ideas that determine and guide people's daily efforts. They are standards in a given society that determine what the members are to aim at and what is expected of them. They are qualities that are sought for in the lives of the people, which affect human ideas and actions (Mbefo 60).

This chapter, therefore, wants to describe the different value systems inherited by Nigerians, with a view to examining to what extent the different values can be said to be sources of violence in Nigeria.

4.2 DIFFERENT VALUE SYSTEMS INHERITED BY NIGERIANS

This section shall briefly describe different value systems inherited by Nigerians, which generate violence or encourage

aggressive attitude in contemporary times. These value systems will include traditional value system, religious value system, colonial value system and modern/western value systems.

4.2.1 Traditional Values and Violence

Tradition, according to E. Soladoye, is defined as, "the general reservoir of behaviour of symbols in a society and a binding way of behaviour that is rooted in the part of a society" (Soladoye 4). There is every need to have recourse to the past in order to retrieve what values our traditional societies upheld and what vices they abhorred (Miri 127). The traditional values to be considered in our context will generally refer to pre-capitalist Africa, in particular the pre-colonial Nigeria comprising preliterate communal stage, the slave mode and feudal modes of production. Eze (11:10), has further corroborated that, violent oriented problems are further exacerbated in Nigeria by deeply rooted complex historical and structural process of pre-colonial and colonial incorporation and consideration of diverse ethnic values and violence. However, it is pertinent to state that some of these values respected or upheld in the traditional Nigerian society included truthfulness, honesty, hard work, good name, hospitality, love and brotherliness. Other values include valour, heroism, hunting and power of dominance against another ethnic group, among others.

It is important, therefore, to briefly look at how peoples in the pre-colonial Nigeria see violence. Did they applaud or restrain acts of violence, violent-stimulating acts or violent related moves? Are there some of their names and wise-sayings that lend themselves to violence or contemplations of violence? How do their actions and ideas depict their attitude to violence?

Pre-colonial Nigeria was characterised with an organisation of people into tribal groups and kingdoms, which were isolated from each other. In general, pre-colonial Nigeria was characterised by antagonistic communities. Broad communities existed and conflict between them existed in wars of territorial expansion, slave raiding and slave trade. This is further corroborated by Imo (Religion and Unity of Nigerian Nation), when he said:

Before the coming of the Europeans and later the amalgamation of the different groups and 'tribes' and some great dynasties and kingdoms or empires with their well defined and recognised systems of government..., there were constant inter-tribal wars as a result of the quest for war prisoners that could be profitably sold. This disorganised the indigenous social structure by deflecting the energies of the people from constructive endeavours into raiding neighbours or defending themselves from such raids (15).

It is important to note that the severity of conflicts and violence in pre-colonial Nigeria varies from one region to the other. With the inter-tribal wars, in the precolonial Nigeria, there were also intra-tribal wars. How did the different peoples of Nigeria view the war trends

and other local involvements in the use of force or violence? For convenience, the pre-colonial Nigeria shall be divided into two regions. The first will comprise the north and south-western parts of Nigeria and the second is the eastern part of the country. The combining of the north and south-western regions is because there are some aspects of violent activities that have similarities between the two regions.

4.2.1.1 The Pre-colonial Situation in the Northern and South-Western Nigeria

In the Northern region, there grew up the great empire of Kanem, just to the east of Lake Chad. Its western provinces in Borno separated it from the Hausa city-states. It is believed that an ethnic group known as Zaghawa kings or Mais ruled over the local people. This empire continued for over a thousand years. By the beginning of the 13th century, at the time Ghana was fully destroyed, Kanem Borno Empire was the dominant state in the western Sudan (Hogben 49). However; conflicts between the various factions of the ruling empire in the 13th century ended the expansion of the Kanem empire (Gailey 76).

Before the coming of the British in Northern Nigeria, the "tribal" picture had never been static and movements of all groups were attested in legends and available archaeological remains. Many of these legends tell of origins in the Middle East. The Fulani came in

from the west, but their ultimate origin would appear to have been in the Middle East. The Savannah belt stretching right across Africa affords ease of movement to groups coming in from both east and west. Generally, the stronger group conquered the weaker ones further south into the wooded areas and less productive, but more defensible. In these areas are many small groups with more than one hundred distinct languages. The largest ethnic group is Hausa (Crampton 6). Other ethnic groups include Jukun, Mbula, Bwatiye, Tangale, Tiv, Kataf, Higgi, Chamba, Gbagyi, Berom, Taroh, Seyawa, Nupe and others.

It therefore becomes necessary to accept the several legends and oral sources about the tribes trying to conquer others for settlement in much more prosperous geographical location (Hogben 5).

It is noteworthy that most ethnic groups in this part of the region participated in the traditional hunting and animal rearing as a sign of bravery. Buti (30), conveyed this view when he said:

One of the important activities between the Bwatiye (in Adamawa) traditional societies were hunting and animal rearing, especially pigs, goats, sheep and poultry. Hunting did not only provide a source of the much needed bush meat, but also an avenue to train the youth in the act of warfare.

Meek has also indicated that head-hunting, (i.e., killing somebody and taking his head) to show that one was brave, is another

feature of some of the traditional societies and ethnic groups located in the present middle belt extending from Yola to the confines of Zaria. The head hunting "tribe" or ethnic groups, according to Meek, include, Tiv, Ankwei (Goemai), Owe, Kagoro, Bassange, Jera, Wurkum, Teria, Katab, Ataka, Kaje, Jukun, Kibalo, Bachama and Bata (Bwatiye) Anaguta, Berom, Igbira, Kagoma, Bolewa, Kinuku, Irigwe, Idoma, Okpoto, Hill Mada, Tera and Kitimi. The acquisition of an enemy's head in these traditional societies is the young man's passport to manhood. Any male adult, who did distinguish himself as a brave man, hardly gets married. Until he has attained this distinction his social status is no better than that of a girl, and no girl will consent to marry him. But when he has won his trophy and can prove that it was obtained in the manner prescribed by custom, he can take his place in the ranks of the warriors, and his prowess is celebrated by a public feast (49).

Another feature, which Meek indicated, was the kingkilling among many ethnic groups in some traditional societies in the North and south-western regions. For example, among warrior tribes of Plateau, it was customary for those men who felt themselves being overtaken by old age to invite their friends or children to save them from the horror of physical and mental infirmity by quietly putting them to death. Kingkilling was also common among Igara and the Yoruba of south western Nigeria. Among the Ngas also, the duty of

killing men who were getting old was imposed on members of a neighbouring ward or village. They ate the flesh of the body and returned the skull to relatives. The intention was animistic, to save the soul from being impregnated with the weakness of the body. A spirit then enfeebled would be but a poor protector of the dead man's skin (59).

In the same line, there is curious custom of the ceremonial execution of the king. It existed among the Yoruba, Jukun and in the Hausa states of Gobir, Katsina, and Daura. It was in this way that the public religion and the public lives were maintained in their fullest vigour. There are indications of customs in the Borno chronicles (*kade* being killed by *Andakanna Dunama*) in 1285 and Nikale fighting one of his sons to preserve his throne in the 14th century. In the Bolewa traditions, we find Bulta fraternizing with and then by trickery killing the Habe chief of Kalem. In the Awtun custom, it is indicated that no chief of Awtun may rule more than 75 years, and among the Kaje and Ngamo, they only permitted their chiefs to remain in office for a fixed period of years and was not allowed to live later than the period specified. In Katsina, a Hausa State, the chief was killed as among the *shilluk* on the first signs of approaching old age. There was a regular official whose duty it was to murder his royal master. The body was

immediately wrapped in the skin of a bullock slaughtered for the purpose (Meek 60).

Human sacrifice was another feature of some ethnic groups in the pre-colonial Nigerian societies. For example, it was found among the Jukun of Middle Belt and Yoruba of south western region. In these ethnic groups, human victims were offered to the ancestral spirits of the town. The victims were sometimes strangers who were seized and sacrificed. It could also be a victim who had given offence to the community by betraying the town to slave raiders. The occasions that called for human sacrifice were countless. When a great man died, his slaves were sacrificed wholesale, the severed heads of the victims being held over the fetish until they were drained of blood. Among the Yoruba, the god *Olori-Merin* demanded a newborn child each year. Anyone rendered unconscious by lightning was immediately despatched by the priest of Shango, for Shango, the god of lightning had then signified his need of him. If the village contemplated war, human sacrifices had to be made to Ogun that the war might end successfully. A man and a woman were sacrificed at the coronation of the *Alafin* of Oyo, who was referred to walk over the grave of the victims. On the *Alafin's* death, human sacrifice was also offered (Meek39-41).

Apart from the kingkilling and human sacrifice among the Yoruba, it was alleged, according to legend, that it was *Oduduwa* who founded the Yoruba kingdom through conquest of the original inhabitants of Ile-Ife. It soon followed that the establishment and extension of other Yoruba states was done through the use of an organized army who fought to establish Oyo empire (Abiola 46).

However, Samuel Johnson has presented a catalogue of the Yoruba warfare. This includes the battle of Ogele, Mugba-mugba war, the battle of Pamo, the Lasinmi war, the Kanka war, the Gbogun war, the Pole war, Gbanumu and Erumu wars, the Onidese and Ike Isero wars, the Iperu war, the Eledume war, the Abemo civil war, the oshogbo war, the Awaye war, the Ikorodu war, the Emure war and so on (Johnson xiii-xv).

4.2.1.2. The Pre-Colonial Situation In Eastern Nigeria

Elechi Amadi has asserted that because of lack of central authority in the pre-colonial Igbo days, there were no laws to govern the behaviour of the tribes. As a result, there were intra and inter-tribal wars. During the dry season, fighting was a sort of past time either between quarters of the same tribe or between neighbouring towns. Moreso, indigenous tribes in southern fringes fought, in order to acquire land and property and carry prisoners for slave markets at

the coasts. The great armies of Benin and Oyo waged such wars of aggression (Amadi 30-33).

One of the most recognised acts of violence in the east, among the Igbo before the coming of the colonialists, is the one perpetrated by the *Arochukwu* cult. The Aro was a sub-tribe of the Igbo ethnic group. They had a long *juju*, which was the notorious Aro oracle placed at *Arochukwu*. It was the greatest oracle of the Igbo people whose shrine later became court of appeal throughout Igboland. To it most serious internal and inter-group strife was often referred. This made the Aro very important in Igboland, an importance based on universal respect of the people of eastern region for the long *juju*, which was said to be "*chukwu*", the Igbo name of the supreme deity. The long *juju* resided in a lovely cave situated in the hinterland of *Aroland*. The control over the deity gave *Aro* people a large measure of respect among the other peoples of the land. They became mediators between the people and long *juju* and the *Aro* territory soon became trading centres tainted with religious sanction (Abiola 50). It is argued that the Aro fought hard to retain their long-stained dominance in the economic life of the Igbo.

The Aro also enjoyed an equally unchallenged military prestige. Not only could they make the services of their war-like clans available to any village group that so requested and paid from them, but they

were also to use these warriors as instrument of enforcing their own demands and avenging wrong to or indignities inflicted on them. They had for generations paraded themselves and had been accepted by their neighbours as the agents of the supreme manifestation on earth of the high God *chukwu*, which they could manipulate to protect and serve their interest against which all mortals were powerless. They had also claimed that it was this high God, *Ibini-ukpabi*, where special protection made it possible for them to deal directly with the colonialists which they portrayed to their neighbours as an evil being, whom their neighbours should avoid direct dealing with at all cost (Afigbo 4-5).

Thus, the pre-colonial traditions have a variety of values, worldviews and ethical conception, attitudes and practices that are common among pre-colonial Nigerian societies (Turaki "The Problem of Values in Society" 10). These can be seen from the various initiation rites of boys into manhood by many ethnic groups, which is characterized by physical demonstration of strenuous activities. Many hunting sprees among these ethnic communities were also aimed at improving the stamina and endurance for inter-ethnic wars (Doli 1).

4.2.2. Religious Values and Violence

This section will attempt to give a consideration to Islamic and Christian values as they relate to violence. It is imperative to consider

religious values because they affect the conception, ethical behaviour and practices to ethics (Turaki "The Problem of Values in Society---" 12). In doing this, we shall consider how the two religions came to Nigeria, by bringing out their early beliefs and teachings. We shall further consider whether some of these beliefs and teachings have the propensity to lend themselves to violence.

4.2.2.2. Islamic Values and Violence

The history of Islam in the area now referred to as Nigeria dates back to perhaps the 11th century with contacts developing across the Sahara. By the 18th century, northern area inhabited by the Hausa, one of the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria, was largely Islamic and the socio-economic, political and educational systems were organised along Islamic principles (Shea 20). The Hausa were organised in a series of city-states. At the beginning of the 19th century, they were conquered in the name of Islamic purification by Fulani-warrior-clerics who established themselves as ruling aristocracy (Young 227).

Thus, the military conquest of Usman Dan Fodio was in the main responsible for the spread of Islam in Northern Nigeria. Dan Fodio's Jihad not only placed Islam squarely on the religious map of Nigeria, but made it almost a "state religion" in the north. Dan Fodio built up a strong army supported by his fellow Fulanis. Military conquest was

followed by islamisation of the conquered areas (Nwakor 160). The Hausa/Fulani produced a multi-ethnic state known as the Sokoto caliphate in which Islamic culture and the sharia were a binding force and the legal code of the state (Muhammed 183).

It is clear that not all Muslim scholars advocate peaceful path to reform and conversion. The Torodbe clerics (from which the Toronkowa clan of Usman Dan Fodio descended) were consistently proponents of the Jihad of the sword. Starting with the Jihad of Nasr al-Din (1673-74) in modern day southern Mauritania and northern Senegambia, the Torodbe inspired a series of interrelated militant Islamic revivalist movements, most of them with pronounced millenarian dimension and flavour (Danfulani).

From the foregoing, we can see that the actions of the proponents of Islam in its early expansion in Nigeria, especially from the 19th century, have lent credence to violent actions in Islam. But then, what are the basic beliefs and values the Islamic religion propagates? We may not consider all their beliefs and values. It is clear that Islam advocates numerous non-violent and peace-building values and expects Muslims to live by them. Their beliefs and values are supported by the Qur'an and the *hadith* (the prophet's sayings), One of these values is the duty to pursue justice (Ali, English Translated Qur'an 5:8). Another is the necessity of doing good by

struggling against oppression and helping those who are in need. A third of such value is that all humans as God's creation have sacred lives and thus are all equal before God. Other verses stress the importance of tolerance and kindness to other people (Ali, English Translated Qur'an 16:90). Another virtue in Islam is forgiveness (Ali, English Translated Qur'an 23:91). Muslims are urged to live in harmony and peace with all fellow humans.

Despite these ideas set out for Muslims, various societal forces pose obstacles to their implementation. Among these are the cooptation of religious leaders by governments, which leads to a lack of trust and credibility in religious leadership. Other challenges include corruption, patriarchal social structures, rigid social hierarchies, economic dependence on the west and the sense of helplessness it engenders and the humiliation generated by such confrontations as the Arab-Israeli conflict. However, it is important to assert that, Islam does not fully advocate pacifism. Islam does permit the use of force. Thus, the theory of jihad, which means struggle in the path of God forbids violence, but allows violence when Muslims are not allowed to practice their faith, that is, when freedom of religion is threatened; or when people are oppressed and subjugated or when people's land is forcibly taken from them. In these situations, Islam allows a range of responses. One can forgive the oppressor or one can respond with

force. There are Qur'anic sources encouraging both positions. The Qur'an states; "and slay them whenever you find them and drive them out of the places from where they drove you out, for persecution is worse than killing" (Ali, English Translated Qur'an 2:191). But the Qur'an also states, "tell those who disbelieved that if they cease persecution of believers that which is past will be forgiven".

Those who privilege the first verse over the second verse will wage war to fight injustice. Most militant Muslims invoke this verse in the defence of their actions. But then there are Muslims who privilege the second verse and seek a diplomatic end to persecution and urge forgiveness. The two verses are exemplary of the tension between realism and idealism in Islam (Sam "Islamic Perspectives on Peace and Violence Special Reports publications U.S. Institute of Peace htm"). Let us now turn our attention to Christian values and violence.

4.2.2.3. Christian Values and Violence

The coming of Christianity to Nigeria dates back to the period around the 15th century, when the Portuguese missionaries attempted to sow the seeds of Christianity. Thus, by the 15th century, when the serious missionary work began in southern region, the indigenous culture of the traditional societies was so disrupted by war, and the dissolution of ancient empires (Burns 63).

The missionary enterprise in Northern Nigeria, according to E.A. Ayandele, passed through three distinct phases. The first phase 1870-1888, was one of relative success for missions. Their achievement limited as it were, was owed to their tactics in winning the affection of traditional rulers and in convincing them that the missions were not torch bearers of imperialism. Then came the next phase 1888-1900, when missionary enterprise and British imperialism seemed to the northern rulers as one and the same thing. In the last phase, 1900-1918, the British administration disassociated itself from missionaries and as time went on, declared opposition to missionary enterprise, not only in the predominantly Muslim areas, but in the "pagan" districts as well (Ayandele 140).

It is clear to assert that the coming and spread of Christianity never took any violent form. But it has been argued by some scholars that the missionaries aided and abated violence along with the colonial masters. Few instances are often cited to buttress this assertion.

One of these included the multifarious duties of the British naval forces during the 19th century along the coast conveying and supporting explorers and explorations to the areas combating the slave trade, protecting British legal trade, and bombardments of African Coast and riverine states while protecting British legal trade interests. This in essence developed British formal influence, formal

control, protecting and supporting European missionaries. In another instance, a naval voyage of 1857 with which Bishop Ajayi Crowther was associated, set up a Christian missionary society station at Onitsha. Similar naval conveyances had helped the Reverend Thomas Birch Freeman of the Western Missionary Society to set up a port at Badagary in 1844. These followed other missionary ports at Lagos, Abeokuta, Bonny, Calabar, and as far as Aboh and Lokoja along the Niger (Obichere 205).

Although Christianity certainly came to Nigeria through European filter, it would be a great mistake to think of the missionary movement as a purely European affair. The impulse towards mission was part of the quickening of conscience in Europe, which brought about the end of the slave trade and the emancipation of slaves scattered throughout the Christian world. Thus, many communities of Nigerians living in various corners of the world as emancipated slaves turned their thoughts to their homeland. Those who had become Christians thought of bringing benefits of the gospel to their own people (Crowther 68).

Second, there were no available and ready means of transportation for the missionaries, apart from the existence of the naval ships used by the colonialists. Moreso, missions had to be loyal

to the colonial government and cooperate with them, especially in the field of education (Boer 21).

However, it is noticeable that there were many points of frictions and disagreements between the missionaries and colonial masters. This is seen in respect to missionaries' negative attitudes towards the use of violence by the colonialists. The overriding point is that, the planting and spread of Christianity in Southern and Northern Nigeria was not done through warfare. But then, what are the Christian values. How did the missionaries translate these values and ideals into practice in Nigeria? In other words, what were the early beliefs and teachings of Christianity? Were there actions and ideas that depicted their attitude towards violence? Are there violent-prone beliefs and teachings which depict violence?

Some of the values upheld by Christianity include love, humility, obedience, tolerance, sympathy, hard work, justice, modesty, frugality and forgiveness among others.

Most of these values were translated into the missionary endeavours in Nigeria. From the beginning of the missionary endeavour, we have seen how tolerant and humble they were to the colonial government by working side by side with them. The missionary contact also showed love to the Nigerian people. They lived nearer people, sharing many of their hardships, entering into

their own homes, learning their language and sharing their burdens. To the very limit of their resources, they fed the hungry, cured the sick, freed prisoners, sought mercy for the condemned and comforted those in sorrow. They did this by opening up charity homes, orphanages, and hospitals. They also stopped the killing of twins, encouraged agriculture and rural work by giving technical aid machinery and all implements of integration into western economy. The mission school is probably the greatest missionary means through which Christian values were extended to Nigerians. "In the beginning was the Word – the Spiritual creative word of God." This word found expression not only in things that were made, "not only in the begotten son of God," as the word made flesh, but was also effectively present in the paper and printers ink of the Bible. Therefore, people had to be taught to read and write. Schools were set up in every mission station the and foundation of the modern educational system of Nigeria laid (Crowther 65).

At the centre of the Christian belief is the ideal for love and peace. However, many scriptural verses have been cited to lend credence to violence. Some of these verses include the following;

Revised Standard Bible, Matt. 10.34-36:

Do not think that I have come to bring peace on earth; I have not come to bring peace, but a sword. For I have come to set a man against his father, and a daughter against her mother, and a daughter in-law against her

mother in-law, and a man foes will be those of his own household.

Revised Standard Bible. Lk. 19.26-27:

I tell you, that to everyone who has, will more be given, but from him who has not, even that he has, will be taken away. But as for these enemies of mine, who did not want me to reign over them bring them here and slay them before me.

Revised Standard Bible. Lk. 22.35-38:

And he said to them, when I sent you out with no purse or sandals, did you lack anything? They said nothing. He said to them, but now let him who has a purse take it, and likewise a bag. And let him who has no sword sell his mantle and buy one. And they said, look Lord, here are two swords, and He said to them it is enough.

Revised Standard Bible. Lk. 22.49-51:

And when those who were around him saw what will follow, they said, Lord, shall we strike with the sword? And one of them struck the slave of the high priest and cut off his right ear. But Jesus said, no more of this, and he touched his ear and healed him.

However, it is clear to say that the contextual and exegetical clarifications of the above verses go beyond the literary explanations. This shall form the basis of our discussion in the next chapter under different value systems as sources of violence in Nigeria.

4.2.3. Colonial Values and Violence

In discussing matters of violence in Nigeria, it is important to find out what were the colonial values and how were these values shown during the colonial domination of Nigeria. Was colonial

domination of Nigeria a peaceful adventure or did it come with the use of force through warfare? After full colonisation of Nigeria, did the colonial practice encourage the already conflictual nature among the various "tribal" groups existing in Nigeria? How has the colonial legacy exacerbated violence in Nigeria?

It is clear to say that the values upheld by the colonialists included dominance, leadership, economic viability and racism. How were these values shown in the British colonisation of Nigeria? This shall form the basis of our discussion in this section.

4.2.3.1. The Coming and Consolidation of Colonialism in Nigeria

The British administration formally commenced in 1861 when Lagos was ceded to the crown colony (Coleman 36). In Britain, there was need to stop the slave trade as a result of evangelical revivals that swept across Europe. Moreso, they wanted to find a market for the sale of the new products from new industries. At first the marketing of goods was handled entirely by the African middlemen of the coastal kingdoms who secured their monopoly on the basis of their exclusive knowledge of conditions in the interior and the fact that the climate was too unhealthy for Europeans to penetrate beyond the coastal fringes. However, as Britain's trading interest grew in Nigeria, so did the desire of her merchants to trade directly with the markets in the interior. This brought resistance of African kings and middlemen to the

penetration of the interior by European traders. That these traders did overcome their resistance was largely due to the pioneer work of explorers (Crowther 134).

So from 1865 until the proclamation of the British Protectorate over the Niger districts in 1885, British interests in Nigeria were concentrated in different areas, most importantly in Lagos, the Delta and the Niger. Two factors were basically the main concern by the British at this time namely; The quest for other riches of trade (raw materials) and slaves (Crowther 173).

However, for convenience, we shall consider the spiral of violence perpetrated during the coming of colonialism into two parts, that is, southern region and northern regions. Actually, the nature of violence at this time was a result of resistance of colonialism by the indigenes within these regions which in most cases, resulted to open confrontations.

4.2.3.2 Violence in Southern Region

The slave trade was one of the main causes of the devastating inter-cine strife that prevailed in southern region during the centuries that preceded the abolition. Not only were tribal institutions disorganized, but the energies and talents of the people were consumed either by raiding or being raided in order to meet the great demands for slaves. The slave trade not only profoundly affected

institutions, but left a psychological legacy of suspicion, servility and or hostility which has been one of the most serious obstacles in Contemporary Euro-African relations (Coleman 40-41).

There were early resistance and protest movements which was manifested through early militant resistance of the Delta rulers, such as King Jaja of Opobo, to European penetration of the interior, the defiance of King Kosoko of Lagos and the women's riots in eastern Nigeria. Throughout the centuries preceding the imposition of formal British control, African chiefs in the Niger Delta area effectively prevented invasions of the white man. Thus, opposition and disease were the primary force which tended to exclude the white man from the hinterland (Dike Chapter 1).

But with the establishment of a formal protectorate supported and controlled by the British power, Britain made the occupation and pacification in arms, money and men, in general, the acquisition of Nigeria was accomplished by force or by threat of force. The British obtained the cession of Lagos by duress, after launching an armed attack during which most of the town was destroyed by fire (Coleman 171).

In 1886, the British administration was able to convince Ibadan and Ekiti parapo (comprising the Ekiti, Ijesha and Egba), who had been at war since 1897 to sign a treaty. The only area in Yorubaland

that had effectively resisted the British traders and the Lagos administration until 1880's was Ijebu. Bent on occupying Yorubaland, the British decided to "teach" Ijebu a lesson and at the same time demonstrated to the remaining Yoruba states the futility of opposing them. The British launched a well-prepared expedition of about a thousand men armed with rifles and machine guns. The Ijebu also raised an army of about a thousand men too. However, the Ijebu were routed by the invaders (Boahen 65).

The rulers of the kingdom of Benin and some states of the Niger Delta also confronted the British, though the Benin had signed a treaty of protection with the British in 1892, she nonetheless guarded her sovereignty with determination, using the killing of British acting Consul-General and five other English men on their way to Benin as an excuse. The British launched a punitive expedition of one thousand five hundred men in 1897. The Oba himself would have lived to submit, but a majority of his chiefs raised an army to beat back the invasion. They were however defeated and the capital was looted of its precious art treasuries and then burnt. In the Niger Delta as in many other states of southern Nigeria, the British had signed treaties of protection with most of the chiefs. But other rulers and kings stood up to the British consuls and missionaries. Such included Jaja of Opobo. He insisted on payment of duties by British traders and ordered a

complete stoppage of trade on the river. The consul Johnson ordered him to stop levying duties on English traders. But instead of doing so, Jaja dispatched a missionary of foreign office to protest against the order. But Jaja was later arrested and taken to Accra where he was tried and deported to the West Indies. Another ruler who defied the British was Nana, the governor of Itsekiri kingdom. Like Jaja, he insisted on controlling trade on the Benin River and therefore the British raised an army to seize his capital. Nana escaped to Lagos where he surrendered himself to the British government who tried him and deported him to the Gold Coast (Boahen 57).

By 1900, the major areas of resistance to the British authority had been overcome, but in some areas of eastern provinces British authority was only extended with great difficulty. Yorubaland had been brought under British rule by treaty. Benin had been conquered and the Delta States had all been subdued in the interest of trade. However, it took many positive expeditions to bring the whole of Igboland effectively under British administration (Boahen 231).

The first major operation undertaken by the new protectorate government was against Aro guardians of the famous Arochukwu oracle, which retained its political influence over most of the peoples of what is now eastern Nigeria. The Aro bitterly resented to the extension of British authority over an area, which for more than two centuries

the religious and political supremacy of their oracle had remained unchallenged. They therefore did as much as they could to frustrate the alien administration, particularly by using their religious authority to place embargoes on trade with the Europeans. At first the British had hoped to avoid using force in dealing with the Aro. However, when in June, 1901, the Aro attacked some Ibibio villages, carried off a number of their inhabitants for sale as slaves on the domestic markets, the British decided to take action (Crowther 23).

But with all the boasting, bragging and ancient reputation for military and supernatural powers, the Aros had proved pathetically unequal to the expedition of 1901-1902. Not only had the Aro been unable to protect their neighbours and traditional friends, they had proved unequal to the task of defending and protecting their homeland and as a result, the abode of their *chukwu* had been desecrated and blown up by the white man (Afigbo 4-5).

Confrontation by the British authorities and indigenes continued further in Igboland. This time around it was between Lord Lugard's Warrant Chiefs and Aba Women in 1929. Goaded by the wonderful success of indirect rule in northern Nigeria, Lord Lugard appointed warrant chiefs who were to execute his system of indirect rule. The warrant chiefs began to take census of men, women and herds of animals in the area. The people misconstrued the intention behind the

census, especially the women. To them, it was assumed that they will pay taxes who hitherto had not been paying taxes. In order to prevent this, the women protested and the senior police officer in the area opened fire on the women, about thirty-one women lay down dead and over two hundred were seriously injured. Many of these died later (Abiola 167).

Ojiako (8), however, stressed that the 'tribes' and rulers who resisted the British invasion were ruthlessly crushed by 1900 and 1906, the Igbo people were defeated and southern part of this land was occupied by their forces.

4.2.3.3. Spiral of Colonial Violence in Northern Nigeria

The arrival of the colonialists in northern region also witnessed a period of wars and conflicts. If the conquest and occupation of southern Nigeria was the work of the British government with the assistance of traders and missionaries, that of northern region was accomplished by National African Company (Royal Niger Company) as from 1886 and the British Colonial Government. The main means used, like that of the French in the west, was military conquest. Nupe was invaded in 1897. The Etsu Nupe and his huge army of cavalry and infantrymen and armed mainly with traditional weapons of bows, arrows, spears and swords, put up a spirited fight, but they were

defeated. The British launched series of campaigns against Kontagora in 1903 and conquered them (Boahen 68).

At Burmi in 1903, British forces killed Caliph Attahiru of Sokoto, who had previously attempted hijra (flight) along with many followers to escape from the British conquest. Some Muslims in northern region also demonstrated their opposition to the British through resort to the traditional Islamic response of *hijra* by fleeing from British conquest. Moreso, there were various revolts against foreign domination, many inspired by mahdist expectations, the most serious being the Hodejia revolt and the Satiru rebellion, both in 1906. These mahdist uprisings especially that of Satiru, were supported by fugitive slaves, encouraged often by local Muslim leaders' disaffection with caliphate misrule (Steed and Westerlund 72).

The British launched series of campaigns against Bauchi in 1902, Kontagora and Kano in 1903. The rulers of all these emirates rose to their defence, but they had no effective answer to their enemies' maxim guns and riffles and therefore suffered defeat (Boahen 68).

In north-eastern region, according to Margaret Nissen, the Royal Niger Company had trouble with the Mbula people several times. When the company's canoe carrying goods landed at Tassala, the Mbula attacked them. Several of the crew members were wounded and they fled, leaving some of their salt behind. Some months later, it was

reported that two steamers were heading up the river Benue. All able bodied men from Tassala, Kwale, Zuran, Gwosalla and Tahau came out and were ready to attack. When the two ships steamed in between Kwale and Gwossala, the Mbula men manned their canoes and attacked the steamers with their spears. The vessels dropped anchor and landed about three hundred soldiers who opened fire. More than a hundred men were killed, the rest fled, some jumped into the river. The villages in the vicinity were set on fire and that day the Mbula people lost more than a thousand sheep and goats. The episode took place around 1870 (Nissen 130-131).

While the British celebrated their conquest in the north, they shared their powers with the emirs, they also engaged themselves directly in the development of their colony. The British applied the system of indirect rule in the north and this gave the emirs a strong position in the colonial administration. Although the British implemented a number of basic reforms in the areas of finance taxation, the judicial system and territorial land, they did not question the existing social system in the north but modernized it along existing laws (Loimeier 15).

4.2.4. Western/Modern Values

The socio-political transformation of Nigeria by the colonial administration has generated the development of new values. These

values generated by social processes may not necessarily be traditional, religious or colonial, but a birth of new modern social processes. Our state of dependency, culturally, economically, technologically and politically, has a lot to do with our craze for foreign or modern values. The decline of our productivity, independence/self-reliance, initiative, and creativity is closely related to our state of cultural bondage to foreign values. As a result, Nigeria faces an acute crisis of values. Thus, conflict of values often results between traditional values and their emergent new and western values (Turaki "Towards a conception of National Ethics--- 2).

The above conflict can be seen from the process of socio-political development and social formations under colonial administration. The First Republic, the Military Regimes and the Second Republic have suffered terribly from the implicit introduction of misconceived mode's of western experience as the criteria for political and economic development. Very little attention, if any, has been paid to socio-political transformation based upon the relationship between structures of meaning (belief systems, culture) and political forms (structures and institutions). Nation – state building, more often than not, has neglected to examine critically questions of identity, authority, and legitimacy in socio-political change. The compatibility between modern institutions and their values introduced, and Nigerian

indigenous institutions and their values have not been carefully juxtaposed. Thus, the socio-political transformation of Nigeria has generated crisis of social change, social formations, new conception of individuality and group identity, highly conscious ethnic and religious groups, political elites and value conflicts. Such conflicts can be seen between universality and particularity, between traditional and western/modern values, competing and contending cultural, ethnic, religious or class values and conflict of moral and ethical values emerging from social transformations and social dynamics (Turaki "The Problem of Values in Society--- 10).

This chapter has attempted to identify different value systems inherited by Nigerians. In doing these, we looked at the traditional, religious, colonial and western/modern values. Within the Nigerian traditional societies, there had been a preponderance of violence in different dimensions, which ranged from inter-tribal warfare and hunting to human sacrifice. We also looked at how Islam, Christianity, and Colonialism came to Nigeria with their values systems. We finally looked at the modern/western value systems. How have all these values served as sources of violence in contemporary Nigeria? This shall form the basis of our next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

DIFFERENT VALUE SYSTEMS AS SOURCES OF VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA

5.1 PREAMBLE

From our previous chapter, we have briefly described the value systems inherited by Nigerians. Our concern in this chapter is to consider how these value systems inherited might have contributed to Nigerians' attitude to violence. In other words, we shall discuss the possible effects of the different inherited values on Nigerians' attitude to violence. In doing this, we shall look at how traditional cultural values, religious values, colonial values and western/modern values have the propensity of stimulating violence.

However, our analysis and discussion on traditional cultural values and religious values shall be qualitatively and quantitatively evaluated.

5.2 TRADITIONAL CULTURAL VALUES AND THEIR PROPENSITY TO STIMULATE VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA

This section will examine the traditional cultural values that might lend credence to stimulating violence in Nigeria. From our previous discussion, we have observed that the traditional Nigerian societies pay much premium on valour and heroism. These attributes are manifested through what they say and do. Many ethnic groups in Nigeria today seem to demonstrate war-like attitudes in pressing for

their demands against social injustice, using primordial ethnic tendencies. For example, in a protest against the forceful confiscation of farmlands by a company in *Bwatiye* land through an installed chief of the *Bachama* ethnic group, a group which calls itself *Bwatiye* Patriotic Front (BPF) has this to say:

We want to vividly re-state for avoidance of doubt... this land belongs to us and was secured by our forefathers through armed struggles, the primordial tribal wars of time immemorial. We are more than willing to defend it through another armed struggle, our predecessors, did not cede it neither shall we (Bwatiye Patriotic Front Handbill).

In a similar situation, Ken Saro-Wiwa, in the protest against injustice by the oil companies in his land retorted: "The *Ogoni* people before the advent of British colonialism were not conquered or colonised by any other ethnic group in present day Nigeria"(Saro-Wiwa 67).

It is glaring to state that most traditions in Nigeria have evolved an inbuilt process of training its members to acquire qualities such as bravery, strength and endurance (Leneke 113). This is sometimes done through traditional hunting and wrestling festivals. Hunting is a cultural activity of most Nigerian communities in the past and in the present times. It is normally undertaken for food or sometimes for showing bravery, honour and respect among age groups. Hunting among some of the ethnic groups in the north-eastern part of Nigeria is aimed at improving stamina and endurance for internal "wars",

especially hunting on horses. Up to today, the traditional horse riding is undertaken every year in some ethnic groups to build up this quality (Doli 1).

During hunting sprees among the *Mbula*, Demsa Local Government Area of Adamawa State, there are normally "hit back encounter", which was a period of showing strength and settling scores. This normally involves youths of divergent age groups. It is usually between different herdsman using different sticks of various shapes and sizes. The spell of this day meant sleepless nights and restless moments for many cowards. The contest was to exhibit bravery and get champions among age groups (Dilli 114).

Similarly, among the *Bachama* (*Bwatiye*) and *Mbula* ethnic groups of Demsa and Numan Local Government Areas, there are usually inter-village wrestling festivals, which later culminates to the inter-ethnic wrestling festival. The festival takes place in *farei*, Demsa, Local Government Area of Adamawa state. During this wrestling, it was a great show of strength and prowess. Rules are normally set to guide the wrestling. The contest normally starts with the younger ones and later on metamorphoses to elders. Warriors are normally rewarded with material gifts and new titles are conferred on champions.

The *Argungu* wrestling contest in the north-western part of the country is also another example. There is normally wrestling contest during the initiation of boys and victors are normally given wives.

Many of the ethnic groups in Nigeria glorify warrior-like values in their dances, cultural festivals, names/titles, and wilful possession of traditional weapons. Below is a table showing some names/titles among some selected ethnic groups in Nigeria that depict bravery or warrior-like attitude.

TABLE 2, NAMES AND TITLES THAT DEPICT AGGRESSIVE TENDENCIES AMONG SOME SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS IN NIGERIA

S/No	Names of Ethnic Groups in Nigeria and the States they are located	Name of Paramount Ruler	War Titles in the Ethnic Groups and their equivalents in English language	Names within the Ethnic Groups that show Boldness, Bravery or Aggressive Tendency	Translation and meaning of the names in English Language
1.	Yoruba (Ogun, Oyo, Ekiti, Lagos and Osun)	Oba of Yoruba Land (Oni of Ife)	Areonakakanfo (Commander in Chief of the Yoruba army and Chief of defence staff I	Akin, Balogun	Boldness or somebody who is not a coward. Warrior.
2.	Tiv (Benue, Nasarawa and Taraba)	Tor Tiv	Kur-u-tya (War Leader)	Nyam Kuma Normor Beagh (Tiger) Shenku	Fierce person. Strongman. Brave man. Elephant Killer or Warrior
3.	Jukun (Taraba)	Aku Uka of Wukari	Abon-ita (War General)	Santi	Powerful man. Fighting hero.
4.	Mumuye (Taraba)	Kpanti Zing	Kpanti Bali (Hunting Champion)	Yazing Kakká	Brave human being. Strongman.
5.	Goemai (Plateau)	Long Goemai	Kasun (War Leader)	Longshal	Warrior.
6.	Berom (Plateau)	Gbong Gwom Jos	Gwom Chomo (Warrior)	Chomo	War
7.	Afizere (Jarawa) (Plateau)	Ada Gwom Izere	Asoyir (War Leader)	Itsom Ulen	War. Fighting.
8.	Mbula (Adamawa)	Murum Mbula	Gbani (Fighting Hero)	Muno MÖgirgoro	Fighting. Fight.
9.	Kanakuru (Adamawa)	Amna Shelleng	Jarama (Chief of Defence)	Lila Dilümno	Conqueror. Troubleshooter or always willing to fight.
10.	Bachama (Adamawa)	Hama Bachama	Nzumurokake (War Leader)	Sha'ah Mureahoyowei Nzomwisang Turkumei(Lion)	Fighting. A man who is not a coward. Wrestler.
11.	Chamba (Adamawa)	Gangwari Ganye	Gakkoba (War General)	Nyagang Kisinomso	Fighter. Warrior. Unending aggression.
12.	Ijaw (Delta, Edo and Lagos)			Olotu	Strongman.
13.	Itsekiri (Delta)	Olu of Warri		Olorugun	Warrior.
14.	Urhobo (Delta)			Ogaga	Mighty man.
15.	Gbagyi (Niger, Kaduna, Kogi, Abuja, Nasarawa)	Esu	Bezye Yako (Commander of the Army)	Ewegba Adiyilo Sheabmiyinu	Strongman. Powerful people exist. Overpowering one's enemies.
16.	Igbo (Abia, Ebonyi, Imo, Anambra & Enugu)	Eze		Zhnajekpi	A man who kills a lion (strongman). Chief wrestler.
17.	Nupe (Niger)	Etsu Nupe	Tishi Eku Guaji (War Leader)	Dimgba Ogbuefi Ogbuagu Bagi	He who kills an elephant. A great hunter. Warrior.
18.	Basang (Cross Rivers)	Utuo Obanliku		Ezagun Ukpan (Lion) Ajiukah	Aggressive man. Braveman or agile man. Taking by force (food, wife, land or any possession)
19.	Utugwang (Cross Rivers)	Uti Itedem		Ashimere	Very powerful person that cannot be withstood.
20.	Hausa (Kano, Jigawa, Katsina, Zamfara, Sokoto, Kaduna, Bauchi, Gombe)	Sarki	Sarkin Yaki	Ugaba (Lion) Ukpung (Tiger) Zaki (Lion) Giwa (Elephant)	Bold man. Brave man. Strong man. Bold person

Apart from the interviews conducted, questionnaires were also used in finding out some traditional values among some ethnic groups in Nigeria that may lend credence to violence. This forms the basis of the analysis of the questionnaire, which shall be considered.

TABLE 3, DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNIC GROUPS ACCORDING TO THE SIX "GEO-POLITICAL ZONES" IN NIGERIA

ZONES	NAME(S) OF ETHNIC GROUP(S)	NO. OF ETHNIC GROUPS
SOUTH-EAST	Igbo	1
SOUTH-WEST	Yoruba	1
SOUTH-SOUTH	Bekwara, Efik, Itsekiri, Urohobo, Mbembe, Ishan and Ijaw	7
NORTH-WEST	Hausa, Fulani, and Zuru	3
NORTH-EAST	Sayawa, Bura, Kanuri Kilba, Marghi, Gizem, Nzanyi, Jukun, Gude, Higgi, Sukur, Mumuye, Yungur, Gabun, Chamba, Wagga, Kamue, Verre, Waja, Tangale, Jenjo, Bwatiye, Ga'anda, Lunguda, Karai-karai, Kuteb, Wurkum, Mbula, Kankuru, Chibok, Kaka and Yandang.	32
NORTH-CENTRAL	Gbagyi, Nupe, Epira, Ogori, Mada, Ron, Berom, Igala, Afizere, Mupun, Tarok, Mangu, Irigwe, Mushere, Kwalla, Bogghom, Anaguta, Ngas, Goemai, Mwaghavul, Tiv, Boki, Kantana, Buji, Eggon, Idoma, Okun and Kulere.	28
TOTAL		72

Apart from the interviews conducted, questionnaires were also used in finding out some traditional values among some ethnic groups in Nigeria that may lend credence to violence.

5.2.1 Findings from the Questionnaires

Five hundred questionnaires were distributed in all. The questionnaires were meant to elicit responses that cover questions on personal data in the first section. While the second section covers questions relating to traditional cultural values on violence and religious violence. Below are some of the findings from the questionnaires.

TABLE 4, WHETHER YOUR ETHNIC GROUP HAS PRAISE NAMES/TITLES, PHRASES, WHICH DEPICT VIOLENCE OR OTHER WAYS OF HAILING PEOPLE WHO FIGHT FOR THEIR RIGHTS OR DEFEND THE CAUSE OF THE COMMUNITY

Opinions	Total Number of Respondents	Percentage of Total Number of Respondents
Yes	241	65.5%
No	115	31.2%
Undecided	12	3.3%
Total	368	100%

Out of three hundred and sixty-eight respondents, two hundred and forty-one representing 65.5% agreed that their ethnic groups have praise names or titles and phrases which depict violence or other ways of hailing people who fight for their rights to defend the cause of the community. One hundred and fifteen respondents representing 31.2% said no, while twelve respondents representing 3.3% were undecided.

TABLE 5, WHETHER YOUR CULTURE SEES SOMEONE WHO IS NOT ABLE TO FIGHT BACK FOR HIS/HER RIGHT AS A WEAKLING OR A COWARD

Opinions	Total Number of Respondents	Percentage of Total Number of Respondents
Yes	204	55.4%
No	152	41.1%
Undecided	12	3.5%
Total	368	100%

Out of the three hundred and sixty-eight respondents, two hundred and four representing 55.4% agreed that their culture sees someone who is not able to fight for his/her rights as a weakling or a coward, while one hundred and fifty-two respondents representing 41.1% said no. Twelve respondents representing 3.5% were undecided.

TABLE 6, WHETHER ONE'S ETHNIC GROUP HAS WAR SONGS, WISE SAYINGS, PROVERBS, PARABLES, TALES OR IDIOMS THAT DEPICT VIOLENCE OR WAR

Opinions	Total Number of Respondents	Percentage of Total Number of Respondents
Yes	269	73.1%
No	86	23.4%
Undecided	13	3.5%
Total	368	100%

Out of three hundred and sixty-eight respondents, two hundred and sixty-nine respondents representing 73.1% agreed that they have war songs, wise sayings, proverbs, parables, tales or idioms that depict violence, while eighty-six respondents, representing 23.4% indicated that they don't have such qualities. Thirteen respondents, representing 3.5% were undecided.

TABLE 7, WHETHER THE EXISTENCE OF ETHNIC MILITIA IN CONTEMPORARY NIGERIA IS RIGHT

Opinions	Total Number of Respondents	Percentage of Total Number of Respondents
Yes	102	27.7%
No	258	70.1%
Undecided	8	2.2%
Total	368	100%

From the responses above, one hundred and two respondents, representing 27.7% see the existence of ethnic militia as right, while two hundred and fifty-eight respondents, representing 70.1% see the existence of ethnic militia in contemporary Nigeria as not right. Eight respondents, representing 2.2% were undecided.

TABLE 8, THE ATTITUDE OF THE MEMBERS OF VARIOUS ETHNIC GROUPS TOWARDS VIOLENCE

Opinions	Total Number of Respondents	Percentage of Total Number of Respondents
They see violence as part of life	24	6.5%
They see violence as bad	289	78.5%
They see the use of violence as right, especially in self-defence	47	12.8%
Undecided	8	2.2%
Total	368	100%

From the responses above, out of the 368 respondents, from various ethnic groups, 24 respondents representing 6.5% agreed that violence is part of life in their ethnic groups, while 289 respondents representing an overwhelming 78.5% see violence as bad. Forty-seven (47) respondents, representing 12.8% see the use of violence as right, especially in self-defence. Eight respondents were undecided, representing 2.2%.

5.2.2 Discussion and Analysis of Findings

From the foregoing, we can see that ethnicity has formed part of the traditional cultural values that have the propensity to stimulate aggressive tendencies among Nigerians. We may agree with Okwudiba Nnoli, when he stated that ethnicity has continued to pose serious problems for Nigerian politics and the society in spite of various efforts to eradicate it or at least attenuate it (Nnoli 1).

There are actually many sources of ethnic conflicts, which are associated to many factors, but in this work, we shall look at some cultural values of different ethnic groups that lend themselves to violent attitude.

Afful (14) has asserted that in some ethnic groups, it is not uncommon to hear of some ethnic groups being labelled the "slaves" of other ethnic groups. Pejorative and derogatory remarks are made of those "slave" groups. From the responses elicited, we can see that

55.4% of total respondents accept that their ethnic groups see those who are not able to fight for their rights as weaklings or cowards. This shows that cowardice is not tolerated among many ethnic groups in Nigeria. This is capable of gingering violent attitude among Nigerians.

From the findings again, we can see that 241 respondents, representing 65.5% agree that their ethnic groups have names/titles, phrases which depict violence or other ways of hailing people who fight for their rights or defend the cause of the community. This is further supported by the fact that 73.3% of total respondents agree that their ethnic groups have war songs, sayings, proverbs, tales or idioms that depict violence. Thus, we can see that some of the aggressive attitudes exhibited by Nigerians during crisis are closely related to traditional values.

This now brings into question the validity of honouring some members of various ethnic groups who confer traditional titles and names that depict violence to some renown members. Do these titles and names used in modern times still represent the violent values that were used in the traditional Nigerian societies? If the names and titles do not represent those values, are there other titles and names that can be used to give honour, which does not depict violence? Violence in its totality is seen as bad. This is clearly represented with 78.5% of total respondents who said that violence is bad. Thus, it becomes

necessary to say that the custodians of our traditional values should desist from using names, titles and the actions associated to violence. This may help in reducing violent tendencies among Nigerians.

The other area, which has attracted our attention in the analysis of the traditional cultural values in Nigeria, is the scourge of the ethnic militia in Nigeria. The most threatening problem of ethnicity in Nigeria has been the re-emergence of ethnic champions in the form of ethnic militia-groups. The activities of the ethnic militia are violent in nature and on several instances resulted in breakdown of law and order in different parts of Nigeria.

From the findings on the rightness of the existence of ethnic militia in contemporary Nigeria, 258 respondents representing 70.1% of the total population, indicated that the existence of ethnic militia in Nigeria is not right. This shows that existence of ethnic militia in Nigeria is a threat to national peace and stability.

The formation of some of the ethnic militia attests to the above. We will consider a few among them and see how they have served as a threat to national peace and stability.

Odua People's Congress (O.P.C.) as a militia is more or less the armed or youth wing of Afenifere. The O.P.C. offers no apology for its determination to protect the social, economic and political interest of the Yoruba. It has been alleged that, the organization came into

existence as a reaction to the perceived "injustice" meted to the Yorubas with the annulment of the June 12, 1993 presidential elections believed to have been won by their kinsman late Chief Moshood K.O. Abiola. Though claiming to be protecting Yoruba interest, the congress has been found to be used to resorting to violence not only to settle matters within the groups, but they also senselessly attack other ethnic groups and security agents (Smith 15).

The oil-producing areas have good numbers of militant youths sworn to the defence and protection of the peculiar social, economic and political rights of their people. The best known of them is the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP), which internationalised the plight and the neglect of the oil-producing areas. This movement was established during the regime of General Ibrahim Babangida, as a result of agitation against environmental degradation of Ogoniland because of massive crude oil exploitation by Shell Oil Company. The movement, which started as a forum for highlighting what the people of Ogoni-Rivers State were going through, soon metamorphosed into a violent outfit (Smith 16).

The "Egbesu" militant youths wing is also a scourge of the oil companies. The Igbos also have the Ohaneze which seeks to advance and protect the political and other interests of the Igbo (Abdullahi 12).

Its own militant wing, the “Bakassi boys,” are known to have been violent.

“Bakassi boys” were originally meant to be a protective body whose original aim was to serve Aba traders from incessant harassment by hoodlums who were invariably jobless or have outrightly refused to be useful to themselves or the community. The group was also worried by the alarming crime situation in Aba, which was then getting out of hand. However, they soon lost focus and were subsequently hijacked by politicians who started to use them to settle political scores and also as their private army (Smith 12).

Another militia of Igbo extraction is the Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB). It was founded with the objective of resuscitating the defunct secessionist State of Biafra. The movement took off in Lagos State, but later moved its base mainly among few states in south east (Smith 4). Afful has asserted:

Some other ethnic groups seek ethnic separation. They define nationality in terms of cultural homogeneity and radical distinctiveness. Citizenship is seen as a cultural bond between the individual and the community (13).

The “Yan daba” is a local idiom for dangerous urchins. This group is generally found in the northern part of Nigeria, especially among the Hausa. The members of this group are largely unemployed youth. The “Yan daba” phenomenon is a social problem. Members go about

harassing innocent girls and sometimes married women and men. The group could be likened to the notorious "area boys" in the southern part of the country. Since they are mostly jobless and idle, they vent their frustration on innocent citizens. Counter-reaction from the disturbed citizens often leads to violent attacks by this lawless group. In addition to induced violence on innocent citizens, they are often used as ready tools by some disgruntled but well placed members of the society, especially politicians, to cause mayhem, general disturbance of law and order and loot valuable property of innocent and law-abiding citizens (Smith 15).

Ethnicity has also become a scourge of social differentiation and discrimination in many parts of Nigeria. Most ethnic groups involved in various acts of violence and crises have advocated ethnic cleansing. This situation has encouraged the sustenance and formation of strong ethnic militia in many parts of the country. This can be attested in the communities involved in conflict such as Tiv-Jukun, Jukun-Kuteb, Igbo-ora, Ife-Modakeke, Hausa/Fulani-Sayawa, Hausa Yoruba of Idi-araba, Pastoralists/Fulani agriculturalists and a few ethnic groups in Warri crisis among others. This situation has forced many members of various ethnic groups to relocate to the areas where they remain the majority in major towns and villages.

In assessing conflict, Malan has asserted thus:

The wider cultural setting of a conflict deserves proper recognition and attention. All over *Nigeria* people have deeply rooted cultural commitment, and in many conflicts in *Nigeria*, this cultural heritage may form at least a noteworthy background or may even play a decisive role (Quoted by Albert 9).

When people from different culture come together, there are often misunderstanding and conflict caused by these differences. We can often explain why people from other cultures behave as they do if we have a more comprehensive understanding of their cultures. We can also often understand why we behave as we do if we are aware of our own culture. More importantly, we can articulate why misunderstanding and conflict will take place when we interact with those who are culturally different if we understand the process of inter-cultural communication (Albert 10).

From the analysis, we can see that there is a serious revivification of traditional cultural values that lend credence to violent aggressive tendencies. These are attested in some of the communal conflicts witnessed in some parts of Nigeria. There is no doubt therefore, that the theory and practice of ethics in Nigeria in large measure is defined, moulded and conditioned by traditional values and social dynamics of social transformation of our societies (Turaki "The problem of Values in the Society--- 12).

5.3 RELIGIOUS VALUES AS SOURCES OF VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA

This section shall look at how religious values and beliefs serve as sources of stimulating violence in Nigeria. The religions to be considered in the context of this work shall be Islam and Christianity. From the survey of the values and beliefs we did in the previous chapter, are there actually beliefs and practices within the scriptures of these two religions that advocate violence? How should the adherents of the two religions react in the face of violence? Should they resort to violence or allow others perpetrate violence on them when attacked? All these are practical questions that demand answers in our contemporary Nigerian situation. For us to continue our discussion on religious values as sources of violence in Nigeria, it is important to consider the findings from our questionnaire before juxtaposing it with what is obtained from literary works of other scholars.

5.3.1 Findings on Ethics of Violence as it Relates to Religious Violence in Nigeria

Three questions were asked in the questionnaire as they relate to religious violence. Efforts were made in such a way that the respondents involved the Muslims and Christians. Though the ratio of Muslims to Christians in respect to the responses elicited from the questionnaire is incomparable, a few responses given by the group of Muslims has given us a basis of discussing some values and beliefs in

Islam, which serve as sources of violence in Nigeria. It is a clear fact that not all Muslims have access to the holy Qur'an. The knowledge and interpretation of the holy Qur'an is solely a prerogative of the Islamic clerics.

Effort was therefore made in such a way that those who were given the questionnaires were learned Muslim clerics in the field of religion or those who are Islamic religious teachers, so that their responses will be a true representation of the teaching of Islam. Our findings will start with Islam.

5.3.1.1. Responses from Muslims

Out of the three hundred and sixty-eight questionnaires received, sixty questionnaires were from Muslims. We shall consider their responses using the tables below:

TABLE 9, THE RESPONSES OF MUSLIMS ON WHETHER THERE IS ANY CONDITION UNDER WHICH THEIR RELIGION PERMITS THEM TO RETALIATE WHEN AGGRIEVED?

OPINION	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL RESPONDENTS
YES	34	56.7%
NO	25	41.7%
UNDECIDED	1	1.6%
TOTAL	60	100%

From the responses, thirty-four out of sixty respondents representing 56.7% agreed that there is a condition under which the religion permits one to retaliate when aggrieved. While twenty-five respondents representing 41.7%, said no, and 1.6% were undecided. Some of the references in the glorious Qur'an which support that there is condition under which Islam is permitted to fight include the following:

Ali, English translated Quaran. 22.39:

Permission to fight (against unbelievers) is given to those believers who are fought against, because they have been wronged and surely Allah is able to give them (believers) victory.

Ali, English translated Quaran. 22.40, also states permission to fight is also given to:

Those who have been expelled from their homes unjustly simply because they said, "our Lord is Allah". For, had it not been that Allah checks one set of people by means of another, monasteries, Churches, Synagogues and Mosques, where in the name of Allah is commensurated in abundance measure would surely have been pulled down. Verily Allah will help those who help His cause. Truly Allah is full of strength and exalted in might.

On the other hand, there are also conditions under which Islam does not permit retaliation, Sura 2:191 says:

But fight them not at sacred mosque, unless they (first fight you there). But if they fight you, slay them, such is the reward of those who suppress faith.

Ali, English translated Quaran. 2.192 also states:

And fight them on until there is no more tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in God. But

if they cease, let there be no hostility except to those who practice oppression.

TABLE 10, THE REASONS UNDER WHICH RESPONSES WERE SOUGHT

OPINION	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL RESPONDENTS
i. For self defence	15	44.1%
ii. I cannot fold my arms to allow myself to be killed.	2	5.9%
iii. If I don't resist, the problem might escalate	0	0%
iv. All of the above	16	47.1%
v. Undecided	1	2.9%
TOTAL	34	100%

Out of thirty-four respondents who said yes, fifteen respondents representing 44.1% agreed that the religion allows them to retaliate for self-defence. Two respondents, representing 5.9%, gave their reasons that they cannot fold their arms to allow themselves to be killed. There are sixteen respondents, representing 47.1%, who agreed with all the above reasons for retaliating. Only one respondent was undecided representing 2.9%.

**TABLE 11, THE RESPONSES OF MUSLIMS WHETHER THEY WILL
ATTACK BACK DESPITE WHAT THEIR RELIGION TEACHES?**

OPINION	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL RESPONDENTS
YES	39	65%
NO	18	30%
UNDECIDED	3	5%
TOTAL	60	100%

From the responses above, thirty-nine respondents, representing 65% said yes, meaning they would attack back despite what their religion teaches. Eighteen respondents, representing 30%, said no, while three respondents, representing 5%, were undecided.

5.3.1.2 Responses From Christians

Out of the three hundred and sixty-eight questionnaires administered, three hundred and eight questionnaires were received from the Christians. It could be seen that, there is huge difference between the number of Muslims who responded and the number of Christians who responded. One of the reasons of limited Muslims respondents is that, not all Muslims have the right to handle and interpret the glorious Quran, because the knowledge and interpretation of the glorious Quran is solely a prerogative of the Islamic clerics.

While on the other hand, in Christianity, the Holy Bible can be handled by both the Clergy and laymen. The Holy Bible can also be read and interpreted by both groups in conjunction with the requisite knowledge of the Holy Bible and the help of some commentaries. However, both laymen and the Clergymen were given the questionnaires. This calls for the huge disparity between the Muslim respondents and the Christian respondents.

**TABLE 12, IF THERE IS ANY CONDITION UNDER WHICH
CHRISTIANITY PERMITS RETALIATION?**

OPINION	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL RESPONDENTS
YES	49	15.9%
NO	253	82.1%
UNDECIDED	6	2%
TOTAL	308	100%

From the response forty-nine respondents representing 15.9% have accepted that, there is a condition under which their religion permits them to retaliate while aggrieved. While two hundred and fifty-three respondents disagreed representing 82.1% of total respondents, six out of the respondents were undecided representing 5%.

Some of the verses most Christians often quote to support retaliation include the following:

Revised Standard Bible. Lk. 22.49-50:

And when those who were around Him (Jesus) saw what would follow, they (disciples) said, Lord, shall we strike with the sword? And one of them struck the slave of the high priest and cut off his right ear.

Revised Standard Bible. Mtt. 5.38:

You have heard that it was said an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.

Revised Standard Bible. Lk. 22.35-38:

And he said to them, when I sent you out with no purse or sandals, did you lack anything? They said nothing. He said to them, but now let him who has a purse take it, and likewise a bag. And let him who has no sword sell his mantle and buy one. And they said, here are two swords, and he said to them it is enough.

On the other hand, some of the verses that teaches non retaliation include the following:

Revised Standard Bible. Mtt. 5.39-42:

But I say to you, do not resist one who is evil. But if anyone strikes you on the right cheek, turn to him the

other also; and if any one would sue you and take your coat, let him have your cloak as well; and if any one forces you to go one mile, go with him two miles. Give to him who begs from you, and do not refuse him who would borrow from you.

Revised Standard Bible. Rm.12.19:

Beloved, never avenge yourselves, but leave it to the wrath of God, for it is written, "vengeance is mine" I will repay, says the Lord.

TABLE 13, REASONS FOR THOSE WHO ANSWERED YES IN THE ABOVE QUESTION, THEIR REASONS ARE SHOWN IN THE TABLE BELOW;

OPINION	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL RESPONDENTS
i. For self defence	19	38.8%
ii. I cannot fold my arms to allow myself to be killed.	10	20.5%
iii. If I don't resist, the problem might escalate	3	6.1%
iv. All of the above	11	22.4%
v. Undecided	6	12.2%
TOTAL	49	100%

Out of the total respondents who said yes, nineteen out of the respondents, representing 38.8%, said they would retaliate for self defence. Ten respondents, representing 2.5%, gave their reason that they can not fold their arms to allow themselves to be killed. Three people representing 6.1%, said if they don't resist, the problem might escalate. Eleven respondents, representing 22.4%, gave their reasons as all of the above, while six people representing 12.2%, were undecided.

TABLE 14, RESPONSES OF THE CHRISTIANS ON WHETHER THEY WILL WANT TO ATTACK BACK IN SPITE WHAT THEIR RELIGION TEACHES?

OPINION	TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL RESPONDENTS
YES	183	59.4%
NO	115	37.4%
UNDECIDED	10	3.2%
TOTAL	308	100%

From the responses, one hundred and eighty-three respondents, representing 59.4%, agreed that, they would attack back despite what their religion teaches, while fifteen respondents, representing 37.4%, said no. And ten respondents, representing 3.2%, were undecided.

5.3.2 Discussion and Analysis of Findings on Ethics of Violence as it relates to Religious Violence in Nigeria

As we asked earlier, is there any evidence within Islam and Christianity that violence is advocated?

5.3.2.1 Analysis of Responses from Muslims

From the responses of the first question on religion about retaliation, we can see that the thirty-four Muslim respondents, representing 56.7%, of total respondents, indicated that, they would retaliate when aggrieved. From these opinions, we can see a direct validation of the teaching of Islam on war, which we have earlier on discussed in the literature review, which indicated that there is a rule of fighting in Islam for self-defence.

In Islam, the glorious Qur'an accepts the necessity of war, but lays down the principle of no coercion in matters of faith. Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him) first tried passive resistance for thirteen years but later allowed self-defence because of the persecution he encountered from his kith and kin (Frymer-Kensky). It is evident that the Prophet became a military leader, attacking and creating an empire (Gabriel 4).

From the above, we can see that Islam is not only defensive as we have seen from the last responses of the thirty-nine respondents, representing 65% of total respondents, but also offensive. Defensive violence is violence undertaken on a reasonable belief that, it is

necessary to protect one's moral rights. But offensive violence is undertaken in order to subjugate someone or otherwise violate his moral rights (Audi 268). It is in this light that we shall look at the concept of jihad as used in Islam.

From the various interpretations of the holy Qur'an translation by Ali, there seems to be no avoidance of jihad and killing of non-Muslims in Islam. There are many provisions that support the practices of jihad. In Surah 9.29, you can see that killing or Jihad is not an option. It is a must because it is Allah's command. There are some verses in the Qur'an that talk about Jihad.

Surah (4.95), says "Allah has preferred in grade those who strive hard and fight with their wealth and their lives above those who sit (at home)". Those who did not participate in Jihad were threatened with hell fire (Sura 9.81).

Gabriel has further relayed that, if any does turn his back to them (unbelievers) on such a day, unless it be in a stratagem of war or to retreat to a troop (of his own) he draws on himself the wrath of Allah, and his abode is hell, an evil refuge indeed (36). Many Islamic scholars agree that Muslims should enforce Jihad on infidels (those who reject Islam and renegades) (Gabriel 4).

How viable and how necessary is the use of jihad in modern times in Nigeria? The history of Jihad in Nigeria can be traced back to

over three centuries waves of Islamic Jihads which swept through the dry-semi-desert regions of West Africa from what is now Senegal across Northern Nigeria. There were in many ways wars of colonization, great armies on horse back establishing powerful feudal empires and firmly establishing the religion of Islam. The most recent of these Jihads were in the 19th century with religious leaders like Usman Dan Fodio reinforcing the great Islamic caliphates of Sokoto, Borno, and others, in what is now northern Nigeria (Isaac "B.B.C. News Report).

But it is regrettable today that, the use of the concept Jihad has been down played or misrepresented by many Nigerian Muslims for political and economic reasons. According to classical Islamic law as we have discussed in our previous presentations, a Jihad must be fought for the ultimate good of Muslim faith. It should not be used simply for economic or political gain. The kind of legitimate warfare allowed in Islam includes wars against infidels and apostates, and must be declared and conducted by a Muslim ruler of a state.

One then wonders about the declaration of a Jihad in Zangon Kataf by some Muslim faithfuls during the 1987 inter-religious crisis and other related cases. Worst still is the declaration of a "fatwa" by Mamudu Aliyu Shinkafi against Isioma Daniel, the journalist whose article in *Today Newspapers* triggered the protest against hosting the

“Miss World” pageant, and encouraged Muslims to kill her (Human Rights Watch). It is noticeable that those declaring a “Jihad,” or “fatwa” in Nigeria are not Muslim leaders of a “state” or country, nor “qadis” (judge), “Muftis”, or Muslim legal scholars. Such people are thus unqualified to make any declaration. Moreso many of those who declare “Jihad” or “fatwa” in Nigeria do not follow the procedures that the Islamic law requires.

On the other hand, while the Umma or Muslim community has a duty to “expand the territory of the state,” the doctrine of Jihad forbids among other things, the killing of non-combatants like children, women and old people. One cannot therefore rule out from the various “Islamic Jihads” in the country, especially among the Maitatsine if these category of people were not killed considering the enormity and inestimable number of people killed in the various crises.

Some Muslims have also consciously or unconsciously endorsed the use of “Jihad” in defending the course of Islam. We may argue that if the course of the Jihads in the early history of Islam were to fight the “pagans” or “infidels” what has then been the cause of Christian–Muslims conflicts in Nigeria, whose adherents are neither pagans nor infidels? Put together, the population of Muslims and Christians far supercede that of pagans in Nigeria. Worst still is the fact that some of the religious violence perpetrated in Nigeria have

been between Muslims themselves, as in the case of Maitasine revolts in the early 1980s.

There is no doubt when Muhip Opeleye stressed that the Muslim relationships with the adherents of other faiths in the early history of Islam was characterized by aggression, treachery, break of trust and violation of treaties culminating in perpetual warfare despite the efforts of Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) to promote cooperation and harmony between them. It is also enigmatic that the Muslim relations with the Christians of Nigeria who are neither "infidels", nor "pagans" is marred by dissension, acrimony, rancour, and discord leading to perpetual religious crisis and controversies which have constituted a threat to the stability of the nation (Opeleye 98).

In the past few years, relations between Muslims and Christians in Nigeria have been severely strained with sporadic outbreaks of violence related to the introduction of Islamic sharia law. Although some aspects of Islamic law have been integrated into the legal system of northern Nigeria since the early colonial period, it was the recent extension of these laws in the north to include harsh criminal punishments that generated such a controversy. These sharia punishments include stoning to death for the crime of adultery, amputation of limbs for theft, and flogging for the possession of alcohol. Although non-Muslims in these states are not governed by

such laws, there is a strong feeling among Christians that the new laws represent an increasing Islamisation of northern Nigeria and with it an intolerance of other faiths (Isaacs). The Christians feel that the Sharia criminal law should be introduced by the learned Islamic scholars in a country that is predominantly muslims. It was introduced through politics and by politicians who happened to be Muslims. Thus, the situation will also marginalize Christians in Muslim-dominated areas and thereby prevent them certain fundamental human rights, which will eventually lead to aggressive violent tendencies.

It would seem from section 38 of the 1999 constitution of Nigeria that sharia still remains a personal law and not applicable to a territorial expanse. The sharia is appropriate where the total population is Muslim. Serious problems do arise where non-Muslim populations no matter how small, are involved for the issue is no longer a matter of majority rights of the individual (Wambutda 99). Though governor Ahmed Sani of Zamfara State had on several occasions taken great pains to stress that sharia would apply only to Muslims, and that other religions would not be affected, the introduction of sharia seems to deny basic human rights to the minority Christian population in northern Nigeria, thereby tempering with the rights of Nigerians under international human rights standards and the Nigerian constitution (Shea 36 and 15).

The denial of basic fundamental human rights includes, inter-alia, discrimination against Christians in education and access to media. The educational curricula used in public schools in many of the northern states in Nigeria are systematically set at the disadvantage of Christians. In many of these states, Christian children have not been allowed to be taught Christian Religious Knowledge, and teachers who specialize in teaching those courses have been denied jobs. Meanwhile, a state curriculum in Islamic religious knowledge (IRK) is compulsory for all students. Infact, the teaching of Christian religious knowledge in primary and secondary schools is almost officially cancelled, despite the fact that there are children and teachers in these schools that can be recruited (Shea 55).

Access to the media was a problem for non-Muslims in the north before the new wave of sharia, but with the introduction of sharia, it has now become worse. Muslim programs dominated the airwaves in the government-owned broadcast stations, while Christians are systematically excluded in some places. For example, in Zamfara State, the State radio station does not accept commercials or paid advertisements containing Christian themes, while itl does so for Islamic groups and Islamic religious programs. Similar restrictions are also extended to some northern states practising sharia (Shea 52).

Further serious implications for the introduction of full blown sharia is the system of *dhimmi*, which, it is argued, would protect the interest of the non-Muslim minority populations. However, in actual practice, the system ends up dehumanising the human person and even disenfranchising him/her as seen in other countries. For example, a *dhimmi* might be required to put on identification wear, live in designated areas, and may not vote. But Nigeria should not behave as if the sharia issue had not been raised before. It had been there, but it remained as a personal law. Thus, to promulgate the sharia in areas where non-Muslims of any size exist would appear ominous as demonstrated in the last sharia crises in Kaduna and Gombe states (Wambutda 10).

5.3.2.2. Analysis of Responses from the Christians

Three hundred and eight (308) questionnaires were received from Christians. Out of these responses, forty-nine respondents, representing 15.9%, agreed that there is a condition under which their religion permits them to retaliate when aggrieved. An overwhelming two hundred and fifty-three respondents, representing 82.1%, said there was no condition under which their religion permitted them to retaliate while aggrieved. Those who said there was a condition for retaliation gave their reasons for self-defence. Out of the forty-nine

respondents, nineteen respondents, representing 38.8%, agreed that they would retaliate for self-defence.

But one hundred and eighty-three out of three hundred and eight respondents, representing 59.4%, have indicated that they would attack somebody who would want to take away their lives despite what the religion teaches. One hundred and ninety-five one hundred and ninety-five respondents, representing 37.4%, said they will not attack back.

The above responses show that a greater number of Christians have the potency to fight back despite what their religion teaches. What has called for this attitude? What is the scriptural teaching of Christianity in respect to retaliation and self-defence? What are the present attitudes of Christians towards violence and violent actions in Nigeria today?

The scriptural teaching of Christianity on retaliation and self-defence is clear. Revised Standard Bible. Mt 5. 38-42 has indicated to us what should be the Christian attitude towards retaliation as follows:

You have heard that it was said, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. But I say to you, do not resist one who is evil. But if any one strikes you on the right cheek, turn to him the other also; and if anyone would sue you and take your coat, let him have your cloak as well; and if anyone forces you to go one mile, go with him two miles. Give to him who begs from you, and do not refuse him who would borrow from you.

These verses need no further explanations. They should be accepted in their literal context. Infact, for Christians the biblical teaching and the totality of the life of Jesus Christ abhors violence either for personal or communal life. What has then turned the Christian attitude from passive compliance to active violence? This can be traced back during the periods of church tradition and the crusades.

Thus, some of our religious traditions see violence as an integral part of nature. When Christianity was developing, it took over Rome and developed imperial modes of considering conquest and warfare leading to a long bloody history of armed conquest, forced conversion, and wars against heretics and crusades (Frymer-Kensky 48).

We may accept the opinion of Thomas Madden that crusades are generally portrayed as a series of "holy" wars against Islam led by powerful Popes and fought by religious fanatics. It is seen as a breed of proto-imperialists that introduced Western aggression to the Middle East (Maden "The Real History of Crusades").

It is assertive that the crusades to the East were in every way defensive wars. They were direct responses to Muslim aggression. An attempt to turn back or defend against Muslim conquest of Christian lands (Abubakar 35).

However, while Muslims can be peaceful, Islam was born in war and grew the same way. From the time of Prophet Muhammad

(p.b.u.h.) the means of Muslim expansion was always a sword. Muslim thought divided the world into two spheres, the abode of Islam and the abode of war. Christianity and any other non-Muslim religions have no abode. Christians and Muslims can be tolerated within a Muslim state under Muslim rule. But in the traditional Islam, Christian and Jewish States must be destroyed and their lands conquered. Thus, when Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) was against Mecca in the seventh century, Christianity was the dominant religion of power and wealth. As the faith of Roman Empire, it spanned the entire Mediterranean, including the Middle East where it was born. The Christian world therefore became a prime target of the earliest caliphs (Maden).

With enormous energy, the warriors of Islam struck out against Christians shortly after Prophet Muhammad's (p.b.u.h.) death. They were extremely successful in Palestine, Syria and Egypt, once the most heavily Christian areas in the world quickly succumbed. By the eight-century, Muslim armies had conquered all of the Christian North Africa and Spain. In the eleventh century, the Seljuk Turks conquered Asia Minor (modern Turkey), which had been Christian since the time of Saint Paul. The Roman Empire known to modern historians as the Byzantine Empire, was reduced to little more than Greece. In desperation, the emperor in Constantinople sent word to the Christians of Western Europe asking them to aid their brothers and sisters in

Egypt. That is what gave birth to the crusades. They were not the brainchild of an ambitious pope or rapacious knights, neither was it a biblical obligation. But it was a response to more than four centuries of conquest in which Muslims had already captured two thirds of the old Christian world. At some point, Christianity as a faith and a culture had to defend itself or be subsumed by Islam. The crusades were that defence (Maden).

Thus, looking at the historical record, the Muslim approach to war and violence does not differ greatly from Christians' in the very ancient and very modern periods. While Muslims, perhaps more frequently than Christians, made war against the followers of other faiths to bring them within the scope of Islam, Christians, with the notable exception of the crusades were more prone to fight internal religious wars or violence against those whom they saw as schismatics or heretics. Islam, no doubt owing to the political and military involvement of its founder, takes what one might call a more pragmatic view. Its position is nearer to that of the earlier books in the Old Testament, and to the doctrine of smiting the Amalekites, rather than to the prophets and the Gospels. Muslims are not instructed to "turn the other cheek," nor do they expect to "beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks." These injunctions did not of course prevent Christians from waging a series of bloody

wars of religion within Christendom and wars of aggression outside (Lewis 126).

Coming down to Nigeria, what has been the attitude of the Nigerian Christians towards violence? The sensitivity of religious faiths has been manipulated too many times to make violence seem more acceptable in Nigeria. Often than not we hear of some Christian leaders and clergy declare a "crusade." They at times declare that there is a right condition under which justifiable war or violence can be undertaken.

It is important to note that from the 1980s, the physical burning of Churches, Christian property (looted or burned) and the killing of Christians have characterized the nature of violent conflicts especially in the northern states of Nigeria. In the light of persistent physical persecution in the affected states, it changed the attitudes of Christians to active violent actions.

From the analysis of attitudes towards war and violence in our literature review, we can summarize two major attitudes that seem acceptable by Christians in Nigeria today. These are pacifism and just-war. Pacifism defies participation in any act of violence in the face of any kind of confrontation. This has been the characteristic of most Christians from the period of missionary endeavour in Nigeria up to the early 1980s. But from the late 1980s, especially from 1987, during the

Kafanchan crisis, this attitude changed from passive compliance to active violence. This has justified the just-war violent tradition prevailing up to now.

The just-war attitude guarantees participation in some wars, especially in self-defence against an aggressor. It also states that it is right to participate in a war to execute justice and to fight for government. Most Christians in conflict-affected areas in Nigeria today subscribe to this attitude. Moreso, one cannot sit down to watch his family wiped out. This attitude is backed by the fact that a Christian is bound to obey the government that enlists his support. It is also right to participate in wars at the command of the government whether it is just or unjust, because God ordains government and authority.

The above attitudes have influenced many Christians towards violent conflicts in Nigeria today. This can be seen from the background of reprisal attacks decimated by Christians against Muslims at the slightest provocation. There are also opinions expressed by many Christians that being a Christian is not synonymous to cowardice. This is clearly exemplified in the words of Christian leaders at the eve of "Miss World" Kaduna riots in November, 2002. They stated thus:

While we do not provoke, we shall no longer tolerate any act of provocation, killing, maiming or burning of our churches by anybody for no wrong committed by us as we

shall return fire for fire enough is enough (Human Rights Watch).

Other Christian leaders also warned that the desire for retaliation may become unstoppable. For example, the Chairman of the Federal Capital Territory (Abuja Chapter) of the Christian Association of Nigeria (C.A.N.) was quoted as saying:

We are law-abiding citizens and we expect the government to protect us, but if the government at various levels fails to protect us, our people will be left with no option but to defend and protect themselves by whatever means available to them. At that point no church leader or sermon will be able to stop them (Human Rights Watch).

The above statements justify the advocacy of "self defence," for the protection of oneself. The "tit for tat," or "slap me I slap you," syndrome has become a major attitude of Christians in Nigeria today. During crisis, Christians who attack Muslims, make people to recite some verses or fill the gap of some statements. For example, some people are normally asked to recite Revised Standard Bible. Jn. 3.16 or are asked to fill in the blank the following statement; "in the name of the father, the son, and...." Some Muslims who were unable to recite the verse or give any contrary statement were immediately beheaded. A lot of Christians have denounced the biblical injunction in Matt. 5.39 which says, "if someone slaps you on the right cheek turn to him the other also." Some Christians have argued that all the cheeks have been slapped and the only alternative left now is to react or fight back.

Other Christians also reiterated that Jesus Christ asked Peter after cutting off the ear of one of those who came to arrest him to return the sword to its sheath. They contend that during crises, that is the right time to use the sword for war. Thus, looking at the way Christians were beheaded and butchered during religious crises in Nigeria, it becomes inevitable for Christians to fight in order to defend themselves and their faith, a resurgence of "modern crusades." In many cases, some Christians quote or make references to the wars fought by Israelites and how God used them in various wars of conquests.

Religion has significantly escalated the tempo and the scale of violence in various forms and dimensions in Nigeria. Religion has also become a source of social differentiation and discrimination in Nigeria. Religious leaders should discourage their adherents in using religion as a source of social differentiation and discrimination. It has further become discernible basis for the emergence and formation of militant identity groups. Recent conflicts in some parts of the country, especially in northern Nigeria, saw a spontaneous religious segregation of residential settlements of major cities in Kaduna, Kano and Jos. This attests to the fact that such groups are fundamentalists. For instance, the Kaduna metropolis was divided into two after the devastating ethno-religious crises of February and May 2000.

Adherents of Christianity relocated to the southern parts of the city tagged, "Jerusalem." Their Muslim counterparts relocated en mass to the northern portion of the city regarded as "Mecca." Similarly, in the aftermath of September 7th 2002, ethno-religious violence in the central Nigerian city of Jos, people spontaneously relocated to parts of the city in which they believed their religious affiliate kith and kins were in the majority (Gandu 1).

From the foregoing, we can accept that the religious beliefs and practices in Nigeria can be said to induce crises. Below is a catalogue of some of the well-known religious crisis in Nigeria.

TABLE 15, THE PREVALENCE OF RELIGIOUS VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA, FROM 1980-2002

DATE	INCIDENT	KIND OF VIOLENCE	LOCATION
December, 1980	Maitatsine Uprising	Religious	Yan Awaki Kano
October, 1982	“	“	Kaduna and Maiduguri
February, 1984	“	“	Jimeta-Yola
February, 1984	Muslim – Christian Clash	“	Ilorin
April, 1985	Maitatsine Uprising	“	Gombe
March, 1986	Muslim-Christian Clash	“	Ilorin
May, 1986	Muslim Students Society protest	“	Uthman Dan Fodio University, Sokoto
March, 1987	Muslim-Christian Conflict	Ethno-religious	Tingno-Waduku, Lamurde L.G.A. Adamawa State.
March, 1987	Muslim-Christian Conflict	Religious	Kafanchan, Zaria, Kaduna and other parts of the state.
June, 1987	Muslim-Christian Conflict	“	Bayero University, Kano
February, 1988	Muslim-Christian Conflict	“	Kaduna Polytechnic
April, 1988	Muslim sect versus others	“	Zuru, Kebbi state
June, 1988	Muslim-Christian Conflict	“	Ahmadu Bello University (ABU) Zaria.
June, 1988	Muslim-Christian Conflict	“	Bauchi, Gombe Darazo and Azare
June, 1988	Muslim-Christian Conflict	“	Bayero University Kano.
May, 1990	Muslim-Christian Conflict	“	Sokoto, Sokoto state.
May, 1990	Muslim-Christian Conflict	“	Makarfi, Kaduna state.
June, 1990	Muslim-Christian Conflict	“	Bauchi
March, 1991	Muslim Protest (Shiite group)	“	Katsina, Katsina state.
April, 1991 & 2000-2001	Seyawa-Hausa/Fulani Conflicts	Ethno-religious	Tafawa Balewa, Bauchi State.
October, 1991	Muslim protest against Bonnke	Religious	Kano, Kano State.
February, 1992	Kataf-Hausa Conflict	Ethno-religious	Zangon Kataf, Kaduna state.
March, 1992	Muslim-Christian Conflict	Religious	Jalingo, Taraba state.
January, 1993	Muslim-Christian Conflict	“	Funtua, Kaduna State.
November, 1999	Hausa/Fulani versus oro cult members	“	Lagos, Lagos State.
December, 1999	Hausa/Fulani-Christian Conflict	“	Kaduna, Kaduna State.
February, 2000	Reprisal attacks on Hausa/Fulani as a result of Sharia crisis in the north.	“	Aba, Abia State.
February, 2000	Reprisal attacks on Hausa/Fulani	“	Ondo state
March, 2000	Religious riots between Christians and Muslims	“	Dambua, Borno State
May, 2000	Clash between Christians & Muslims	“	Kaduna Metropolis, Kaduna State.
September 2000	Sharia crisis	Ethno-religious	Kaltungo, Gombe State
September 2000-2003	Conflicts in Jos Metropolis and environs	“	Plateau State
June, 2001	Muslim-Christian Conflict	Religious	Bauchi
September, 2001	Muslim-Christian Conflict	“	Gusau, Zamfara

Sources: *Tell Magazine*, September 21, 2001; *Tell Magazine*, October 2001; *The Voice Magazine* No.41, June 2001-June 2003; Compilation by Yusufu Bala Usman in *The Scope Newspaper*, February 17-23, 2002.

5.4 COLONIAL VALUES AS SOURCES OF VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA

It is important to briefly look at the relationship between the colonial government and the Christian missionaries as well as the emirate system in Northern Nigeria. This will give us a focus to see how the colonial value system serves as a source of violence in contemporary Nigeria.

It is worthy to note that while colonial conquest was going on, the missionaries were simultaneously working hand in hand with them. For this reason Christianity was perceived by many Muslims as representing the underlying fabric of both Western culture and secularisation. With the introduction of the Christian value system, many Muslims felt it to be incumbent upon themselves to resist their foreign encroachment. In fact many emirs were suspicious of Christian missions and banned them in their own emirates. In most cases, the colonial administration accepted this. This colonial "modus vivendi" with Muslim emirs and Ulama gave Islam a prestigious position in northern Nigeria (Steed and Westerlund 73).

On the other hand, it is important to note that the missionary endeavour in the northern region was plagued with a lot of problems with their colonial "partners". There were constant frictions between the missionaries and the colonial administrators. One of these areas was in the area of related forces labour. The missionaries were not

happy with the way the colonial government used natives as it was during Islamic and Arabic slave trade, especially in Adamawa. Kumm, testified this where he was quoted as saying:

There are hundreds of natives, unfed and unpaid, employed in strengthening the fort at Garua and there are thousands of natives working on the roads. All their labourers are just slaves sent by various chiefs to work off the taxes the tribe should pay. The half-starved skin and bone bodies of these workers are a lamentable sight (Quoted in Boer 8).

Colonial administration at this time was politicking to get control of the Sokoto caliphate and Kanem Borno Empire and did not give full positive support to the missionaries. Whether it was in Pategi, Bida, Wase, Pankshin, Zaria and Kano, colonial administrators warned their white missionaries of Islamic lack of co-operation to interfere with Islam, especially in the emirate mandate environment. After the defeat of the Sokoto caliphate and Kanem Borno Empire. Sir F. Lugard placed non-Muslim communities under the emirate system and the colonial masters restricted missionary movement and activities to these northern non-Muslim communities. These non-Muslim communities are today referred to as Middle Belt, comprising of Niger, Kaduna, Plateau, Benue, Taraba, and some parts of Adamawa, Yobe, Bauchi and Gombe states. Generally, Christianity in northern Nigeria was persecuted, opposed, and hated by most emirates right from the earliest attempts to introduce the religion into the north (Lekwot 7-8).

In most parts of the area referred to as Middle Belt, Fulani-Hausa hegemony and Islam have been strongly opposed by the minor ethnic groups, most of which have been Christian during the 20th century. Thus, with the support of the British colonial administration, the Fulani- Hausa gained political power and control over many of the indigenous non-Muslim groups, and a deep rooted antagonism evolved between the Muslim Fulani/Hausa elite and the indigenous non-Muslim populations of these areas. As Christianity expanded in the Middle Belt, it became a defining element in the ethnic identities and a religion of resistance against Fulani/Hausa Muslim hegemony. In the 1980s and 1990s, this historical pattern of political conflict has escalated old antagonisms between the Fulani/Hausa and the indigenous population. All of these violent confrontations have involved crucial religious dimensions, as they have been widely perceived. Many of these confrontations in the northern Nigeria attest to this (Kastfelt 47).

5.4.1 The Colonial Legacy of Inequality and Discrimination as Sources of Conflict In Post-Colonial Nigeria

The colonial social order was characterized by the establishment of districts, provinces, and regions based upon racial or ethnic inequality and the patterns of dominance –subordination relationships between ethnic groups and regions. There is also the differential treatment of ethnic groups and regions, stratified inequality in political, social and economic spheres, as well as the creation of new ethnic

hierarchy and tribal social units (Turaki "Ethical and Cultural Foundations--- 19).

Colonial policies also led to the development of negative social values such as, elitism, greed, dominance, aggressiveness, exploitation, social status, parochialism, ethnicity, regionalism and so on. The pattern of ethnic relations within such a social order, and even that of individuals or religions, would no doubt reflect confused and uncommon and competing socio-political values and incoherent social structures of incompatibility, inequality and insecurity which grew up only to reinforce sub-national values, identity and authority. The pattern of dominance and subordination between ethnic groups and regions was an acceptable social norm and political practice with the colonial system. This colonial legacy was what brought about the downfall of the first republic in 1966 and ushered in the military. The military inherited the unjust social structures and values of the colonial era. Thus, the policies, administrative practices and attitudes of the colonial administration towards ethnic and religious groups were based upon some values which further included, the social, cultural and religious differences of ethnic groups and the colonial concept of inequality of races, or ethnic groups. This situation had led to the practice of racial or tribal inequality and injustice as part of government policy. There was differential treatment of ethnic groups,

stratified inequality, and the blatant denial of some ethnic groups, equal participation, representation and opportunities to the colonial system (Turaki, The British Colonial Legacy--- 7).

Under colonialism, the social, cultural conflicts between various communities were somewhat incorporated and internalised. In effect, the potential for future ethnic or cultural conflict among communities which have been developed and nurtured separately and in isolation of each other existed (Turaki "Religion, Values and Ethics---" 8) Osaghae has lamented:

Ethnic conflict has even continued to be the Achilles heel of the postcolonial Nigeria. This followed the period of independence when there was intense rivalry among the emergent elite who found the ethnic weapon most expedient in the competition for state power (83).

This differentiation and inequality is further seen in the political policy and practice that certain ethnic groups were systematically denied or alienated from any active political role or participation within the colonial hierarchical structure at the local, provincial, regional and national level. New racial theories under colonialism were introduced, such as innate or biological superiority or inferiority of races or ethnic groups or cultures of faiths. Colonial rationalization of the superiority of certain races or ethnic groups over others consolidated the pre-colonial tribal myths and religious differences and stereotypes. With the colonial support this gave collective pride of particular racial group

or tribe a rational and so-called scientific basis to an extent that the pattern of relations between the ethnic and religious groups is characterized by discrimination, prejudice, intolerance, aggressive and sometimes overt conflicts (Turaki, "Religion Values and Ethics---" 9-10).

Ciroma has also corroborated that the improved values, which are supposed to determine the conduct of our public affairs, have not been internalised even by the operators of the system and cannot serve as an effective deterrent to modify our behaviour and check our excesses. The inherent disharmony created by the imposition of values and thought-system of colonial experience and morality has served and is still serving as an obstacle towards nationalism, patriotism and discipline in our quest for national stability and development (Cited in Tukur 1).

The long-term consequences of colonial socio-political policies and values can be seen in the institutionalisation of socio-political conflict between ethnic groups and religions, the uneven social, political, economic and educational development between ethnic groups and regions, the development of social and historical advantages or disadvantages of ethnic groups and or religions in the colonial and post-colonial systems. It also leads to the continuity of the unjust colonial structures and values in the post-colonial Nigeria. It

further brought in the setting up of unbalanced political system at the centre of three regions and the introduction of the politics of population and domination. All these established colonial, social and moral order became the foundations for religious and communal conflict and social and ethical crisis in the post-colonial Nigeria (Turaki, "Ethical and Cultural Foundations ---" 19-20).

5.5 WESTERN/MODERN VALUES AS SOURCES OF VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA

Modern values in Nigeria emerged as a result of colonialism. Since the establishment of British administration in Nigeria, Western economic forces have profoundly changed both the structure of traditional societies and the perspectives of Nigerian peoples. The tempo and character of the changes created situations and attitudes that have predisposed many Nigerians to racial consciousness and nationalist activity. These new forces were governed by the British policies and operated through the establishment of internal peace and security, imposition of a systematic and universal taxation, compulsory use of a standard coin currency and development of a communication network and transportation. In particular, the establishment of internal peace and security, the development of communications and roads and the imposition of a common currency permitted far greater mobility and social communication than had previously been possible in the traditional societies (Coleman 63).

Modern values were characterized by the transportation of western values, which were entirely foreign. These modern values, which cropped up from the emergent social process tried to displace the traditional ones. At the initial stage of colonialism, Nigerians' attitudes to the emergent new values differed from person to person. It became a more widespread and commonplace phenomenon that cut across the ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds. Such values are further fostered by features of civilization and urbanization that are based on an impersonal type of life rather than on cooperate living. This led to the emergence of certain social values that are based upon elitism, greed, aggressiveness, exploitation and parochialism (Imo, "Traditional Moral Values---" 12).

Another factor that has brought about the emergence of new values is urbanization. The concentration of people into the cities of the world is one of the most powerful forces in our society. It has often had the effect of breaking family ties, uprooting traditional values, and alienating the mass of people from the rhythm of country life, which made belief in God very natural. The effective modern instruments for these western values have been the mass media. Today the rich African means of inculcating morals in the homes is sparingly observed. In its place, are western-oriented television and radio programmes that only lead to the adulteration of children's

world-views and thought patterns. Violent and pornographic films and documents have also become a common feature on our screens and other places (McGrath and Green 31).

This chapter has attempted to look at the different value systems as sources of violence in Nigeria, using qualitative and quantitative approaches. Most specifically, the traditional and religious value systems were assessed using the two approaches. The colonial legacy of inequality and discrimination as a source of conflict in post-colonial Nigeria was also discussed. The next chapter will consider media, morality and violence.

CHAPTER SIX

MEDIA MORALITY AND VIOLENCE

6.1 PREAMBLE

The influence of westernisation and modernisation has brought about exposure to the media. Media refers to the technological services used or extended to share information and ideas with many people in many places. Media includes radio, television, newspapers, magazines and books (Chaba 69).

The main concern of this chapter, therefore, is to consider the effects of media violence on the attitudes of Nigerians. An attempt is made to see the role of media in determining the goodness or the badness of violence.

For convenience, we shall consider television, newspapers, and magazines for our discussion on media, morality and violence. The reason for considering television is because it takes a greater part of our entertainment industry in Nigeria. With the advancement of technology, the world has become a global village, especially through television services. It is also common to watch programmes and films on television depicting cases of violent conflicts that affect many countries in the world today. Moreso, we witness the glorification of violent-oriented films being shown on the television, such as, boxing,

wrestling, war films and so on. There is no doubt when Seymour Spillerman asserted:

The importance of television as a vehicle for the propagation of violent acts is not restricted to racial disorders. There is considerable evidence that skyjackings, prison riots, bomb threats and aggressive crimes of other sorts have been spread by television and the other mass media (Spillerman 790).

It therefore becomes important to look at moral justification or otherwise of this phenomenon. We will also consider some provocative speeches and opinions relayed by papers, especially newspapers and magazines, and to see how they are capable of inducing aggression, thereby leading to violent actions among Nigerians. It becomes necessary to consider the above phenomenon, in order to see how we can curtail the excesses of these provocative statements and to see how we can maintain peace and public morality.

6.2 PUBLICATIONS AND VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA

The concern of this section is to see how media publications in the form of newspapers and magazines can induce aggressive tendencies towards violence in Nigeria. Consideration shall be given to few excerpts.

The pre-war political scene in Nigeria was full of both verbal and physical conflicts of the two major religions, Christians and Muslims. The records are full of outrageous statements made by people who should have known better. Apparently, in emotional outbursts in the

heart of religio-political rivalries, Alhaji Ahmadu Ribadu, a one time Minister of Defence in Nigeria's first Republic, was reported by the *Newbreed Magazine* of mid January 1967 to have said:

The political conquest of the south (of Nigeria) was an obligation that the Northern Nigeria Peoples Congress owed to the world of Islam. The Holy Qur'an had to be dipped into the Atlantic Ocean before the jihad would stop (Nwankwo 71).

The climate in which this kind of statement was made and cheered was largely party to the ruin of first Republic and the eventual civil war (Nwankwo 71).

The late Sheikh Abubakar Gumi, in an interview with *This Week Magazine* of April 1987, was quoted as saying:

Christians go to church to sing and look at women; in Christianity there are no rules, no regulations, no anything. Christianity doesn't mean anything; if Christians do not accept Muslims as their leader, we have to divide the country.... Once you are a Muslim, you cannot accept to choose a non-Muslim to be your leader (Today's Challenge Magazine 1990:7).

Late Rev. Benson Idahosa, in *Quality Magazine*, also presented a similar inciting statement as quoted by Akanmidu:

Christians are in the majority in Nigeria and that the Muslims are less than 30% and that 1992 general election would prove this when Christian President would emerge.

The above types of statements are fanatically imbued with contempt, disdain and intolerance, a scar capable of triggering unprecedented violence.

The misuse of freedom of speech by both Muslim and Christian enthusiasts is also another issue capable of inducing anger, which can lead to violence. A good example of such statements is that made by Zeenat, one of the leaders of the Islamic Organisation of Nigeria (Imo Religion and The Unity--- 26). This statement was published in an international magazine. It reads:

Our lives are governed by *Kafri* laws, so as Muslims, what role have we to play in a system which is not operated in accordance with laws of Allah? The only thing the Muslim community can do is to break away from this *Jahiliyya* and strife to set up in its place the system which Allah has designed for us. This is what Shehu Uthman did, and he succeeded in dismantling the *Kafri* system.... This is what we are trying to do (Imo, Religion and The Unity---26).

Among Christians, this can take the form of evangelising the gospel. Sometimes, zealous Christians condemn Muslims openly. This was the cause of the religious disturbance in Kafanchan in 1987 when a young man invited as a guest speaker by Christian students was accused by their Muslim counterparts of having misrepresented Islam in his preaching. Christian students were also accused of putting up posters that gave the impression that the institution belonged to Christians. The posters read "Kafanchan College For Jesus" (Imo, Religion and the Unity--- 26).

There are also myriad of statements by individual religious bodies and government as relayed in the media on matters that involved Christians and Muslims that led to instability in Nigeria. Yusuf

Bala Usman, has presented a catalogue of some of these controversial issues such as religious implication of the assassination of the Late General Murtala R. Mohammed, the sharia debate, Maitatsine saga that swept northern Nigeria, the provocative religious sentiments of the Ahmadu Bello University (ABU) students and the reaction of some ABU lecturers which was also published in the *New Nigerian* (Usman 11-16).

With the recent demilitarisation of Nigeria and a crippled police force, youth groups all over Nigeria have entered into the realm of "policing". Many journalists consider the O'odua Peoples Congress (OPC), the Bakassi Boys, and "Yan daba," to be mercenaries navigating a fragmented political space. But these groups, wittingly or not, are tied to larger political and cultural associations (Casey 12).

For instance, the lead story in the Muslim-founded magazine *Weekly Trust*, describes "Yan daba" as a future Islamic army by saying:

The 'yan daba' a reserve army of unemployed youths have acted in the ways that suggest that they can metamorphose into a tribal army some day. In 1999, when Hausa residents of Shagamu town in Ogun State had a clash with their Yoruba hosts, it was the 'yan daba' group that organized a reprisal attack against Yoruba residents in Kano (1-2).

In an interview about the Muslim Yoruba killing Hausa in Lagos the Secretary General of the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs was quoted as saying:

We have too many nominal Muslims in the south who are ignorant of their religion.... They can be used by some other people who think that sharia is a monster which they must attack (Casey 14).

Before and after the attack of the World Trade Centre in the United States of America (U.S.A.), anti-American Media Reports have become increasingly common. The authors of these reports in Nigeria argue the need for *sharia* as a way for Muslims to separate physically, psychologically, and economically from "infidels", especially Nigerian Christians and imperialists, but also "marginal" Muslims who may break spiritual/political unity. Muslim journalists highlight the arrogance and brutality of the United States bombings in Iraq, holding Americans responsible for untold deaths and destruction. They recount the plight of Palestinians and the need for Muslims to fight against social injustice. Osama Bin Laden's stickers began to adorn Kano buses and motorcycles, while hundreds of youths joined the *Hisbah* or *sharia* enforcers and wider network of separatist Muslims. "*Yan daba*" and *Hisbah* attempt to attach themselves effectively and to be attached to other Muslims in a world where local conflicts become global and global conflicts become local.

Over the past years many stories like these and others not mentioned here progressively escalated local incidents and disputes of their perceived context, aggregating them by narrowing their detail (Casey 14).

Another area where the media reports seem to aggravate aggressive tendencies towards violence is in the display of pictures and captions that depict violence on the front page of some magazines.

Below are a few magazines cited among many others:

TABLE 16, SOME EDITIONS OF MAGAZINES THAT DEPICT VIOLENT CAPTIONS

S/NO.	NAME OF MAGAZINE AND DATE	FRONT PAGE CAPTION
1.	Newswatch Magazine, June 12, 1989.	SAP Sparks Riots.
2.	Citizen Magazine, vol. 11, No. 43, Oct. 21-28, 1991.	Carnage in Kano.
3.	Citizen Magazine, Vol. 3, No. 21. May 25-31, 1992.	Genocide in Kaduna.
4.	Hotline Magazine, Vol. 5, No. 2, Oct. 29, 2000	We've had enough –As OPC kill Northerners in Lagos.
5.	The News Magazine, Vol. 17, No. 12, 23 Sept., 2001.	Crazy Fanatics of Jos; Thousands killed for nothing.
6.	Insider Magazine, No. 23, Oct. 22, 2001.	Fears over military Takeover. Unease in barracks.
7.	Tell Magazine, No. 44, Oct. 5, 2001.	Kano-Anarchists target more cities.
8.	Tell magazine, No. 45, Nov. 5, 2001.	Benue Massacre, How the Soldiers were captured and Slaughtered.
9.	Tell Magazine, No. 46, Nov. 12, 2001.	Benue Tragedy-why Malu's House was destroyed.
10.	The Week Magazine, Vol. 15, No. 8 Nov. 19, 2001.	Guns, Guns Everywhere, * Ethnic Warlords Stockpile Arms. *Aba's Bloody Day, Bakassi Behead Traders
11.	Newswatch Magazine Feb. 18, 2002.	Madness and Mayhem-OPC vs Hausa in Lagos.
12.	The News, Vol. 18, No. 26, 1 July, 2002.	Why I killed my Mum: The story of a Judge killed by her son.

From the foregoing, it can clearly be seen that newspaper reports and magazines, as shown above, have contributed a lot in shaping the morality of many people towards violence, while others have fallen victims of some of the sensational statements relayed.

6.3 HOME VIDEO OR "NIGERIAN FILMS"

Nigerian films have become household names in many families today in Nigeria. Unfortunately, most of these films are tinted with violent activities. Victor Dugga and Simon Mwadkwon have corroborated this by saying:

Some of the Nigerian films are full of spiritual encounters between the forces of good and evil. These forces of evil are often represented as witches, "juju", "herbalists", "ritual murders", "rapists", and economic criminals. Good is most of the time represented by adherents of Christianity or Islam, a Church or a Mosque. Most of these films have the good versus evil theme (Dugga and Mwadkwon 88).

Tamuno has broadly given us a catalogue of some violent crimes in Nigeria which are usually depicted in most of the Nigerian films. These violent crimes include, armed robbery, kidnapping, brutal murder, assassination, ritual murders, violence in the family scene, vehicular violence, accidental violence, witchcraft purges and scares (Tamuno chapter 6).

It is to be noted that most of these Nigerian films are normally produced for domestic and foreign consumption in countries along the West African coast. In the same countries, violence, corruption,

cultism, lawlessness, and political chaos are experienced in unprecedented proportions. It is to this same society that the video films seek their audience (Dugga and Mwadkwon 89). Moreover, most of the Nigerian films are a miniature or reflection of true stories of violent actions that take place in Nigeria.

The researcher had gone through some of these Nigerian films by personally watching them and coming out with the fact that many of these films are violence-oriented.

TABLE 17, CATALOGUE OF SOME NIGERIAN FILMS THAT DEPICT VIOLENCE OF VARIOUS FORMS IN NIGERIA

S/NO.	NAME OF FILM	PRODUCER(S)	FORM OF VIOLENCE
1.	Issakaba 1	Chukwuka Emelionwu and Moses Nnam	Ethnic Militia
2.	“ 2	“	“
3.	“ 3	“	“
4.	Ashes to Ashes	Ojiofor Ezeanyaeche	Socio-Economic and Ethnic Militia
5.	Desperados	Uzochukwu Ezeanyaeche	Armed Robbery.
6.	End of the River	Gabriel Moses and Damian Moses	Ethnic Militia.
7.	Acceptance (The Lord is our refuge)	Osondu Odom	Domestic Violence
8.	Terrible Sin 1	Alex Okeke and Ugo Emmanuel	Domestic violence
9.	Terrible Sin 2	Alex Okeke and ugo Emmanuel	Domestic Violence
10.	My Good Will	Chinedu Collins	Domestic Violence
11.	Black Angel	Andy Iyke	Domestic Violence
12.	False Alarm	Teco Benson	Domestic Violence
13.	Masquerade in the Church (The Final Conflict)	Emeka Onwuama Eze	Inter-religious Violence
14.	Stubborn Grasshopper	Sam onwuka	State-sponsored Violence
15.	After the rain (comes the Storm)	Gabriel Moses and Damian Moses	Ethnic Militia
16.	Body Guard	Chigozie Ezekuren and Lawrence Ikpoenyi	State sponsored Violence
17.	First Lady	Ifeanyi ikpoenyi	State sponsored Violence
18.	Cross Fire	Reginald Ebere and John Ikem	Socio-economic Violence
19.	The Insider	Prince Emeka Ani	Intra-religious Violence
20.	Criminal Passion	Cosmas Ndulue and Chico Ejiro	Socio-economic Violence
21.	Last Bullet	Harris Chume	Social Violence
22.	Voodoo	Gordon Irolejiri	Occultic Violence
23.	The Pregnant Woman	Stanley W. Inyang Jnr. and Ope Yemi Obisesan	Domestic Violence
24.	Oil Village 1		Socio-economic Violence
25.	Oil Village 2		Socio-Economic Violence
26.	Izaga	Ojiofor Ezeanyanche	Socio-cultural Violence
27.	Swimming with Sharks	Anene S. Obodowze	Socio-economic Violence
28.	Riches	Felix Okoro and Dozie Omechi	Socio-economic Violence.
29.	Baracuda	Ralph Awadike and Emekao Ojukwu	Occultic/horror Violence
30.	Igodo	Ojiofor Ezeanyaeche	Ethnic Violence
31.	The beginning and the End 1	Ojiofor Ezeanyaeche	Inter-religious Violence
32.	The beginning and the End 2	Ojiofor Ezeanyaeche	Inter-religious Violence
33.	Tongue of fire	Ndubusi Okoh	Domestic Violence
34.	Queen	Christian Dior	Ethnic Violence
35.	Holy Violence	Ben Eme	Religious Violence

6.4 THE EFFECT OF VIOLENT/WAR ORIENTED FILMS ON NIGERIAN CHILDREN

There is a great harm being done to the children consciously or unconsciously by exposing them to violent television programs, cinema and recorded video cassettes shown on the screen. On the other hand it has been argued by other scholars that the children in the village learn by observing how significant others behave and subsequently re-enact what they have seen in play. By this we will agree that children are natural mimics and will also mimic what they see on the television (Noble 124).

Liebert and others have corroborated that a considerable measure of violence will probably have an adverse effect on children (47). The researcher vividly remembers in one of his observations during the research, there was an encounter between him and a group of children in a play ground in October, 2002 at Makurdi, Benue State, Nigeria. The children were seen divided into two camps trying to shoot at sight using makeshift guns, bows and arrows, clubs and spears capable of inflicting harm. Out of fear and exasperation, the researcher asked the children why they had to engage in such a threatening physical bowl. They simply replied, "we are practicing war." On further inquiry, some of the children confessed that they learned some of the

skills from television screen. One can therefore see the effect of "Tele-violence" on the children.

There is no doubt when Helleman confirmed this fact by saying: "the media in Nigeria extols violence so much that children have become inured to it. It has become entertainment" (Helleman 1).

In a discussion with one of the respondents, he relayed a story which gives credence to the influence of "Tele-violence" among children in Nigeria. The incident happened to an army Captain (name withheld) who was in his sitting room servicing and cleaning his service pistol. Incidentally he had to visit the toilet, leaving the pistol loaded with bullets on his executive chair. On seeing the pistol, his child who was about five years old got grip of it and waited for his father to come out from the toilet.

The boy held the pistol in such a way that it is normally acted in movies or war films. He held the trigger and was ready to shoot. On seeing his father from the toilet, he asked his father to hands off, which he gallantly did. The child continued shouting that any move calls for counter measure. His saving grace was his wife, who coincidentally appeared from another section of the house. The child's attention was turned to her, telling her to surrender or else he would shoot her. She also abruptly obeyed. The father then tactfully disarmed his child and took over the pistol.

Thus, the fact remains that violence on the television encourages violent forms of behaviour and fosters moral and social values about violence in daily life, which are unacceptable in a civilized society (Jimmy 13).

It is lamentable to say that the extent to which violence and crime are currently portrayed on the nation's television screens is clearly excessive. Others have argued that violence can never be judged in the abstract. It must be considered in the context of its motivation and consequences, and in respect to the characters engaged in it as actors and victims. Violence may, as in *Romeo and Juliet*, be inherent in a story line. Anticipation of dread of violence, not violence itself, is an essential ingredient of drama. It is a time-tested device to arouse the interest of the audience interests and not by any pre-occupation with violence for its own sake. In a troubled and violent world, action and excitement in media shows a positive cathartic function and this may reduce the level of violence that is manifested in real life (Whitey and Abeles 105-106).

It is affirmative that there is a place for violent scenes and allusions to violence in works of art and television, but violence for its own sake is clearly objectionable. Hence efforts should be made to reduce the amount of violence in television programs and to have the violence that remains placed within a context that renders it

comprehensible. It may also be true that violence has the effect of desensitising us. In drama, violence often has the most profound effect when it is used sparingly. The murder around which everything revolves in Shakespeare's *Macbeth* takes place off stage. In modern television programs, unfortunately, killings are so frequent that death seems to have no aftermath or consequence or emotional impact. Worst still is that violence in books, movies, and television programs often expresses and glorifies a certain outlook on life (Plantinga 84).

It is important to note that violent or war-oriented films will have negative effect on the children, and it will also make those who watch those violent or war films to be violent. Finally, it has the tendency of affecting viewers' feelings and attitudes.

With the preponderance of violence in many forms in Nigeria today, it is important that the media, especially the television stations ensure that glorifying or encouraging violence oriented films be reduced to a minimum in our television houses and that programs to be shown on the television be properly edited before showing to the public.

6.5 INFLUENCE OF FOREIGN-ORIENTED VIOLENT FILMS ON THE MORALITY OF THE NIGERIAN SOCIETY

The debate over the effects of foreign media violence has always had strong undertones of moral feeling. Those who are against television violence and feel that it is bad are of the opinion that the

presentation of violent or aggressive act is more emotionally arousing through the audio-visual than it is either radio or print. Arousal on the other hand may heighten awareness in involvements or pleasure, but it also has the potential of being emotionally disturbing, and consequently of evoking aggressive feelings. Moreover, children are more impressionable and more susceptible to arousal than are adults. There is also the conviction that repeated exposure to media content that shows violence routinely used as a technique of handling interpersonal relations and enforcing social controls can lead to more general acceptance of violence exercised by private individuals and by the public authorities (Whitey and Abeles 104-105).

It is important to state that, the proliferation of television stations both private and public and the introduction of television channels broadcast by use of satellite in Nigeria are meant to create some healthy rivalry and challenging program that can encourage cultural and moral growth in our society among others. But it is lamentable that some of our broadcasts feature the culture of Europe and north America more prominently and more consistently than they do the indigenous cultures of Nigeria. Thus, the amount of violence, permissiveness and alien behaviours on Nigerian television screens are so pervasive that they have turned viewers into "bats" who are neither Nigerian nor foreign in essence (Adaba 53).

We may agree with A'aze Adaba that many of Nigerian television stations are at least an outpost of Euro-American cultural influences and at most a dumping ground for all the rejects of television industry. Rather than galvanizing the citizenry, the mass media especially television have exposed innocent viewers to extracted, crime-infested and culturally alien programs without due consideration for their effects on the viewers, particularly the young ones. Our young ones now appear to have willingly become cultural vassals of Euro-American culture (Adaba 15).

Because of this cultural imperialism, there is the contention that most of the violent traits exhibited by Nigerian children today are learnt from television. The situation further makes children to learn how to "throw an uppercut," handle the gun, make love and give "karate" (Tony 25).

Violence is the most prevalent theme of foreign television entertainment program imported into Nigeria. Most parents if they would have their way, would not want their children to watch films particularly foreign ones that have to do with crime, violence and horror. Such programs teach children that violence is just another form of entertainment, and as a kind of self-protection, they develop thick skins to avoid being upset by the gauging, smashing and skimping they see on television (Adaba 15).

Time without number, exploits of horrendous warfares and violent actions of unimaginable destruction of magnitude have been applauded by the children and youth. In affirmation to this, Sunday Ukan, a self-confessed armed robber, who was nabbed by the Calabar Police High Command at Itu, ideally confessed before his police interrogators that the bulk of their weird operations on their victims were inspired from such films as the "one man army", "Rambo" and other detective films. The campus cult syndrome, which has tormented the higher and most tertiary institutions of learning in Nigeria is not poverty-related as with the outbreak of other organized crimes, such as the "area boys," of Lagos, the "Yan daba" of Kano, and the "Yan bori" of Maiduguri. Most of the killings reported at the campus were clashes between different cults and the techniques adopted were patterned after some Euro-American horror films carried out by arsonists and maniacs typical of foreign actors (Bwala 20). A clear example is a rape case of two female students of the University of Lagos. Members of the cult were said to have taken two female students to an isolated area and after raping them, and shot them to death (Daily Times Newspaper Sept. 13th 1994:11).

This chapter has discussed the role of the media in perpetuating violence in Nigeria. It has also relayed a few statements as portrayed in newspapers and magazines which are capable of inducing violence.

The influence of Nigerian and foreign oriented violent films on the morality of Nigerians has also been considered. Our next chapter will consider the grounds for justifiability and non-justifiability of violence in Nigeria, using modern ethical theories.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FOUNDATIONS FOR JUSTIFIABILITY AND NON-JUSTIFIABILITY OF VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA

7.1. PREAMBLE

This chapter has been designed to sum up our ethical assessment of the grounds on which the different kinds of violence are carried out. This evaluation is to be based on popular and relevant theories that have been propounded by ethicists within the last few centuries. This certainly is not to suggest that it is only this chapter that is concerned with the task of establishing the rightness or wrongness of violence in Nigeria. Already we have in the preceding chapters tried to examine various kinds of violence, sources of violence in general, and in Nigeria in particular, and the reasons the various cultural groups and religious groups try to justify their engagement in and avoidance of violent acts and wars. All these in different ways sought to analyse the moral dimension of violence.

We also examined the natural factors involved in the acts of violence and also examined the moral implications of the media in the perpetration of violence. At various points, attempts were made to make critical rational assessments of the grounds for approval and disapproval of aggressive and violent actions among the different peoples of Nigeria. What is intended to be done here is to try to bring

together different currents of thought already expressed earlier, and then use the common ethical theories to examine if there are grounds on which violence of any type can be ethically justified and how such justification can stand the test of criticism and help or mar the quest for human development and the respect for the fundamental human rights of the individual.

It is important to note that although most of the cases examined in this study are based on Nigeria, the conclusion arrived at here can apply to violent actions in other parts of the globe. To do this evaluation, a brief statement of the main points of each of the theories will be provided. The implications of each theory for the different reasons people give to justify different kinds of violent actions will also be examined.

7.2. ETHICAL HEDONISM

This theory indicates that all human actions are directed towards the search for pleasure. The theory judges the goodness of an act by its pleasant or unpleasant consequences either for oneself or for others; that is, the amount of pleasure to be derived or pains to be avoided by engaging in the act. But we shall be concerned here, mainly with the strand known as the egoistic hedonism, which emphasises that what makes an action right is the amount of pleasure

to be obtained from it by the actor himself, not minding how it affects others.

However, it is important to note that the concept of pleasure itself cannot really be defined. It is a fundamental irreducible datum of human experience. It can only be described in broad terms. But if we cannot define it, we can certainly experience it and therefore know it. Modern hedonists prefer to use the word happiness for pleasure. Hedonists believe that no man would do anything if he were to know that no pleasure would eventually be derived from it either immediately or remotely, directly or indirectly (Katz et als 93-96).

We shall here examine the extent to which the hedonist's way of thinking has influenced the attitudes of the different peoples of Nigeria to violence and how hedonistic motivations can be justified or otherwise rejected.

Most cultural groups in Nigeria as we earlier observed, desire great pleasure and happiness in strenuous acts, like wrestling, display of physical capabilities, injuring an opponent and head hunting sprees, to show one's boldness and bravery. The aim of all these is the pleasure of attaining heroic status among traditional societies.

Some communal conflicts in Nigeria arise as a result of the zeal for economic satisfaction. Most communities in the oil-producing areas in the southern part of Nigeria fight in defence and in the protection of

the peculiar socio-economic rights of their people. This has led to the formation of militant youth groups to fight for the cause of their economic survival. Looking at the various crises in Nigeria, one sees urchins and the dregs of the society clamouring for resources at any slightest outbreak of violence in Nigeria. There is no doubt when Imo asserts that, the *Almajiris* (young Muslims boys who learn under teachers) see the occurrence of riots in northern cities as opportunities to loot the business places and stores which belong to the Igbos who are seen to be economically viable (Imo, Religion and the Unity--- 29). The aim of all these violent actions is hinged to the hope of attaining pleasure and happiness with the ill-gotten resources.

Some of the communal conflicts are based on the ground of seeking for justice for the opportunities denied them. For example the conflict in Tivland in the 1960s as reiterated by Remi Anifowose, were a revolt against the oppressive government of Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC) where they were denied certain political and socio-economic privileges which led to aggressive reactions.

There are also postulations the two religious groups give to justify their grounds for violence in contemporary Nigeria. As it has been noted from our previous discussions, Islam accepts the necessity of war, but lays down the principle of no coercion in matters of faith.

There are also many provisions and practices that support the act of violence. For example Ali English translated Qur'an. 9.81 states:

Unto each Allah has promised good (Paradise), but Allah has preferred those who sit at (home) by a huge reward. Those who did not participate in Jihad were threatened with hell fire.

For Christians, despite the postulations for peaceful actions, the just-war attitude has become the most acceptable principle for justifying violence in Nigeria. The just-war teaching emerged as an effort to prevent war only if war could not be rationally avoided. The moral theory of the just-war tradition is what binds Christians together on the principle of violence from the early Christendom to contemporary times (Challenge for peace United States Catholic Conference 1983, 36-38). It is argued by Nigerian Christians that they cannot sit down and see their families being wiped out without resisting or attempting to defend their families. Thus, the just-war tradition has become an effective weapon in Christians' defence against violence despite what the religion teaches on peace.

Another area where violence is motivated by the quest for pleasure is in watching violent films which, as we earlier observed, influences the people to readily engage in violence. The practitioners of tele-violence have argued that violence in the media should not be judged in abstract, and that it must be considered in the context of its motivation and consequences and in respect to the characters engaged

in it as actors and victims. Anticipation of dread or violence, and not violence itself is an essential ingredient of drama. It is a time-tested device to arouse the interest of the audience and not by any pre-occupation with violence for its own sake. Moreso, in a troubled and violent world, action and excitement in media content serve a positive cathartic function and this may reduce the level of violence that is manifested in real life (Whitey and Abeles 105-106).

From the above discussions we can see that ordinarily people would have done all things to avoid pains, but rather than do that they fight, protest and maim. This brings into question the relevance of this theory in the study of violence in Nigeria, and thus we cannot accept this theory because our actions are not always motivated by the desire for pleasure. It is not true that the search for pleasure underlies all our actions. People make sacrifices, undergo pains and inconveniences in order to help other people without any intention of desiring pleasure from such actions. Moreso, the loss of lives justified by these groups cannot pay for all the pleasure-seeking goals discussed and at the end of it all, there is loss of human lives (Omoregbe 81).

7.3. CATEGORICAL IMPERATIVE

This theory states that principles that cannot serve for the plurality of agents are to be rejected. The thought is that nothing

could be a moral principle which cannot be a principle for all. Morality begins with the rejection of non-universalised principles. This idea is formulated as a demand, which Kant calls "the categorical imperative". Kant's theory can be summed up as follows: an action is right only if the agent's sufficient motive in doing it is in fact that he recognises it to be required in the circumstances by a right principle of conduct. A principle of conduct is right only if it would be accepted on its own merits by any rational being no matter what its special tastes and inclinations might be. It must therefore be a principle which is acceptable to rational beings simply because of its intrinsic form, and not because it is a rule for gaining some desired end. A principle will be acceptable to all rational beings, if and only if each could consistently will that all rational beings should adopt it and act on it. So in essence, the theory calls for a sense of duty and working on principle. Moreover, actions are based on intrinsic qualities (Neill Chapter 4).

The implication of this theory is that there is the natural tendency in man to be aggressive. Thus, violence is seen as a product of anger and seeks to hurt or kill the adversary. Hatred and anger drive people to seek revenge or to destroy their opponents (Swomley 72, 77).

Linked with the above is the psychological theory of aggression. Yusufu Bala Usman has relayed some of the psychological grounds for the justification of violence among Nigerians. He has asserted that one of the widespread attitudes towards violent communal conflicts, especially in the immediate aftermath of the bloodshed, the arson and other devastations, is that these are just the result of madness by those involved. It is often said, that the brutal killings of non-combatant human beings, particularly children and women by burning them alive and cutting them up with knives and cutlasses, and gunning them down and the destruction of property, are the outcome of some irrational forces, which deny logic or any sensible mode of explanation of human behaviour (The Scope Newspaper Feb. 10-16 2002:8). Thus, the conflicts in most states of the federation by some people are ascribed to the inherently aggressive drive of many Nigerians' traditional societies, always fighting neighbouring races.

However, Usman has argued that when most of the conflicts in Nigeria are investigated by tribunals and commissions of inquiries, their findings, based on clearly stated and reliable evidence, are that these irrational forces, whatever significance they may have for particular individuals, do not provide an adequate explanation for conflicts. The evidence shows that these conflicts are the result of calculations, planning, organisations and execution which within the

perspective of those involved are rational and logical. That is to say that these people have tangible identifiable material, political and other non-material basis for their actions and use these violence to attain concrete political, economic and other goals (Cited in the Scope Newspaper Feb. 10-16 2002:9).

The other aspect that attracts our attention in this theory is the call for the sense of duty and working on principle.

Elochukwu Uzukwu and Obiora Ike, in the editorial of the *Bulletin of Ecumenical Theology*, portrayed that every manner of state-sponsored violence is seen as legitimate and morally good in the name of national security. Most repressive governments in Nigeria have practically imprisoned all its political opponents, union leaders and leaders of civil liberty organisations. Where they are not found incarcerated, they may be forced to go on exile. Unjust detention, trial by secret tribunals, inexplicable murder or assassination of critics by government has become a regular phenomenon. Constructive criticism by the press is interpreted as opposition and editors or columnists are either detained or killed (Uzukwu and Ike 1). The murder of *Newswatch* editor, Dele Giwa, during Gen. Ibrahim Babangida's regime in October 1986 is a case in point (*Newswatch* October 24th 1988).

Furthermore, when the Nigerian government committed an act of judicial murder against Ken-Saro Wiwa and his Ogoni kinsmen, the state appropriated to itself the right to defend the action even at the loss of lives it was meant to protect (Kukah). To justify the execution of any coup in Nigeria, the executioners always affirm that the nation needs power to distinguish the ruthless power of evil, injustice, inequality, criminal activities and violation of law (Afful).

The government has always assumed the position of power to prevent violence and conflicts in some related areas. For example, it is alleged that a group of youths had been engaged in criminal activities, taking hostages, killing and engaging in piracy in the Niger Delta area. In November, 1999, this group stretched the patience of the government beyond reason, killing in one week a total of twelve police officers, including an Assistant Commissioner of Police. As the government deployed troops to arrest the situation, three soldiers reportedly died in the hands of the hoodlums. The government in its bid to control the situation, gave instructions to the troops to dislodge the perpetrators of violence, restore law and order and apprehend suspected murderers. In the bid, Odi village was almost blotted in what seemed to be a reprisal attack. In the process, more lives were lost. Odi village was levelled beyond recognition by the federal troops. About five hundred (500) lives were destroyed. In another swift

situation, the government continued with its destruction of lives and properties in more than eight densely populated villages in Tiv Kingdom over the killing of nineteen (19) soldiers supposed to be on a peace-keeping mission in an ethnic war between the Tiv and the Jukun (The Gadfly Philosophical Magazines 2002:12).

For those who are serving in the military and the police force they owe it a duty to protect the territorial integrity of Nigeria and to maintain peace within the country even at the loss of the lives they are supposed to protect. Many instances abound within the country where the police and the army senselessly shoot innocent citizens to death. All these are counted as part of the duty and oath undertaken to serve the nation.

From the foregoing, we can see that this theory has no respect for human sanctity and, thus, cannot be accepted as a relevant theory in our evaluation of grounds for the justification of violence in Nigeria.

7.4. MORAL POSITIVISM

This theory holds that all morality rests on positive law, either enacted or customary, and that all morality is determined by commands, rules, laws, conventions and customs. Morality therefore is not based on something intrinsic in an act itself or in the nature of man, but in the imposition of will, something quite distinct and extrinsic to the human act in question. This theory assumes that since

there is much contradiction and doubt about moral values themselves, it is only the law that provides uniformity and objectivity. People are therefore aware of moral obligations as a result of law (Ayer 137-139).

The evaluations of this theory shall be done in the context of commands given by the state in respect to punishment. Consideration shall also be given to sharia law and punishment in Nigeria.

The justification for punishment is seen in the light of retributive theory. The retributive theory claims that there is moral order, which is part of the framework of the world. When a crime is committed, the balance of this moral order is upset, but it is put right again by an appropriate punishment, that is, the punishment that fits the crime. When the balance of the moral order is put right again by an appropriate punishment, justice is restored. Justice demands that the moral order which has been upset by a crime be put right by an appropriate punishment (Omoregbe 16)). Although there are many versions of this theory, the central contention is that punishment is justified because the offender has voluntarily committed a wrong act. Wrongdoers deserve to suffer for what they have done, whether or not the suffering produces any good consequences (Cited in Singer 366). The retributive theorists observe that punishment must not be given more than it is deserved, otherwise it would be unjust. Under no circumstances should an innocent person be punished even if

something good would result from it. To punish an innocent man even in order to produce good results is never justified. A good end does not justify an evil means (Omoregbe 117).

This brings into focus the fundamental problem of sharia law in Nigeria. The law has indicated some punishments which include eighty (80) lashes for consuming alcohol, the cutting off of the hand for theft of goods, the lashing of those who accuse a woman falsely of adultery, stoning to death of an adulteress, and death penalty for Muslims who renounce Islam or embrace any other faith, among others (Ramachandra 28).

The problem of sharia law and punishment in Nigeria is that it affects non-Muslims as well as Muslims. It undercuts their religious freedoms; violate their other basic international human rights, and their rights under Nigerian Constitution. It also undercuts the right of individual Muslims who do not wish to be subjected to the type of sharia established by their states and who wish to exercise other freedoms protected by the Constitution and International Human Rights Standards. Non-Muslims fear that the outright appearance of new "crimes", such as riding with their spouse in a taxi, performing music or wearing of trousers combined with discrimination against women in legal testimony, and the punishment for sexual offences and subjection to a system of law, lawyers and judges in which they cannot

participate, and that is often enforced by a system of vigilantes, will effectively deny them their constitutional rights and make them second class citizens (Shea 10).

This theory has its own weakness, because if morality is based on divine command or as a religious rule, it defies rational thinking. Moreso, from our literature reviewed, we have seen that violent actions are rooted in man's nature. This indicates that there are acts of violence exhibited without necessarily having an extrinsic imposition of will of law. However, the question still remains: do the various laws, conventions and rules justify acts of violence against humanity? How can God who makes the human being allow the destruction of the same being using certain laws in exterminating him? There is no moral justification of using this theory in Nigerian context, because of the sanctity of human being.

7.5. UTILITARIANISM

Utilitarianism is concerned about maximising benefits for the maximum number of people. According to this theory, we only know what is good and what is evil by evaluating the consequences of our actions in measuring balance of good over evil or well being over happiness. There are two kinds of utilitarianism, act-utilitarianism and rule-utilitarianism. Our main concern shall be act-utilitarianism. The act-utilitarianism holds that in general or at least where it is

practicable one is to tell what is right or obligatory by appealing directly to the principle or, in other words, by trying to see which of the actions of his will, or is likely to produce the greatest good over evil in the universe. One must ask, what effect will my doing of this in this situation have on the general balance of good over evil? Not what effect will everyone's doing this kind of act in this kind of situation have on the general balance of good over evil? (rule-utilitarianism) (Frankena chapter 3).

This theory shall be considered in context of the government's legitimate use of force to calm down civil unrests or insurrections. In most of the violent situations in Nigeria, the government normally starts with the deployment of ordinary police personnel. When they prove incapable of coping with the situation, units of mobile police force specially trained for riot control are drafted to the area. When they cannot cope, then the military personnel are deployed. Because of intensity and intermittent nature of the disturbances, the military units, including especially the naval forces and army in the areas affected, maintain a state of alert and are subsequently invited to quell and maintain what is normally seen as uneasy peace (Imobighe).

However, the use of force or other coercive means to put down disturbances as was the case in Warri, Benue, Kaduna and other areas in Nigeria, have limited utility looking at the enormous loss of lives and

property (Imobighe 61-2). The government cannot be denied the right to legitimate defence of its citizenry once every means of peaceful settlement has been exhausted, moreso that the government authorities and others have public responsibility and the duty to protect the welfare of the people entrusted to their care ("Challenge for peace" 32). But the utility of the action of the government can only be justified as long as coercive action is not meant to be an end in itself, but a temporary measure to provide congenial atmosphere to effect a negotiated settlement between the parties into the conflict (Imobighe 62).

Although utilitarianism seems to have a wider acceptance in human rights cases and democracy in contemporary times, we may not subscribe to this theory, because of its attendant weakness which involves the loss of human lives. Thus, given the weaknesses of the various theories so far raised, we cannot accept the justifiability of violence in Nigeria using those theories. But we will prefer to use the theory of human integration as an acceptable theory in the context of our study.

7.6. MORALITY OF HUMAN INTEGRATION

Morality is rooted in man's nature, and the right understanding of man's nature is necessary for the right understanding of morality. For human nature is a moral nature and the moral sphere is

exclusively the human sphere (Omoregbe 102). Morality is aimed at the full development of a human being. If one is properly developed as a human being, determining what is good and bad will not be a problem. So whatever makes for the progress of human being should be seen as good, and not necessarily because of the consequences. If we say we will look at the consequences of the moral standard in judging what is good or bad, it will dehumanise the sanctity of life.

Man is the only entity in nature with which sanctity is associated and that the only kind of being we consider intrinsically sacred in human life (Onwochei 102). The Nigerian Constitution on the fundamental human rights have declared that every individual has the right to life and the right to dignity of human person (The constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria i). Articles 5 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights (ACHPR) also advances the right to the dignity of a person. Nigeria ratified the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) in 1993 and domesticated the African Charter. The human rights provisions of these bodies are therefore binding on Nigeria and her courts (Danfulani 14).

The quest for the dignity of the human being should be a committed one for all and sundry and not limited to a particular nationality or race. Thus, the principle of human integration should

guide our moral actions and attitudes to violence in contemporary times.

From the foregoing, we will agree that each of the theories so far examined might have its weaknesses and strengths. It therefore becomes necessary to anchor our discussion towards preventive violence, using peace and dialogue as the fundamental principles for national stability and development. This has informed the need for an accepted national attitude towards violence, which forms the basis of our next chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT

TOWARDS A NATIONAL ATTITUDE TO VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA

8.1. PREAMBLE

The inevitability of violence in the course of human existence has made it necessary for us to look at the attitude we should have towards violence as individuals, and as members of different ethnic groups and religious affiliations. Given the heterogeneity of Nigeria, and different value systems, how can we arrive at a national attitude towards violence? If we can, which value system are we going to use as a standard of consensus? It is important to note that, whatever are our differences are, national interest should be above personal, ethnic and religious interests. Yusufu Turaki said:

The development of a national ethic must be based upon the principle of accommodation and the search for common values among existing traditions and pluralism (Turaki "The Problem of Values in Society---" 11).

Therefore, our strive towards a national attitude to violence in Nigeria must depend on common values that enhance ethnic or group harmony, interdependence, mutual respect, understanding, dignity, freedom, justice and tolerance. It must also search for common values among the existing traditions (Turaki "The Problem of Values in Society---" 11). What is important and necessary in our contemporary

Nigeria, therefore, is the quest for human development through peaceful co-existence and national unity.

However, it is important to note that peace question is a major case in social ethics (Haselbarth 202). But many policy makers think that issues of violence and peace as well as that of the intellectuals whose works are most influential in the policy-making process is normally structured by a framework of assumptions that is largely amoral. The problems are conceived of as practical in nature. Policy options are compared solely in terms of their expected consequences, and consequences are evaluated solely in terms of their impact on national interest. To the extent that ethical issues, if raised at all, are presented in a crude and over simplified form best suited to the manipulation of public opinion (Singer 384).

The peace question, therefore, is not an exclusive preserve of political scientists, sociologists, historians or policy-makers. It is also a challenge before the ethicists to raise opinions and fundamental issues that are of serious importance in peace-making process. It is in this direction that we shall discuss the peace question in Nigeria. In doing this, we shall consider challenge for peace in Nigeria, discuss the relationship between peace and religion by identifying the areas of similarities in teaching for peaceful co-existence between Christianity and Islam. We will also suggest ways for maintaining peace through

the government and non-governmental organisations and then finally subscribe to dialogue as the viable alternative of maintaining peace in Nigeria.

8.2 NEED FOR PEACE IN NIGERIA

Peace in its true meaning does not comprise solely absence of physical security or absence of war and conflict. This condition is only a limited one though a very important essential aspect of the wider concept of peace. Khan has given us a further definition of peace where he said:

Peace means beneficent adjustment of harmony between individual and his creator on the one side and his fellow man on the other. This applies to the entirety of the concentric relationship between individual and individual, individual and community, community and community, nation and nation, and in short between man and universe (Quoted by Ikenga-Metuh 55).

Connected with peace are two other concepts without which peace or harmony would be impossible. These are justice and development. There can be no peace without justice. Justice in our context here means equal distribution of benefits derived from the government, which can cement good relationship among its citizens. It is also important to stress that there is a fundamental relationship between peace and human rights which is grounded in justice. Any structure which deprives persons of their human rights and dignity and

prevents justice from being realized, forces men to resort to violence or war (Cited in Ikenga-Metuh 12).

The same could be said of development. Underdevelopment breeds deprivation, poverty, hunger and disease. "A hungry man is an angry man," is a popular saying. This is true whether another man causes his hunger, by under-development or by natural disaster. Development by removing strains and deprivation from human life and making it possible for man to live a worthy life of his human dignity brings about harmony and peace. For the essence of peace is for the individual to be at peace with his maker. It must be remarked that development must not be pursued for its own sake or worse still as a means of dominating other human beings. Rather, development should be in the service of needs and indeed of the whole man, his material needs and the demands of his intellectual, moral, spiritual and religious life (Ikenga-Metuh 12).

Thus, if the discussion of peace is to be realistic, then it must be related to the changing realities of contemporary search for social and economic justice. Otherwise it will remain a romantic hope and idealistic dream. Peace will have to be understood not as a static condition, but a dynamic reality intimately related to man's constant search for human dignity. It is difficult to talk about peace to the millions of people who live their lives under inhuman conditions of

grinding poverty, disease, illiteracy, and, ultimately, death. In such a dehumanising situation, peace means a sinister conspiracy of the rich and the privileged against the poor and the underprivileged (Ikenga-Metuh 12).

One of the good reasons for giving peace a paramount place on the issues of violence is the indisputable fact that in the contemporary worlds, the lives of all people are bound together in an interdependence, close and more evident than has ever been known before. The corporate nature of human existence is daily being impressed upon us. No individual, no group, no nation can contract out of the human family or isolate itself from the rest. The destinies of those who inhabit this close-knit planet are now seen to be as inseparable as the destinies of a group of travellers on a space ship. It follows then that our ethical thinking must be corporate or even global in its scope and should include peace (Macquarrie 1). There is no doubt that the year 2001-2010 were declared by the United Nations as the decade of peace and non-violence. This means that various governments in the world must pursue peace and ensure that violence is eschewed in their societies (Inyomi:1).

Thus, peace or "*shalom*" in (Hebrew) describes a state of complete wholeness in body, soul and spirit and a harmonious relationship with God, people and with one's environment. It does not

describe the absence of war alone, but implies physical, psychological and spiritual well-being. People who are at peace with themselves are freed from the pangs of bad conscience and experience of fears. They are bold and confident, knowing that they owe no man anything for which they are answerable (Cole-Onitiri 97).

8.3 RELIGION AND PEACE IN NIGERIA

The relationship between religion and peace down through history has been ambivalent. On the one hand, most religions proclaim peace and have served the cause of peace. On the other hand religions have been the causes of many wars. The most sublime passage on peace are found in the sacred scriptures of many world religions, yet the same scriptures are often quoted to aid and abet violent wars. Most religions promise a heaven," *nirvana*" or "*aljanna*," of eternal joy and peace. Yet many wars are fought in the name of God. These are even holy wars, which are no less destructive than unholy wars. The thesis that religion is sometimes one of the major causes of war is borne out of the fact that some of the current international conflicts have religious undertones. The Arab/Israeli conflict, Iran/Iraq war, the civil wars in Sudan, Lebanon, and Northern Ireland are all fought under religious banners. During the 1980s, two great world leaders, President Anwar Sadat and Indhira Ghandi died at the hands of religious fanatics (Ikenga-Metuh 10). The Al-qa'ida attack on the

World Trade Centre and the Pentagon in the United States of America are startling experiences of the “modern Jihadist” movements assumed to be championing the cause of Islam.

The increasing disgusting and intolerant religious disturbances have punctuated the political life of Nigeria in the past few decades. The debate over the sharia in 1978 and the controversy and upheavals over the introduction of sharia criminal law in some northern states in the country, from 2000, the desirability of Nigeria’s participation in the organization of Islamic Conference (O.I.C.) the Maitatsine scours and other inter-religious skirmishes resulting in the loss of lives and property are but a few instances of the Nigerian politico-religious malaise. We will agree with Danny McCain that “Christians have responded to sharia with resignation, fear, frustration and anger that has sometimes boiled over into violence” (McCain 1). Religion, which has always been a formidable asset in the life of Nigerians and Nigeria as a nation has now come to be perceived as a potential Achilles’ heel of the African giant (cited in Olupona ix).

It is notable that the outcomes of all these skirmishes are mainly as a result of political problems. A Muslim can live a very good Muslim life without the introduction of the sharia criminal law or Nigerian membership of O.I.C. But yet these political problems have roots in the political philosophy of both religions. A Muslim may think that full

Islamic life is possible only under sharia in an Islamic state. Christians may think that church/state relationship should be governed by the philosophy of "render unto Caesar what is Caesars and unto God, what is God's" and recommend a secular state model.

The powers of religion as instrument of peace rest on theological, moral and socio-political foundations. Different religions have different beliefs about God and the supernatural and their influence on the achievement of peace. However, the religions in Nigeria, especially Islam and Christianity, share certain common beliefs which could serve as basis for common actions for peace. Besides, each has its own peculiar beliefs, which could also serve the cause of peace. The belief in a supreme God has established some moral and ontological order in the universe, which, if followed, will make order in the world and peace in human relationships. The idea of retribution in the after life is another strong theological base for peace found in these religions, Islam and Christianity (Ikenga-Metuh 7, 18).

It is important to note that the practitioners of African Traditional Religions (A.T.R) have, to a reasonable degree, contributed to peaceful co-existence in Nigeria. There are no serious violent actions recorded as it is between Islam and Christianity, which has so far been experienced in Nigeria. For this reason, our discussions of the need

for peaceful co-existence would be directed towards Islam and Christianity.

The two religions in Nigeria also contain teachings on moral principles and practices. Thus, religion is a great sustainer of morality. The issue of war and peace is mainly a moral issue, which needs constant surveillance in a new complex and rapidly changing world. In a world which accepts literally the Roman proverb, "If you want peace prepare for war," and thus engages in the arms race and the balance of powers and have amassed weapons of mass destruction, religions could serve as the conscience of the world. Besides, religion still commands moral obedience of millions of its adherents and thus reaches the policy-makers, through its members in their midst (Ikenga-Metuh 15).

Against the doctrine of war, Fernadex rightly pointed that, "The voice of religion denies that fear prevents war or produces peace. Only love can do that, and love knows no constraint and never carried weapons" (quoted by Ikenga-Metuh 15).

Martin Luther King (Jnr.) has corroborated that, there is power in love that our world has not discovered yet. Jesus discovered it centuries ago. Mahatma Ghandi of India and other leading protagonists of peace like, Bertrand Russell, George Bell, Dag Hammarkjoid, and others discovered it a some years ago, but most

men and women never discovered it. For they believe in “an eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth,” they believed in “hating for hating,” but Jesus comes to us and says, this isn’t the way (Macquarrie 3).

In his struggles for the civil rights of the American blacks, Martin Luther King further stressed:

History unfortunately leaves some people oppressed and some people oppressors. And there are many ways that individuals who are oppressed can deal with their oppression. One of them is to rise up against their oppressors with physical violence and corroding hatred. But this isn’t the way. For the danger and weakness of this method is its futility. Violence creates many social problems than it solves. And I have said in so many instance, that as the negro, in particular, and colored peoples all over the world, struggle for freedom if they succumb to the temptation of using violence in their struggle, unborn generation will be the recipients of a long and desolate night of bitterness, and our chief legacy to the future will be an endless reign of meaningless chaos. Violence isn’t the way (Luther King (Jnr.))

We may need to adhere to the warning of Onje Gye-wado that in searching for peace and development in Nigeria, there is the urgent need to equally search for the generating causes of violence and nip them in the bud before escalating to an uncontrollable scenario (Gye-wado 12). Let us now consider the teachings of Christianity and Islam on peace.

8.3.1. The Christian Teachings on Peace and Its Possible Contribution for Peace in Nigeria

Christianity preaches peace and Christians are urged to be peacemakers, lovers of neighbours, law keepers and God fearers as

well as God's children. As Christians, there is no outright record that allows Christians to participate in violent conflicts. However, many people have been quoting Jesus' words in the holy Bible to justify their intent for violent conflicts. Among the statements often quoted by some Christians is, "do not think I have come to bring peace on earth, I have not come to bring peace, but a sword" (Mtt. 10.34 Revised Standard Version).

We may agree with Martin Luther King that true peace is not merely the absence of some negative force, but it is a presence of some positive force. It is a presence of some positive force.

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8□ ä is not merely the absence of tension, but it is the presence of justice. And the peace which existed at that time, was a negative obnoxious peace devoid of any positive meaning (Luther King (Jnr.)).

Jesus is the Christians’ peace and he makes peace between them. This is clearly stressed in Revised Standard Bible. Heb. 12.14: “follow peace with all men and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord.” Revised Standard Bible. Rm 12.19 says “beloved, never avenge yourselves, but leave it to the wrath of God; for it is written, ‘vengeance is mine,’ I will repay, says the Lord.”

The Sermon on the Mount in the Revised Standard Bible clearly links peace with retribution in the after-life where it says:

Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called sons of God. Blessed are those who are persecuted for righteousness’ sake for theirs is the kingdom of heaven (Mtt. 5.9-10).

In Corinthians, Paul teaches that, “all this is from God who through Christ reconciled us to himself and gave us the ministry of reconciliation” (Revised Standard Bible. 2 Cor. 5.18). Thus, Christians

are enjoined to reconcile human beings irrespective of religion or race to God and to one another. He is further enjoined to love his enemies and to live in harmony and peace with everybody. The book of Romans supports this where it says:

Bless those who persecute you, bless and do not curse them. Rejoice with those who rejoice, weep with those who weep. Live in harmony with one another, do not be haughty, but associate with the lowly, never be conceited. Repay no one evil for evil, but take thought for what is noble in the sight of all. If possible, so far as it depends upon you live peaceably with all. Beloved, never avenge yourselves, but leave it to be the wrath of God, for it is written "vengeance is mine, I will repay says the Lord..." If your enemy is hungry, feed him if he is thirsty, give him drink, for by so doing you will heap burning coals upon his head. Do not overcome evil by evil, but overcome evil with good (Revised Standard Bible Rm. 12 14-21).

War and violence do not always solve our problems and should be avoided. After all Jesus was not violent during his time. Stephen and Paul copied this non-violence and so it should be with all Christians. Jesus finally commented in Matthew that "blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be call the children of God" (Revised Standard Bible. Mtt. 5.9).

We may wish to summarize the teaching of Christianity on peace with the words of William Barclay:

Peace which the Bible calls blessed, does not come from evasion of issues, it comes from facing them. Biblical peace is not passivity; it is having the capacity of actively facing difficult conflictual situations and transforming them into peaceful relationships. The responsibility of peacemakers is to build a world in which people can live in

peace. The Jewish rabbis were of the opinion that the highest duty a person could perform was the righting of relationships between people. This for them sums up their understanding of peace (quoted in Newsletter of the Christian Rural and Urban Development Association of Nigeria July-Sept. 2001:3).

8.3.2 Islamic Teachings on Peace and Its Contribution to Peaceful Co-existence in Nigeria

Islam declares that, "Islam is a religion of peace." *Salam*, a word which, like its Jewish cognate (Shalom), means "contentment." "Good health," "prosperity" "security," "fullness of life" and its other fruitful use in salutation and benedictions (Manus 49). The word "Islam" is further explained to mean "peace" and "submission." It connotes "achievements of peace" both here and the hereafter through submission to the will of the divine creator, sustainer and Lord of the entire universe, Allah. The Qur'an in its commentary puts it: "Those who have faith and do not let it be borrowed by the least injustice are the ones who shall have peace. It is they who are rightly guided" (Commentary in Ali English Translated Qur'an. 1416).

In another charge, Ali English translated Qur'an. (59.23) shows that peace is seen as the will of Allah, "He is Allah, there is no god but He the king, the Holy, the peaceable." In another charge Ali English translated Qur'an. (5.125-127), reveals that:

Those whom God (in His plan) willeth to give, He openeth their breasts to Islam, those whom He willeth to leave straying He maketh their breasts closed and constricted, as if they had to climb up to the skies, thus, doth God

(heap) penalty on those who refuse to believe. This is the way of the Lord, leading straight; we have detailed the signs for those who receive admonition. For them will be a home of peace in the presence of their Lord. He will be their friend, because they practised (righteousness).

In a commentary, Ali the term "Islam" suggests "peace," "security," "salutation" and "accord with God's plan in all eternity" (533). Peace in the holy Qur'an is also represented as a necessary ingredient in personal relations. In one of the chapters, Ali English translated Qur'an. (1169), it states; "There came our messengers to Abraham with glad tidings. They said, "peace." He answered "peace," and hastened to entertain them with "roasted calf."

With oriental hospitality, Abraham received the strangers with a salutation of peace, and immediately placed before them a sumptuous meal of roasted calf. The strangers, who were angels, did not eat Abraham's dish. If hospitality is refused in the East, it means that those who refused it meditate no good to the would-be host. Abraham therefore had a feeling of mistrust and fear in his mind, which the strangers at once set at rest by saying that their mission was to bring good news that he was to be the father of great peoples (Ali 1125).

In another commentary in the holy Qur'an, it is said that God and His angels sent blessings on the prophet:

O Ye that believe, send Ye blessings on him and salute him with all respect. Thus, God and His angels honour and bless the holy prophet Mohammed (p.b.u.h.) as the greatest of men. We are asked to honour and bless Him all

the more because He took upon himself to suffer for the sorrows and afflictions of this life in order to guide us to God's mercy and the highest inner life (Ali 1125).

In the 37th chapter, verse 79, of Ali English translated Qur'an, there is a continuous pronouncement of peace (Salam). "Peace and salutation to Noah among the nation" (31.109). "Peace and salutation to such as Elias," (37.130), and peace on all the apostles," (37.181).

Manus has reiterated that throughout the holy Qur'an , the understanding that peace is the will of Allah is notable. It is enjoined to be observed if there is chance. Even from the bitterest of enemies, a plea for peace must be accepted (49). This is further buttressed in Ali English translated Qur'an 4.90:

Except those who join a group between whom and you there is a treaty (of peace) or those who approach you with hearts restraining them from fighting you as well as fighting their own people. If God had pleased, He could have given them power over you and they would have sought you. Therefore, if they withdraw from you but fight you not, and instead send you (guarantees of) peace, then God hath opened no way for you (to war against them).

The Approach above is referring not to the physical act of coming, but to the mental attitude. The heart is mentioned for sincerity. When they sincerely promise not to fight against you, do you pursue them? Remember that if they had fought against you, your difficulties would have been increased. Their neutrality itself may be a great advantage to you. So long as you are satisfied that they are sincere and their acts support their declarations of peace with you. You

should not consider yourself justified in pursuing them and warning against them (Ali 208).

It becomes unfortunate to stress that in spite of the catena of Christian and Muslim teachings on the centrality of peace in the two religious traditions we in Nigeria are still alerted the relationship between Christians and Muslims is heading towards dangerous stage (Manus 50).

The charge of John Onaiyekan therefore becomes imperative:

True religion does not consist only in prayers, ablutions, sermons, fasts and religious fervour alone. All these are useless with God and worse than useless to humanity if they are not accompanied by a spirit of justice, honesty, humility and universal love, which lead to true peace (quoted by Manus 51).

8.4. THE WAY FORWARD

From the foregoing, we can see that the mission of Christianity and Islam is to promote right values in human relationships and work for peace. This ideal is not supposed to be limited to these two religious traditions but all other religions that co-exist within the national boundaries. The various ethnic groups in Nigeria should also fashion their traditional value systems in such a way that will be relevant to the contemporary search for global peace and search for Nigeria in particular. The values that encourage us into violent and

aggressive tendencies should be redefined and integrated into a value that should have a national outlook, in order to encourage unity, mutual trust and peaceful co-existence.

John F. Kenedy has rightly pointed that, "Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable" (Quoted by Luther King (Jnr.)). It is in this line that the government, non-governmental and religious organizations should pursue the cause of peace.

8.4.1. The Government

It is a truism that the colonial legacy left us with value systems that encourage and propagate violent conflicts. The government should work out ways that should discourage these violent tendencies, and encourage peace. The international community at different stages and times has applauded Nigeria for spear-heading "peace efforts" in the West African sub-region by sending troops to assist in restoring peace to the other countries like Liberia, Sierra Leone and other countries within the sub-region (Cole-Onitiri 117).

The question then arises as to what is the relative peace in Nigeria considering the preponderance of violence in the form of socio-economic, religious and ethnic dimensions? What efforts has the

government shown in order to contain violence and ensure a peaceful and harmonious society?

Few efforts are noticeable and appreciable. The government at various levels adopted a multi-track approach to douse conflicts. Those were done at various governmental levels, local, state and federal. At the grassroots, there have been challenges posed on traditional rulers and community leaders to use traditional conflict resolution techniques and mechanisms to prevent conflicts, mitigate and de-escalate existing ones in and among various communities in the country (Ocheche 14).

Another area the government efforts can be seen is the resolution of conflicts over the years through the combination of judicial and violent approaches in respect of responses to conflicts. The government has concentrated on the use of coercive and judicial approaches in the form of deployment of military and paramilitary forces to suppress crisis and establish judicial panels or commissions of inquiry to look into various conflicts. While the government is usually enthusiastic and quick in setting up the relevant commissions and panels of inquiry, such commitment is not usually translated into action at the level of release and implementation of the findings of such judicial commissions and panels. This lack of enthusiasm on the part of government to carry through its conflict management processes to their logical conclusions is seen in most of the judicial

commissions set in Nigeria conflict oriented areas. Thus, once the government succeeds in suppressing a particular conflict through the deployment of security forces, the tendency is for the government to relax its efforts until there is another conflagration (Imobighe 57-59).

In most of the violent situations in Nigeria, the government normally starts with the deployment of ordinary police personnel. When they prove incapable of coping with the situation, units of "mobile police force," specially trained for riot control, are drafted to the area. When they cannot cope, then the military personnel are re-deployed. Because of the intensity and intermittent nature of the disturbance, the military units, including, especially, the naval forces and army in the areas affected, maintain a state of alert and are subsequently invited to quell and maintain what is normally seen as uneasy peace. However, the use of force or other coercive measures to put down disturbances as was the case in Warri, Benue, Kaduna, Plateau and other areas has limited utility looking at the enormous loss of lives and property of the citizens. The utility is normal only as long as coercive action is not meant to be an end in itself but a temporary measure to provide a congenial atmosphere to effect a negotiated settlement between the parties to the conflict (Imobighe 61-62).

More efforts need to be put in place and backed up by the government at various levels. This should include concept of early

warning signals. Nigeria should fashion out a comprehensive and sustained early warning response mechanism tailored to suit our national and state condition. This will mean maximum use of human personnel by the government to dictate, apprehend, and implement measures towards controlling the escalation of conflicts. The concepts of early warning in peace studies have to do with the idea that it is more effective to anticipate, prevent and militate conflict than resolve or manage escalated conflicts. If conflict prevention is achieved, destruction of lives and property would have been addressed from the root and controlled (Ocheche 14). Thus, mass media can aid peaceful resolution by providing early warning situations that might lead to conflict as well as to alert religious, political leaders and attentive public to opportunities for unceasing inter-faith and inter-ethnic dialogue and understanding (Chan 25).

The government at various levels state and national, should monitor and encourage the propagation of peace, using the mass media (print, radio and televisions). The initiative of Plateau State government in renaming its Frequency Modulation (F.M.) 90.5 radio station "Peace F.M. 90.5," is commendable. This should serve as an example to other media organizations in using their outfits in propagating peace.

The media requires a consistent embodiment of the values, awareness and skills, which underlie a genuine commitment to peace and justice. The mass media therefore occupies strategic position in times of conflicts or violence. They constitute the major link between the "protesters" and the public. In granting or withholding publicity, mass media determines what information most people will have on issues and what alternatives they will have in response to issues which finally affect the outcome of the conflict. The success of the less powerful who are more dependent on the responses of the public, depends very much on those of the mass media as well. Ironically, it is the less powerful groups which have no effective established communication channels with decision-making centres that are particularly dependent on the media for making their points known to the public and their targets. Infact, lack of access to the mass media by protest groups in developing nations has often become a factor that fuels on-going conflicts with their government (Chan 25).

There is the need for a Peace Commission in Nigeria. This is to support the existing Nigerian Peace Corps, with branches spread all over the states and local government areas. This Commission should be charged with the responsibility of inter-religious dialogue, inter-religious relations and inter-ethnic cohesion among the various communities for peaceful co-existence. Membership of this

Commission can come from various religious backgrounds in the country.

Along this line, the government should be charged with the re-evaluation of our present institutions such as higher institutions and Universities and the evolution of new ones. Among these could be a Peace Academy to supplement the Institute of Peace and Conflict Resolution and the National War College in Abuja. There should be an introduction of the Departments of Peace Studies in every university in the country. Each university, through the National University Commission (N.U.C.), should be made to introduce a compulsory course in Peace Studies in each college and university where there is an undergraduate program. At this stage, it becomes clear to adhere to the warning of Adam Curle who contends:

Peace studies must be conceived with approaches of responding society and the world order in such a way that not only is violence overt and covert, eliminated, but harmony and cooperation are established and maintained. For this reason, a further dimension is added; the study of future and possible alternative to existing system (quoted by Tamuno 8).

The government should further ensure a complete reversal or censor the glorification of war in its institutions of learning. This should include books and films for entertainment (McSorley 97).

The peace process in Nigeria should not only be the challenge of the government alone, but should include individuals and members of

the communities that form the Nigerian community. This could be encouraged through inter-ethnic and inter-religious cooperation, marriage and friendship. This will go a long way in creating ethnic and religious integration and making peace and unity.

8.4.2. The Non-Governmental and Religious Organizations

The non-governmental organizations should be encouraged to establish peace promotion and peace promoters clubs, which should be introduced in schools. This will encourage effective practice of the peace promotion code and peace promotion activities among students (Hamalai 16). The efforts of some non-governmental and religious organizations are commendable. This includes, Alternative to Violence project (A.V.P.). This is a non-governmental organization designed to check the rising incidences of violence within Nigeria (Saturday Sun Newspaper Nov. 22 2003:22).

There is the Academic Associates of Peace Works (A.A.P.W.). This is also a non-governmental organization based in Lagos, with funding from the Overseas Development Agency (O.D.A.). There is also the British High Commission (B.H.C.) in Lagos, the British Council in Lagos, and the United States Agency for International Development (U.S.A.I.D.). USAID engages in community peace-making, peace building and preventive diplomacy. It has worked in communities involved in conflicts, such as Ugeb-Idoma, Tiv-Jukun in Wukari, Igbo-

Ora, Ife-Modakeke, and conflict between the pastoralists and agriculturalists in north-eastern Nigeria. Other areas they have worked include areas of conflict in Kano, Tafawa Balewa, and of recent in Warri, Niger Delta area (Otite). In the field of religious organizations, we have the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (C.J.P.C.) Ijebu-ode, Ogun State (Sharia Link, A Newsletter of the National Council for the Defence and propagation of sharia in Nigeria Jan. 2004:2).

It could be recalled that in the sixteenth century reformation, three churches were sworn in the Anabaptists tradition, which today are called the "historic peace churches," namely, the Church of Brethren, the Mennonites, and Quakers. These churches resisted participating in any use of force and warfare. They believed wars can be prevented. They hoped that reasonable arguments and example may convince others to abolish violence and to ultimately ban wars completely (Haselbarth 204). All other churches in Nigeria, whether orthodox, Protestant, Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal should imbibe or translate the peace initiative of these "Peace churches." Islam with its sects should also imbibe this peace initiative. The charge of Paul Tabet to all religious groups becomes assertive:

Every religious group is called upon to respect and appreciate whatever wisdom and goodness is contained in the tenets and tradition of the other religious groups. Each one of them should be convinced that all these positive values and traditions put together at the service of the nation will contribute both to the unity of the country and

to making it a place in which the coming generations will find peace and happiness (quoted in Manus 50).

8.5. DIALOGUE AS A MEANS OF SUSTAINING PEACE IN NIGERIA

The concept and the role of dialogue have been over-laboured by many scholars as a means of sustaining peace in the local and international conflicts. But even with this, dialogue has not received maximum benefits to a certain extent in Nigeria. Thus, the need for dialogue is premeditated from the contemporary attitude of both Christians and Muslims towards violence in Nigeria, which justifies self-defence during conflicts. Dialogue therefore should be seen from the background of total search for peaceful co-existence in the face of persistent violent conflicts. Concurrent to the above is the urgent need for dialogue among the people of Nigeria in the face of the present socio-political situations of the country where different people tend to be more conscious of the separate identities than the national identity and collective responsibility. There is need to seek for ways of enhancing the self-esteem of the people and how to promote mutual growth and development of various interest groups in the country. The issue is how to learn to live together in a pluralistic society like Nigeria, not only in peace, but also in mutual trust and loyalty to one another and to the nation as an entity. This means that various social groups, be they ethnic or religious, must make conscious efforts to make

others trust them as they understand and appreciate others. The kind of effort is also necessary in the relationship between state and the social groups and individuals (Imo "Dialogue as a means of resolving conflicts---" 16-17).

The state of plurality requires that Nigeria attains a level where each person or group can respect the values, which are highly honoured and cherished by others without having to give up the values they themselves respect more highly. For this to be accomplished, there must be a re-orientation of the minds of individuals, groups and government for a better understanding of basic values of different people across religious, cultural, political and geographic boundaries. Without such understanding and insight, the prospect of peace and national development is bleak. Such understanding and healthy interaction can only come through dialogue (Imo "Dialogue as a means of resolving conflicts---" 17).

The following view of Imo therefore becomes imperative:

The kind of dialogue that is being agitated in Nigeria involves the sharing of thoughts and experiences in positive terms and is aimed at establishing a two way traffic in what used to be a one way street. This way of understanding dialogue calls for a more patient and human approach to the issues at conflicts between the government and crises-ridden areas and other minority or social groups that feel neglected or aggrieved. The government should not be far removed and inaccessible to the people. It should not assume that it is only government that has the perfect knowledge of things and to go about them, while the people they rule are seen to

be inferior, irrational and to be handled with high-handedness ("Dialogue as a means of resolving conflicts--- 18).

The above suggestion is reasonable in a democratic setting which of course Nigeria is struggling to establish. Democracy has certain universalistic ideals or normative dimensions, which cannot be dispensed with if it is to make meaning to people. These include a relatively high degree of openness in the conduct of government and considerable level of influence expected by the rule on public policy. The government is therefore expected in the process of demonstration to entrench the values of openness, negotiation, consultation, compromise, consensus and trade-off. These democratic values are important in dialogue. If the approach of dialogue is adopted and these values are respected in the process of conflict resolution, it will offer a superior way of dealing with sectional interests (Imo "Dialogue as a means of resolving conflicts--- 18).

Another area where dialogue is of great importance is in the field of religious dialogue. Many scholars and religious chauvinists argue that there is no basis for inter-faith dialogue either in the glorious Qur'an or the holy Bible. Such scholars have quoted extensively from the scriptures to support their anti-dialogue stance. But it is realized that some adherents of Christianity and Islam have either re-conceptualised or supported their scriptural tenets in jettisoning their

violent actions, as we have seen from our previous discussions. This therefore calls for the necessity of religious dialogue in Nigeria. This can be facilitated through recognition and respect for the transparency, honesty and good intention of both religious groups. The dialogue can be situated within an ongoing process of the need for peaceful co-existence among various religious groups in Nigeria.

It becomes clear to caution that any attempt by the state or federal government to impose beliefs or philosophies of one religious tradition on others will breed disharmony and threaten the course of peace. The introduction and extension of shariah criminal law in some northern parts of Nigeria is a case in point. The only way to harmony and peace in a religiously plural society like Nigeria is dialogue. Today in Nigeria, religious dialogue is more needed than ever, in order to open many doors closed by tensions that have marked inter-faith relations. People of the different faiths in Nigeria do not understand one another enough. As a consequence, they tend to suspect and fight one another. Structures for such dialogue could include courses that promote peace and dialogue at different levels in schools. This should be designed to make Nigerians know about and respect other people's faiths. Another desirable structure of dialogue is the consultative council of religious leaders set up after the crisis over Nigeria membership of the Organization of Islamic Countries (O.I.C.) to advise

government on matters that have religious implications. Unfortunately, government has not allowed it autonomy to function effectively (Ikenga-Metuh 18).

In this chapter, we have examined the need for peace in Nigeria. It is hoped that the implementation of the ways suggested here, for achieving peace in Nigeria, would go a long way in maintaining sustainable peace in Nigeria. In the next chapter, we will undertake a summary, conclusion and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER NINE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

9.1 SUMMARY

From the foregoing analyses and discussions raised, we have seen that there is a problem of violence in human existence. It becomes necessary to see under which condition violence is justified or is justified not. In doing this, we employed the use of interviews, questionnaires, discussions and personal observations, which helped in realising our stated objectives. The relevant terms and concepts that were used in the study were also clarified. The most important of these terms is the word violence. In determining the concept of violence, we realised that, it is an all-encompassing concept which includes the intention to hurt, kill, strong feeling that is not controlled, or the violation of something and carrying force against something or somebody.

In examining the literature relevant to this study, we realised that most literary works about violence did not take into cognisance the ethics of violence in Nigeria, though they may look at the political, religious ethnic or other dimensions. From the literature examined, we looked at the innate and external sources of violence. We also

considered various attitudes towards war and violence. The relevance of findings from the related literature to the study was also stated.

The pluralistic nature of Nigeria causes the prevalence of different kinds of violence. In considering the prevalence of violence from the period of independence to 2002, attention is specifically given to the kinds of collective violence found in Nigeria. These include politically motivated violence, religious and ethnic violence, as well as socio-economic kinds of violence.

Different value systems as sources of violence in Nigeria are considered in this study. The value systems considered included the traditional, religious, colonial and western/modern value systems. We also considered how these value systems bequeathed to Nigerians had served as catalysts in influencing aggressive attitudes among Nigerians.

One of the main thrusts of this study is to find out the sources of violence in contemporary Nigeria. One of these sources lies in the way violence is relayed in the media. We specifically focused our attention on tele-violence, and violence as conveyed in newspapers and magazines.

The grounds for justification and non-justifiability of violence in Nigeria were also considered, using some modern ethical theories. In considering the prevalence of violence in Nigeria, attention is given to

what should constitute the general attitude of Nigerians towards violence. Challenge for peaceful co-existence in Nigeria and the need for the government to support peace initiatives is also stressed. Dialogue is further suggested as a means of sustaining peace in Nigeria.

9.2 CONCLUSION

From the foregoing, we have seen that there are innate factors that lead to aggressive behaviours in human nature. The traditional cultural values are also said to “steer up” aggressive feelings among people at different times in Nigeria. The effects of all these can be seen in the incidents of so many intra or inter-communal and ethnic violence in Nigeria. Each of these conflicts has resulted in the loss of lives and violation of human rights. The form of this violation includes the violation of the integrity of the people, resulting in the death and displacement of many people. Added to this, are the well-known extra judicial executions of persons. Religious values and beliefs have to some extent also encouraged the prevalence of violence in Nigeria. The Islamic legacy of the commitment to jihad as a divine ordination has increased the tendency of violent actions among Muslims in Nigeria. This has equally altered the beliefs of the Christians from passive compliance to aggressive actions during crises when their lives and property are threatened. The above attitudes of the adherents of

the two religions have, of course, influenced to a reasonable degree the frequent occurrence of violence in Nigeria.

Some of the violent actions experienced in Nigeria, are also as a result of issues based on political and economic contestations. The colonial legacy of inequality and discrimination has left the monopoly of power in the hands of some privileged elites, thereby giving them control of economic resources and political power. The effects of the above contestations have also affected the attitudes of many Nigerians, especially those in the resource-controlled areas, to resort to violence as a moral right of gaining economic and political ascendancy.

With the existence of these various contestations and attitudes towards violence, there is the need to have a generally accepted attitude towards violence by propagating peace. Thus, the use of dialogue should be seen as a way forward for peaceful co-existence by all recognised religions, various ethnic groups and the government of Nigeria in the search for human development and the unity of the nation.

9.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Although in chapter eight we have attempted to give some recommendations in this study, we shall, however, give major highlights of some of these recommendations below:

1. The conferment and glorification of traditional titles in Nigeria by traditional rulers that depict warrior-like or violent tendencies should be stopped. Titles that make for peaceful co-existence should be encouraged.
2. Many of the violent conflicts witnessed in Nigeria are between Muslims and Christians. The Clergy from both religious sects should take the responsibility of enlightening and alerting their adherents against the misuse of some scriptural verses in defending their violent actions. This can be done through sermons, workshops and conferences.
3. Open air religious preaching that is capable of inciting aggressive tendencies from – Islam and Christianity, should be banned. In line with this, the school authorities in Nigeria should, as a matter of seriousness, censor invitations to outside preachers who are not within the school system. Some of these preachers are at times educationally, spiritually and morally unqualified to preach or present sermons.
4. The Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation and other bodies responsible should give more stringent measures in censoring foreign and indigenous (Nigerian) films that are violent or war

oriented from being watched on television programmes, and public cinema halls.

5. The management of the Nigerian media, both in the print and broadcast should avoid carrying out biased religious statements or other violent-proned issues that have the tendency of encouraging violence.
6. The government on its part should avoid all overt and covert support for any religion at the detriment of the other. All religious faiths in Nigeria should be given equal treatment both in theory and practice as it is enshrined in the Constitution. In this line, the sharia law, which gives Muslims certain rights at the detriment of Christians in some northern states of Nigeria, should be redefined in order to give room for other people's rights, thereby leading to peaceful co-existence and unity of the nation.
7. Evidences have shown that many local and standard weapons of warfare were used in many communal clashes in the recent past. The government, through its security agencies, and the traditional rulers should ensure a strict control and surveillance over the possession of such weapons and spot out local manufacturing industries where these weapons are made for appropriate punishments.

8. The government should curtail the aimless free movements of the *almajiris* (young beggars) and the illegal aliens found loitering in the major streets of Nigerian cities and villages. Many of these categories of people are seen to be prone to violent actions at the outbreak of any conflict.
9. Early warning strategies aimed at preventive violence should be the hallmark of the local, state and the federal governments. The traditional rulers should be pulled along this line to contribute their quota at the grassroots level.
10. The government should constitutionally re-address the citizenship question in Nigeria. The settler or non-indigene phenomenon has been the cause of many violent conflicts in many areas of conflicts in Nigeria.

9.4 CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

Two areas are specifically considered as contributing to the existing body of knowledge. The first area is in the identification of traditional cultural values as sources of violence in Nigeria, which include the following:

- (i) Use of names and titles by many ethnic groups in Nigeria, which depict violence.
- (ii) Many ethnic groups in Nigeria use war songs, sayings, proverbs and idioms during conflicts or crises.

Secondly, the work has brought into bare the various theories in ethics and their relevance in the study of violence in Nigeria. Some of the modern ethical theories considered in this study included, ethical hedonism, categorical imperative, moral positivism, utilitarianism and morality of human integration.

9.5 SUGGESTED AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The issue of violence has a very wide area of research in Nigeria. Much has been written on issues of socio-economic and political violence. There are also researches going on in areas of religious and ethnic violence. In all these, no serious attention is given to the study of ethics of violence. Although the present research has attempted to consider the ethical dimension of violence in these stated areas, there are still more areas of prospective research, these include, among others, the ethical dimension of violence against children and women, which falls within the ambit of domestic violence.

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APPENDIX "A"(i): PARTICULARS OF INTERVIEWEES

S/No.	NAME	TYPE OF INTERVIEW	OCCUPATION	AGE	SEX	PLACE OF INTERVIEW	DATE
1.	Abdullahi M. Sheshi	Personal	Civil Servant	55yrs	M	Jos	13/1/05
2.	Alice Saidu Dabo	"	Business	32yrs	F	Jos	5/1/05
3.	Azumi Dedat Parloug	"	Business	67yrs	F	Jos	9/1/05
4.	Benjamin Tarhena	"	Student	35yrs	M	Jos	4/1/05
5.	Benson Bam Ali	"	Politician	52yrs	M	Yola	19/12/04
6.	Boniface Zebulun	"	Lecturer	54yrs	M	Yola	19/12/04
7.	Christiana Egwuka	"	Civil Servant	50yrs	F	Jos	6/1/05
8.	Dachung Elisha	"	Business	38yrs	M	Bukuru, Jos	28/12/04
9.	Douglas Jalo	"	Civil Servant	48yrs	M	Yola	19/12/04
10.	Engr. Stanley Mijah	"	Civil Servant	48yrs	M	Yola	19/12/04
11.	Gwamna Dogara J.	"	Lecturer	44yrs	M	Jos	11/0/05
12.	Husseini Abdulsalami	"	Business	52yrs	M	Jos	29/12/04
13.	Ibrahim J. Majamenso	"	Civil Servant	49yrs	M	Yola	25/12/04
14.	Ibrahim Tela	"	Civil Servant	47yrs	M	Jos	6/1/05
15.	Jethro Yakubu	"	Civil Servant	36yrs	M	Jalingo	21/12/04
16.	Musliu Adepoju	"	Business	34yrs	M	Jos	29/12/04
17.	Nicholson I. Luku	"	Lecturer	54yrs	M	Yola	20/12/04
18.	Paul Adesina	"	Business	48yrs	M	Jos	29/12/04
19.	Rev. Elijah Damina	"	Clergy	38yrs	M	Jos	11/1/05
20.	Rev. Pius Akpenka	"	Clergy	50yrs	M	Jos	18/1/05
21.	Rev.Fr. Mike N. Ushe	"	Clergy	40yrs	M	Jos	6/1/05
22.	Samuel Kisinomso	"	Civil Servant	42yrs	M	Yola	25/12/04
23.	Santi Mago Tippi	"	Farmer	62yrs	M	Jalingo	21/12/04
24.	Stephen Ashanti	"	Business	35yrs	M	Jos	4/12/05
25.	Stephen Daka P.	"	Business	57yrs	M	Jos	5/1/05
26.	Uzoigwe Nnamdi C.	"	Student	32yrs	M	Jos	6/2/05
27.	Vitalis Agber	"	Business	56yrs	M	Jos	5/1/05
28.	Zakari Mohammed	"	Business	48yrs	M	Jos	14/12/04
29.	Zephaniah Niyorodo	"	Politician	66yrs	M	Yola	20/12/04

APPENDIX "A 2": QUESTIONNAIRE SCHEDULE

DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES, FACULTY OF ARTS, UNIVERSITY OF JOS, NIGERIA

QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION 'A': EXPLANATION AND INSTRUCTION

Dear Sir/Madam,

This questionnaire is purely meant for an academic research in the Department of Religious Studies University of Jos. The researcher is a student of the Department of Religious Studies undertaking a research on the topic "Ethics of violence in Nigeria."

The purpose of the questionnaire is to enable the researcher collect first hand information from the respondents in order to supplement the data collected from other sources. No answer is right or wrong. So feel free to respond to the questions as they apply to you or from the point of view you see them.

Your kind assistance is required in order to make this research a success. You do not need to write your name on the form. Thanks for your anticipated cooperation.

SECTION 'B': PERSONAL DATA (Please tick in the appropriate box of your choice)

Academic qualification

Below primary school

G.C.E, S.S.C.E, T.C 11 or their equivalents

Diploma, N.C.E or their Equivalents

H.N.D., Degree

M.A, M.Sc. or their equivalents and above

Sex: Male Female

Marital status: married Single Widowed

Place of work or institution of learning

Age: under 20yrs 21-30yrs 31 - 40yrs 41 – 50yrs

51 – 60yrs 61 – 70yrs 71yrs- above

Ethnic Group.....Religion.....**SECTION 'C' QUESTIONS ON ETHICS OF VIOLENCE AS IT RELATES TO ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS VIOLENCE**

1. Does your ethnic group have praise names/titles, phrases, which depicts violence or other ways of hailing people who fight for their rights or defend the cause of the community?
Yes No
2. Does your culture see someone who is not able to fight back for his/her rights as a weakling or coward? Yes No
3. Does your ethnic group have war songs, wise sayings, proverbs, parables, tales or idioms that depict violence or war? Yes No
4. Do you see the existence of ethnic militia in contemporary Nigeria as being right?
Yes No
5. If yes to question 4 above, your reason(s) may include the following;
 - a. To avoid domination by certain groups
 - b. The demands of present day society calls for this
 - c. For maintaining law and order in the community
6. If no to question 4 above your reasons may include?
 - a. The existence of ethnic militia encourages violence
 - b. The ethnic militia are used for personal vengeance or vendetta by well-to-do members of the society.
 - c. They are a threat to national peace, security and stability of the nation
7. What is the attitude of the members of your ethnic group towards violence?
 - a. They see violence as normal part of life.

- b. They see violence as bad.
- c. They see the use of violence as being right especially in self-defence
8. Is there any condition under which your religion permits you to retaliate when aggrieved? Yes No
9. If yes to question 1 above, which of these reasons can be condoned by your religion?
- i. For self defence
- ii. I cannot fold my arms to allow myself to be killed
- iii. If I don't resist, the problem might escalate
- iv. All of the above
10. If you are attacked by people who would want to take away your life. Would you want to attack back inspite of what your religion teaches? Yes No