Curbing Multi-Dimensional Violence in Nigeria Society: Causes, Solutions and Methods of Solving this Trend

1Ayuk, Awunghe Achu, 1Emeka Josephat Owan, 1Omono Cletus Ekok and 2Odinka, Godfrey E.

1Department of Sociology. University of Calabar, Calabar.
2A Doctoral Student, Department of Sociology University of Calabar, Calabar.

Corresponding Author: Ayuk, Awunghe Achu

Abstract
All over the world conflict, crime and violence where ever they occur is seen as aberrant to societal conscientious. Violence is a criminal act and combination of a motive not itself and operation not in absence – but a combination of these that causes harm to certain objects and prohibited by law. It should be noted however that violence is the abuse of power or force which is detrimental to an individual; but mere use of force is not wrong but the intent and impact it has on others. It is on this premise that this paper anchors its concern i.e. multi-dimensional violence in Nigeria: causes and methods of curbing the trend. Issues considered are, the spate of violence and conflict, viz; intra and interstate ethnic; religious; political and resource base; and structural violence which is expressed in such conditions as poverty, inequality, oppression and social exclusion. The purpose of this work is to unravel the remote and immediate causes of violence (region, political, ethnic etc) and to proffer solutions, significantly, this humble research endeavour presents a template for policies maker and implementors to consult in dealing with conflict and violence related issues. Also would be beneficial to conflictant in terms of creating awareness and resocializing them. Though the research had some limitations in gathering information viz people were not willing to give information for fear of arrest by the security officers. Because of this, the work was restricted to Buachi, Yobe and Borno State in the Northern part of Nigeria. Based on what the researchers exhume, the following recommendations amongst others were made; national integration should be encouraged, tolerate people no matter their ethnic or religious background and those responsible for this behavioural act that transgresses socio-legal prohibition brought to justice.

Keywords: violence, ethnic, religion, society, resource

INTRODUCTION
Post-colonial Africa has experienced a spate of conflicts and violence, namely Intra and interstate, ethnic, religious, political and resource control based violence, including structural violence, that is, violence that is expressed in such conditions as poverty, inequality, psychological violence, oppression and social exclusion, have ravaged one African country after another. National armies have continuously and violently intervened in the political affairs of African countries through bloody coup d’

Apart from Nigeria, countries like Ethiopia, Sudan, Liberia, Somalia, Canada, Burundi, Angola, Sierra Leone, South Africa and Cote d’Ivoire have suffered greatly from widespread and intense internal conflicts. These conflicts have exploited the myth of national solidarity, undermining the social fabric of these nations and destroying their fragile economies (Alli, 2007).

Conflicts and violence with their multi-dimensional consequences has been an obstacle to progress, political stability, economic prosperity and overall socio-economic development of African countries because of its destructive nature. While conflicts may not always be accompanied by bloodshed, most conflicts in Africa, degenerate into violence, quickly leading to the destruction of lives and properties. Violence provoked by conflicts, has often turned the people’s intention from creative production to creative destruction (Nnoli, 2003). This academic enterprise, therefore, is an attempt to analyse the nature of violence in Africa, with Nigeria as a case study, analyzing the causes and recommending solutions, and using the theoretical underpinnings of
structural functionalism and the Marxian dialectical materialism, as our guide.

**DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS**

**Violence:** Naturally, one might want to define violence here as involving or caused by physical force, that is intended to hurt or kill somebody (Hornby, A. S. 2001). However for the purposes of this work, we shall adopt the definition given by the World Health Organization (WHO) in their 2002 world report on violence in which is “the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment and deprivation” (WHO Report, 2002).

The above definition is all encompassing, going beyond physical acts to include threats and intimidation. Besides death and injury are also includes the myriad and often less obvious consequences of violent behaviours, such as psychological harm, deprivation and maldevelopment that compromises the well being of individuals, families and communities.

Coser, (1956), explains violence or conflict as that which occurs when two or more people engage in a struggle over values and claims to status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals. He explained further that, conflict, which we have mentioned earlier as having the capacity of degenerating into violence in Africa, emerges whenever one party perceives that, one or more goals or purposes or means of achieving a goal or preference is being threatened or hindered by the activities of one or more parties. The parties may be seeking to expand into the same field or physical sphere, or more abstractly, into the same field or influence or behaviours.

**STRUCTURE OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA**

The Federal Republic of Nigeria is a federal constitutional republic comprising thirty six states, with a capital territory – Abuja, and 774 Local Government Areas. The country is located in West Africa and shares land borders with the Republic of Benin in the West, Chad and Cameroon in the East and Niger in the North. Its coast in the South lies on the Gulf of Guinea on the Atlantic Ocean.

Nigeria is made up of numerous ethnic groups with the three largest and most influential ethnic groups being the Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. Religiously, the country is roughly split half between Muslim and Christians with a very small minority who practice traditional religion and other non-Christian or non-Muslim religions. Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa with an estimated population of 140 million people (National Population Commission, 2006).

**NATURE OF VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA**

Due to its multi-diversity, arising from its multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-religious, multi-sectoral and multi-regional nature, giving way to competition, denial or deprivation, coercion, intimidation of one group over another, resource control and political instability, Nigeria has over the years been faced with sectoral, ethnic, political cum electoral and resource control induced tensions and violence, including covert/structural violence, that is, violence expressed in such conditions as poverty, inequality, psychological violence, oppression and exclusion.

Thus, violence in Nigeria like any other volatile society comes in all kinds of shapes, sizes and nature as enumerated above, including the incidence of corruption and the issue of inter-state over flow of violence as exemplified in the spill over of refugees and guerilla fighters over its borders. Writing on this, Usman, (2009), argues that “violence in Nigeria is like an octopus”. Its spread leaves no one. Those in government and those out of government, electoral winners and losers, security agents and helpless citizenry, the employed and unemployed, the young and the old, men and women, non is spared! There is no exception. Everybody is involved and everybody is part of the problem”.

Religious violence in Nigeria is endemic, it’s persistent occurrence made Igwe, (2001), a public commentator to exclaim thus: “I think it is a shame that almost 50 years after independence, Nigerians are still attacking and killing themselves in the name of religion. That Nigerian of different faiths has not learnt to live, love and tolerate one another. And that the government has failed to tackle this social menace and mental disgrace”.

There is no doubt that, most cases of religious violence have taken place in Northern Nigeria. We have experienced among others, the Kano riots of 80s, Kano riots of 1991, Sharia riots of 2000, the Jos religious crisis of 2004, 2008, 2009, 2010 and 2011 the recent Boko Haram embroilment between a militant Islamic group and the Nigerian security forces which resulted in over 700 deaths across Bauchi, Marduguri, Yobe, Abuja (UN) Potiskun and Wudil (Wikipedia, 10/01/2010).

Nigeria is a secular state, thus, the imposition of Sharia, in most states of the North was marked with widespread violence, riots and clashes. Sharia truthfully in Nigeria is a weapon of political and radical Islam, so its existence, created a situation of suspicion, hatred, division and antagonism between...
Muslims and non-Muslims. It emboldened fanatics and gave legitimacy to Islamic fundamentalism, which did not go down well with non-Muslims who felt insulted and unprotected and thus violently resisted it.

Political violence on its part, poses a serious threat to the legitimacy and corporate existence of this country. The violent part of our political history is mainly manifested through electoral violence and political assignations, like the case of Bola Ige (former Nigeria Attorney), Chief Marshall Harry of Rivers State etc. Electoral violence has been defined by the International Foundation for Electoral System (IFES); “as any act or threat of physical or psychological harm to a person or damage to property, directed at anyone directly involved in an electoral process (voter, candidate, party official, election worker, election monitor, journalist, etc) which may disrupt or attempt to disrupt any aspect of the electoral process (campaign, registration, voting, counting etc) (Jeff, 2002).

The objective of electoral violence is to influence the electoral process and its outcome, by gaining an unfair political advantage by one group of individuals over another. It is geared towards winning political competition or power, through violence or subverting the ends of the electoral and democratic process, either before, during or after the election in the form of thuggery, use of force to disrupt political meetings or voting at polling stations, or the use of dangerous weapons to intimidate voters and other electoral processes, or to cause bodily harm or injury to any person connected with electoral processes. A non-exhaustive search of electronic media outlets, over a two-week period in early March 2003, carried out by Human Rights Watch (HRW) a non-governmental and civil society organization, yielded the following results:

- Early March 2003 – Sokoto: PDP/ANPP clash between armed supporters.
- March 3 – Ebonyi: State Chairman for the ANPP reports shooting attack on him while in vehicle.
- March 4 – Edo: At least one person killed in PDP/ANPP clash after PDP state governor’s campaign convoy was attacked and several houses burnt.
- March 5 – Abuja: Marshal Harry, ANPP Vice Chairman for the South – South Zone, shot dead in his Abuja residence.
- March 10 – Kebbi: PDP/ANPP clash in which two were reported seriously injured, eleven houses burnt, fifty three people arrested.
- March 11 – Lagos: Seven people died in PDP/Alliance for Democracy (AD) clash.
- March 13 and subsequent two weeks – Delta: Scores of people reported killed in Okerenkoko and other villages around Warri, following clashes between Ijaws and Itsekiris in dispute over additional electoral wards in Warri, and clashes between Ijaws and the military.
- March 14 – Ondo: Convoy of Gani Fawehinmi, Presidential candidate for National Conscience Party (NCP), attacked, seriously injuring his driver.

In some cases, political violence has been carried out in locations where violent conflict was already a problem. This has been the case in the Niger Delta, and in North Central states such as Taraba, Benue, and Plateau that have experienced scores of violent intercommunal clashes over the last few years, the elections appeared to be creating a new reason for fighting. (Human Rights Watch, 2003).

Also, because political power is one of the few ways to access wealth in Nigeria, politics often becomes what is frequently referred to in Nigeria as a “do-or-die affair” individuals are so desperate to remain or get close to the centre of power that they resort to ruthless methods that might be avoided if the economy and society offered other means of supporting themselves and their families.

Political violence has also manifested itself in form of the struggles over citizenship of indigeneship and struggle over the control of oil resources as in the case of the Jos crisis and the Niger Delta crisis respectively or self actualization efforts, as in the case of Biafra.

The crisis rocking the Niger Delta is another form of violence that is trying to destabilize the country. The people of the Niger Delta who have suffered amidst living in the source of Nigeria’s wealth have taken up arms to fight for their rights. A situation which has also degenerated to fighting among themselves. The three main ethnic groups within the area namely, the Ijaws, the Itshekiris and the are always at each others neck, causing serious tension in the area and heating up the polity. This has led to the emergence of armed ethnic militias, going by all sorts of names, such as Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), led by Henry Okah, the Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV) led by Ateke Tom, the Niger Delta Peoples Volunteer Force (NDPVF) led by Alhaji Mujahid Dokubo Asari, the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP) led by the Late Ken Sero-Wiwa and today led by Chief John Mittee, the Ijaw National Congress led by Chief J. P. Clark and the Niger Delta Defence Force. All of them claim to fight for justice in the Niger Delta, but we know that politicians have hijacked some of them for their selfish reasons. Illegal Bunkerers employ them to defend their operations; some have turned themselves into kidnapping outfits, while they are also used by their ethnic groups to champion their course, setting a constant collusion between them and the Government Joint Task Force (JTF). Thus, both State and Civilian
Forces, so to say, employ varying methods of coercion in the attempt to gain control over the petroleum resources in the Niger Delta, leading to tension and violence.

**MAIN CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA**

In 2007 Nigeria watch, a research group, produced the first Annual Report on Public Violence, (2006 – 2007) in Nigeria. The research was based on data collected between June 2006 and May 2007. The report highlighted accidents, crime, economic issues, political clashes and ethno-religious fighting, as the main causes of death in Nigeria (Nigeria Watch, 2007). Some of these issues are to be examined here.

Politics is one of the major causes of violence in Nigeria. Incidences arising from flawed elections, evidence of voting fraud, rigged election, political intimidation, manipulation, bribery and corruption, just to maintain or power, has heightened the potential of violence at every level of government, especially at transition periods. The youths are induced to threaten or unleash terror as a means to achieve electoral and political success.

The so called elites are responsible for arming the youths, who mostly are political thugs to manipulate electoral outcomes, kidnap or kill political opponents, threaten and intimidate electorates, destroying lives and properties, as electoral processes are disrupted. Youths trained and armed for political kidnapping; continue the process in post election period for economic ends.

The issue of political thuggery and establishment of small political armed forces, has led to the infiltration and establishment of gun culture in Nigeria. These groups abundantly acquire and recklessly use various types of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) to carryout their horrendous activities. The presence of SALWs, easily transform minor social, cultural, ethnic and political disputes into violent confrontations. Unfortunately, the use of SALW, in Nigerian electoral process increased the scale of lethality, the degree of intensity, causalities, and the extent of livelihood destruction and wider developmental impacts, with hundreds of thousands of lives and properties worth billions of naira lost.

Another calamity that is causing havoc to the Nigerian nation is lack of productivity. The monopoly, that is, dependence on oil resources majorly, has affected other productive sectors like agriculture and manufacturing. At the individual level, it is a major cause of corruption in Nigeria. Public servants amass huge wealth; due to fear of what will be their lot after office. Sadly, after this illegal acquisition of wealth, most of them go back to penury. The next option is to patronize godfathers, incumbents or strong opposition, pay allegiance, do whatever it takes, to ensure the winning of an election, no matter whose ox is gored, so that, they can come back to the corridor’s of power, through getting appointments or even re-election. It is in the cause of this, that those in government are fighting to retain in government and those out of government are fighting to push those inside away from government. The most hit are the youths who are unemployed, uninform and uneducated. So the youths gladly welcome the first opportunity to get themselves “useful”. And often, it is the job of electoral violence that comes knocking with enticing promises.

Diversity in religious beliefs and lack of tolerance and understanding towards one another is another engineer of public violence in Nigeria. There is a strong religious divide between Christians and Muslims. Religious blood letting is like a recurring decimal especially in Northern Nigeria.

One major cause of religious violence is the absence of the political will to prosecute and punish offenders or perpetrators. Religious, adherents particularly, Islamic fanatics are treated as sacred cows. Punishment is a deterrent to crime, and as long as the states in the North refuse to prosecute and adequately punish those criminals, who indulge in religious carnage, the problem will persist.

Another cause is the fact that Northern Nigeria has a tradition of Jihadist Islam. That is, a kind of Islam that is practiced or promoted through fighting and violence. Jihadist Islam has fostered on Northern Nigeria a militant form of Islamic faith. It enthroned a kind of Islam that is promoted and defended with bows and arrows, swords and cudgels. Jihadist Islam sanctifies Islam as an act of faith, as a demonstration of piety and a virtuous way of living and of relating with infidels and with non-Islamic faiths or institutions, (Igwe, 2009). Jihadist Islam regards non-believers as ‘enemies’ who should be conquered, converted or subdued by force. Thus, as long as this tradition persists, violence is not likely to abate.

The introduction of Sharia Law is another catalyst of violence in Northern Nigeria. Sharia is a weapon of political and radical Islam and its introduction and imposition, was marked by widespread violence, riots and clashes. As long as the Northern States continue to mix religion and politics and refuse to separate mosque and state, and as long as, they refuse to recognize, respect and defend the equal rights of individuals irrespective of religious believes, religious hatred and uprising shall continue.

This, of course, has a terrible consequence on the economic and political development of not only the North, but the entire country. In 2002, for instance,
organizers of the miss world pageant were forced to move the pageant, with all its socio-economic and political paraphernalia and advantages from Abuja to London, in the wake of the violent protests in the North that left more than 100 people dead and over 500 injured (Wikipedia, 2010). The rioting erupted after Muslims in the country reacted in anger to comments made by a newspaper reporter.

Ethnicity is another determining factor in the violence that has plagued Nigeria. The 2010 Jos riot is a case in point. An ethnic rivalry between the Hausa and the Berome peoples was the catalyst of that violence. The Beromes and other plateau natives want to be accorded a measure of autonomy in their core lands, just like the Native Americans in their homesteads are treated as a sovereign nation. This, attempt which has been resisted by the enterprising Hausas, who have brought some measure of economic prosperity to these places and resided amongst them for years, is primarily the cause of all the violence, although religion also have added to its escalation. Because most ethnic group in the Plateau, who are predominantly Christians share the same sentiments with the Berome and collectively see an Islamic threat in the existence of the Hausas who are predominantly Muslims on their lands. The Anglican Arch. Bishop of Jos, Benjamin A. Kwashi, stated as much, when he said that, “it was a classic conflict between pastoralists and farmers, except that all the Fulani are Muslims and all the Berome are Christians” (Wikipedia, 2010).

The case of the Niger Delta brings to the fore, the argument that, the spate of conflict or violence ravaging Africa can be attributed to the inadequacies of the African governments. The structure and institution of the state, have remained relatively underdeveloped through the 1960s, the focus being on building those institutions that allowed for exploitation and management of resources and not the actual nation – building. Writing on this, Alli (2007), maintained that, this is why African states have been described as “render states” because they survive largely on rents from naturally occurring resources like petroleum or other mineral resources. They are also characterized as corrupt, repressive and irresponsible to the needs of their people.

African states thus contribute to violence in their states, through their greed and biased approaches to the distribution of scarce resources and other patronages as experienced in the Niger Delta area of Nigeria.

SOLUTIONS AND METHODS

Peace is a desirable situation for all societies that desire to progress and develop. The functionalists interprete peace as playing a social function and also as a product of the function of other social structures and institutions. Thus, peace has the social function of integration and order, which are two vital elements that must be present in a society to ensure growth and development. Conversely though, it is important to note that, the central function of both the social and political systems is to create peace.

Sociologically, peace refers to a condition of social harmony in which there is no social antagonism. In other words, peace is a condition in which there is no social conflict and individuals and groups are able to meet their needs and expectations (Ibeanu, 2007). How this is achievable, in the Nigeria context, is what this section of the paper, proposes to address.

We shall be guided by two theoretical responses, namely the structural functionalist responses and the dialectical materialist response, applying two methods, which includes; the proactive method and the reactive method.

Structural functionalism is a tradition of social analysis that sees society as a mosaic of functions and structures that perform them (Ibeanu, 2007). Examples include the attempts by the society to educate the youths, in order to make them better citizens of the society, the provision of adequate security to lives and properties, equitable and just distribution of resources. The provision of independent judiciary, to interpret our laws and arrogate punitive measures to crimes especially crimes relating to violence. These are functions and they necessitate a number of structures such as good schools, including technical and petroleum related institutions, industries, courts, parliament, national armed forces or security agencies and a well informed and unbiased traditional and religious institutions. When these structures for instance, perform their functions properly, there will be order and stability.

Thus, from a structural functionalist perspective, peace and stability can be achieved, when existing social structures perform their functions adequately, supported by a requisite political will, culture, norms and values.

On the other hand, the principle of Dialectical materialism is a tradition of social analysis associated with the German Philosopher Karl Marx. It suggests that, to understand society, what we should look at are the processes through which society produces and distributes the means of its material existence and the struggles, usually among social classes that are integral to the process (Ibeanu, 2007). Hence, this is all about, how human beings produce and how they distribute, work and rewards. This theoretical underpinning succinctly explains what is happening in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria.
The exploitative relationship that exist between classes gives rise to class struggles which sometimes entails open/objective violence, such as violence by state agencies like the armed forces against underprivileged groups, but most times entails covert or structural violence. That is, violence that is expressed in such condition as poverty, inequality, psychological violence, oppression an social exclusion.

Thus, we have the state violence and the revolutionary violence, organized and instituted by the underprivileged classes, design to overthrow the dominant class or oppressive class and to seize power from them just like attempted in the case of the Biafran War and the Niger Delta crisis. A major proposition of dialectical materialism is that, peace is only feasible in societies in which classes are non-existence because societies produce enough to give to each according to his/her needs. In reality, however, such a society remains and aspiration in modern times and we have to go back many centuries to find very simple societies that come close to this aspiration (Ibeanu, 2007).

As mentioned earlier, this academic exercise has adopted two methods of preventing, managing and or transforming violence. These include, the proactive method, which is aimed at the prevention of the occurrence of violence in the first place. This is ensured by the provision of good governance, the establishment of strong willed political party machineries ready to instill in their members the virtues of good political activism, knowing that the converse shall attract serious consequences, establishment of inter-party collaborations, establishing both documented and undocumented community-based trust and confidence building measures, giving the people a sense of belonging, good communication, adequate security and establishment and employment of responsible corporate organizations ready to give back to the society. Especially those operating in sensitive areas like the oil bearing communities.

The second method is the reactive method. This method deals with responses to situation that have already turned violent, conflictive, or are potentially so. These include third party interventions like mediation, brokerage, conciliation, arbitration, panel of inquires, litigation and punishment where necessary and granting of amnesty where possible, as in the case of the Niger Delta crisis.

Best, (2007) captured this as: “…by conflict resolution, it is expected that the deep rooted sources of conflict are addressed and resolved, and behaviour is no longer violent, nor are attitudes hostile any longer, while the structure of the conflict has been changed, ensuring that, in the long run, the production of a new, positive relationship between parties that were previously hostile adversaries is achieved”.

Putting these ideas together, it could be said that, the settlement of conflict and prevention of violence, in the real sense, arises, when all parties to a conflict are mutually satisfied with the outcome of a settlement and violence will no longer be seen as the only way. This is because (as mentioned earlier) “violence provoked by conflict, has often turned the peoples attention from creative production to creative destruction” (Nnoli, 2005).

A pre-condition to peace, is that, those responsible for crime be brought to justice. The concept of containment, apprehension and punishment of offenders should be adopted by the Nigerian government. Government security forces should intervene in an impartial manner, to contain the situation and apprehend culprits. A detailed and unbiased investigation, and documentation of reports by both government, non-governmental and civil society organizations and recommendations should be taken seriously by the government.

Pro-actively, efforts should be made to separate state from religion. The secularity enshrined in the Nigerian constitution must be upheld. As long as the states in Northern Nigeria refuse to recognize, respect and defend the equal rights of individuals of different faiths and believes religious hatred and uprising will not abate. Religious violence is bad; it is not good for any nation, or religion.

National integration must be encouraged. We must learn to live with each other, tolerate people no matter their ethnic or religious background. A Nigerian should be treated as a Nigerian wherever he finds himself or herself in the country. Tribal sentiments and ethnic chauvinism must be played down. Tolerance and accommodation breed peace.

The Nigeria government, the electoral commission and the security agencies must take steps now, to bolster Nigerians’ confidence in the electoral system and thereby prevent the post-election phase from degenerating into a period of violent protests and revenge in response to perceived electoral injustice. The appointment of a known activist, Prof. Attahiru Jega as the Independent National Election Commission Chairman, is a step in the right direction. The independent National Electoral Commission should manage elections in an open manner, according to established procedures, so that all parties can be confident that the rules have been applied in a fair-minded manner. The recommendation of Justice Uwais Electoral Reform Committee should be adopted.
The loss of self worth and good mentoring makes our youths gullible stooges to the instigators of violence in our society. Unlike the good olden days, the society has left the training of the youths entirely on their immediate parents who are too busy to scrape a living for survival. The culture of the youth being supported by all experienced members of the society, who train, guide and advice them to follow the path of honour should be re-enacted. The absence of mentoring creates godfatherism. The difference is that, while mentors groom their wards, godfathers, only depends on the ready made status of the candidate for his success, and when this is lacking, anti-societal forces are brought to bare, to braze the task ahead.

Pressure from the international community, goes a long way to check recalcitrant governments. Foreign funding is required for independent human rights groups, non-governmental organizations and civil societies to carryout thorough and impartial investigations of violence, to pressurize the government to take action against perpetrators of violence, irrespective of their position in the society and ensure the provision of equal protection to all citizens. Funding should also be provided for relieve assistance to victims of violence.

CONCLUSION
We conclude this academic exercise by borrowing words of wisdom from Nelson Mandela, who said: “Youths who are bullied by other youths is a legacy that reproduces itself, as new generations learn from the violence of generations past, as victims learn from victimized, and as the social condition that nurture violence is allowed to continue. No country, no city, no community is immune. But neither are we powerless about it. Violence pervades the lives of many people around the world and touches all of us in some way… patterns of violence are more persuasive and widespread in societies where authorities endorse the use of violence through their own actions. In many societies violence… thwarts hopes of economic and social development. We cannot let that continue… violence can be prevented. Violent cultures can be turned around” (WHO, 2002).

Indeed violent cultures can be turned around, if the methods and recommendations enshrined in this paper are at least attempted. Because, it is not that we do not know our problems, or that we do not have good policies to address them, but the problem has always been that of implementation and responsible governance. In his book, “The Trouble With Nigeria,” Achebe, (1990) concludes: “whenever two Nigerians meet, their conversation will sooner or later slide into a litany of our national deficiencies. The trouble with Nigeria has become the subject of our small talk in much the same way as the weather is for the English. But there is a great danger in consigning a life and death issue to the daily routine of small talk. No one can do much about the whether, we must accept it and live under it. But National bad habits are a different matter; we resign ourselves to them at our peril”.

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